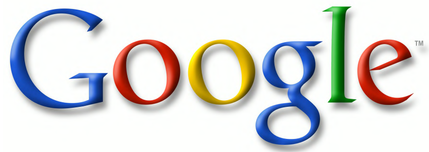

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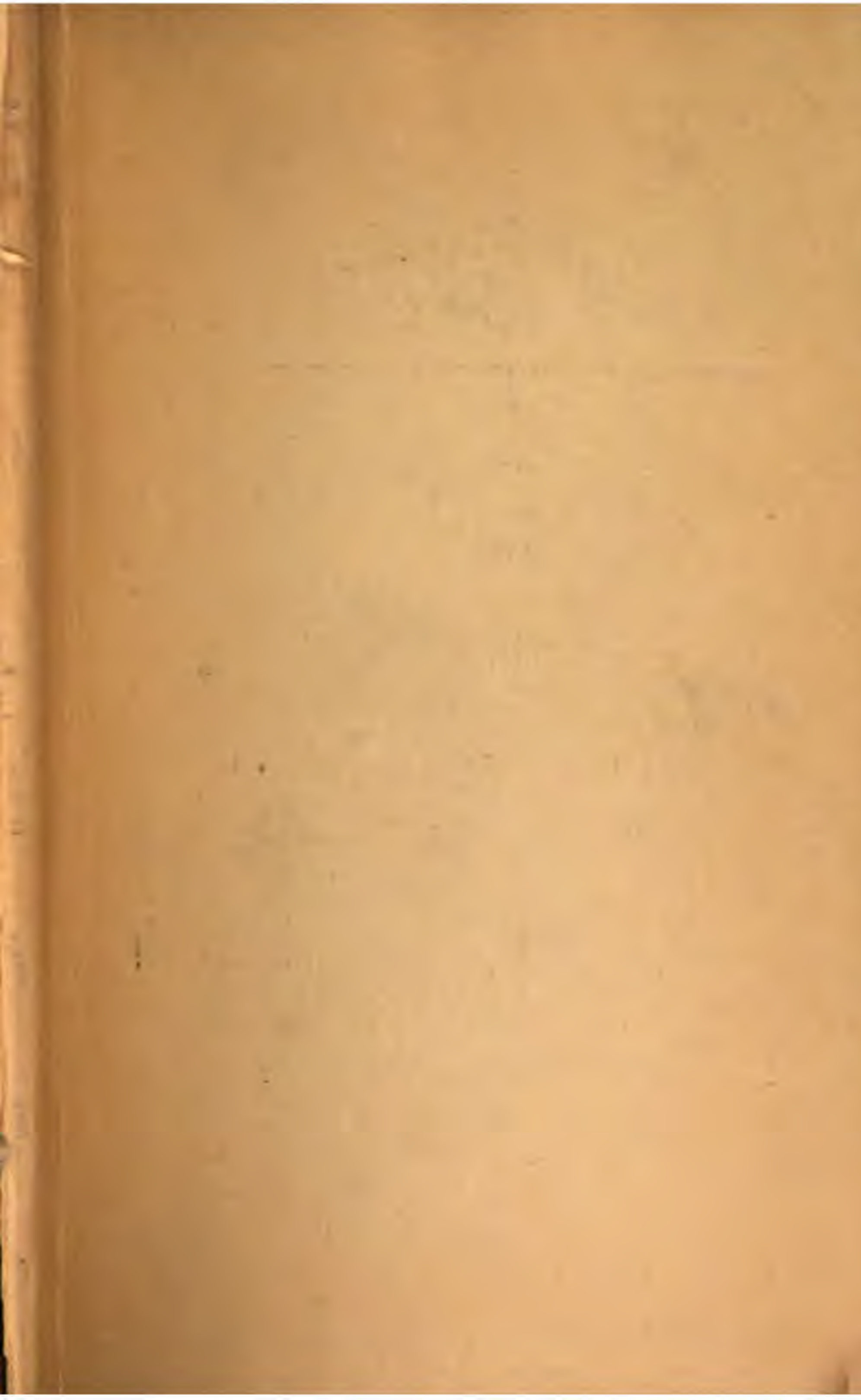

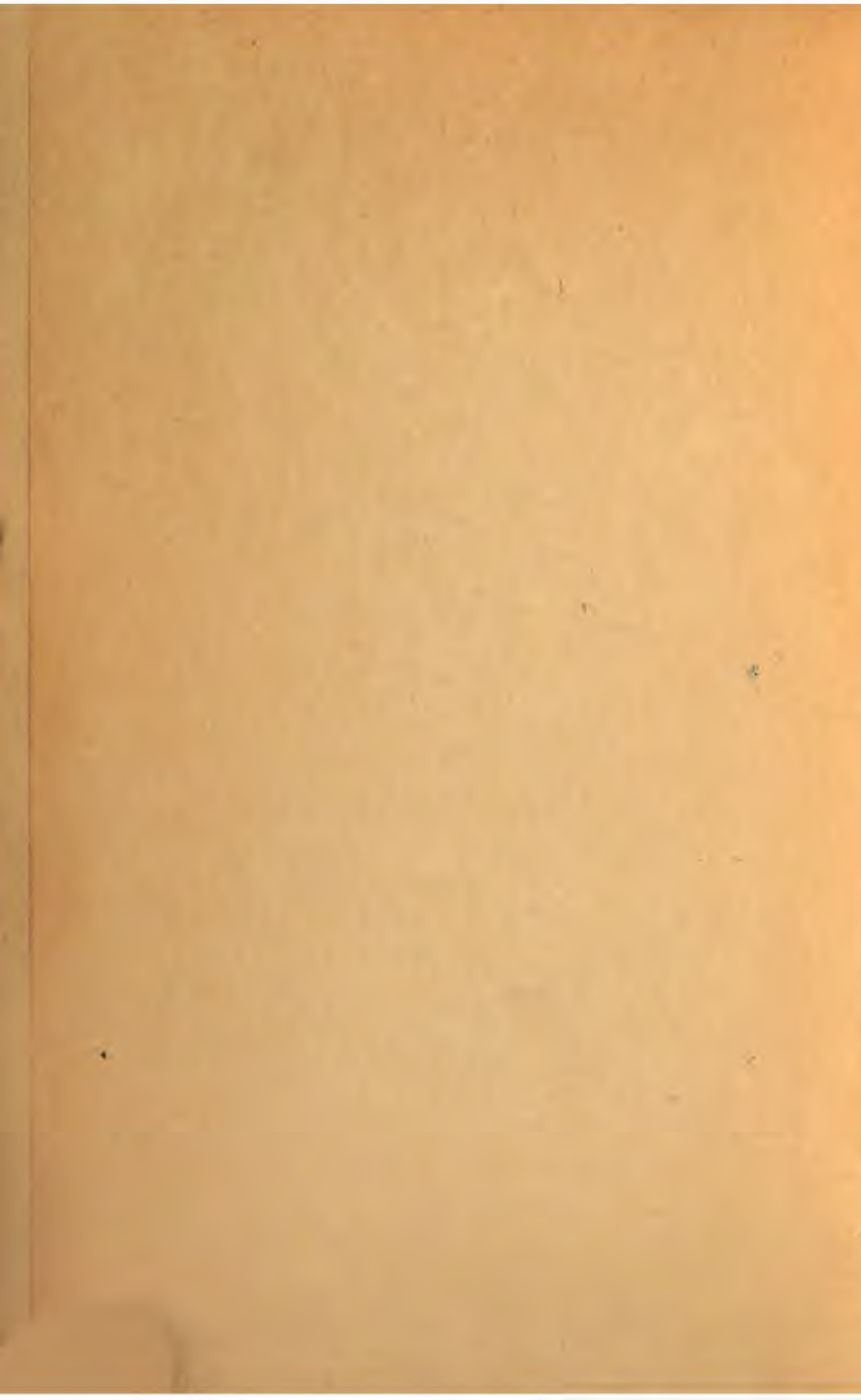

THE

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MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. V.—DECEMBER, 1848.

Art. I.—THE POLITICAL DESTINATION OF AMERICA, AND THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Every nation has a peculiar character, in which it differs from all others that have been, that are, and possibly from all that are to come, for it does not yet appear that the Divine Father of the nations ever repeats himself and creates either two nations or two men exactly alike. However, as nations, like men, agree in more things than they differ, and in obvious things too, the special peculiarity of any one tribe does not always appear at first sight. But if we look through the history of some nation which has passed off from the stage of action, we find certain prevailing traits which continuallly reappear in the language and laws thereof; in its arts, literature, manners, modes of religion—in short, in the whole life of the people. The most prominent thing in the history of the Hebrews is their Continual Trust in God, and this marks them from their first appearance to the present day. They have accordingly done little for art, science, philosophy; little for commerce and the useful arts of life, but much for Religion—and the psalms they sung two or three thousand years ago are at this day the Hymns and Prayers of the whole Christian world. Three great historical forms of religion—Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism—all have proceeded from them.

He that looks at the Ionian Greeks finds in their story always the same prominent characteristic—a Devotion to what is Beautiful. This appears often to the neglect of what is true, right, and therefore holy. Hence, while they have done little for religion, their literature, architecture, sculpture, furnish us

with models never surpassed, and perhaps not equalled. Yet they lack the ideal aspiration after Religion that appears in the literature and art, and even language of some other people, quite inferior to the Greeks in elegance and refinement. Science, also, is most largely indebted to these beauty-loving Greeks, for Truth is one form of Loveliness.

If we take the Romans, from Romulus their first king, to Augustulus the last of the Cæsars, the same traits of national character appear, only the complexion and dress thereof changed by circumstances. There is always the same hardness and materialism, the same skill in organizing men, the same turn for affairs and genius for legislation. Rome borrowed her theology and liturgical forms; her art, science, literature, philosophy, and eloquence; even her art of war was an imitation. But Law sprung up indigenous in her soil; her laws are the best gift she offers to the Human Race, — the "monument more lasting than brass" which she has left behind her.

We may take another nation, which has by no means completed its history, the Saxon race, from Hengist and Horsa to Sir Robert Peel: there also is a permanent peculiarity in the tribe. They are yet the same bold, hardy, practical people as when their bark first touched the savage shores of Britain; not over religious; less pious than moral; not so much upright before God, as downright before men; servants of the Understanding more than children of Reason; not following the guidance of an intuition, and the light of an Idea, but rather trusting to experiment, facts, precedents, and usages; not philosophical, but commercial; warlike through strength and courage, not from love of war or its glory; material, obstinate, and grasping, with the same admiration of horses, dogs, oxen, and strong drink; the same willingness to tread down any obstacle, material, human, or divine, which stands in their way; the same impatient lust of wealth and power; the same disposition to colonize and reannex other lands; the same love of Liberty and love of Law; the same readiness in forming political confederations.

In each of these four instances the Hebrews, the Ionians, the Romans, and the Anglo-Saxon race have had a nationality so strong, that while they have mingled with other nations in commerce and in war, as victors and vanquished, they have stoutly held their character through all; they have thus modified feebler nations joined with them. To take the last,

neither the Britons nor the Danes affected very much the character of the Anglo-Saxons; they never turned it out of its course. The Normans gave the Saxon manners, refinement, letters, elegance. The Anglo-Saxon bishop of the eleventh century, dressed in untanned sheep skins, "the woolly side out and the fleshy side in;" he ate cheese and flesh, drank milk and mead. The Norman taught him to wear cloth, to eat also bread and roots, to drink wine. But in other respects the Norman left him as he found him. England has received her kings and her nobles from Normandy, Anjou, the Provence, Scotland, Holland, Hanover—often seeing a foreigner ascend her throne; yet the sturdy Anglo-Saxon character held its own, spite of the new element infused into its blood: change the ministries, change the dynasties often as they will, John Bull is obstinate as ever, and himself changes not; no philosophy or religion makes him less material. No nation but the English could have produced a Hobbes, a Hume, a Paley, or a Bentham,—they are all instancial and not exceptional men in that race.

Now this idiosyncrasy of a nation is a sacred gift; like the genius of a Burns, a Thorwaldsen, a Franklin, or a Bowditch: it is given for some divine purpose, to be sacredly cherished and patiently unfolded. The cause of the peculiarities of a nation or an individual man we cannot fully determine as yet, and so we refer it to the chain of causes which we call Providence. But the national persistency in a common type is easily explained. The qualities of father and mother are commonly transmitted to their children, but not always, for peculiarities may lie latent in a family for generations, and reappear in the genius or the folly of a child—often in the complexion and features: and besides, father and mother are often no match. But such exceptions are rare, and the qualities of a race are always thus reproduced, the deficiency of one man getting counterbalanced by the redundancy of the next: the marriages of a whole tribe are not far from normal.

Some nations, it seems, perish through defect of this national character, as individuals fail of success through excess or deficiency in their character. Thus the Celts,—that great flood of a nation which once swept over Germany, France, England, and, casting its spray far over the Alps, at one time threatened destruction to Rome itself,—seem to have been so filled with Love of Individual Independence that they could

never accept a minute organization of human Rights and Duties, and so their children would not group themselves into a City, as other races, and submit to a strong central power, which should curb individual will enough to ensure National Unity of Action. Perhaps this was once the excellence of the Celts, and thereby they broke the trammels and escaped from the theocratic or despotic traditions of earlier and more savage times, developing the Power of the Individual for a time, and the energy of a nation loosely bound; but when they came in contact with the Romans, Franks, and Saxons, they melted away as snow in April—only, like that, remnants thereof yet lingering in the mountains and islands of Europe. No external pressure of famine or political oppression can hold the Celts in Ireland together, or give them national unity of action enough to resist the Saxon foe. Doubtless in other days this very peculiarity of the Irish has done the world some service. Nations succeed each other as races of animals in the geological epochs, and like them, also, perish when their work is done.

The peculiar character of a nation does not appear nakedly, without relief and shadow. As the waters of the Rhone, in coming from the mountains, have caught a stain from the soils they have traversed which mars the cerulean tinge of the mountain snow that gave them birth, so the peculiarities of each nation become modified by the circumstances to which it is exposed, though the fundamental character of a nation, it seems, has never been changed. Only when the BLOOD of the nation is changed by additions from another stock is the idiosyncrasy altered.

Now, while each nation has its peculiar Genius or character which does not change, it has also and accordingly a particular Work to perform in the economy of the world, a certain Fundamental Idea to unfold and develop. This is its national task, for in God's world, as in a shop, there is a regular division of labor. Sometimes it is a limited work, and when it is done the nation may be dismissed, and go to its repose. *Non omnia possumus omnes* is as true of nations as of men; one has a genius for one thing, another for something different, and the Idea of each nation and its special Work will depend on the Genius of the nation. Men do not gather grapes of thorns.

In addition to this specific genius of the nation and its corresponding work, there are also various Accidental or Subordinate Qualities, which change with circumstances, and so vary the nation's aspect that its peculiar genius and peculiar

duty are often hid from its own consciousness, and even obscured to that of the philosophic looker on. These subordinate peculiarities will depend first on the peculiar Genius, Idea, and Work of the nation, and next on the Transient Circumstances — geographical, climactic, historical, and secular — to which the nation has been exposed. The past helped form the circumstances of the present age, and they the character of the men now living. Thus new modifications of the national type continually take place; new variations are played, but on the same old strings and of the same old tune. Once circumstances made the Hebrews entirely agricultural, now as completely commercial; but the same Trust in God, the same National Exclusiveness appear, as of old. As one looks at the history of the Ionians, Romans, Saxons, he sees Unity of National Character, a Continuity of Idea and of Work; but it appears in the midst of Variety, for while these remained ever the same to complete the economy of the world, subordinate qualities — sentiments, ideas, actions — changed to suit the passing hour. The nation's *course* was laid towards a certain point, but they stood to the right hand or the left, they sailed with much canvas or little, and swift or slow, as the winds and waves compelled; — nay, sometimes the national ship "heaves to," and lies with her "head to the wind," regardless of her destination; but when the storm is overblown resumes her course. Men will carelessly think the ship has no certain aim, but only drifts.

The most marked characteristic of the American nation is LOVE OF FREEDOM; OF MAN'S NATURAL RIGHTS. This is so plain to a student of American History, or of American Politics, that the point requires no arguing. We have a Genius for Liberty: the American idea is Freedom, Natural Rights. Accordingly, the work providentially laid out for us to do seems this: TO ORGANIZE THE RIGHTS OF MAN. This is a problem hitherto unattempted on a national scale, in human history. Often enough attempts have been made to organize the Powers of Priests, Kings, Nobles, in a Theocracy, Monarchy, Oligarchy — powers which had no foundation in human Duties, or human Rights, but solely in the selfishness of strong men. Often enough have the Mights of Men been organized, but not the Rights of Man. Surely there has never been an attempt made on a national scale to organize the Rights of Man as Man, Rights resting on the nature of

things; Rights derived from no conventional compact of men with men; not inherited from past generations, nor received from Parliaments and Kings, or secured by their parchments, — but Rights that are derived straightway from God, — the Author of Duty and the Source of Right, — and which are secured in the Great Charter of our Being.

At first view it will be said, the peculiar genius of America is not such, nor such her fundamental idea, nor that her destined work. It is true that much of the national conduct seems exceptional when measured by that standard, and the nation's course as crooked as the Rio Grande; it is true that America sometimes seems to spurn Liberty, and sells the freedom of three million men for less than three million annual bales of cotton; — true, she often tramples, knowingly, consciously tramples, on the most unquestionable and sacred Rights. Yet, when one looks through the whole character and history of America — spite of the exceptions, nothing comes out with such relief as this Love of Freedom, this Idea of Liberty, this attempt to organize Right. There are numerous subordinate qualities which conflict with the nation's Idea and work, coming from our circumstances, not our soul, as well as many others which help the nation perform her providential work. They are Signs of the Times, and it is important to look carefully at the most prominent among them, where, indeed, one finds striking contradictions.

The first is an Impatience of Authority. Every thing must render its reason, and show cause for its being. We will not be commanded, at least only by such as we choose to obey. Does some one say, "Thou shalt," or "Thou shalt not," we ask, "Who are you?" Hence comes a seeming irreverence. The shovel hat, — the symbol of authority, — which awed our fathers, is not respected unless it covers a man, and then it is the man we honor, and no longer the shovel hat. "I will complain of you to the government!" said a Prussian nobleman to a Yankee stage-driver, who uncivilly threw the nobleman's trunk to the top of the coach. "Tell the government to go to the Devil!" was the symbolical reply.

Old precedents will not suffice us, for we want something anterior to all precedents; we go beyond what is written, asking the cause of the precedent, and the reason of the writing. "Our fathers did so," says some one. "What of

that?" say we. "Our fathers—they were giants, were they? Not at all, only great boys, and we are not only taller than they, but mounted on their shoulders to boot, and see twice as far. My dear wise man, or wiseacre, it is WE that are the ancients, and have forgotten more than all our fathers knew. We will take their wisdom joyfully, and thank God for it, but not their authority,—we know better,—and of their nonsense not a word. It was very well that they lived, and it is very well that they are dead. Let them keep decently buried, for respectable dead men never *walk*."

Tradition does not satisfy us. The American scholar has no folios in his library. The antiquary unrolls his codex, hid for eighteen hundred years in the ashes of Herculaneum, deciphers its fossil wisdom, telling us what great men thought in the bay of Naples, and two thousand years ago. "What do you tell of that for?" is the answer to his learning. "What has Pythagoras to do with the price of cotton? You may be a very learned man; you can read the hieroglyphics of Egypt, I dare say, and know so much about the Pharaohs, it is a pity you had not lived in their time, when you might have been good for something; but you are too old-fashioned for our business, and may return to your dust." An eminent American, a student of Egyptian history, with a scholarly indignation declared, "There is not a man who cares to know whether Shoophoo lived one thousand years before Christ, or three."

The example of other and ancient states does not terrify or instruct us. If Slavery were a curse to Athens, the corruption of Corinth, the undoing of Rome,—and all history shows it was so,—we will learn no lesson from that experience, for we say, "We are not Athenians, men of Corinth, nor pagan Romans, thank God, but free Republicans, Christians of America. We live in the nineteenth century, and though Slavery worked all that mischief then and there, we know how to make money out of it—twelve hundred millions of dollars, as Mr. Clay counts the cash."

The example of contemporary nations furnishes us little warning or guidance. We will set our own precedents, and do not like to be told that the Prussians or the Dutch have learned some things in the education of the people before us, which we shall do well to learn after them. So when a good man tells us of their schools and their colleges, "patriotic" schoolmasters exclaim, "It is not true; our schools are the

best in the world! But if it were true, it is unpatriotic to say so; it aids and comforts the enemy." Jonathan knows little of war; he has heard his grandfather talk of Lexington and Saratoga; he thinks he should like to have a little touch of battle on his own account: so when there is difficulty in setting up the fence betwixt his estate and his neighbours, he blusters for a while, talks big, and threatens to strike his father; but, not having quite the stomach for that experiment, falls to beating his other neighbour, who happens to be poor, weak, and of a sickly constitution; and when he beats her at every step,—

> "For 't is no war, as each one knows,
> When only one side deals the blows,
> And t' other bears 'em,"—

Jonathan thinks he has covered himself "with imperishable honors," and sets up his general for a great king. Poor Jonathan—he does not know the misery, the tears, the blood, the shame, the wickedness, and the sin he has set a-going, and which one day he is to account for with God who forgets nothing!

Yet while we are so unwilling to accept the good principles, to be warned by the fate, or guided by the success, of other nations, we gladly and servilely copy their faults, their follies, their vice and sin. Like all upstarts, we pique ourselves on our imitation of aristocratic ways. How many a blusterer in Congress,—for there are two denominations of blusterers, differing only in degree, your great blusterer in Congress and your little blusterer in a bar-room,—has roared away hours long against aristocratic influence, in favor of the "pure democracy," while he played the oligarch in his native village, the tyrant over his hired help, and though no man knows who his grandfather was, spite of the herald's office, conjures up some trumpery coat of arms! Like a clown, who, by pinching his appetite, has bought a gaudy cloak for Sabbath wearing, we chuckle inwardly at our brave apery of foreign absurdities, hoping that strangers will be astonished at us—which, sure enough, comes to pass. Jonathan is as vain as he is conceited, and expects that the Fiddlers, the Dickenses, and the Trollopes, who visit us periodically as the swallows, and likewise for what they can catch, shall only extol, or at least stand aghast at the brave spectacle we offer, of "the freest and most enlightened nation in the world"; and if they tell us that we are an ill-mannered set, raw and clownish, that we

pick our teeth with a fork, loll back in our chairs, and make our countenance hateful with tobacco, and that with all our excellences we are a nation of "rowdies,"— why, we are offended, and our feelings are hurt. There was an African chief, long ago, who ruled over a few miserable cabins, and one day received a French traveller from Paris, under a tree. With the exception of a pair of shoes, our chief was as naked as a pestle, but with great complacency he asked the traveller, "What do they say of *me* at Paris?"

Such is our dread of authority that we like not old things; hence we are always a-changing. Our house must be new, and our book, and even our church. So we choose a material that soon wears out, though it often outlasts our patience. The wooden house is an apt emblem of this sign of the times. But this love of change appears not less in important matters. We think "of old things all are over old, of new things none are new enough." So the age asks of all institutions their right to be; What right has the government to existence; who gave the majority a right to control the minority, to restrict trade, levy taxes, make laws, and all that? If the nation goes into a committee of the whole and makes laws, some little man goes into a committee of one and passes his counter resolves. The state of South Carolina is a nice example of this self-reliance and this questioning of all authority. That little brazen state, which contains only about half so many free white inhabitants as the single city of New York, but which none the less claims to have monopolized most of the chivalry of the nation, and its patriotism, as well as political wisdom — that chivalrous little state says, "If the nation does not make laws to suit us; if it does not allow us to imprison all black seamen from the North; if it prevents the extension of Slavery wherever we wish to carry it — then the state of South Carolina will nullify, and leave the other nine and twenty states to go to ruin!"

Men ask what right have the churches to the shadow of authority which clings to them — to make creeds, and to bind and to loose! So it is a thing which has happened, that when a church excommunicates a young stripling for heresy, he turns round, fulminates his edict, and excommunicates the church. Said a sly Jesuit to an American Protestant at Rome, "But the rites and customs and doctrines of the Catholic church go back to the second century,— the age after the apostles!" "No doubt of it," said the American,

who had also read the Fathers, "they go back to the times of the apostles themselves; but that proves nothing, for there were as great fools in the first century as the last. A fool or a folly is no better because it is an old folly or an old fool. There are fools enough now, in all conscience. Pray do n't go back to prove *their* apostolical succession."

There are always some men who are born out of due season, men of past ages, stragglers of former generations, who ought to have been born before Dr. Faustus invented printing, but who are unfortunately born now, or, if born long ago, have been fraudulently and illegally concealed by their mothers, and are now, for the first time, brought to light. The age lifts such aged juveniles from the ground, and bids them live, but they are sadly to seek in this day; they are old-fashioned boys; their authority is called in question; their traditions and old wives' fables are laughed at, at any rate disbelieved; they get profanely elbowed in the crowd — men not knowing their great age and consequent venerableness; the shovel hat, though apparently born on their head, is treated with disrespect. The very boys laugh pertly in their face when they speak, and even old men can scarce forbear a smile, though it may be a smile of pity. The age affords such men a place, for it is a catholic age, large-minded, and tolerant, — such a place as it gives to ancient armor, Indian Bibles, and fossil bones of the Mastodon; it puts them by in some room seldom used, with other old furniture, and allows them to mumble their anilities by themselves; now and then takes off its hat; looks in, charitably, to keep the mediæval relics in good heart, and pretends to listen, as they discourse of what comes of nothing and goes to it; but in matters which the age cares about, commerce, manufactures, politics, which it cares much for, even in education, which it cares far too little about, it trusts no such counsellors, nor tolerates, nor ever affects to listen.

Then there is a Philosophical Tendency, distinctly visible; a groping after Ultimate Facts, First Principles, and Universal Ideas. We wish to know first the Fact, next the Law of that Fact, and then the Reason of the Law. A sign of this tendency is noticeable in the titles of books; we have no longer "treatises" on the Eye, the Ear, Sleep, and so forth, but in their place we find works professing to treat of the "Philosophy" of vision, of sound, of sleep. Even in the Pulpits men speak about the "Philosophy" of Religion; we have philo-

sophical lectures delivered to men of little culture, which would have amazed our grandfathers, who thought a shoemaker should never go beyond his last, "even to seek for the philosophy of shoes." "What a pity," said a grave Scotchman in the beginning of this century, "to teach the beautiful science of geometry to weavers and cobblers." Here nothing is too good or high for any one tall and good enough to get hold of it. What audiences attend the Lowell lectures in Boston — two or three thousand men listening to twelve lectures on the Philosophy of fish! it would not bring a dollar or a vote, only thoughts to their minds! Young ladies are well versed in the philosophy of the affections, and understand the Theory of Attraction, while their grandmothers, good easy souls, were satisfied with the possession of the Fact. The circumstance that philosophical lectures get delivered by men like Walker, Agassiz, Emerson, and their coadjutors — men who do not spare abstruseness — get listened to and even understood in town and village by large crowds of men of only the most common culture, — this indicates a philosophical tendency unknown in any other land or age. Our circle of professed scholars, men of culture and learning, is a very small one, while our circle of thinking men is disproportionately large. The best thought of France and Germany finds a readier welcome here than in our parent land: nay, the newest and the best thought of England finds its earliest and warmest welcome in America. It was a little remarkable that Bacon and Newton should be reprinted here, and La Place should have found his translator and expositor coming out of an Insurance Office in Salem! Men of no great pretensions object to an accomplished and eloquent politician: "That is all very well; he made us cry and laugh, but the discourse was not philosophical; he never tells us the reason of the thing; he seems not only not to know it, but not to know that there *is* a reason for the thing, and if not, what is the use of this bobbing on the surface?" Young maidens complain of the minister that he has no philosophy in his sermons, nothing but precepts, which they could read in the Bible as well as he; perhaps in heathen Seneca. He does not feed their souls.

One finds this tendency where it is least expected; there is a philosophical party in politics, a very small party it may be, but an actual one. They aim to get at Everlasting Ideas and Universal Laws not made by man, but by God and for man, who only finds them; and from them they aim to deduce all

particular enactments, so that each statute in the code shall represent a Fact in the Universe; a point of thought in God; so, indeed, that Legislation shall be divine in the same sense that a true system of Astronomy is divine — or the Christian Religion — the word corresponding to a fact. Men of this party in New England have more Ideas than precedents, are spontaneous more than logical; have intuitions rather than intellectual convictions arrived at by the process of reasoning. They think it is not philosophical to take a young scoundrel and shut him up with a party of old ones for his amendment; not philosophical to leave children with no culture, intellectual, moral, or religious, exposed to the temptations of a high and corrupt civilization, and then when they go astray — as such barbarians need must in such temptations — to hang them by the neck for the example's sake. They doubt if war is a more philosophical mode of getting justice between two nations, than blows to settle a quarrel between two men. In either case they do not see how it follows that he who can strike the hardest blows is always in the right. In short, they think that judicial murder, which is hanging, and national murder, which is war, are not more philosophical than homicide, which one man commits on his own private account.

Theological sects are always the last to feel any popular movement. Yet all of them, from the Episcopalians to the Quakers, have each a philosophical party, which bids fair to outgrow the party which rests on precedent and usage, to overshadow and destroy it. The Catholic Church itself, though far astern of all the sects in regard to the great movements of the age, shares this spirit, and abroad if not here is well nigh rent asunder by the potent medicine which this new Daniel of Philosophy has put into its mouth. Everywhere in the American churches there are signs of a tendency to drop all that rests merely on tradition and hearsay, to cling only to such facts as bide the test of critical search, and such doctrines as can be verified in human consciousness here and today. Doctors of divinity destroy the faith they once preached.

True, there are antagonistic tendencies, for soon as one pole is developed the other appears; objections are made to Philosophy, the old cry is raised — "Infidelity," "Denial," "Free thinking." It is said that philosophy will corrupt the young men, will spoil the old ones, and deceive the very Elect. "Authority and Tradition," say some, are all we need consult; "Reason must be put down, or she will soon ask ter-

rible questions." There is good cause for these men warring against Reason and Philosophy; it is purely in self-defence. But this counsel and that cry come from those quarters before mentioned, where the men of past ages have their place, where the forgotten is re-collected, the obsolete preserved, and the useless held in esteem. The counsel is not dangerous; the bird of night who overstays his hour is only troublesome to himself, and was never known to hurt a dovelet or a mouseling after sunrise. In the night only is the owl destructive. Some of those who thus cry out against this tendency are excellent men in their way, and highly useful, valuable as conveyancers of opinions. So long as there are men who take opinions as real estate, "to have and to hold for themselves and their heirs for ever," why should there not be such conveyancers of opinions as well as of land? And as it is not the duty of the latter functionary to ascertain the quality or the value of the land, but only its metes and bounds, its appurtenances and the title thereto; to see if the grantor is regularly seized and possessed thereof and has good right to convey and devise the same, and to make sure that the whole conveyance is regularly made out, — so is it with these conveyancers of opinion; so should it be, and they are valuable men. It is a good thing to know that we hold under Scotus, and Ramus, and Albertus Magnus, who were regularly seized of this or that opinion. It gives an absurdity the dignity of a Relic. Sometimes these worthies who thus oppose Reason and her kin seem to have a good deal in them, and when one examines he finds more than he looked for. They are like a nest of boxes from Hingham or Nuremburg, you open one and behold another; that, and lo! a third. So you go on opening and opening, and finding and finding, till at last you come to the heart of the matter, and then you find a box that is very little, and entirely empty.

Yet with all this tendency, and it is now so strong that it cannot be put down, nor even howled down, much as it may be howled over — there is a lamentable Want of First Principles well known and established; we have rejected the Authority of Tradition, but not yet accepted the Authority of Truth and Justice. We will not be treated as striplings, and are not old enough to go alone as men. Accordingly, nothing seems fixed. There is a perpetual see-sawing of opposite principles. Somebody said Ministers ought to be ordained on horseback,

because they are to remain so short a time in one place. It would be as emblematic to inaugurate American Politicians by swearing them on a weathercock. The great men of the land have as many turns in their course as the Euripus or the Missouri. Even the Facts given in the spiritual nature of man are called in question. An eminent Unitarian divine regards the existence of God as a matter of opinion, thinks it cannot be demonstrated, and publicly declares that it is "not a certainty." Some American Protestants no longer take the Bible as the standard of ultimate appeal, yet venture not to set up in that place Reason, Conscience, the Soul getting help of God; others, who affect to accept the Scripture as the last authority, yet when questioned as to their belief in the miraculous and divine birth of Jesus of Nazareth are found unable to say Yes or No, not having made up their minds.

In Politics it is not yet decided whether it is best to leave men to buy where they can buy cheapest, and sell where they can sell dearest, or to restrict that matter.

It was a clear case to our fathers in '76 that all men were "created equal," each with "Unalienable Rights." That seemed so clear that reasoning would not make it appear more reasonable; it was taken for granted, as a self-evident proposition. The whole nation said so. Now it is no strange thing to find it said that negroes are not "created equal" in Unalienable Rights with white men. Nay, in the Senate of the United States a famous man declares all this talk a dangerous mistake. The practical decision of the nation looks the same way. So to make our theory accord with our practice, we ought to recommit the Declaration to the hands which drafted that great State Paper, and instruct Mr. Jefferson to amend the document, and declare that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain Unalienable Rights if born of white mothers; but if not, not."

In this lack of first principles it is not settled in the popular consciousness that there is such a thing as an Absolute Right, a great Law of God, which we are to keep come what will come. So the nation is not upright but goes stooping. Hence in private affairs Law takes the place of Conscience, and in public, Might of Right. So the Bankrupt pays his shilling in the pound and gets his discharge, but afterwards becoming rich does not think of paying the other nineteen shillings. He will tell you the Law is his conscience; if that be satisfied, so is he. But you will yet find him letting money at one or

two per cent. a month, contrary to law; and then he will tell you that paying a debt is a matter of law, while letting money is only a matter of conscience. So he rides either indifferently — now the public hack, and now his own private nag, according as it serves his turn.

So a rich state borrows money and "repudiates" the debt, satisfying its political conscience, as the bankrupt his commercial conscience, with the notion that there is no Absolute Right; that Expediency is the only Justice, and that King People can do no wrong. No calm voice of indignation cries out from the pulpit and the press and the heart of the people, to shame the repudiators into decent morals — because it is not settled in the popular mind that there is any Absolute Right. Then because we are strong and the Mexicans weak, because we want their land for a slave-pasture and they can not keep us out of it, we think that is reason enough for waging an infamous war of plunder. Grave men do not ask about "the natural justice" of such an undertaking, only about its cost. Have we not seen an American Congress vote a plain lie, with only sixteen dissenting voices in the whole body; has not the head of the nation continually repeated that lie, and do not both parties, even at this day, sustain the vote?

Now and then there rises up an honest man, with a great Christian heart in his bosom, and sets free a score or two of slaves inherited from his father; watches over and tends them in their new-found freedom: or another, who, when legally released from payment of his debts, restores the uttermost farthing. We talk of this and praise it, as an extraordinary thing. Indeed it is so; Justice is an unusual thing, and such men deserve the honor they thus win. But such praise shows that such honesty is a rare honesty. The northern man, born on the battle-ground of freedom, goes to the south and becomes the most tyrannical of slave-drivers. The son of the Puritan, bred up in austere ways, is sent to Congress to stand up for Truth and Right, but he turns out a "doughface," and betrays the Duty he went to serve. Yet he does not lose his place, for every doughfaced representative has a doughfaced constituency to back him.

It is a great mischief that comes from lacking First Principles, and the worst part of it comes from lacking first principles in Morals. Thereby our eyes are holden so that we see not the great social evils all about us. We attempt to justify Slavery, even to do it in the name of Jesus Christ. The Whig

party of the North loves Slavery; the Democratic party does not even seek to conceal its affection therefor. A great politician declares the Mexican war wicked, and then urges men to go and fight it; he thinks a famous general not fit to be nominated for President, but then invites men to elect him. Politics are national morals, the morals of Thomas and Jeremiah, multiplied by millions. But it is not decided yet that Honesty is the best Policy for a politician; it is thought that the Best Policy is honesty, at least as near it as the times will allow. Many politicians seem undecided how to turn, and so sit on the fence between Honesty and Dishonesty. Mr. Facing-both-Ways is a popular politician in America just now, sitting on the fence between Honesty and Dishonesty, and, like the blank leaf between the Old and New Testaments, belonging to neither dispensation. It is a little amusing to a trifler to hear a man's fitness for the Presidency defended on the ground that he has no definite convictions or ideas!

There was once a man who said he always told a lie when it would serve his special turn. 'T is a pity he went to his own place long ago. He seemed born for a party politician in America. He would have had a large party, for he made a great many converts before he died, and left a numerous kindred busy in the editing of newspapers, writing addresses for the people, and passing "resolutions."

It must strike a stranger as a little odd that a republic should have a slave-holder for President five sixths of the time, and most of the important offices be monopolized by other slave-holders—a little surprising that all the pulpits and most of the presses should be in favor of Slavery, at least not against it. But such is the fact. Every body knows the character of the American government for some years past, and of the American parties in politics. "Like master, like man," used to be a true proverb in old England, and Like people, like ruler, is a true proverb in America — true now. Did a decided people ever choose doughfaces; a people that loved God and man choose representatives that cared for neither Truth nor Justice? Now and then, for dust gets in the brightest eyes; but did they ever choose such men continually? The people are always fairly represented; our representatives do actually re-present us, and in more senses than they are paid for. Congress and the Cabinet are only two thermometers hung up in the capital, to show the temperature of the national morals.

But amid this general uncertainty there are two capital maxims which prevail amongst our hucksters of Politics: To love your party better than your country, and Yourself better than your party. There are, it is true, real statesmen amongst us, men who love Justice and do the Right, but they seem lost in the mob of vulgar politicians and the dust of party editors.

Since the nation loves Freedom above all things, the name Democracy is a favorite name. No party could live a twelvemonth that should declare itself anti-democratic. Saint and sinner, statesman and politician, alike love the name. So it comes to pass that there are two things which bear that name; each has its type and its motto. The motto of one is, "You are as good as I, and let us help one another." That represents the Democracy of the Declaration of Independence, and of the New Testament; its type is a Free School, where children of all ranks meet under the guidance of intelligent and Christian men, to be educated in mind, and heart, and soul. The other has for its motto, "I am as good as you, so get out of my way." Its type is the Bar-room of a tavern — dirty, offensive, stained with tobacco, and full of drunken, noisy, quarrelsome "rowdies," just returned from the Mexican war, and ready for a "Buffalo Hunt," for privateering, or to go and plunder any one who is better off than themselves, especially if also better. That is not exactly the Democracy of the Declaration, or of the New Testament; but of — no matter whom.

Then, again, there is a great Intensity of Life and Purpose. This displays itself in our actions and speeches; in our speculations; in the "revivals" of the more serious sects; in the excitements of trade; in the general character of the people. All that we do we overdo. It appears in our Hopefulness; we are the most aspiring of nations. Not content with half the continent, we wish the other half. We have this characteristic of genius: we are dissatisfied with all that we have done. Somebody once said we were too vain to be proud. It is not wholly so; the national ideal is so far above us that any achievement seems little and low. The American soul passes away from its work soon as it is finished. So the soul of each great artist refuses to dwell in his finished work, for that seems little to his dream. Our Fathers deemed the Revolution a great work; it was once thought a surprising thing to found that little colony on the shores of New England; but

Young America looks to other Revolutions, and thinks she has many a Plymouth colony in her bosom. If other nations wonder at our achievements, we are a disappointment to ourselves, and wonder we have not done more. Our national Idea out-travels our experience, and all experience. We began our national career by setting all history at defiance — for that said, "A Republic on a large scale cannot exist." Our progress since has shown that we were right in refusing to be limited by the Past. The political ideas of the nation are transcendent, not empirical. Human history could not justify the Declaration of Independence and its large statements of the new Idea: the nation went behind human history, and appealed to Human Nature.

We are more spontaneous than logical; we have ideas, rather than facts or precedents. We dream more than we remember, and so have many orators and poets, (or poetasters,) with but few antiquaries and general scholars. We are not so reflective as forecasting. We are the most intuitive of modern nations. The very party in politics which has the least culture, is richest in Ideas which will one day become facts. Great truths — political, philosophical, religious — lie a-burning in many a young heart which cannot legitimate nor prove them true, but none the less feels, and feels them true. A man full of new truths finds a ready audience with us. Many things which come disguised as truths under such circumstances pass current for a time, but by and by their bray discovers them. The Hope which comes from this intensity of life and intuition of truths is a national characteristic. It gives courage, enterprise, and strength. They can who think they can. We are confident in our star; other nations may see it or not, we know it is there above the clouds. We do not hesitate at rash experiments — sending fifty thousand soldiers to conquer a nation with eight or nine millions of people. We are up to every thing and think ourselves a match for any thing. The young man is rash, for he only hopes, having little to remember; he is excitable and loves excitement; change of work is his repose; he is hot and noisy, sanguine and fearless, with the courage that comes from warm blood and ignorance of dangers; he does not know what a hard, tough, sour, old world he is born into. We are a nation of young men. We talked of annexing Texas and northern Mexico, and did both; now we grasp at Cuba, Central America, — all the continent, — and speak of a Railroad to the Pacific as

a trifle for us to accomplish. Our national deeds are certainly great, but our hope and promise far outbrags them all.

If this intensity of life and hope have its good side, it has also its evil; with much of the excellence of youth we have its faults — rashness, haste, and superficiality. Our work is seldom well done. In English manufactures there is a certain solid honesty of performance; in the French a certain air of elegance and refinement: one misses both these in American works. It is said America invents the most machines, but England builds them best. We lack the phlegmatic patience of older nations. We are always in a hurry, morning, noon, and night. We are impatient of the process, but greedy of the result; so we make short experiments but long reports, and talk much though we say little. We forget that a sober method is a short way of coming to the end, and that he who, before he sets out, ascertains where he is going and the way thither, ends his journey more prosperously than one who settles these matters by the way. Quickness is a great desideratum with us. It is said an American ship is known far off at sea by the quantity of canvas she carries. Rough and ready is a popular attribute. Quick and off would be a symbolic motto for the nation at this day, representing one phase of our character. We are sudden in deliberation; the "one-hour rule" works well in Congress. A committee of the British Parliament spends twice or thrice our time in collecting facts, understanding and making them intelligible, but less than our time in speech-making after the report; speeches there commonly being for the purpose of facilitating the business, while here one sometimes is half ready to think, notwithstanding our earnestness, that the business is to facilitate the speaking. A state revises her statutes with a rapidity that astonishes a European. Yet each revision brings some amendment, and what is found good in the constitution or laws of one state gets speedily imitated by the rest, each new state (of the North) becoming more democratic than its predecessor.

We are so intent on our purpose that we have no time for amusement. We have but one or two festivals in the year, and even then we are serious and reformatory. Jonathan thinks it a very solemn thing to be merry. A Frenchman said we have but two amusements in America — Theology for the women and Politics for the men; preaching and voting. If this be true it may help to explain the fact that most men take their theology from their wives, and women politics from

their husbands. No nation ever tried the experiment of such abstinence from amusement. We have no time for sport, and so lose much of the poetry of life. All work and no play does not always make a dull boy, but it commonly makes a hard man.

We rush from school into business early; we hurry while in business; we aim to be rich quickly, making a fortune at a stroke, making or losing it twice or thrice in a lifetime. "Soft and fair, goes safe and far," is no proverb to our taste. We are the most restless of people. How we crowd into cars and steamboats; a locomotive would well typify our fuming, fizzing spirit. In our large towns life seems to be only a scamper. Not satisfied with bustling about all day, when night comes we cannot sit still, but alone of all nations have added rockers to our chairs.

All is haste, from the tanning of leather to the education of a boy, and the old saw holds its edge good as ever — "the more haste the worse speed." The young stripling, innocent of all manner of lore, whom a judicious father has barrelled down in a college, or law school, or theological seminary, till his beard be grown, mourns over the few years he must spend there awaiting that operation. His rule is, "to make a spoon or spoil a horn;" he longs to be out in the world "making a fortune," or "doing good," as he calls what his father better names "making noisy work for repentance, and doing mischief." So he rushes into life not fitted, and would fly towards Heaven, this young Icarus, his wings not half fledged. There seems little taste for thoroughness. In our schools as our farms, we pass over much ground but pass over it poorly.

In Education the aim is not to get the most we can, but the least we can get along with. A ship with over much canvas and over little ballast were no bad emblem of many amongst us. In no country is it so easy to get a reputation for learning — accumulated thought, because so few devote themselves to that accumulation. In this respect our standard is low. So a man of one attainment is sure to be honored, but a man of many and varied abilities is in danger of being undervalued. A Spurzheim would be warmly welcomed, while a Humboldt would be suspected of superficiality, as we have not the standard to judge him by. Yet in no country in the world is it so difficult to get a reputation for eloquence, as many speak and that well. It is surprising with what natural strength and beauty the young American addresses himself to speak.

Some hatter's apprentice, or shoemaker's journeyman, at a temperance or anti-slavery meeting, will speak words like the blows of an axe, that cut clean and deep. The country swarms with orators, more abundantly where Education is least esteemed — in the West or South.

We have secured National Unity of Action for the white citizens, without much curtailing Individual Variety of Action, so we have at the North pretty well solved that problem which other nations have so often boggled over; we have balanced the Centripetal Power, the government and laws, with the Centrifugal Power, the mass of individuals, into harmonious proportions. If one were to leave out of sight the three million slaves, one sixth part of the population, the problem might be regarded as very happily solved. As the consequence of this, in no country is there more talent, or so much awake and active. In the South this Unity is attained by sacrificing all the Rights of three million slaves and almost all the Rights of the other colored population. In despotic countries this Unity is brought about by the sacrifice of freedom, individual variety of action, in all except the Despot and his favorites; so much of the nation's energy is stifled in the chains of the State, while here it is friendly to institutions which are friendly to it, goes to its work, and approves itself in the vast increase of wealth and comfort throughout the North, where there is no class of men which is so oppressed that it cannot rise. One is amazed at the amount of ready skill and general ability which he finds in all the North, where each man has a little culture, takes his newspaper, manages his own business, and talks with some intelligence of many things — especially of Politics and Theology. In respect to this general intellectual ability and power of self-help, the mass of people seem far in advance of any other nation. But at the same time our scholars, who always represent the nation's higher modes of consciousness, will not bear comparison with the scholars of England, France, and Germany, men thoroughly furnished for their work. This is a great reproach and mischief to us, for we need most accomplished leaders, who by their thought can direct this national intensity of life. Our literature does not furnish them; we have no great men there; Irving, Channing, Cooper, are not names to conjure with in literature. One reads thick volumes devoted to the Poets of America, or her Prose Writers, and finds many names which he wonders he never heard of before, but when he turns over their works he finds consolation and recovers his composure.

American literature may be divided into two departments: the Permanent Literature, which gets printed in books, that sometimes reach more than one edition; and the Evanescent Literature, which appears only in the form of speeches, pamphlets, reviews, newspaper articles, and the like extempore productions. Now our permanent literature, as a general thing, is superficial, tame, and weak,; it is not American; it has not our ideas, our contempt of authority, our philosophical turn, nor even our uncertainty as to first principles, still less our national intensity, our hope, and fresh intuitive perceptions of truth. It is a miserable imitation. Love of freedom is not there. The real *national* literature is found almost wholly in speeches, pamphlets, and newspapers. The latter are pretty thoroughly American; mirrors in which we see no very flattering likeness of our morals or our manners. Yet the picture is true: that vulgarity, that rant, that bragging violence, that recklessness of Truth and Justice, that disregard of Right and Duty, are a part of the nation's every day life. Our newspapers are low and "wicked to a fault;" only in this weakness are they un-American. Yet they exhibit, and abundantly, the four qualities we have mentioned as belonging to the signs of our times. As a general rule our orators are also American — with our good and ill. Now and then one rises who has studied Demosthenes in Leland or Francis, and got a second-hand acquaintance with old models; a man who uses literary common-places, and thinks himself original and classic because he can quote a line or so of Horace, in a Western House of Representatives, without getting so many words wrong as his reporter; but such men are rare, and after making due abatement for them, our orators all over the land are pretty thoroughly American, a little turgid, hot, sometimes brilliant, hopeful, intuitive, abounding in half truths, full of great ideas; often inconsequent; sometimes coarse; patriotic, vain, self-confident, rash, strong, and young-mannish. Of course the most of our speeches are vulgar, ranting, and worthless, but we have produced some magnificent specimens of oratory, which are fresh, original, American, and brand new.

The more studied, polished, and elegant literature is not so; that is mainly an imitation. It seems not a thing of native growth. Sometimes, as in Channing, the thought and the hope are American, but the form and the coloring old and foreign. We dare not be original; our American Pine must be cut to the trim pattern of the English Yew, though the Pine bleed

at every clip. This poet tunes his lyre at the harp of Goethe, Milton, Pope, or Tennyson. His songs might better be sung on the Rhine than the Kennebec. They are not American in form or feeling; they have not the breath of our air; the smell of our ground is not in them. Hence our poet seems cold and poor. He loves the old mythology; talks about Pluto — the Greek devil, — the Fates and Furies — witches of old time in Greece, — but would blush to use our mythology, or breathe the name in verse of our Devil, or our own Witches, lest he should be thought to believe what he wrote. The mother and sisters, who with many a pinch and pain sent the hopeful boy to college, must turn over the Classical Dictionary before they can find out what the youth would be at in his rhymes. Our Poet is not deep enough to see that Aphrodite came from the ordinary waters, that Homer only hitched into rythm and furnished the accomplishment of verse to street-talk, nursery tales, and old men's gossip, in the Ionian towns; he thinks what is common is unclean. So he sings of Corinth and Athens, which he never saw, but has not a word to say of Boston, and Fall River, and Baltimore, and New York, which are just as meet for song. He raves of Thermopylæ and Marathon, with never a word for Lexington and Bunkerhill, for Cowpens, and Lundy's Lane, and Bemis's Heights. He loves to tell of the Ilyssus, of "smooth sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds," yet sings not of the Petapsco, the Susquehannah, the Aroostook, and the Willimantick. He prates of the narcissus, and the daisy, never of American dandelions and blue eyed grass; he dwells on the lark and the nightingale, but has not a thought for the brown thrasher and the bobolink, who every morning in June rain down such showers of melody on his affected head. What a lesson Burns teaches us addressing his "rough bur thistle," his daisy, "wee crimson tippit thing," and finding marvellous poetry in the mouse whose nest his plough turned over! Nay, how beautifully has even our sweet Poet sung of our own Green river, our waterfowl, of the blue and fringed gentian, the glory of autumnal days.

Hitherto, spite of the great reading public, we have no permanent literature which corresponds to the American Idea. Perhaps it is not time for that; it must be organized in deeds before it becomes classic in words; but as yet we have no such literature which reflects even the surface of American life, certainly nothing which portrays our intensity of life, our hope, or even our daily doings and drivings, as the Odyssey

paints old Greek life, or Don Quixote and Gil Blas portray Spanish life. Literary men are commonly timid; ours know they are but poorly fledged as yet, so dare not fly away from the parent-tree, but hop timidly from branch to branch. Our writers love to creep about in the shadow of some old renown, not venturing to soar away into the unwinged air, to sing of things here and now, making our life classic. So, without the grace of high culture and the energy of American thought, they become weak, cold, and poor; are "curious, not knowing, not exact, but nice." Too fastidious to be wise, too unlettered to be elegant, too critical to create, they prefer a dull saying that is old to a novel form of speech, or a natural expression of a new truth. In a single American work,—and a famous one, too,—there are over sixty similes, not one original, and all poor. A few men, conscious of this defect, this sin against the Holy Spirit of Literature, go to the opposite extreme, and are American-mad; they wilfully talk rude, write in-numerous verse, and play their harps all jangling, out of tune. A yet fewer few are American without madness. One such must not here be passed by, alike philosopher and bard, in whose writings "ancient wisdom shines with new-born beauty," and who has enriched a genius thoroughly American in the best sense, with a cosmopolitan culture and a literary skill, which were wonderful in any land. But of American literature in general, and of him in special, more shall be said at another time.

Another remarkable feature is our Excessive Love of Material Things. This is more than a Utilitarianism—a preference of the useful over the beautiful. The Puritan at Plymouth had a corn-field, a cabbage-garden, and a patch for potatoes, a school-house, and a church, before he sat down to play the fiddle. He would have been a fool to reverse this process. It were poor economy and worse taste to have painters, sculptors, and musicians, while the rude wants of the body are uncared for. But our fault in this respect is, that we place too much the charm of life in mere material things,—houses, lands, well spread tables, and elegant furniture,—not enough in man, in virtue, wisdom, genius, religion, greatness of soul, and nobleness of life. We mistake a perfection of the means of manliness for the end—manhood itself. Yet the housekeeping of a Shakspeare, Milton, Franklin, had only one thing worth boasting of. Strange to say, that was

the master of the house. A rich and vulgar man once sported a coach and four, and at its first turn-out rode into the great commercial street of a large town in New England. "How fine you must feel with your new coach and four," said one of his old friends, though not quite so rich. "Yes," was the reply, "as fine as a beetle in a gold snuff-box." All of his kindred are not so nice and discriminating in their self-consciousness.

This practical materialism is a great affliction to us. We think a man cannot be poor and great also. So we see a great man sell himself for a little money, and it is thought "a good operation." A conspicuous man, in praise of a certain painter, summed up his judgment with this: "Why, sir, he has made twenty thousand dollars by his pictures." "A good deal more than Michael Angelo, Leonardo, and Raphael together," might have been the reply. But 't is easier to weigh purses than artistic skill. It was a characteristic praise bestowed in Boston on a distinguished American writer, that his book brought him more money than any man had ever *realized* for an original work in this country. "Commerce," said Mr. Pitt, "having got into both houses of Parliament, privilege must be done away," — the privilege of wit and genius, not less than rank. Clergymen estimate their own and their brothers' importance, not by their apostolical gifts, or even apostolic succession, but by the value of the living.

All other nations have this same fault, it may be said. But there is this difference: in other nations the things of a man are put before the man himself; so a materialism which exalts the accidents of the man — rank, wealth, birth, and the like — above the man, is not inconsistent with the general Idea of England or Austria. In America it is a contradiction. Besides, in most civilized countries, there is a class of men living on inherited wealth, who devote their lives to politics, art, science, letters, and so are above the mere material elegance which surrounds them. That class has often inflicted a deep wound on society, which festers long and leads to serious trouble in the system, but at the same time it redeems a nation from the reproach of mere material vulgarity; it has been the source of refinement, and has warmed into life much of the wisdom and beauty which have thence spread over all the world. In America there is no such class. Young men inheriting wealth very rarely turn to any thing so noble; they either convert their talents into gold, or their gold into furniture,

wines, and confectionary. A young man of wealth does not know what to do with himself or it; a rich young woman seems to have no resource but marriage! Yet it must be confessed, that at least in one part of the United States wealth flows freely for the support of public institutions of Education.

Here it is difficult for a man of science to live by his thought. Was Bowditch one of the first mathematicians of his age? He must be at the head of an annuity office. If Socrates should set up as a dealer in money, and outwit the Brokers as formerly the Sophists, and shave notes as skilfully as of old, we should think him a great man. But if he adopted his old plan, what should we say of him?

Manliness is postponed and wealth preferred. "What a fine house is this," one often says; "what furniture; what feasting. But the master of the house!—why every stone out of the wall laughs at him. He spent all of himself in getting this pretty show together, and now it is empty, and mocks its owner. He is the emblematic coffin at the Egyptian feast." "Oh, man!" says the looker on, "why not furnish thyself with a mind, and conscience, a heart and a soul, before getting all this brass and mahogany together; this beef and these wines." The poor wight would answer,—"Why, sir, there were none such in the market!"—The young man does not say, "I will first of all things be a man, and so being will have this thing and the other," putting the agreeable after the essential. But he says, "first of all, by hook or by crook, I will have money, the manhood may take care of itself." He has it,—for tough and hard as the old world is, it is somewhat fluid before a strong man who resolutely grapples with difficulty and *will* swim through; it can be made to serve his turn. He has money, but the man has evaporated in the process; when you look he is not there. True, other nations have done the same thing, and we only repeat their experiment. The old Devil of Conformity says to our American Adam and Eve, "do this and you shall be as Gods," a promise as likely to hold good as the Devil's did in the beginning. A man was meant for something more than a tassel to a large estate, and a woman to be more than a rich housekeeper.

With this offensive materialism we copy the vices of feudal aristocracy abroad, making our vulgarity still more ridiculous. We are ambitious or proud of wealth, which is but labor stored up, and at the same time are ashamed of labor, which is wealth in process. With all our talk about Democracy, labor

is thought less honorable in Boston than in Berlin and Leipsic. Thriving men are afraid their children will be shoemakers, or ply some other honorable and useful craft. Yet little pains are taken to elevate the condition or improve the manners and morals of those who do all the manual work of society. The strong man takes care that his children and himself escape that condition. We do not believe that all stations are alike honorable if honorably filled; we have little desire to equalize the burthens of life, so that there shall be no degraded class; none cursed with work, none with idleness. It is popular to endow a college; vulgar to take an interest in common schools. Liberty is a fact, Equality a word, and Fraternity — we do not think of yet.

In this struggle for material wealth and the social rank which is based thereon, it is amusing to see the shifting of the scenes; the social aspirations of one and the contempt with which another rebuts the aspirant. An old man can remember when the most exclusive of men, and the most golden, had scarce a penny in their purse, and grumbled at not finding a place where they would. Now the successful man is ashamed of the steps he rose by. The gentleman who came to Boston half a century ago, with all his worldly goods tied up in a cotton handkerchief, and that not of so large a pattern as are made now-a-days, is ashamed to recollect that his father was a Currier, or a Blacksmith, or a Skipper at Barnstable or Beverly; ashamed, also, of his forty or fifty country cousins, remarkable for nothing but their large hands and their excellent memory. Nay, he is ashamed of his own humble beginnings, and sneers at men starting as he once started. The generation of English "Snobs" came in with the Conqueror, and migrated to America at an early day, where they continue to thrive marvellously — the chief "conservative party" in the land.

Through this contempt for labor a certain affectation runs through a good deal of American society, and makes our aristocracy vulgar and contemptible. What if Burns had been ashamed of his plough, and Franklin had lost his recollection of the candle-moulds and the composing-stick? Mr. Chubbs, who got rich to-day, imitates Mr. Swipes, who got rich yesterday, buys the same furniture, gives similar entertainments, and counts himself "as good a man as Swipes, any day." Nay, he goes a little beyond him, puts his servants in livery, with the Chubbs arms on the button; but the new-found family arms are not descriptive of the character of the Chubbses, or

of their origin and history — only of their vanity. Then Mr. Swipes looks down on poor Chubbs, and curls his lip with scorn; calls him a "parvenu," "an upstart," "a plebeian," speaks of him as one of "that sort of people," "one of your ordinary men;" "thrifty and well off in the world, but a little vulgar." At the same time Mr. Swipes looks up to Mr. Bung, who got rich the day before yesterday, as a gentleman of old family and quite distinguished, and receives from that quarter the same treatment he bestows on his left-hand neighbour. The real gentleman is the same all the world over. Such are by no means lacking here, while the pretended gentlemen swarm in America. Chaucer said a good word long ago:

> "— This is not mine intendément
> To clepen no wight in no age
> Only gentle for his lineáge;
> But whoso that is virtuous,
> And in his port not outragéous:
> When such one thou see'st thee beforn,
> Though he be not gentle born,
> Thou mayest well see this in soth,
> That he' is gentle, because he doth
> As 'longeth to a gentleman;
> Of them none other deem I can;
> For certainly withouten drede,
> A churl is deeméd by his deed,
> Of high or low, as ye may see,
> Or of what kindred that he be."

It is no wonder vulgar men, who travel here and eat our dinners, laugh at this form of vulgarity. Wiser men see its cause, and prophesy its speedy decay. Every nation has its aristocracy, or controlling class: in some lands it is permanent — an aristocracy of blood; men that are descended from distinguished warriors, from the pirates and freebooters of a rude age. The Nobility of England are proud of their fathers' deeds, and emblazon the symbols thereof in their family arms, emblems of barbarism. Ours is an aristocracy of wealth, not got by plunder, but by toil, thrift, enterprise; of course it is a movable aristocracy: the first families of the last century are now forgot, and their successors will give place to new names. Now earning is nobler than robbing, and work is before war; but we are ashamed of both, and seek to conceal the noble source of our wealth. An aristocracy of gold is far preferable to the old and immovable nobility of blood, but it has also its peculiar vices; it has the effrontery of an upstart, despises its own ladder, is heartless and lacks noble principle; vulgar

and cursing. This lust of wealth, however, does us a service, and gives the whole nation a stimulus which it needs, and, low as the motive is, drives us to continual advancement. It is a great merit for a nation to secure the largest amount of useful and comfortable and beautiful things which can be honestly earned, and used with profit to the body and soul of man. Only when wealth becomes an Idol, and material abundance is made the end, not the means, does the love of it become an evil. No nation was ever too rich, or over thrifty, though many a nation has lost its soul by living wholly for the senses.

Now and then we see noble men living apart from this vulgarity and scramble; some rich, some poor, but both content to live for noble aims, to pinch and spare for virtue, religion, for Truth and Right. Such men never fail from any age or land, but everywhere they are the exceptional men. Still they serve to keep alive the sacred fire in the hearts of young men, rising amid the common mob as oaks surpass the brambles or the fern.

In these secondary qualities of the people which mark the special signs of the times, there are many contradictions, quality contending with quality; all by no means balanced into harmonious relations. Here are great faults not less than great virtues. Can the national faults be corrected? Most certainly; they are but accidental, coming from our circumstances, our history, our position as a people — heterogeneous, new, and placed on a new and untamed continent. They come not from the nation's soul; they do not belong to our fundamental Idea, but are hostile to it. One day our impatience of Authority, our philosophical tendency, will lead us to a right method, that to fixed principles, and then we shall have a Continuity of National Action. Considering the pains taken by the fathers of the better portion of America to promote religion here, remembering how dear is Christianity to the heart of all, conservative and radical — though men often name as Christian what is not — and seeing how Truth and Right are sure to win at last, — it becomes pretty plain that we shall arrive at *true* principles, Laws of the Universe, Ideas of God; then we shall be in unison also with it and Him. When that great defect — lack of first principles — is corrected, our intensity of life, with the Hope and confidence it inspires, will do a great work for us. We have already secured an abun-

dance of material comforts hitherto unknown; no land was ever so full of corn and cattle, clothing, comfortable houses, and all things needed for the flesh. The desire of those things — even the excessive desire thereof — performs an important part in the divine economy of the Human Race; nowhere is its good effect more conspicuous than in America, where in two generations the wild Irishman becomes a decent citizen, orderly, temperate, and intelligent. This done or even a-doing, as it is now, we shall go forth to realize our great national Idea, and accomplish the great work of organizing into Institutions the Unalienable Rights of man. The great obstacle in the way of that is African Slavery — the great exception in the nation's history; the national Sin. When that is removed — as soon it must be — lesser but kindred evils will easily be done away; the truth which the Land-Reformers, which the Associationists, the Free-traders, and others, have seen, dimly or clearly, can readily be carried out. But while this monster vice continues there is little hope of any great and permanent national reform. The positive things which we chiefly need for this work, are first, Education, next, Education, and then Education, — a vigorous development of the mind, conscience, affections, religious power of the whole nation. The method and the means for that we shall not now discuss.

The organization of Human Rights, the performance of Human Duties, is an unlimited work. If there shall ever be a time when it is all done, then the Race will have finished its course. Shall the American nation go on in this work, or pause, turn off, fall, and perish? To us it seems almost treason to doubt that a glorious future awaits us. Young as we are, and wicked, we have yet done something which the world will not let perish. One day we shall attend more emphatically to the Rights of the Hand, and organize Labor and Skill; then to the Rights of the Head, looking after Education, Science, Literature, and Art; and again to the Rights of the Heart, building up the State with its Laws, Society with its families, the Church with its goodness and piety. One day we shall see that it is a shame, and a loss, and a wrong, to have a criminal, or an ignorant man, or a pauper, or an idler, in the land; that the jail, and the gallows, and the almshouse are a reproach which need not be. Out of new sentiments and ideas, not seen as yet, new forms of society will come, free from the antagonism of races, classes, men — representing the American Idea in its length, breadth, depth, and height, its

beauty and its truth, and then the old civilization of our time shall seem barbarous and even savage. There will be an American Art commensurate with our Idea and akin to this great continent; not an imitation, but a fresh, new growth. An American Literature also must come with democratic freedom, democratic thought, democratic power — for we are not always to be pensioners of other lands, doing nothing but import and quote; a literature with all of German philosophic depth, with English solid sense, with French vivacity and wit, Italian fire of sentiment and soul, with all of Grecian elegance of form, and more than Hebrew piety and faith in God. We must not look for the maiden's ringlets on the baby's brow; we are yet but a girl; the nameless grace of maturity, and womanhood's majestic charm, are still to come. At length we must have a system of Education, which shall uplift the humblest, rudest, worst born child in all the land; which shall bring forth and bring up noble men.

An American State is a thing that must also be; a State of freemen who give over brawling, resting on Industry, Justice, Love, not on War, Cunning, and Violence, — a State where Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity are deeds as well as words. In its time the American Church must also appear, with Liberty, Holiness, and Love for its watchwords, cultivating Reason, Conscience, Affection, Faith, and leading the world's way in Justice, Peace, and Love. The Roman Church has been all men know what and how; the American Church, with freedom for the Mind, freedom for the Heart, freedom for the Soul, is yet to be, sundering no chord of the human harp, but tuning all to harmony. This also must come; but hitherto no one has risen with genius fit to plan its holy walls, conceive its columns, project its towers, or lay its corner stone. Is it too much to hope all this? Look at the Arena before us — look at our past history. Hark! there is the sound of many million men, the trampling of their freeborn feet, the murmuring of their voice; a nation born of this land that God reserved so long a virgin earth, in a high day married to the Human Race, — rising, and swelling, and rolling on, strong and certain as the Atlantic tide; they come numerous as ocean waves when east winds blow, their destination commensurate with the continent, with Ideas vast as the Mississippi, strong as the Alleghanies, and awful as Niagara; they come murmuring little of the past, but, moving in the brightness of their great Idea, and casting its light far on to other lands and distant days — come to the world's great work, to organize the Rights of Man.

Art. II.—THE LEGALITY OF AMERICAN SLAVERY.

The fourth number of this Review contains a very elaborate article, in which three positions are sought to be maintained; first, that negro slavery, prior to the Revolution, had a legal existence in the British Colonies, now the United States of America; second, that this legal existence was recognized and continued by the state constitutions; and third, that it was recognized and ratified by the Constitution of the United States.

The second and third of these propositions obviously depend upon the first, and if that fails they have nothing to stand upon. Having in a former number of this Review maintained the doctrine that slavery in the British colonies had no legal basis, we feel at liberty to reply very briefly to the article referred to; and the more so as our own former article is therein freely quoted and criticized.

Following in the footsteps of Sir William Scott, (afterwards Lord Stowell,) who, by the way, was no common lawyer, but an admiralty judge, distinguished for that hostility to popular rights which always made the civil law and its professors so obnoxious to the common law courts and the English people, our reviewer attempts to limit, to retrench, and to belittle as much as possible the famous Somerset case. But after all he is obliged to admit,—what indeed it would be bold to deny, and what is all that any body contends for,—that it is decided by Somerset's case, that negro slavery never was sanctioned or permitted by the law of England. Our reviewer holds, however, that though not legal in England, negro slavery was made so in the colonies, first by custom, and secondly by statute. In maintaining this proposition, he confines himself to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Maryland he omits; he does not tell us why, but it is not very difficult to conjecture the reason. The charter of Maryland remained in full force down to the period of the Revolution, and that charter contained an express provision that all laws made under it should be "consonant to reason" and "not repugnant or contrary, but so far as conveniently may be, agreeable to the laws, statutes, customs, and rights of this our kingdom of England." It would have been rather too bold to have argued, in the face of this express prohibition, that the assembly of Maryland had power to introduce into that colony the condition of negro sla-

very, pronounced by Lord Mansfield, in the Somerset case, not only unknown to the law of England, but "odious," and "of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any *reasons*, moral or political." It is imagined, however, by our reviewer, that Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia stand on different ground. They, too, once had charters containing restrictions in substance the same with that in the charter of Maryland. But these charters were ultimately taken away, and the legislative authority vested in a royal governor and assembly under a commission and instructions from the crown. We had asserted, in our former article, that these crown colonies or provincial governments were legally just as much restricted in their power of legislation as the charter colonies, and practically more so; and consequently that they had no more power than the charter colonies to legalize negro slavery. Upon this point issue is taken with us. It is maintained, that though negro slavery was contrary to the law of England, the assemblies of the crown colonies, with the consent of the king, had the power to make it legal there; and that they exercised this power with the consent of the king, and did actually make it legal there. The whole of the article rests upon this assertion as a pivot; and when it is shown to be groundless, the whole argument, with all its mass of quotations and authorities, falls to the ground. It is, indeed, a little singular, that amid such a profusion of references, no authority should have been quoted to sustain a position upon which the whole argument rests.

Several different theories were brought forward at different times as to the basis of legislation in the English colonies. It was maintained by many English lawyers, prior to the revolution of 1639, and by some afterwards, that the king was absolute sovereign in the colonies, and had a right to establish there such laws as he pleased, and that the inhabitants were only entitled to such laws as he did actually establish. Chalmers observes, (*History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, Vol. I., p. 308, note) that "the state papers demonstrate that the most renowned jurists of the reign of William had formed no complete conception of the nature of the connective principle between the parent country and her colonies." "The most respectable cabinet which that monarch ever enjoyed, composed of Somers, Pembroke, Shrewsbury, Bridgewater, Romnev, Godolphin, and Sir William Trumbull, denied to the New English the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, because

it had never been conferred on the colonists by any king of England," plainly supposing that the most important of all rights, the best security of personal liberty, must result from a grant of the crown to a subject beyond the ocean. In the same reign, the illustrious Lord Holt himself, in relation to this very subject of slavery, in the case of *Smith* vs. *Brown*, (1 *Salk.*, 666, *Holt*, 495) in which he declared that no such thing as slavery was known in England, and that "as soon as a negro came into England he is free," while he held on this ground that indebitatus assumpsit could not lie for the price of a slave sold in England, yet seemed to admit that if the slave had been alleged to have been sold in Virginia, and the laws sanctioning slavery there had been set out, the action might lie; because "the laws of England do not extend to Virginia. Being a conquered country their law is what the king pleases, of which we cannot take notice if it be not set forth."

But this arbitrary doctrine was never admitted in the colonies; and was ultimately abandoned by all English constitutional lawyers. The colonists maintained that they carried with them from England, or, being born in the colonies under the king's allegiance, inherited thereby, all the rights, privileges, and immunities of British subjects; that the great charter and the law of England formed a part of this inheritance, the birthright of every subject, and that as the king at home possessed no power of arbitrarily interfering with his subjects, or altering the law of levying taxes except by consent of those subjects by their representatives in parliament—so he could lay no taxes in the colonies, nor make any local regulations there, except by consent of the inhabitants as represented in an assembly.

This doctrine as to the inheritance of the English law, was fully established by the English courts, (1 *Salk.*, 411, 2 *Peere Williams*, 75) and is distinctly stated by Blackstone (1 *Comm.*, 157,) as to uninhabited countries discovered and planted by English subjects. As to conquered or ruled countries, "that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter or change those laws; but till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the law of God." (Ib.)

According to both these theories, the consent and coöperation of the king was absolutely essential to colonial legislation. By the first theory, the colonial assemblies, whether authorized

by express grant, as in the charter colonies, or by the governor's commission and instructions, as in the crown colonies, were mere creatures of the king, unable to go beyond the powers expressly conferred upon them in the instruments by which they were authorized. And even by the second theory, allowing that legislation by an assembly was not a mere grace from the king, but a right of the colonists, still the king's assent was essential to legislation, and no acts could have any binding force to the enactment of which he had not expressly or implicitly consented. We shall therefore be willing to admit, for the purpose of this argument, what our reviewer assumes as his foundation doctrine, but what certainly never was true,—since Parliament claimed and was admitted to be the supreme legislature of the British dominions, and down to the Revolution exercised the right in unnumbered instances of interfering with the internal polity of the colonies,—"that with the concurrence of the king, the assembly of a royal province was as completely unlimited in its powers of legislation over all matters of internal polity as parliament itself was in England." We will admit, for the purpose of the argument, that the king and the colonial assemblies *might* have concurred in setting the law of England at defiance by the legal establishment of slavery in the colonies. But in point of fact we allege and will show that the king never did so concur; and, therefore, that any such attempted legislation on the part of the colonies was merely void.

It is to be observed that the consent of the king to colonial acts of legislation was not expressly and separately given, as it was to acts of parliament. He acted in this matter by his agent, the royal governor, whose assent to any act was considered as binding on the king till by special proclamation he declared his dissent. But to bind the king, that assent by the governor must have been given in conformity to his commission and instructions, his only authority for giving it at all; and by those commissions and instructions the governor and assembly were only authorized to enact laws not "repugnant but as near as may be agreeable to the laws and statutes of our kingdom of Great Britain." Such are the terms of the commission printed in Stokes; and we challenge the proof that any royal governor ever received a commission which did not contain in substance the same limitation.

And in accordance with this view of the case are all the authorities. Thus Blackstone (1 *Comm.*, 108,) speaks of

"provincial establishments," meaning thereby crown colonies, "the constitutions of which depend on the respective commissions issued by the crown to the governors, and the instructions which usually accompany those commissions; under the authority of which provisional assemblies are constituted *with the power of making local ordinances not repugnant to the law of England.*"

So Story, in his account of these same governments, (1 *Comm.*, 143,) says, "The commissions also contained authority to convene a general assembly of representatives of the freeholders and planters," "which assemblies had the power of making local laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England, but as near as may be agreeable thereto." It is a little singular that our reviewer, who cites these very pages of Blackstone and Story for another purpose, should not have seen the bearing of these passages on his argument. He endeavours, indeed, to throw off this unwelcome impediment of the royal commission, by alleging that "such a commission cannot be deemed a constitution, because a constitution which exists only at the pleasure of the ruler is really no constitution at all." The constitution of Massachusetts exists only at the pleasure of the ruler, that is, the sovereign people of the Commonwealth, who made it. As often "as suits their whim" they make, revoke, and annul "every clause, article, and thing therein contained." Yet for all that it is not the less a constitution, restrictive of the powers of the state government. We must be permitted, therefore, still to hold, with Blackstone and Story, that these commissions were "the fundamental constitutions of the provinces," and that all acts of the colonial assemblies passed in defiance of the restrictions which they imposed, lacked the essential ingredient of the royal consent, and, in a legal point of view, were absolutely nugatory. To this very point of the legal futility of any attempt to legalize slavery in the colonies, contrary to English law, we shall quote the authority of Lord Hardwicke. Lord Hardwicke was one of those learned lawyers who maintained, notwithstanding Holt's opinion to the contrary, that negroes might be held as slaves even in England, to which effect, when attorney-general in 1719, he had given a written opinion in conjunction with Talbot, then solicitor-general. When sitting twenty years afterwards as Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke had occasion to refer to this opinion, which he still maintained to be good law, and he disapproved of Lord Holt's doctrine that the moment a slave

sets foot in England he becomes free, by declaring that no reason could be found "why they should not be equally so when they set foot in Jamaica, or any other English plantation. All our colonies *are subject to the law of England*, although as to some purposes they have laws of their own." Not, however, as Lord Hardwicke implies, for the purpose of introducing a condition of slavery, or any thing else, which the law of England did not allow; and thus far, at least, the doctrine of this case is good law. (See *Ambler*, 76. *Pearne* vs. *Lisle.*)

So much for the pretended legalization of slavery in the crown colonies by statute. But even independent of any statute, our reviewer maintains that slavery might become legalized in those colonies by custom.

Now, admitting that the modern common law consists, to a great extent, of modern customs sanctioned by the courts, and admitting that the colonial courts had the same right of giving the character of law to colonial customs, yet it was not every custom, good, bad, or indifferent, that was capable of such a sanction. It must have been a custom good in itself, tending to promote the ends of justice, and not in contradiction to any established right previously existing. Will any body pretend that slavery was such a custom? The courts were under the same restrictions as the assemblies. What the assemblies could not do directly, the courts could not do indirectly. Nor does there exist the slightest evidence that any colonial court ever pretended to sustain slavery on this ground of custom. On the contrary, both courts and assemblies acted on the presumption that there was nothing in the English law which made negro slavery illegal, and that the colonial statutes authorizing it were therefore binding. They acted under a misapprehension of the English law; but their mistake on this point cannot affect any body's legal rights.

It was not the less true that negro slavery was not allowed by the laws of England. The decision of this point in Somerset's case set free not less than fourteen or fifteen thousand negroes held in bondage in that country—so we are told in the report of the case; and so far as the mere matter of legal right was concerned, it established the freedom, also, of every slave in the colonies; and this inevitable consequence of this decision had been foretold, as we have seen, by Lord Hardwicke, twenty years or more before.

At the time, then, when the first state constitutions were framed, slavery existed in the states not as a vested legal right,

but as a mere wrong and usurpation. The framers of those constitutions did not attempt to confer upon it any new character of right or legality. They left it exactly where it stood before, avoiding, indeed, all direct reference to it. But this is a point which we have fully handled in a former article, and with which it is not necessary again to weary our readers.

We will only add, that this matter of the legality of slavery is one we are glad to see discussed, because we feel satisfied that the more it is discussed, the plainer it will become that the only law upon which slavery rests is the *lynch* law of force and violence. We deny altogether that the states of this union have or ever had any power to legislate a part of their inhabitants into slavery. Though they claim to be sovereign and independent, they have been at all times, and still are, greatly limited and restrained in their legislative powers. While colonies they were restricted, as we have just proved, from making laws repugnant to those of England, and of course from subjecting any of the king's natural born subjects to slavery. There was, indeed, a very important distinction on this point, too apt to be overlooked in these discussions. Whatever the condition might legally be of those unfortunate aliens, purchased in Africa as slaves and brought to America and sold to the planters; suppose, even, that it might have been consonant to English law to retain them as servants for life, as Blackstone seems to have imagined; yet the case was very different as to their children born in the colonies, who were in every respect natural born subjects of the king of England, and entitled to all the rights of Englishmen, which the colonial legislatures had no power to invade. These alien Africans, be it observed, would furnish ample material for the colonial state laws, and all constitutional compromises to act upon, without involving any native born Americans in the fate of slavery.

Before the colonies escaped from this restraint of English laws, they had already subjected themselves to a new one by entering into a confederacy against Great Britain, of which the avowed object was, to maintain the rights of human nature. "Let it be remembered, finally," says Congress, in its address to the states, on the termination of the Revolutionary War, "that it has ever been the pride and boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature."

When the colonists set forth in their Declaration of Inde-

pendence, as the justification and basis of the stand they had taken, the natural right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they must be esteemed as pledging themselves to the world and to each other for the recognition and maintenance of that right. Nor was this declaration the mere act of the Continental Congress, whose power might be disputed; for it was distinctly and solemnly ratified, adopted, and confirmed by every individual state in the union. From that moment, then, it was a solemn pledge on the part of all the states, and a tacit condition of the union, that slavery should be done away with as soon as possible. By adopting, two years before, the non-importation agreement, known as the American Association, the states had already pledged themselves to import no more slaves; a pledge from which they were never released, though the Carolinas and Georgia chose afterwards to violate it, and to insist on a constitutional permission to continue that violation for twenty years. The same understanding as to the abolition of slavery prevailed when the federal constitution was adopted; it was regarded as a transitory evil, to be speedily removed, and the greatest care was taken not to mention slavery by name, or to recognize in that instrument any such idea as property in man. The northern states have waited a great while, patiently, for their southern neighbours to carry out their agreement. If the conclusion should be arrived at that the southern states are unable or unwilling to redeem their pledge, certainly the least we of the North can do, is, to proclaim, everywhere, our conviction of the utter illegality of this accursed institution of slavery, and of the bad faith of the South in prolonging its existence.

By Wendell Phillips

ART. III.—*A Treatise of the Law of Evidence.* By SIMON GREENLEAF, LL. D., Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University. Boston. 1846. 2 Vols. 8vo.

A NEW work on the law of Evidence, from the learned and distinguished Royall Professor of Law in Harvard University, seems naturally to invite attention, as well from the unquestioned ability of the author, as from the importance of the subject. Of the work it may be observed, that it is a clear, concise, and satisfactory exposition of the law, with the reasons

upon which it rests. But it is not so much our intention to examine the professional merits of this work of Mr. Greenleaf, as to invite the public to a consideration of the present state of this branch of the law, and to the reforms which, we think, it imperatively requires. In doing this we write not so much for the profession as for the people. The subject should not be considered as referrible only to the peculiar and exclusive jurisdiction of the bar, but as one easily understood and fully within the intellectual scope of all possessing any claims to intelligence or general information.

In the whole field of law or legislation there is no subject of such vast practical importance as the law which determines the admission or rejection of evidence. The substantive portion of the law, that which prescribes and ordains, may be in the highest degree wise; the criminal code may be framed in the soundest philosophy, and with the most judicious combination of the principles of prevention and reformation; perfection, in fine, may be predicated of each and every portion of the substantive branch of the law, yet if the rules of evidence are erroneous, their wisdom is no better than so much folly, the will of the legislator is unheeded, his rewards unreapt, his penalties unimposed.

Important as is the subject,—and its importance corresponds to that of all interests which may be judicially endangered,—yet it is but recently that it has received the attention of the public either in Europe or in this country. In the Year-books and the earliest reports and digests, questions relating to the competency of witnesses or the admissibility of evidence, were of the rarest occurrence. The intricate technicalities, the hairbreadth distinctions, the conflicting and contradictory decisions, which form so large a portion of any treatise of evidence, are not to be found in the Rollis and Fletas of our early jurisprudence. By the gradual accretion of decisions, this has now become one of the most important divisions of the law, so that he who is thoroughly versed in its rules may be considered almost prepared for the practice of the courts without any other professional learning.

In the trial of Warren Hastings, the injurious operation of those rules was seen and felt on a great scale. The indefatigable industry and perseverance, the deep philosophy of Burke; the strength and vigor of Fox; the thrilling and dramatic eloquence of Sheridan, were seen to be foiled during the whole course of that prosecution, by the technical learning and

legal quibbles of a Law and a Dallas. The future chief-justice of the king's bench, then just commencing that career which ended in the attainment of the highest honors of the profession, insisted that his client should be tried according to the rules of evidence as they were administered in courts of common law jurisdiction. The highest judicial tribunal of the nation, ignorant of the laws they were called on to administer, with a want of self-reliance naturally and appropriately incident to such ignorance, sought information of the common law judges as to what they might or might not properly hear, and as to what would and what would not afford instruction or aid in the elucidation of the cause then pending before them. The common law judges almost invariably excluded the evidence proposed. Burke, perceiving that the adoption of their rules would end in the exclusion of the proof by which alone he could hope to convict the great proconsul of the Indies of the high crimes and misdemeanours with which he stood charged, was indignant that their opinions were followed by the House of Lords.

For the first time, "in a report from the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inspect the Lords' Journal, made April 30, 1794," the attention of the House of Commons was called to the rules of evidence, and particularly to those which had been laid down by the judges for the guidance of the House of Lords upon a variety of questions submitted to them for their opinion. Until that time, the law of evidence, like every other branch, had been assumed to be the perfection of human reason, and the assumption had remained unquestioned. In this report, Burke conceded the general fitness of those rules in cases between parties, but perceiving their effect in the exclusion of the proof necessary to sustain his cause, endeavoured to distinguish between rules proper to be adopted in ordinary civil cases, and those by which the imperial court of parliament should be governed. He thought that "the committee could not with safety to the larger and more remedial justice of the law of parliament admit any rules or pretended rules, uncorrected or uncontrolled by circumstances, to prevail in a trial which regarded offences difficult of detection, and committed far from the sphere of the ordinary practice of the courts." But Burke, while examining those rules and endeavouring, though ineffectually, to shield the law from the reproach of "disgraceful subtleties," and while urging that "the lords ought to enlarge and not to contract the rules of

evidence, according to the nature and difficulties of the case," did not perceive that the defect lay deeper; that the rules of the common law were intrinsically defective and vicious, unfitted for the end proposed; that, in reality, it mattered not whether the tribunal was that of a petty justice of the peace or the highest and most solemn tribunal of a great nation; whether the amount in litigation was the penny of the poor man or the wrongs of injured nations; that the ascertainment of the truth, for the purposes of judicial action, was the end alike proposed in each, and the modes of obtaining it most fitting in one case, were equally so in the other.

This report of Burke is remarkable as being the first instance in which this branch of the common law was subjected to the investigation of one not trained in and bigoted to professional pursuits and professional logic. But the time had not then arrived, nor was Burke the man. That entire freedom from all sinister bias and class interest; that utter abnegation of the authoritative force of mere prescription; that deep and all pervading philanthropy; that power of acute, accurate, and patient analysis so necessary in the examination of the subject; that profound and thorough knowledge of the law; that martyr-like devotion to the reform of long established abuses; that fearlessness and enthusiasm in the prosecution of cherished pursuits, were wanting.

In the fulness of time Bentham arose. Bentham, the master in that great work of judicial and legislative reform in which Romilly and Brougham were content to be enrolled as disciples. A profound philosopher, a laborious student, learned in the codes of all nations, sagacious, determined, indefatigable in the accomplishment of whatever he undertook, he devoted days and nights to the great work of judicial reform. Educated to the bar, he knew well the law and could trace his course through its more than Dædalian labyrinths. Leaving the gains of legal traffic and the visions of professional eminence; deserting the field of politics, which lay open to him; filled with the sublime and magnificent idea of becoming the law-giver, not of one nation or people, but of all nations and tongues, the Solon or Numa of humanity, in the vigor of manhood he set himself apart for that great work, the conception of which had awakened his energy and enkindled his genius. Occupying ground illustrious as having been the residence of Milton, if he caught none of his poetic inspiration, and we think no one will suspect him of having wandered in

the to him ungenial fields of poesy, yet it will not be denied that he was blessed with a full measure of his lofty independence, his indomitable love of liberty, and his generous enthusiasm for the rights of man. With "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the object to be attained, an end heretofore too little regarded in legislation, he probed to the quick existing laws and institutions. He examined with the utmost thoroughness the rules of procedure and the principles of evidence as developed in the English law. All weapons seemed at his command; wit the keenest; humor the most felicitous; sarcasm the most biting; logic unanswered and unanswerable. In his great work, *The Rationale of Judicial Evidence*, he placed its principles upon a firm and solid foundation. The result to which his investigations led him; the result to which all intelligent men who have examined the subject are arriving, is, that all, without exception, all who, having any or all the organs of sense, can perceive, or perceiving, can make known their perceptions to others, should be received as witnesses. Their religious belief or want of it; their character as established infamous by conviction; their relation to the cause as parties, or interested as attorneys, or as husband and wife of those who are parties, should be regarded as circumstances affecting only the greater or lesser degree of credit which should be placed in their statements, but never as sufficient reasons for exclusion. In other words, while the credibility of witnesses should be most rigorously scanned, the question of their competency should never be raised. Such were the conclusions to which, after a most searching analysis of existing laws, he arrived; a result the correctness of which he has established with almost the precision and certainty of mathematical demonstration.

Such are not the conclusions of the common law. Such are not the conclusions of Mr. Greenleaf. Indeed, in a work written for a text book, what is mainly wanted is, that it should be a correct exposition of existing law. The work of Mr. Greenleaf can never be regarded other than as a successful and well arranged compilation of adjudged cases. He seems, however, never to have thought of the law save with the docile and admiring submission of a believer in its infallibility; and the reforms of Bentham would meet with about as much sympathy from him as John Calvin would have received if he had undertaken to exhort a conclave of Roman cardinals to embrace his peculiar dogmas.

As we consider Mr. Greenleaf an able defender of the existing law, and as presenting with great success the results of past decisions and the reasoning upon which they rest, we propose, by examining the general doctrines of exclusion, or particular instances as found in the English law, to give his reasoning as the text of our comment.

It should ever be borne in mind that litigation is rarely foreseen; that it springs up unexpectedly; that no one can foreknow and prepare in advance for the emergency. No one goes around in the ordinary business of life attended by a witness, like a familiar spirit, who may be always ready to see and hear what may occur; nor if any one were thus accompanied, could he be sure of the presence of such a witness when the occasion in which he might be needed should arise.

There is no act the most trivial, no contract the most insignificant, which may not become the subject matter of litigation, or upon which the most important consequences may not depend, — the hour of rising, of departing from or returning to our residence, the articles of apparel worn, the road taken, the place of stopping, the individual with whom conversation may have been held, the topics of that conversation, the exact questions put and answers given, all, any, every thing which man has done or which man can do. The infinite variety of human action is only coextensive with the infinite variety of litigation upon which property, liberty, or life may depend. There is no event, no word spoken, no thing done, no motion of the body, no thought of the heart, which, in the eternal chain of antecedents and consequents, may not become matters of inquiry. In vain, then, can one in advance guard his rights. He can not know how they will be jeoparded, nor if jeoparded by what witnesses the facts he may deem of importance may be proved. Whether they be men of deficient or exuberant faith; whether they be men famous for integrity or infamous for want of it — whosoever they may be by whom such facts were perceived, he needs them, and if they be the only witnesses, still greater is his need.

The exclusion of testimony, from whatsoever source attainable, is presumably wrong. The judge needs testimony, else he cannot decide; he requires proof, else he is without the means of correct decision. He might as well resort to the lot, to ordeals by fire, to ordeals by water, to burning ploughshares, to trials by battle, as to attempt to decide without proof. So obvious would all this seem, that one would suppose that resort

wloud naturally be had for information to all to whom the facts were known. To the common lawyer it seemed otherwise. Ordinary men seeking for information, inquire of those who know. Extraordinary men, learned men, lawyers deeply imbued with the wisdom of the past, specially object to inquiring of such.

Exclude evidence material, and unattainable from any other source, for what cause soever plausible or otherwise; exclude evidence, and the judge, to the extent of and in proportion to the importance of the evidence excluded, is deprived of the means of correct decision. Exclude all evidence for any reasons, or for such as have in various instances been assigned, and you compel the judge to resort either to lot or to arbitrary will, not by any means so safe as the lot for the determination of the cause. You deprive him of the very food of justice —*pabulum justitiæ*—as Bacon terms it. Justice was beautifully symbolled by the ancient Greeks as blind. Deaf as well as blind she might as well be, if she is to be precluded from hearing testimony. Correct decision, the great result sought for, mainly depends upon the fulness of the facts presented for consideration. Any source, every source, any individual, every individual, no matter who he may be, to whom any portion, however minute, of the facts may be known, should be heard. Scrutinize his testimony as rigidly as you will, but hear it. Because the light of the noonday sun can not be had at midnight, should the farthing taper therefore be extinguished? Because evidence from the best conceivable sources cannot be obtained, shall none be had?

He who would claim that evidence from any source should be rejected, is bound to show satisfactory reasons for such rejection. In his chapter on the competency of witnesses, Mr. Greenleaf bases the general doctrines of exclusion upon the following grounds:—

"Although, in the ordinary affairs of life *temptations* to practise deceit and falsehood may be comparatively *few*, and therefore men may ordinarily be disposed to believe the statements of each other: yet in judicial investigations the *motives* to pervert the truth and to perpetrate falsehood and fraud are *so greatly multiplied*, that if statements were received with the same undiscriminating freedom as in private life, the ends of justice could with far less certainty be attained. In private life, too, *men can inquire and determine for themselves*, whom they will deal with, and in whom they will confide; but the situation of judges and jurors

renders it difficult, if not often impossible, in the narrow compass of a trial, to *investigate the character of witnesses:* and from the very nature of judicial proceedings, and the necessity of preventing the multiplication of issues to be tried, it may often happen that the testimony of a witness unworthy of credit, may receive as much consideration as that of one worthy of the fullest confidence. If no means were employed *totally* to exclude any *contaminating influence* from the fountains of justice, this evil would constantly occur. But the danger has always been felt, and always guarded against in all civilized countries. And while all evidence is open to the objection of the adverse party, before it is admitted, it has been *found necessary* to the ends of justice that some kinds of evidence should be *uniformly* excluded.

"In determining what evidence shall be admitted and weighed by the jury, and what shall not be received at all, or in other words, in distinguishing between competent and incompetent witnesses, a principle seems to have been applied similar to that which distinguishes between conclusive and disputable presumptions of law, namely, *the experienced connection* between the *situation* of the witness and *the truth or falsity* of his testimony. Thus the law excludes as incompetent those persons whose evidence in general, is found more likely than otherwise to mislead juries: receiving and weighing the testimony of others, and giving to it that degree of credit which it is found on examination to deserve. It is obviously impossible that any test of credibility can be infallible. All that can be done is to approximate to such a degree of certainty as will ordinarily meet the justice of the case. The question is not whether any rule of exclusion may not sometimes shut out credible testimony; but whether it is expedient that there should be any rule of exclusion at all. If the purposes of justice require that the decision of causes should not be embarrassed by statements generally found to be deceptive or totally false, there must be some rule designating the class of evidence to be excluded. And in this case as in determining the ages of discretion and of majority, and in deciding as to the liability of the wife for crimes committed in company with the husband, and in numerous other instances, the common law has merely *followed* the *common experience* of mankind."—pp. 376, 377.

Such are the reasons by which Mr. Greenleaf would justify the general doctrines of exclusion. They are fairly stated by him. They are all the law has to give. Are they well founded? Let us examine them.

The main business of life is in hearing and reasoning on evidence. Judicial action — decision upon proof — is an every day affair. Evidence, proof, testimony, is the same; whatever

may be the occasions on which it is obtained, or the uses to which it is applied. Whether it be given "in the ordinary affairs of life" or "judicial investigations," its probative force is the same. The individual—party, wife, attorney, convict, atheist—no matter what he may be, whose statements out of court would be entitled to, and would receive credence, (and "in the ordinary affairs of life" they might receive credence, though it were a party speaking of his own interests, a wife of her husband's, an attorney of his client's, a convict or an atheist of those of others,) would be none the less entitled to belief, because the same statements in relation to the same subject matter should be uttered in open court. "The ordinary affairs of life," all business transactions between man and man, are conducted upon evidence, and the same principles which guide, the same rules of judging and weighing testimony are alike applicable in "judicial investigations" as "in the ordinary affairs of life." Not a day, not an hour passes in which every man is not called to act upon proof without the checks, safeguards, and securities of judicially delivered testimony. The ratio of the value of property or interests upon and in relation to which judicial action is, to that in which it is not required, shows the values thus respectively determined upon, and their difference, and that but a very trivial and comparatively minute portion of the great business of life ever receives or requires judicial interposition. "In the ordinary business of life," were a man to be governed by the rules of the law as to the sources from which alone it would be safe to receive information, he would be thought better fitted for a place in a lunatic asylum, than for the management of his own affairs. Two children disputing, of whom does the father inquire? Wishing to know the truth, does he send his children away, and set himself to gleaning up confessional fragments from his servants? Was there ever a lawyer or a judge so idiotic as to be governed out of court by the rules which are followed in court in the investigation of facts? But if in the infinite variety of human affairs different rules from those adopted by the courts are observed and seen to be observed without prejudice or injury, does it not afford a strong indication that those rules might be adopted in the trial of causes, without endangering the rights of property or the peace of society?

"In the ordinary affairs of life, temptations to practise deceit and falsehood may be comparatively few." Temptations

few! Why, they are as numerous as the objects of human desires, as potent as the hopes and fears, the losses and gains of life. "In judicial investigations the motives to pervert the truth and perpetrate falsehood and fraud are so greatly multiplied." How multiplied? How little of what man has or desires is ever the subject of judicial investigation? How rare is litigation to each man. How little of the wealth of the rich or the pittance of the poor, in comparison with the aggregate possession of either, is ever the subject matter of a judicial contest; and if it were, how is the motive to "*falsehood or fraud*" thereby increased? The same object is no more an object of desire, because its attainment is to be sought through the intervention of judicial action, than if sought without such intervention; nor will there be more likely to be falsehood to allow it in one case than in the other. Multiplication of occasions for falsehood there is not, still less is there of motives. Falsehood in the ordinary affairs of life receives, when detected, only the punishment of public opinion. Judicially uttered falsehood is not merely followed with loss of public respect, but it is or may be followed by the severest penalties of the law. The ordinary motives to truth exist in their accustomed vigor; and to these is superadded the disgrace of convicted perjury. The motives inducing falsehood are no greater because the amount involved is sought to be judicially obtained. Whatever the amount in question, one dollar or one million, the interest is no greater in court than "in the ordinary affairs of life," when the same amount is at stake, the motives to preserve or retain are the same, while new motives, whose tendency is to preserve the witness in the line of truth, are called into action. So that, whatever may be the subject matter—property, character, what not—the fact of its being judicially investigated furnishes no additional motives for falsehood, but on the contrary many and important securities for truth not attainable in private life. The fear of punishment, examination, and cross-examination, the checks of adverse testimony, lessen the dangers and diminish the probabilities of false testimony.

"In private life, too, men can inquire and determine for themselves, whom they will deal with and in whom they will confide; but the situation of judges and jurors renders it difficult, if not impossible, in the narrow compass of a trial, to investigate the character of witnesses." But what then? The argument, if good for any thing, would imply that judges

and jurors were to investigate for themselves, and because they would not be able to investigate satisfactorily the character of witnesses, that, therefore, all such witnesses should be excluded. But is this investigation pursued as to those who are received? If not, what is the force of the argument as to those excluded? Suppose it ever so difficult to investigate the character of witnesses. What then? Is it their business? Is it the duty of the judge to descend from the bench, the juror to leave his panel, to investigate the character of witnesses? And are witnesses by classes to be shut out because it cannot be done? It is not done as to those received. Is it not equally necessary that it should be done in one case as in the other? But what is the danger of deception on the part of the judge or the jury? The party active, vigilant, with time and means, will be little likely to permit his rights to suffer from not sufficiently investigating the character of those who may be witnesses against him.

It is said, "it may often happen that the testimony of a witness unworthy of credit may receive as much consideration as that of one worthy of the fullest confidence;" but does any argument in favor of shutting out evidence arise from that fact? Of what witness may it not be said, that the judge or the jury may have erred in giving too much or too little consideration to his testimony? If of none, then to what possible case does not the argument apply? What witness should ever be received? Is then exclusion the legitimate inference, or is it that there should be increased vigilance on the part of judge or jury?

"If no means were employed totally to exclude any contaminating influences from the fountain of justice this evil would constantly occur." But is all contaminating influence excluded? Can it be? But what is the evil, the constant occurrence of which is sought to be guarded against? That of inability on the part of judges or jurors to investigate the character of witnesses? That is never done. The judge who should attempt it would be impeached, and the juror who should go about investigating for himself would probably be discharged before he had proceeded very extensively in his inquiries. Is the evil that of believing witnesses unworthy of credit? And is that to be guarded against by excluding all contaminating influences? How can that be done; how know in advance the full effect of conservative influences, and how they compare with those which are the reverse, and on

which side the balance will lie, for on that depends the question? Would not that inquiry lead to a multiplication of issues?

"In determining what evidence shall be admitted and weighed by the jury, and what shall not be received at all," the law is founded upon "*the experienced connection* between the *situation* of the witness and *the truth* of his testimony. Thus the law excludes as incompetent those persons whose evidence in general is *found* more likely than otherwise to mislead juries." The rule is then based on experience of the evils resulting from an admission, at some former time, of the now excluded testimony. But this "experienced connection" is a matter of fact, itself to be proved by testimony —not by reasoning. Mr. Greenleaf would be much puzzled to define that period of the common law, when parties or those interested were received as witnesses, or to show when and why the change occurred, by which they were excluded. This experiment—when and where did it take place; under what king's reign? In which of the Year-books or in the later records of judicial wisdom are "found" those experimental cases, where those now incompetent were sworn to the great subversion of justice, and results so disastrous ensued that legislative sagacity interposed? In which of the parliamentary rolls is found the statute making so great and necessary changes? Experienced connection,—why so far as there has been any experience, it has been of exception to general rules, which were so bad that it was found necessary for the purposes of justice in innumerable instances to violate them.

The true question is, "whether it is expedient that there should be any rule of exclusion at all." That question is nowhere met. The argument of Mr. Greenleaf does not meet it. So far as any inference can be derived from the experience of ordinary life, it is against him. So far as the "experienced connection" is to be considered as a fact—it never existed. He says the "common law has merely followed common experience." If by common experience is meant the experience of other nations, it is obvious that unless their exclusions are the *same*, and unless, further than that, they have been the result of some "experienced connection" between the admission of the now excluded evidence and falsehood, they furnish no argument in favor of exclusion, and if so based, they furnish an argument only in the particular instances in which the experience has been had.

What are the teachings of experience as found in the codes of different nations? The Jews, with little of the spirit of modern gallantry either in the rule or the reason assigned, excluded all women, on account of the levity and boldness of the sex. They likewise rejected the testimony of children under thirteen years of age, of the deaf, dumb, blind, insane, the relations and enemies of parties, publicans, slaves, robbers, those convicted of having borne false witness, and those who had committed any crime worthy of death. The Mahometans, in all matters of property, received two men, or one man and two women, to prove any fact, estimating the testimony of a woman at half that of a man in trustworthiness. By their laws the moral character of witnesses was regarded, drunkards, gamesters, and usurers being incompetent. Evidence in favor of a son or grandson, or a father or grandfather, was not received. Slaves could not testify for their master nor their master for them; nor could infidels and apostates be heard when a Mussulman was a party.

The institutes of Menu, which for ages were the law of the multitudinous population of India, present a curious illustration of the caution with which evidence was received. Those must not be received as witnesses who have a pecuniary interest; nor familiar friends, nor menial servants, nor enemies, nor men perjured, nor men grievous by disease, nor those who have committed a heinous offence. The king cannot be a witness, nor cooks, nor other mean artificers, nor public dancers and singers, nor men of deep learning in Scripture, nor a student in theology, nor an anchorite, nor one dependent, nor one of bad fame, nor one who follows a cruel occupation, nor one who acts against law, nor a decrepit old man, nor a child, nor one man unless distinguished for virtue, nor a wretch of the lowest mixed class, nor one who has lost the organs of sense, nor one grieved, nor a mad man, nor one tormented with hunger or thirst, or oppressed with fatigue, excited by lust, inflamed with wrath, nor one convicted of theft. A slave of either sex, a blind man, a woman, a minor till the age of fifteen years, an old man of eighty years, a leper, and the like, were not received as witnesses.

These, it may be said, are the exclusions of ignorant barbarians. If we examine the Roman law, as found in the responses of her civilians, or the edicts of her prætors, or the rescripts of her emperors — the Roman law as illustrated by the learning and genius of the Catos and Scævolas of consu-

lar, or the Tribonians and Ulpians of imperial Rome—though we may find absurdities less glaring than those of the great law-giver of the East, it will still be seen that Rome has made, in this branch of the law, but slight advances toward sound views, either as to the admission or the just appreciation of testimony. In the civil law the exclusions are almost as numerous and not much more judicious than those found in the laws of Menu. By its provisions, children approaching puberty were to be received, but not compelled to testify of matters within their understanding. Minors were received as witnesses when pecuniary interests were at stake, but they were not allowed in criminal cases, unless over twenty years of age. Slaves were not witnesses if the facts could be obtained from any other quarter. The testimony of those convicted of offences against the state, informers, of those cast into the public prisons, those guilty of making false accusations, those expelled from the senate, apostates, heretics, libellers, those convicted of bribery, infamous women, those who hire themselves to fight with wild beasts, the worthless, and the poor, were not admitted when other proof could be had. No one was a witness in his own case, or in that of one associated with him. The son could not be the witness for the father, nor the father for the son. Patrons were not heard in the cause of their client, guardians of their ward, nor overseers in that of the minor of whose estate they had charge.*

By the common law, parties to a suit, those interested in its result, husband and wife, the attorney as to all confidential communications from his client, the atheist, and the convict, are excluded as witnesses.

The arguments of Mr. Greenleaf would as well support one set of exclusions as another; and whether found in the Hedaya or the Pandects, in the institutes of Menu or in those of the common law, they would have been equally applicable; for, being based upon assuming the very question to be proved, one law-giver may as well assume as another. Were all these exclusions to be united in any one code, it is difficult to imagine from what source proof could ever be obtained. If selections are to be made, we think little judgment is shown in those of the common law.

Decision as to the truth of testimony there must be, at some time or other—decision either with or without hearing.

* Heineccius, *Elementa Juris Civilis*, Tit. V., De Test., &c.

Exclusion presupposes a judgment determining the probable falsity of testimony, without and before hearing it. Such is its supposition, else why exclude? The common lawyer, then, is not the man of experience, but the theorist, and an absurd and visionary one. His theory is, that he can decide better as to the truth of a witness without seeing and hearing him, than with; that a judgment as to the truth of testimony can better be made centuries before and without its utterance, than upon a hearing and a comparison of it with other evidence in the case. Mr. Bentham, abused as a wild and unsafe speculator, thought that before a decision could be safely made as to the trustworthiness of a witness, it might be as judicious to hear him. Mr. Greenleaf, who would call himself the man of experience, who would eschew speculation as dangerous, thinks that decision without hearing is the perfection of judicial wisdom.

In the list of exclusions, to our mind there are none so erroneous, so utterly without justification, as those of the parties and of persons interested. These we intend to examine particularly.

Let us briefly consider the matter. Correctness and completeness are the primary qualifications of witnesses. To attain these, attention is necessary. To give the necessary attention, an adequate motive is required. Be it contract, be it crime, which is the subject of inquiry, no one can be expected to have the same motive to give attention — full, careful, absorbing attention — as the parties, as those interested, the expected gainers or losers. Other witnesses accidentally present, like the *fortuiti testes* of the Roman law, may be free from any sinister bias which might affect their testimony. But mere freedom from bias — mere absence of interest — is not the most essential qualification of a witness. Without motive to observe, men are inattentive observers. Nor is this all. While those interested are most likely to perceive what took place, so they will be the most likely accurately to remember. To perceive accurately and to remember truthfully is the work of labor, — of labor greater or less according to the number and complexity of the facts, — a work never undertaken except under the pressure of motives adequate to the attempted production of the expected result. Mere indifference can hardly be considered any very peculiar guaranty for clearness of original perception or accuracy of recollection; for from indifference naturally flow carelessness,

inaccuracy, forgetfulness, misrecollection — consequences none the less undesirable, with however undoubted disinterestedness they may be accompanied.

So far, therefore, as perception and recollection are concerned, those interested would be most likely to perceive and recollect all the facts within their knowledge, material and necessary to a just determination of the rights involved. They are witnesses ordinarily present, and upon whose intelligence and recollection reliance may be placed. Whether they will truly state their knowledge, when called in for judicial purposes, is another and different question, which hereafter will be considered.

In regard to parties, the "rule of the common law is founded not solely in the consideration of interest, but partly, also, in the general expediency of avoiding the multiplication of temptations to perjury." * "The general rule is, that a party to the record can, in no case, be a witness: a rule founded principally on the policy of *preventing perjury, and the hardship of calling on a party to charge himself*."

"The principle on which" those interested in the result of a suit "are rejected is the *same* with that which excludes the parties themselves; . . . namely, the danger of perjury, and the little credit found to be due to such testimony in judicial investigations." †

It is obvious, that so far as interest is to be considered a ground of exclusion, it is immaterial whether it be that of a party or of one merely interested in the result. Nobody supposes that it makes the slightest difference, so far as that is to be considered as a ground of exclusion, whether the name of the witness be on the docket of the court as a party or not. So far as the reasoning of the author is of any validity, it applies with equal force in both cases.

To the English lawyer, but one motive is seen acting upon the human mind, and that always with overwhelming force and in a sinister direction. Filial affection, paternal solicitude, the ties of friendship, are not considered as likely materially to endanger the truth of testimony. From one source and from one alone is there fear, and that is pecuniary interest. All hopes, all fears, all loves, all hates, all mortal passions, at once yield to the omnipotence of money. Such is the philosophy

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* 1 Greenleaf, 378. † 1 Greenleaf, 432.

of the law. In English jurisprudence, no unapt representation of the national character, Mammon reigns supreme:

> "Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
> From Heaven — for e'en in Heaven his looks and thoughts
> Were always downward bent, admiring more
> The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
> Than aught divine or holy."

Indeed, such is the degraded character of the community in the eye of the law, that it presumes that all, rich and poor, good and bad, from the beggar in the streets to the chief-magistrate — for any the smallest pecuniary gain, or to avoid any the smallest pecuniary loss — would commit perjury; presumes, nay declares, that they will do so; makes such result a legal presumption not to be contradicted: "The *magnitude or degree of the interest* is not to be regarded," says Mr. Greenleaf, "in estimating its effect on the mind of the witness: for it is *impossible to measure* the influence which any given interest may exert." So universal and uneradicable is this depravity — so deficient is the whole population in veracity, so loose and inefficient are the ordinary restraints of human action — that our enlightened public policy requires this universality of exclusion for the least conceivable interest, lest otherwise the seat of justice might be polluted.

But how absurd is this reasoning. The motives which influence the human mind are as innumerable as the feelings or the desires of man; their strength as varying. The same motives vary in intensity between man and man, or as affecting the same man at different periods of time. Nor is there any motive the direction of which is uniform. It may lead to truth, it may lead to falsehood. However sinister the direction of any motive, it may be controlled or overborne by other motives, acting in a contrary direction. The prejudices and passions, the hopes and fears, by which man is affected, are not susceptible of the uniform and accurate admeasurement of mechanical forces. To the common lawyer, mental dynamics are as simple and invariable as those of brute matter. The argument in favor of exclusion assumes that pecuniary interest, as a motive, acts at all times, in all men; that the minutest interest leads uniformly to falsehood, and that it will not be overborne by fear of punishment, loss of reputation, or any motive leading in the direction of truth; or that it is so extremely improbable that this will be the case, that the only safety to society is to be found in exclusion.

Fear of perjury is a main reason for exclusion. What is the danger of perjury on the part of any witness? In all cases, the chance of his being right is equal to that of his being wrong; if in the right, he will never commit perjury, for truth will better subserve his purposes. However truth-destroying the effect of interest may be, it is manifest that in all cases of adverse and conflicting interests, as to each disputed fact, one must be in the right, the other in the wrong; or each may be partly right and partly wrong. It is equally manifest, that of two parties, if one be in the right, in whole or in part, that so far as his testimony is excluded, so far the truth will be shut out; if in the wrong, what are the chances of perjury? The position of the party — his interest and consequent bias — is seen and perceived by others, and known to himself. The ordinary restraining motives act with more than usual strength, for, feeling his position as one looked upon with suspicion, he will be likely to guard his testimony. Besides, if both parties are heard, the perjury of one is known to the other. Will one be so very likely to commit this offence in the presence of an antagonist, who has the knowledge to detect and the motive to punish?

Is danger of perjury a reason for excluding a witness; for refusing to call on one having the requisite and desired information, but of the truth or falsehood of whose testimony nothing can be foreknown? — for it cannot be foreknown whether he is in the right or the wrong. Why is not danger of murder an equally valid reason for imprisoning the son, lest, considering nature too tardy, he might anticipate its course? The argument applies as well in one case as the other. In either case the commission of crime is assumed as probable, because a gain may thereby be made. Because one might be so situated as to gain by crime, it by no means follows that he will be a criminal; yet such is the inference of the law. Excluding a witness, from fear of his committing perjury, is as sane as it would be for the shopkeeper to send away all his customers, lest they might steal. In the one case, "*it certainly preserves the party from temptation to perjury.*"* In the other, it with equal certainty preserves the customer from temptation to larceny. Men may perjure; men may steal; one dollar or one thousand dollars — to gain or retain that sum, what greater probability of perjury than of larceny? What

* 1 Greenleaf, 379.

reason to suppose that interest would take the one rather than the other direction, to attain its object? Indeed, with a watchful and excited party — with examination and cross-examination in the way to success — who does not see that perjury is not half so plausible a mode of obtaining money as larceny? Yet the court refuse to hear one of whose integrity they know nothing, lest, perchance, he may commit perjury. If, to gain one dollar, the party will commit perjury, what should prevent him from investing that sum in the subornation of witnesses; for the same sum which would induce him to commit that crime, would probably be a sufficient motive for other crimes? If this fear of perjury is well grounded, is it not absolutely dangerous to receive any proof?

In the case where the facts necessary for a correct decision are known only to the parties or to persons interested, the exclusion of their evidence is the exclusion of the only means of arriving at a correct decision. Injustice must ensue. In all cases, the evil will be in proportion to the importance of the facts thus withheld. But the perjury is not certain. The probability of its commission is seen to be not so great as is imagined. Excluding evidence for this cause, the consequences of the worst perjury follow: — an unjust claim succeeds. If the evidence proposed is received and accompanied with the anticipated perjury, it is by no means certain that the opposing truth will not prevail. Both parties heard, one uttering truth, the other uttering falsehood, which will triumph? Truth consistent with itself, with every true fact; falsehood inconsistent with itself, with every fact in the case — which will prevail? Will not the sagacity of the judge of fact, — called by whatever name, — sever the truth from falsehood? How is the difficulty greater than in the ordinary case of conflicting testimony? In what does it differ? "The hardship of calling a party to charge himself" — what is that hardship? Hardship implies wrong, for if in the right, there is no hardship in uttering what will aid or tend to aid the party uttering such testimony. Hardship excludes the idea of perjury on either side; for if there is hardship in uttering the truth, and it is uttered, no perjury follows; and the other party being in the right, his interests will best be promoted by the truth. No questions are to be asked, lest the party in the wrong should feel unpleasantly; lest scrutinizing interrogatories should disturb the repose of fraud, or bring dismay and terror to guilt. The hardship incident to the utterance of the truth,

and to being compelled in consequence thereof to perform what justice requires, is the hardship too grievous to be borne. The hardship of uttering the truth must not be permitted. Reluctance to answer, the hardship of answering what truly answered will lead to the compulsory performance of contracts which otherwise would have been violated, if sufficient reasons for exemption from answering, are much better reasons for exemption from the performance of contracts; just as much better are they as is the performance more onerous than the mere answering of inquiries. If hardship should exempt from answering, the hardship of performance should be a good bar to the claim for performance, and unwillingness to do right a reason for exemption from the obligations of duty.

Hardship and perjury never coexist as reasons for exclusion. If there is hardship, there is no perjury. If there is perjury, it is self-serving; there is not the hardship of a party's "charging himself."

What is remarkable is, that all this sympathy for hardship, this dread of perjury, operates to the benefit and for the protection of wrongdoers. The party in the right, seeking redress, has no perjury to commit, no hardship to endure in uttering his testimony; the law, fearing lest its violation in seeking to avoid his obligation might wound his conscience by a falsehood, or his feelings by the truth, exempts him from all inquiry, and thus renders the success of the wrong inevitable, unless proof can be obtained from other sources.

The danger of perjury "from receiving the hardship" of compelling the testimony of those interested; the "general experience of mankind" of the dangers arising from such testimony, and the "little reliance to be placed" thereon, having been considered sufficient reasons for its exclusion, it would seem impossible to conceive of any cases in which these reasons should be found inapplicable; for if the position be well founded, that there is a preponderant probability of mischief from certain classes of testimony, there can be no propriety in receiving testimony which ordinarily is found adverse to the truth. But in fact, however, while the wisdom of the rule is assumed without foundation, in practice it is found so utterly subversive of right, that it is violated in instances without number. Indeed, so many are these violations,—so contradictory to the general rule and subversive thereof,—that were it not for the aid to be derived from the text-books, one would be almost at a loss to know which was the rule and which the exception.

Mr. Greenleaf, enraptured as he is with the principle of exclusion, is none the less so with that of admission. In his view, as in that of every lover of the common law, "whatever is, is right." Exceptions utterly subversive of a general rule founded in the highest expediency are established; it matters not to him, he steers right onward and bates not a jot of his admiration of this development of conflicting and discordant wisdom. Fraud, trust, and accident are the principal objects of equity jurisdiction. That the defendant has been guilty of fraud; that he has violated some trust reposed in him; that he has taken some undue advantage of an accident, are the ordinary allegations of a bill, and, if the bill be sustained, are true. The peculiar boast of equity is its efficiency when the common law fails; and this efficiency is mainly attributable to the virtues of its searching interrogatories. No one but a lawyer would conceive that resort to a court for its aid to compel the performance of what should have been done without its intervention, would be considered the best evidence of integrity on the part of the individual refusing, or that it could be construed into "an emphatic admission that in that instance the party is worthy of credit, and that his known integrity is a sufficient guaranty against the danger of falsehood." Still less would he suppose, that under such circumstances integrity surpassing that of common witnesses would be predicated of all equity defendants. The credit of witnesses is usually left to the intelligence and judgment of those who are to hear. In equity the law measures and determines the trustworthiness of the defendant in advance, without reference to the truth or falsehood of his testimony, in utter ignorance of all that can corroborate or detract from its weight, rates it as uniformly exceeding the testimony of one disinterested witness, however great his integrity, and determines that it shall *always* be regarded as true, unless overcome by two witnesses, or one witness and corroborating circumstances. The party who would not be heard before a jury, whose testimony it would be thought dangerous for them to hear, is judicially adjudged to possess not merely average, but superior trustworthiness. All defendants in equity, by virtue of their position, in all time, past, present, and to come, are decreed to possess extraordinary claims to credence. While the defendant is considered so unusually trustworthy, the plaintiff, the party wronged or asserting that he is wronged, is not even heard. The plaintiff in equity is no more trustworthy than his brother

at common law. The defendant in equity alone receives this unmerited confidence. Whatever the danger in hearing parties, that danger is immeasurably increased when only one is heard, and that under such peculiar circumstances.

The general rule in all cases of exceptions, whether statutory or common law, seems to be this, — increase the motive to and the danger of perjury, diminish the securities for trustworthiness, and remove the means of detection, and an interested witness or party may be heard. The confessions of a party — incorrect and incomplete — uttered without the ordinary securities for trustworthiness, misunderstood, misrecollected, or misreported, are received, while the party whose statements they are alleged to be is denied the opportunity of completing what is incorrect, supplying what is deficient, or of rectifying the errors of original perception or subsequent recollection: secondary is perversely preferred to primary evidence. When the facts are in the exclusive knowledge of a party, so that he is free from all fears of contradiction, let his statements be reduced to writing cautiously, under the advice and with the aid of counsel — all favorable facts in full relief, all unfavorable facts in the background or suppressed; exclude all examination and cross-examination, provided only the evidence is offered in the worst possible form, that of affidavits, and the party is at once and without objection heard. Let the word *policy* or necessity be used, — as though there were policy in receiving testimony which the "common experience" of mankind had "found" unworthy of credit, as though any necessity would justify receiving proof which would ordinarily be perjured, — and the rules of the law are changed. Anxious to testify, one may release his interest, thus proving that motives stronger than pecuniary influence him, yet notwithstanding this conclusive evidence of an existing interest which compelled the surrender of the pecuniary and lesser, he is received. Anticipating crime from interest, the government creates the very motives whose action is so uniformly deleterious, offering pecuniary rewards attainable only on conviction, as if its money was less likely to lead to perjury than that of individuals. In admiralty and in probate cases, parties are allowed to testify. But to what purpose increase the list? The usurer and his ruined victim, the briber and the bribed, the infamous mother — whosoever the whim of the judge or the caprice of the legislator may accept, are heard, and under circumstances the most unfavorable to the elucidation of truth. Better, then,

would it be, to hear all, leaving to the tribunal by whom they are heard to determine the value of the testimony, instead of declaring it of no value, without knowing any thing about it, or capriciously considering it of the greatest and most remarkable trustworthiness, in equal ignorance of its real and intrinsic worth.

Other changes are necessary. Defect of religious belief should never be a ground of exclusion. The absence of one motive to veracity may be a good reason for hearing with caution, but never for refusing to hear. When the sanction of an oath would be unavailable, the witness may testify under the pains and penalties of perjury.

Those now considered as incompetent from infamy should be received. They are now heard, when to the infamy of the criminal is added the infamy of the traitor. They are now heard, in case the punishment due to crime is remitted; as if the witness would not testify as honestly without as with the pardon; as if the testimony could only be obtained at the cost of relieving a wrongdoer from the suffering of justly incurred punishment.

Husband and wife should be heard. Where the interest of either is subserved by the testimony of the other, there is no danger of any violent disruption of the conjugal ties. Where it is otherwise, the testimony, from "the identity of their legal rights and interests," may be considered true. No just and beneficial confidence between man and wife will be left unprotected because either should be compelled to utter the truth to the prejudice of the other. Nor would the happiness of social life "be very much impaired because the husband, witnessing his own dishonor," were admitted as a witness to prove the guilt of his wife, or the wife, falsely charged by the husband with the most infamous crimes, were received to vindicate her own reputation.

The attorney should be examined as a witness. Confessions made to him should no more be held sacred than those made to any one else. Confessions ordinarily are admitted, but those made to an attorney are peculiarly deserving of credence, from the circumstances under which they are made. The knave and the villain should not be permitted to enjoy the aid of a hired defender in whose skill, energy, and secresy they may repose the most implicit reliance, whatever the fraud to be committed or the punishment to be avoided. The common rule is only for the benefit of the dishonest and the criminal.

Its abolition would not in the slightest degree interfere with the legitimate intercourse between the client and the attorney. It would only operate as a check upon the relation, so far as it subsists, between wrongdoers and their counsel, and it is difficult to perceive what principles of sound policy require that their intercourse should be so far unrestrained and secret, that any communication thus made, if important to the furtherance of justice, should be withheld. In no other confidential relation is this exemption from testifying allowed. Father and son, brother and sister, physician and patient, confessor and penitent, principal and agent, guardian and ward, trustee and *cestui qui trust*, are obliged, if the purposes of justice require it, to divulge any communications, however confidential they may be. The relation of the attorney to the client is purely a business relation, involving only the obligations and imposing only the duties of good faith, integrity, and ability commensurate with the trusts reposed. It partakes in no degree of the high and sacred character of that subsisting between parent and child, brother and sister, or even friend and friend. In no other instance is the confidence of guilt respected. Liberty to consult, under the most inviolable secresy, how fraud may be successfully committed, when civil obligation merges into criminal liability, and how, if crime has been committed, its just punishment may be evaded, may be, as it is termed, a "privilege" to the client; but it is a privilege granted at the expense and to the injury of the rest of the community.

We would then utterly abolish the distinctions of competency and incompetency as applied to witnesses. The credibility of testimony alone should be regarded. Let that be the subject matter of investigation, and a great reform in the law will be accomplished.

In England, if we mistake not, the attention of parliament was first called to the consideration of the reforms we have been considering, in 1828, by Mr. now Lord Brougham, in his celebrated speech on law reform. Since that time the subject has been frequently under consideration. In 1843, by Lord Denman's act, so called, the law of evidence was so far modified, that interest and infamy are no longer grounds of exclusion. In New York, after due examination of the question, the same exclusions have been abolished, and a still more important change made, by which parties are subject to examination and cross-examination. In Massachusetts, at the recent session of the legislature, a bill was reported by the Judiciary Committee,

substantially the same with Lord Denman's act; but it was rejected. All that could be accomplished was the passage of a bill by which stockholders in an insurance company are allowed to testify, notwithstanding their interest; as though, if the principle of exclusion on the ground of interest were good for any thing, there was any thing peculiar in insurance stock which would render the testimony of its owner less liable to be affected by it in his testimony, than by any other stock, or by any other property at stake. But legislation is piecemeal — fragmentary. By and by, it is to be hoped, the legislature will perceive that a dollar's worth of insurance stock differs not from a dollar's worth of any other stock and property. Other reforms must soon follow. We trust that the time is not far distant when the changes we have indicated will become part of the law of the land. If our efforts shall have done any thing towards accomplishing so important and desirable a result, our labors will not have been in vain.

ART. IV.—*The Works of Walter Savage Landor.* London. Edward Moxon. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo.

THOUGH we have placed at the head of our article the title of the collected edition of Landor's works, it is to a consideration of his poems, and in particular of his "Hellenics," that we shall in a great measure devote ourselves. It may at first sight seem somewhat of an anomaly to try a great prose-writer by what he has written in verse; but the man is so individual that the merits both of his prose and poetry are identical in kind, and the defects which we are conscious of in the latter may help us to a clearer understanding, if not to a clearer definition, of what is poetry.

To say of any writer that his faults are peculiarly his own, is in a certain sense to commend him, and, where these are largely outweighed by excellences, it amounts to a verdict in favor of his originality. Imitative minds invariably seize upon and exaggerate the exaggerations of their model. The parasitic plant indicates the cracks, roughnesses, and flaws of the wall to which it clings, for in these alone is it able to root itself. If Byron were morose, a thousand poetasters bleated savagely from under wer-wolves' skins. If Carlyle be Teu-

tonic, those will be found who will out-Germanize him. If Emerson be mystic, the Emersonidæ can be misty. It is only where the superior mind begins to differ from the commonplace type, or to diverge from the simple orbit of nature, that inferior ones become subject to its attraction. Then they begin to gravitate toward it, are carried along with it, and, when it pauses, are thrown beyond it. It is only the eclipse men stare at. It is not the star but the comet that gathers a tail. When we say, then, that Landor's faults are especially Landor, we imply that he is no imitator. When we say that he has no imitators, we imply that his faults are few.

If we were asked to name a writer to whose style the phrase *correct* would most exactly apply, we should select Landor. Yet it is not so at the expense of warmth, or force, or generosity. It is only bounded on every side by dignity. In all those portions of his works which present him to us most nobly, and therefore most truly, the most noticeable quality of the mere style is its *un*-noticeability. Balance and repose are its two leading characteristics. He has discovered that to be simple is to be classical. He observes measure and proportion in every thing. If he throw mud it is by drachm and scruple. His coarsest denunciation must be conveyed in sentences of just so many words spelt in just such a manner. He builds a paragraph as perfect as a Greek temple, no matter whether Phoibos or Anubis is to be housed in it; — for he is a coarse man with the most refined perceptions. He is the Avatar of John Bull. He is Tom Cribb with the soul of Plato in him, and when he attacks there is no epithet which seems to fit him so well as *bruiser*.

But though he asks us to many banquets, where, after the English fashion, the conversation at a certain point becomes such as to compel women to withdraw; though he so obtrudes his coarseness upon us that any notice of him would be inadequate without some mention of it; yet this jarring element is rather the rare exception than the rule in his writings. It affects the style more than the character of his works, and is more important in helping us to an estimate of the man, than of his books. An introduction to him without a previous hint of it would hardly be fair; yet we might be in his company for hours without discovering it. We should be at a loss to name the writer of English prose who is his superior, or, setting Shakspeare aside, the writer of English who has furnished us with so many or so delicate aphorisms of human nature.

Browning, certainly a competent authority, in dedicating a drama to him, calls him a great dramatic poet, and if we deduct from the dramatic faculty that part of it which has reference to a material stage, we can readily concede him the title. His mind has not the succinctness necessary to a writer for the theatre. It has too decided a tendency to elaboration, and is more competent to present to the mind a particular quality of character in every light of which it is susceptible, than to construct a unitary character out of a combination of qualities. Perhaps we should be more strictly accurate if we should say that his power lies in showing how certain situations, passions, or qualities would affect the thought and speech rather than the action of a character. Of all his dramas except one, he has himself said that they are more imaginary conversations than dramas. Of his "Imaginary Conversations" we may generally say that they would be better defined as dialogues between the imaginations of the persons introduced, than between the persons themselves. There is a something in all men and women which deserve the much-abused title of *individuals*, which we call their *character*, something finer than the man or woman, and yet which *is* the man or woman nevertheless. We feel it in whatever they say or do, but it is better than their speech or deed, and can be conceived of apart from these. It is his own conceptions of the characters of different personages that Landor brings in as interlocutors. Between Shakspeare's historical and ideal personages we perceive no difference in point of reality. They are alike historical to us. We allow him to substitute his Richard for the Richard of history, and we suspect that those are few who doubt whether Caliban ever existed. Whatever Hamlet and Cæsar say we feel to be theirs, though we know it to be Shakspeare's. Whatever Landor puts into the mouth of Pericles and Michael Angelo and Tell, we know to be his, though we can conceive that it might have been theirs. Don Quixote would never have attacked any puppets of his. The hand which jerked the wires and the mouth which uttered the speeches would have been too clearly visible.

We cannot so properly call Landor a great thinker, as a man who has great thoughts. His mind has not much continuity, as, indeed, we might infer from what he himself somewhere says — that his memory is a poor one. He is strong in details and concentrates himself upon points. Hence his criticisms on authors, though always valuable as far as they

go, are commonly fragmentary. He makes profound remarks upon certain passages of a poem, but does not seem to aim at a comprehension of the entire poet. He perceives rather than conceives. He is fond of verbal criticism, and takes up an author often in the spirit of a proofreader. He has a microscopic eye, and sees with wonderful distinctness what is immediately before him. When he turns it on a poet it sometimes gives us the same sort of feeling as when Gulliver reports his discoveries in regard to the complexions of the Brobdignag maids of honor. Yet, of course, it gives him equal power for perceiving every minutest shade of beauty.

In the historical personages whom his conversations introduce to us, or, to speak more strictly, who introduce his conversations to us, we are sensible of two kinds of truth. They are true to the external circumstances and to the history of the times in which they lived, and they are true to Landor. We always feel that it is he who is speaking, and that he has merely chosen a character whom he considered suitable to express a particular phase of his own mind. He never, for a moment, loses himself in his characters. He is never raised or depressed by them, but raises and depresses them at will. If he choose, he will make Pericles talk of Blackwood's Magazine, or Aspasia comment on the last number of the Quarterly Review. Yet all the while every slightest propriety of the household economy and the external life of the Greeks will be observed with rigid accuracy. The anachronism does not seem to be that Pericles and Anaxagoras should discuss the state of England, but that Walter Savage Landor should be talking modern politics in ancient Greek,—so thoroughly are the man's works impregnated with himself. But to understand this fully we must read all his writings. We only mention it as affecting the historical veracity of his characters, and not because it subtracts anything from the peculiar merits which belong to him as a writer. If a character be in *rapport* with his own, he throws into it the whole energy of his powerful magnetism. He translates every thing into Landor, just as Chapman is said to have favored Ajax, in his version of the Iliad. After we are once put upon our guard, we find a particular enjoyment in this intense individuality. We understand that he is only borrowing the pulpits of other people to preach his own notions from, and we feel the refreshment which every one experiences in being brought within the more immediate sphere of an original temperament and a

robust organization. We discover, at last, that we have encountered an author who from behind a variety of masks can be as personally communicative as Montaigne.

The epithet *robust* seems to us particularly applicable to Landor. And his is the robustness of a naturally vigorous constitution, maintained in a healthy equipoise by regular exercise. The open air breathes through his writings, and in reading him we often have a feeling (to use a local phrase) of *all outdoors.* In saying this we refer to the general freedom of spirit, to the natural independence confirmed by a life of immediate contact with outward nature, and only thrown back the more absolutely on its own resources by occasional and reserved commerce with mankind; tolerated rather than sought by a haughty, and at the same time exquisitely sensitive disposition. We should add, that his temperament is one more keenly alive to his own interior emotions than those suggested to him from without. Consequently, while a certain purity and refinement suggest an intimacy with woods and fields, the truest and tenderest touches of his pencil are those of human and not of external nature. His mountain scenery is that of the soul; his rural landscapes and his interiors are those of the heart. If there should seem to be a contradiction between the coarseness and the delicacy we have attributed to him, the inconsistency is in himself. We may find the source of both in the solitary habit of his mind. The one is the natural independence of a somewhat rugged organization, whose rough edges have never been smoothed by attrition with the world, and which, unaccustomed to the pliability and mutual accommodation necessary in a crowd, resents every obstacle as intentional, every brush of the elbow as a personal affront. The other has been fostered by that habitual tendency of the isolated to brood over and analyze their own sentiments and emotions. Or shall we say that the rough exterior is assumed as a shield for the tenderness, as certain insects house themselves under a movable roof of lichen? This is sometimes the case, but we suspect that in Landor both qualities are idiosyncratic. That frailest creation of the human imagination, the hamadryad, is the tenant and spirit of the gnarled oak, which grasps the storm in its arms. To borrow a comparison from the Greeks, to whom Landor so constantly refers us, we must remember that Polyphemus, while he was sharpening the spit for Ulysses, was pining for Galatea, and that his unrequited tenderness sought solace in crushing his rival with half a mountain.

There are two kinds of egoism: one which is constantly measuring itself by others, and one which as constantly measures others by itself. This last we call originality. It secludes a man from external influences, and, leaving him nothing to lean upon but his own judgments and impressions, teaches him their value and enables him to inspire other men with the same estimate of them. In this sense Landor is original. This gives all that he writes a decided charm, and makes the better part of it exceedingly precious. He is constructed altogether on a large scale. His littlenesses are great, his weaknesses decided; and as long as the larger part of men are so careful to give us any thing rather than themselves, let us learn to be duly thankful for even a littleness that is sincere, and a weakness that is genuine. So entirely has he been himself, that, while we cannot help being conscious of his deficiencies, we also feel compelled to grant a certain kind of completeness in him. Whatever else he might have been, we are sure that he could not have been more of a Landor. In spite of the seeming contradictions of his character, it would not be easy to find a life and mind more thoroughly consistent than his. A strenuous persistency marks every thing about him. A few friendships and a good many animosities have lasted him all his days. He may add to both, but he never lessens the number of either. In speaking of a man constituted as he is, it would perhaps be better to say oppugnancies than animosities. For an animosity properly implies contemporaneousness, and a personal feeling toward its object; but so entirely does Landor refer every thing to his absolute self, that he will pursue as vindictively a dead error, or a dead man, as a living one. It is as they affect him that they are good or bad. It is not the year 48 or 1848 that is past or present, but simply Walter Savage Landor. With him it is *amicus Plato, amica veritas, magis amicus Landor*. His sense of his own worth is too large and too dignified to admit of personal piques and jealousies. He resents an assault upon himself as a wrong done to sound literature, and accepts commendation merely as a tribute to truth.

We know of no writer whose pages, if opened at random, are more sure to repay us than those of Landor. Nowhere shall we find admirable thoughts more admirably expressed, nowhere sublimer metaphors or more delicate ones, nowhere a mind maintained at a high level more equably, or for longer intervals. There is no author who surpasses, and few who

equal him in purity and elevation of style, or in sustained dignity and weight of thought. We should hesitate to name any writings but Shakspeare's which would afford so large and so various a selection of detached passages complete and precious in themselves. The rarest and tenderest emotions of love and friendship have never found a more adequate historian. His pathos is most delicately subdued. He approaches sorrow with so quiet a footfall and so hushing a gesture, that we are fain to suspend our breath and the falling of our tears, lest they should break that tender silence. It is not to look upon a picture of grief, but into the solemn presence of grief herself, that he leads us.

Landor has as little humor as Massinger, who in some respects resembles him, though at an infinite distance below. All that he has is of a somewhat gigantic and clumsy sort. He snatches up some little personage who has offended him, sets him on a high shelf, and makes him chatter and stamp for his diversion. He has so long conversed in imagination with the most illustrious spirits of all ages, that there is a plentiful measure of contempt in his treatment of those he esteems unworthy. His lip begins to curl at sight of a king, partly because he seems to consider men of that employment fools, and partly because he thinks them no gentlemen. For Bourbons he has a particular and vehement contempt, because to the folly of kingship they add the vileness of being Frenchmen. He is a theoretic republican of the strain of Milton, Sydney, and Harrington, and would have all the citizens of his republic far-descended gentlemen and scholars.

It is not wonderful that Landor has never been a popular writer. His is a mind to be quietly appreciated rather than to excite an enthusiastic partisanship. That part of his works which applies immediately to the present is the least valuable. The better and larger portion is so purely imaginative, so truly ideal, that it will be as fresh and true a hundred or a thousand years hence as now. His writings have seldom drawn any notice from the Reviews, which is singular only when we consider that he has chosen to converse almost exclusively with the past, and is, therefore, in some sense, a contemporary of those post-secular periodicals. The appearance of a collected edition of his works seems more like the publication of a new edition of Plato than of an author who has lived through the most stirring period of modern history. Not that he does not speak and speak strongly of living men and recent events,

but at such times the man is often wholly, or at least partially obscured in the Englishman.

We should be quite at a loss to give adequate specimens of a man so various. As we stated in the outset, we shall confine ourselves, in making our extracts, to the "Hellenics," on a brief consideration of which we now enter. They will convince any careful reader that something more (we do not say higher or finer) goes to the making up of a poet than is included in the composition of the most eloquent and forcible of prose-writers.

Opulent as the prose of Landor is, we cannot but be conscious of something like poverty in his verse. He is too minutely circumstantial for a poet, and that tendency of his mind to details, which we before alluded to, stands in his way. The same careful exactness in particulars which gives finish to his prose and represses any tendency to redundance, seems to oppress his verse and to deprive it of flow. He is a poet in his prose, but in his poetry he is almost a proser. His conceptions are in the fullest sense poetical, but he stops just on the hither side of adequate expression. He comes short by so mere a hair'sbreadth that there is something painful in it. There is beauty of a certain kind, but the witching grace is wanting.

> And painfully the soul receives
> Sense of that gone which it had never mist,
> Of somewhat lost, but *when* it never wist.

In verse Landor seems like a person expressing himself in a foreign language. He may attain to perfect accuracy and elegance, but the native ease is out of his reach. We said before that his power lay less in developing a continuous train of thought, than in presenting single thoughts in their entire fulness of proportion. But in poetry, it is necessary that each poem should be informed with a homogeneous spirit, which now represses the thought, now forces it to overflow, and everywhere modulates the metre and the cadence by an instinct of which we can understand the operations, though we may be unable to define the mode of them. Beside this, we should say that Landor possessed a *choice* of language, and is not possessed by that irresistible and happy necessity of the true poet toward the particular word whose place no other can be made to fit. His nicety in specialties imprisons him for the time in each particular verse or passage, and the poem

seems not to have grown, but to have been built up slowly, with square, single bricks, each carefully moulded, pressed, and baked beforehand. Sometimes, where a single thought or feeling is to be expressed, he appears exactly the man for the occasion.

We must not be supposed to deny the presence, in Landor's "Hellenics," of those fine qualities which we admire in his prose. We mean that the beauties are not specially those of poetry, and that they gain nothing from the verse. The almost invisible nerves of the most retired emotions are traced with rapid and familiar accuracy, rare shades of sentiment and character are touched with a delicacy peculiar to Landor, noble thoughts are presented to us, and metaphors fresh from nature. But we find no quality here which is not in his prose. The "Hellenics" seem like admirable translations of original poems. It would be juster, perhaps, to say that they impress us as Greek poetry does. We appreciate the poet more than the poetry, in which the Northern mind feels an indefinable lack.

The "Hellenics" have positive merits, but they are not exclusively those of poetry. They belong to every thing which Landor has written. We should mention, as especially prominent, entire clearness, and so thorough an absorption of the author in his subject that he does not cast about him for something to say, but is only careful of what he shall reject. He does not tell us too much, and wound our self-esteem by always taking it for granted that we do not know any thing, and cannot imagine any thing.

We should be inclined to select, as favorable specimens of his poetry, "*Thrasymedes and Eunöe*," "*The Hamadryad*," "*Enallos and Cymodameia*," and the last poem of the "Hellenics," to which no title is prefixed. Of these the last is most characteristic of Landor and of his scholarly and gentlemanlike love of freedom; but the one most likely to be generally pleasing is the "*Hamadryad*," in copying which we again repeat that we consider Landor as eminently a poet — though not in verse. The more precious attributes of the character he possesses in as high a degree as any modern Englishman.

Rhaicos was born amid the hills wherefrom
Gnidos the light of Caria is discern'd,
And small are the white-crested that play near,
And smaller onward are the purple waves.
Thence festal choirs were visible, all crown'd
With rose and myrtle if they were inborn;
If from Pandion sprang they, on the coast

Where stern Athenè raised her citadel,
Then olive was intwined with violets
Cluster'd in bosses, regular and large.
For various men wore various coronals:
But one was their devotion: 'twas to her
Whose laws all follow, her whose smile withdraws
The sword from Ares, thunderbolt from Zeus,
And whom in his chill caves the mutable
Of mind, Poseidon, the sea-king, reveres,
And whom his brother, stubborn Dis, hath prayed
To turn in pity the averted cheek
Of her he bore away, with promises,
Nay, with loud oath before dread Styx itself,
To give her daily more and sweeter flowers
Than he made drop from her on Enna's dell.
  Rhaicos was looking from his father's door
At the long trains that hastened to the town
From all the valleys, like bright rivulets
Gurgling with gladness, wave outrunning wave,
And thought it hard he might not also go
And offer up one prayer, and press one hand,
He knew not whose. The father call'd him in.
And said, "Son Rhaicos! those are idle games;
Long enough I have lived to find them so."
And ere he ended, sigh'd; as old men do
Always, to think how idle such games are.
"I have not yet," thought Rhaicos in his heart,
And wanted proof.
                    "Suppose thou go and help
Echion at the hill, to bark yon oak
And lop its branches off, before we delve
About the trunk and ply the root with axe:
This we may do in winter."
                              Rhaicos went;
For thence he could see farther, and see more
Of those who hurried to the city-gate.
Echion he found there, with naked arm
Swart-hair'd, strong sinew'd, and his eyes intent
Upon the place where first the axe should fall:
He held it upright. "There are bees about,
Or wasps, or hornets," said the cautious eld,
"Look sharp, O son of Thallinos!" The youth
Inclined his ear, afar, and warily,
And cavern'd in his hand. He heard a buzz
At first, and then the sound grew soft and clear,
And then divided into what seem'd tune,
And there were words upon it, plaintive words.
He turn'd and said, "Echion! do not strike
That tree: it must be hollow; for some God
Speaks from within. Come thyself near." Again
Both turned toward it: and behold! there sat
Upon the moss below, with her two palms
Pressing it, on each side, a maid in form.
Downcast were her long eyelashes, and pale
Her cheek, but never mountain-ash display'd
Berries of color like her lip so pure,
Nor were the anemones about her hair
Soft, smooth, and wavering like the face beneath.
  "What dost thou here?" Echion half-afraid,

Half-angry, cried. She lifted up her eyes,
But nothing spake she. Rhaicos drew one step
Backward, for fear came likewise over him,
But not such fear: he panted, gaspt, drew in
His breath, and would have turned it into words,
But could not into one.
"O send away
That sad old man!" said she. The old man went
Without a warning from his master's son,
Glad to escape, for sorely he now fear'd,
And the axe shone behind him in their eyes.
Hamadryad. And wouldst thou too shed the most innocent
Of blood? no vow demands it; no God wills
The oak to bleed.
Rhaicos. Who art thou? whence? why here?
And whither wouldst thou go? Among the robed
In white or saffron, or the hue that most
Resembles dawn or the clear sky, is none
Array'd as thou art. What so beautiful
As that gray robe which clings about thee close,
Like moss to stones adhering, leaves to trees,
Yet lets thy bosom rise and fall in turn,
As, toucht by zephyrs, fall and rise the boughs
Of graceful platan by the river-side.
Hamadryad. Lovest thou well thy father's house?
Rhaicos. Indeed
I love it, well I love it, yet would leave
For thine, where'er it be, my father's house,
With all the marks upon the door, that show
My growth at every birth-day since the third,
And all the charms, o'erpowering evil eyes,
My mother nail'd for me against my bed,
And the Cydonian bow (which thou shalt see)
Won in my race last spring from Eutychos.
Hamadryad. Bethink what it is to leave a home
Thou never yet has left, one night, one day.
Rhaicos. No, 'tis not hard to leave it; 'tis not hard
To leave, O maiden, that paternal home,
If there be one on earth whom we may love
First, last, for ever; one who says that she
Will love for ever too. To say which word,
Only to say it, surely is enough . .
It shows such kindness . . if 'twere possible
We at the moment think she would indeed.
Hamadryad. Who taught thee all this folly at thy age?
Rhaicos. I have seen lovers and have learnt to love.
Hamadryad. But wilt thou spare the tree?
Rhaicos. My father wants
The bark; the tree may hold its place awhile.
Hamadryad. Awhile? thy father numbers then my days?
Rhaicos. Are there no others where the moss beneath
Is quite as tufty! Who would send thee forth
Or ask thee why thou tarriest! Is thy flock
Anywhere near?
Hamadryad. I have no flock: I kill
Nothing that breathes, that stirs, that feels the air,
The sun, the dew. Why should the beautiful
(And thou art beautiful) disturb the source
Whence springs all beauty? Hast thou never heard
Of Hamadryads?

Rhaicos. Heard of them I have:
Tell me some tale about them. May I sit
Beside thy feet? Art thou not tired? The herbs
Are very soft; I will not come too nigh;
Do but sit there. nor tremble so, nor doubt.
Stay, stay an instant: let me first explore
If any acorn of last year be left
Within it; thy thin robe too ill protects
Thy dainty limbs against the harm one small
Acorn may do. Here's none. Another day
Trust me: till then let me sit opposite.
Hamadryad. I seat me; be thou seated, and content.
Rhaicos. O sight for gods! Ye men below! adore
The Aphroditè. *Is* she there below?
Or sits she here before me? as she sate
Before the shepherd on those highths that shade
The Hellespont, and brought his kindred woe.
Hamadryad. Reverence the higher Powers; nor deem amiss
Of her who pleads to thee, and would repay . .
Ask not how much . . but very much. Rise not:
No, Rhaicos, no! Without the nuptial vow
Love is unholy. Swear to me that none
Of mortal maids shall ever taste thy kiss,
Then take thou mine; then take it, not before.
Rhaicos. Hearken, all gods above! O Aphroditè!
O Herè! let my vow be ratified!
But wilt thou come into my father's house?
Hamadryad. Nay: and of mine I can not give thee part.
Rhaicos. Where is it?
Hamadryad. In this oak.
Rhaicos. Ay; now begins
The tale of Hamadryad: tell it through.
Hamadryad. Pray of thy father never to cut down
My tree; and promise him, as thou mayst,
That every year he shall receive from me
More honey than will buy him nine fat sheep,
More wax than he will burn to all the gods.
Why fallest thou upon thy face? Some thorn
May scratch it, rash young man! Rise up; for shame!
Rhaicos. For shame I can not rise. O pity me!
I dare not sue for love . . but do not hate!
Let me once more behold thee . . not once more,
But many days: let me love on . . unloved!
I aimed too high: on my own head the bolt
Falls back, and pierces to the very brain.
Hamadryad. Go . . rather go, than make me say I love.
Rhaicos. If happiness is immortality,
(And whence enjoy it else the gods above?)
I am immortal too: my vow is heard:
Hark! on the left . . Nay, turn not from me now,
I claim my kiss.
Hamadryad. Do men take first, then claim?
Do thus the seasons run their course with them?

. . Her lips were seal'd; her head sank on his breast.
'Tis said that laughs were heard within the wood:
But who should hear them? . . and whose laughs? and why?
Savoury was the smell and long past noon,
Thallinos! in thy house; for marjoram,

Basil and mint, and thyme and rosemary,
Were sprinkled on the kid's well roasted length,
Awaiting Rhaicos. Home he came at last,
Not hungry, but pretending hunger keen,
With head and eyes just o'er the maple plate.
"Thou seest but badly, coming from the sun,
Boy Rhaicos!" said the father. "That oak's bark
Must have been tough, with little sap between;
It ought to run; but it and I are old."
Rhaicos, although each morsel of the bread
Increased by chewing, and the meat grew cold
And tasteless to his palate, took a draught
Of gold-bright wine, which, thirsty as he was,
He thought not of until his father fill'd
The cup, averring water was amiss,
But wine had been at all times poured on kid, . .
It was religion.
He thus fortified,
Said, not quite boldly. and not quite abasht,
"Father, that oak is Jove's own tree: that oak
Year after year will bring thee wealth from wax
And honey. There is one who fears the gods
And the gods love . . that one"
(He blusht, nor said
What one)
"Has promist this, and may do more.
Thou hast not many moons to wait until
The bees have done their best: if then there come
Nor wax nor honey, let the tree be hewn."
"Zeus hath bestow'd on thee a prudent mind,"
Said the glad sire: but look thou often there,
And gather all the honey thou canst find
In every crevice, over and above
What has been promist; would they reckon that?"
Rhaicos went daily; but the nymph as oft
Invisible. To play at love, she knew,
Stopping its breathings when it breathes most soft,
Is sweeter than to play on any pipe.
She play'd on his: she fed upon his sighs:
They pleased her when they gently waved her hair,
Cooling the pulses of her purple veins,
And when her absence brought them out they pleased.
Even among the fondest of them all,
What mortal or immortal maid is more
Content with giving happiness than pain?
One day he was returning from the wood
Despondently. She pitied him, and said
"Come back!" and twined her fingers in the hem
Above his shoulder. Then she led his steps
To a cool rill that ran o'er level sand
Through lentisk and through oleander, there
Bathed she his feet, lifting them on her lap
When bathed, and drying them in both her hands.
He dared complain; for those who most are loved
Most dare it; but not harsh was his complaint.
"O thou inconstant!" said she, "if stern law
Bind thee, or will, stronger than sternest law,
O, let me know henceforward when to hope
The fruit of love that grows for me but here."

He spakè; and pluckt it from its pliant stem.
"Impatient Rhaicos! why thus intercept
The answer I would give? There is a bee
Whom I have fed, a bee who knows my thoughts
And executes my wishes; I will send
That messenger. If ever thou art false,
Drawn by another, own it not, but drive
My bee away: then shall I know my fate,
And, .. for thou must be wretched, .. weep at thine.
But often as my heart persuades to lay
Its cares on thine and throb itself to rest,
Expect her with thee, whether it be morn
Or eve, at any time when woods are safe."

Day after day the Hours beheld them blest,
Season after season: years had past,
Blest were they still. He who asserts that Love
Ever is sated of sweet things, the same
Sweet thing he fretted for in earlier days,
Never, by Zeus! loved he a Hamadryad.
The nights had now grown longer, and perhaps
The Hamadryads find them lone and dull
Among their woods: one did, alas! She called
Her faithful bee: 'twas when all bees should sleep,
And all did sleep but hers. She was sent forth
To bring that light which never wintry blast
Blows out, nor rain nor snow extinguishes,
The light that shines from loving eyes upon
Eyes that love back, till they can see no more.

Rhaicos was sitting at his father's hearth:
Between them stood the table, not o'erspread
With fruits which autumn now profusely bore,
Nor anise cakes, nor odorous wine; but there
The draft-board was expanded; at which game
Triumphant sat old Thallinos; the son
Was puzzled, vext, discomfited, distraught.
A buzz was at his ear: up went his hand,
And it was heard no longer. The poor bee
Return'd (but not until the morn shone bright)
And found the Hamadryad with her head
Upon her aching wrist, and showed one wing
Half-broken off, the other's meshes marr'd,
And there were bruises which no eye could see
Saving a Hamadryad's.
At this sight
Down fell the languid brow, both hands fell down,
A shriek was carried to the ancient hall
Of Thallinos: he heard it not; his son
Heard it, and ran forthwith into the wood.
No bark was on the tree, no leaf was green,
The trunk was riven through. From that day forth
Nor word nor whisper soothed his ear, nor sound
Even of insect wing: but loud laments
The woodmen and the shepherds one long year
Heard day and night; for Rhaicos would not quit
The solitary place, but moan'd and died.

Hence milk and honey wonder not, O guest,
To find set duly on the hollow stone.

In this brief and hasty article we have not attempted any thing like an adequate criticism of one of the most peculiar and delightful writers in the English language. We have only stated some of the sharper impressions of him which remain in our memory, after an acquaintance of many years. We feel that what we have said is exceedingly imperfect· But we shall be satisfied if we lead any one to desire that better knowledge of him which his works alone can furnish. To give an idea of the character of the man, a very few quotations would suffice, but to show the value of his writings we should be obliged to copy nearly all of them. We are sometimes inclined to think of Wordsworth, that, if he has not reduced poetry to the level of commonplace, he has at least glorified commonplace by elevating it into the diviner æther of poetry; and we may say of Landor that he has clothed common-sense with the singing-robes of imagination. In this respect he resembles Goethe, and we feel that he eminently deserves one of the titles of the great German — the Wise, for, as common-sense dwelling in the ordinary plane of life becomes experience and prudence, so, looking down from the summits of imagination, she is heightened into inspiration and wisdom.

Art. V.—A NEW THEORY OF THE EFFECT OF THE TIDES.

Among the discoveries in science recently made on this side of the ocean, is one which has excited much interest among geologists and navigators; and which seems to us equally to merit the attention of scientific men in Europe. We mean the tide-theory of Captain Davis, recently laid before the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists in Philadelphia. Having had occasion to become familiar with the elements of this theory during a stay of several months this summer, on board the vessel commanded by Captain Davis, as the officer superintending one of the divisions of the United States Coast-Survey, we thought it might be profitable to publish a sketch of the principal results at which our

learned friend has arrived, after long and patient investigations.*

The eastern coast of the United States is bordered throughout its whole extent by a line of sand-banks and islands of very various forms and outlines, but very uniform in their mineralogical character, being composed, for the most part, of a fine white and very quartzose sand. On the coasts of the Southern States, (the Carolinas and Virginia), they form a chain of low islands, separated from the coast by a series of lagoons, which give a peculiar character to the navigation of those districts.

Higher up, on the southern coasts of New England, they occur as submarine ridges, parallel to the coast, and separated from each other by wide channels. Farther North, these deposits are more extensive, and form vast submarine plateaus, such as the St. George's and Newfoundland Banks. Finally, deposits analogous to these are formed at the bottom of bays, but in a state of more complete trituration. These are known under the name of *flats*.

Mr. Davis, after having devoted several years to the study of these various species of banks, has arrived at this result: *that their forms, extent, and distribution are principally determined by tides;* — the wind and the waves playing but a subordinate part in their formation.

One of the first points on which Mr. Davis insists, is the relation that exists between the strength of tides and the distribution of sand-banks. On both sides of the Atlantic we invariably find sand-banks most numerous where the tides are slight, or where their force is exhausted after having been considerable. Mr. Davis accounts for this in the following manner: — According to the researches of Mr. Whewell, the tidal wave, on entering the Atlantic Ocean, passes onward in the form of an arc; the convexity of which is turned toward the north. In its progress northward, this wave strikes against the coasts of the two continents of Africa and America. From this shock proceed the various local currents which are designated under the name of tidal currents, the direction and rapidity of which are determined by the shape of the coasts. Their rapidity is, in general, in proportion to the directness of the obstacles opposing them, and the narrowness of the chan-

* Mr. Davis is now engaged in preparing a detailed paper on this subject, which will appear in the transactions of the American Academy.

nels through which they run. These tidal currents, in running with great rapidity along a coast, raise up and carry with them the movable deposits and the detritus of all sorts which the waves and atmospheric forces have detached from the beaches. These currents, however, soon lose their force, unless new obstacles come in their way; and in proportion as they abate, the substances held suspended begin to be deposited. Any inequality of the bottom is then sufficient to form the nucleus or point of departure of a sand-bank, the direction of which will be parallel to that of the current. Such, for instance, is the origin of the narrow banks bordering the island of Nantucket, and known under the names of Bass Rip, Great Rip, South Shoal, &c.

But the most favorable conditions for the formation of sand-deposits exist where the tidal current, after passing a promontory, is deflected laterally into a wide bay, where it can expand freely. Not only the heavy materials, but also the more minute particles are then deposited at the bottom of the bay; no longer under the form of narrow ridges, but as broad continuous strata or *flats*, generally composed of very fine sand, or of calcareous mud, where the deposit takes place in the neighbourhood of coral reefs. This is the reason why the most extensive and regular deposits are found at the bottom of wide bays. Cape Cod Bay, on the coast of Massachusetts, is cited by Mr. Davis as an example of this mode of deposition.

On the contrary, when the bay is narrow, as the *fiords* of Norway, or when it lies in the direction of the current, so as to allow the tide to rush in without obstacle and rise to a great height, as for instance the Bay of Fundy, the ebb and flood are too violent, and occasion too rapid currents to allow the water to deposit any of the materials which it holds suspended. Hence it is that such bays are generally without sand-banks, unless it be in their lateral coves.

A remarkable phenomenon takes place when the tidal current flows with a moderate rapidity along a coast, so as to deposit a bank of sand against the cliffs. In this case, it is not unusual to see the bank stretching out into the sea, but instead of following the direction of the coast, it inclines, from the pressure from without, towards the interior of the bay, so as to describe a bend, which the seamen of this country call a *Hook*. Sandy Hook, in the bay of New York, is of this character. Such, also, are the Hook of Cape Cod and the Hook

of Holland. The direction of the Hook is invariably that of the current.

The coasts of Europe offer numerous examples of these various forms of alluvial deposits. Lines of narrow banks, like those on the coasts of New Jersey and the Carolinas, have been described by M. Elie de Beaumont, on the shores of France, as, for instance, near Dieppe, and in the department of Finisterre. On the other hand, the Bay of Biscay offers in its sands, (which are carried by the winds into the interior and formed into dunes,) a striking example of the bay-deposits. But it is the Netherlands that merit the greatest attention. Sand-banks are rare on the northwest coasts of France, but no sooner do we quit the Channel than we find them scattered throughout the North Sea. Holland itself is in a great measure formed of alluvial sand. Now these deposits are formed precisely on the spot most favorable to the formation of alluvial deposits: namely, where the tidal current, having passed through the Channel, enters the vast basin of the North Sea. The deposition of sand-banks in the North Sea is favored, moreover, by the meeting of two tides on the coast of Jutland, (one coming from the Channel and the other passing round the island of Great Britain,) forming what the hydrographers call a *tide node*, which implies, generally, a continual eddy, which is more favorable than any thing to the formation of sand-banks.

Considered in their general connection, the alluvial deposits of a continent should be looked upon as the product of a series of currents and eddies alternating with each other, the final result of which is to transport, in the direction of the flood, the movable materials which the waves and atmospheric agents have detached from the coast-beaches. This is particularly striking on the coast of the United States. The alluvial deposits form, at first, only a narrow line on the coast of Florida; this line enlarges insensibly on the coasts of the Carolinas, Virginia, and New Jersey; it becomes wider on the coast of Massachusetts, and finally attains the maximum of its development in the Grand Bank of Newfoundland.

This process is of the highest importance in the economy of nature, if we consider that the banks thus formed by the tidal currents are the principal seats of animal life in the ocean. It is upon the banks which border the coast of the United States that the most extensive fisheries are carried on, (particularly the St. George's and Newfoundland Banks,)

because these are the abodes of those myriads of invertebral animals (worms, mollusks, and zoöphytes,) which serve for the food of fishes, whilst the great depths of the ocean, at a short distance from the banks, are almost deserts.

The tides are not less important from the manner in which they influence river-deposits. Hitherto the formation of deltas, such as those of the Mississippi, the Nile, the Orinoco, and other rivers, has been attributed too exclusively to the great quantities of mud which these rivers transport. It seems to be forgotten that other rivers, such as the Amazon, the Rio de la Plata, the Delaware, and others, are not less muddy, and yet, instead of forming deltas at their mouths, they empty into wide bays.

Mr. Davis, on the contrary, shows that deltas are in an inverse ratio to the tides, so that they exist only where the tides are feeble or null; whilst we find estuaries wherever the tides are considerable. Take, for example, the rivers of the eastern coast of the United States, and most of the rivers of Europe which empty into the Atlantic Ocean. And this is perfectly natural. The tide, on entering a river, accumulates during the flood, and keeps back the water of the stream, so that when the ebb begins, the water, in escaping, forms a current strong enough to carry off to sea the principal part of the materials held suspended in the river-water. Mr. Davis remarks on this point, that where bars exist in such estuaries they are generally composed of sea-sand brought by the tide, and not of fluviatile deposits.

In connection with Mr. Davis, we have endeavoured to apply the above results to the study of the deposits of former geological epochs; and we think it is easy to show on a geological chart of the United States, that the same laws which now regulate the deposition of sand-banks have been in operation during the diluvial, tertiary, and cretaceous epochs; the deposits of these epochs forming so many parallel zones successively following the great backbone of the Alleghanies.

The diluvial deposits, in Europe as well as in America, merit a special attention in this respect. No doubt, during the diluvial epochs, the plains of northern Germany as well as a great part of Scandinavia, and, on this continent, the coast of the United States from Florida to Canada, formed a series of banks and shoals, like the Banks of Newfoundland in our day, whilst the plains of the West, between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, formed a vast bay, comparable

to the Gulf of Mexico, in which the sea deposited the fine sand and clay of the prairies, as it now deposits in the Gulf of Mexico the sand and mud that border the coast of Texas.

The results of the above researches may be summed up thus: —

1st. The form and distribution of banks, and of alluvial formations in general, are, in a great measure, dependent on tides. They ought to be found everywhere where the tidal current is sufficiently abated to permit the materials held in suspension to be deposited. The finer and lighter materials must therefore be deposited in the calmer places.

2nd. The formation of submarine banks is indispensable to the maintenance of animal life, since they constitute the most favorable localities for marine animals.

3d. The formation of deltas, at the mouths of rivers, is in an inverse ratio to the force of the tide.

4th. The sedimentary deposits of the most recent geological epochs, being, in all respects, like the alluvial deposits of our day, we must hint that they were formed under the operation of the same laws.

5th. The form and extent of continents, so far as they are composed of sedimentary deposits, are thus dependent on astronomical laws, that is, on the attraction which the moon and the sun exert, and in all time have exerted on the liquid part of our planet.

ART. VI. — *Cheap Postage.* By JOSHUA LEAVITT, Corresponding Secretary of the Cheap Postage Association. Boston. 1848.

THERE is nothing which so surely makes a man write himself down an ass, as his vanity. It is just so with nations; and the American people are often led, by indulgence in this weakness, to make themselves egregious asses in the eyes of intelligent foreigners. "You are the most free and enlightened nation upon the earth," say the politicians; and the people cry, Amen! and straightway go and vote such smooth-tongued orators into place and power.

According to the theory, our government, being composed of representatives of the people taken from among the citizens

themselves, has no motive to do any thing, or to support any institution, which is hostile to the interests of the people; but, according to the fact, it does do many such things. Among these is the imposition of a most unjust, unnecessary, and oppressive *tax upon knowledge and intercourse among men*, which is levied by means of an odious monopoly of the business of conveying letters. To this monopoly our "enlightened people" submit, and even think their "post-office privilege" is a great boon, while a neighbouring nation has for years been in the enjoyment of a system compared to which ours is like a relic of the dark ages.

Any one who can see an inch into futurity, has only to examine our present system of postal arrangements, its imperfections and abuses, and to compare it with one that is perfectly feasible, in order to feel assured that in a few years men will look back upon it with that complacent contempt with which they now look back upon the mode in which they travelled before the days of steam-boats and rail-roads.

To say nothing of a journey to Washington or New York, matters of such grave import as to require "a note read in meeting," asking the prayers of the pious for safe deliverance from perils by sea and perils by land, one could not make a journey even of a hundred miles without painstaking preparation and long-suffering endurance.

If a wise man, you prepared to start on Monday, so as to have the whole week for "lee way." You went on Friday or Saturday to the "stage-office," booked yourself, and paid the fare. On Sunday, about sunset, you might see some runner from the office speering about the neighbourhood, to make sure of the place and number of your dwelling, in order the more easily to find it in the gray of the morning. You made a compact with the watchman to rap on your window an hour before the time of starting; or, you had some queer contrivance to awaken yourself, such as a bunch of keys, or old iron, suspended by a string passed across the lower part of a candle, which, in four or five hours, would burn down to the mark, set fire to the string, let fall the iron into a wash-basin, and so make racket enough to arouse you. You waked twenty times to see if the machinery was all in order, and at last got up before it gave the signal. You roused the maid, who bustled about to make ready your coffee, ham, and eggs, while you shaved your chin and packed your chest. At last you heard the distant horn; then the sound of rumbling

wheels, — of clattering hoofs; — the "stage" is at the door. You rush resolutely to the "entry," and put on and button up your overcoat with desperate haste; you don your travelling cap, and throw a heavy cloak over your shoulders, while two men lift your heavy trunk, and strain and pull at great straps, to bind it on behind the coach; which done, they cry "all right;" and you kiss your mother, wife, or sister, who stands shivering on the doorway, holding a dressing-gown together with one hand, while the other, raised above her head, supports the candle whose flickering light guides you down the steps, and serves to tell the wondering neighbours, with night-capped heads popped out of the windows, who is going away. You take the "back seat," if you are old or feeble; the middle one by the window, if you are hearty; or mount the box, beside the jolly driver, if you are young and vigorous, and want to see the country. Crack goes the whip! and away you post, to pick up other passengers, and so pass an hour preparing for the final start. At last you are fairly off; and the horses go jog-trotting along the plain, walking up the hills, galloping down the slopes, until you come to the "changing place." You then get out, and warm your toes by the bar-room fire, while the panting horses are taking off, and fresh ones are put on; you treat your driver to a "horn," (not of tin,) which drunk, he lights his cigar, and, crying "all aboard," heaves his heavy carcass up into his box, picks up the lines, and away you start again. Thus toiling on, through all the tedious hours of the forenoon, stopping to water the horses or to change them five or six times, you arrive at the "half-way house," hungry as a hunter, and happy that a quarter of your journey is done. After a hearty dinner, you mount again and try to sleep away an hour or so, while the rumbling carriage goes slowly on, with the occasional variety of a "break-down" or an "overset," until, long after dark, you arrive at the stopping-place for the night; and, heated, tired, jaded out, you lie down, perchance in damp sheets, with the poor satisfaction that you have got over nearly fifty miles, and have only fifty more before you.

But now, you make the same journey by going quietly to the "station," after breakfast, with no other *impedimenta* than your sack-coat and the last new novel; you take your seat by the window; you finish the distance as you finish the first volume; you do your business, return home before night, and, if your wife asks you where you "dined to-day," you

quietly answer, in Portland, or in Springfield, or anywhere else a hundred miles off, as the case may be.

Now, as the difference between the first journey, slowly, painfully, and perilously performed, and the second, swiftly, easily, and safely done, so is the difference between our present postal arrangements and those which may be had for the asking, if the people will only ask loudly and resolutely enough.

But in order to make a resolute and successful demand for any thing, men must be satisfied, first, that it is a desirable and reasonable and feasible thing, and, second, that they have a right to demand it. It is desirable and reasonable that there should be the freest possible circulation of light and knowledge, and that the government should fetch and carry letters and newspapers for the people, *without any other tax than just so much as will prevent abuse of the privilege.* Under this principle we should have a uniform postage of *one cent* on each letter or paper, whether carried one mile or one thousand miles; we should have, moreover, in all thickly settled places, the letters we write and those we receive taken from and brought to our doors, without any other charge than the single cent postage.

The various associations and petitioners for cheap postage, and even the author of the able pamphlet at the head of this article, do not go as far as this; they ask merely for a uniform postage of *two cents*; they do this, however, because they are afraid to take the bull by the horns; they think that men would start too much at the thought of *a cent* postage; and that Congress would refuse that, if asked for openly, but might grant a *two-cent* postage *at first*, and yield the other afterwards. If this timid policy is followed, the whole work will have to be done over again; for there are men who will never rest until the people have their right in this matter, and that right is clearly that postage should be fixed at the lowest sum that will prevent an abuse of the privilege, which is *one cent*, and no more.

Congress, forsooth! the congregated wisdom of the country, as it is called, but which is rather a congregation of cunning, cowardly, time-serving *availables;* a congregation in which not five men can be found whose morality is up to a level of that of the old heathen who said let the right be done though the roof fall and crush us. Congress, indeed, will not allow us the lowest possible rate of postage! that is, a congregation of

the very men, who, mostly for selfish and personal purposes, by a gross abuse of the franking privilege, do themselves keep up this tax on the circulation of letters among the people! they— a collection of some fifteen score of successful and well-paid office seekers, who, by a shameless abuse of a sacred trust, weigh down the mails of the country with a heavier load, yes, many fold heavier than all the letters written by all the men, women, and children in the land, in all the days of the year, will refuse to lower the postage!

We allude not to members who send home by mail their shirt-collars, false fronts, and such matters, for their wives to wash and mend, or fine shoes for them to wear—it is only *snobs* who do such things; but we allude to the franking of speeches, newspapers, documents, and even books. Let those who are not familiar with the extent of this business read the following from good authority; in 1844, Congress printed *fifty-five thousand* copies of the Report of the Commissioner of Patents, at a cost of $114,000.

"This Report is a huge document, printed in large type, with a large margin, containing very little matter of the least importance, and that little so buried in the rubbish, as to be worth about as much as so many "needles in a hay-mow." Then this huge quantity of trash, created at this large expense, is to be *franked* for all parts of the country, by way of *currying favor* and *getting votes next time*, lumbering the mails, and creating another large expense. We have taken the trouble to weigh the copy of this document which was forwarded to us, and find its ponderosity to be 2 lbs., 14 oz., or, with the wrapper, about *three pounds!* The aggregate weight of the 55,000 copies, is therefore EIGHTY-TWO AND A HALF TONS! Eighty-two and a half tons of paper spoiled; and the nation taxed $114,000 for spoiling it; and then compelled to lug it to all parts of the Union through the monopoly post-office and the *franking* privilege! Poor patient people!

"Such taxes, to be defrayed by high postage on letters and newspapers, grow out of this *franking* privilege; and the power which Congress reserve to themselves, of distributing free as many documents as they choose to print at the public expense! These documents, it seems, are the grand means resorted to by many members, of '*currying favor*' with the influential, and thus '*getting votes next time!*'"

Let us put this in a simpler form. It is found that 10,000 ordinary letters weigh 156 lbs., or about one fourth of an ounce to a letter. Now, each one of the documents above

named weighs as much as 198 letters, or, for convenience, say 200; and the whole 55,000 weigh about as much as 11,000,-000 letters. But, the whole number of letters carried in 1843 was only 24,000,000, so that the circulation of this document alone cost nearly half as much as the circulation of all the letters of the country.

Let us make all due allowance for exaggeration; let us suppose that the whole number of that particular document was not mailed; let us suppose any thing, still there are scores of such documents every session of Congress; and then there are hundreds of thousands of copies of members' speeches franked and sent off by the groaning mails to ubiquitous *Buncombe*, so that any way we can view it, the members of Congress do actually mail and frank much more matter, and that mostly for electioneering purposes, than the weight of all the letters of all the twenty millions of people in the country! And yet we must wait for *them* to remove the tax from our letters! No! no, there is but one way for this thing to be done, and that is for the people to go up and demand that it be done, even at the cost of the franking power, which is nothing more nor less than a relic of feudal and aristocratic privileges. We go back, then, to what we said: it is for the people to satisfy themselves that it is right and proper that no other tax should be put upon the free circulation of letters, than just enough to prevent abuse of the mail privilege. We need spend no time to show that a cent postage will prevent any such abuse, especially if letters are required to be prepaid. Some may object, indeed, (as they did at first in England,) that all the boys and girls, and all the men-servants and maid-servants would go to scribbling nonsense, and sending it off by mail; we can only say, the more the better; they will scribble nonsense until the practice teaches them to write good sense; and it will be cheap schooling.

As to the desirability of the thing, can any man, who has any human relations, who has parents, children, sister, brother, lover, or friend, — any one who has any business with other men, can he doubt a moment the benefits of free and rapid communication by mail? Can any man, who loves his race, doubt a moment that an immense spring would be given to human progress by coming down at once to a cent postage? I hear you, Dives, who know not the difference between a cent and a dime, reply, that if any one has any thing worth writing about, he can pay five or ten cents for it! But, go to! contract

that swelling pride, and get through the needle's eye as well as you can! Look at that youth or maiden earning but two dollars a week, whose parents are in the far West, whose brother, sister, or lover is away in another direction, and who would fain hear from and write to the dear ones every day; and, say, shall he or she pay ten cents, a *third or a quarter of the daily earnings* — the sole income, for a single draught to slake the soul's thirst for sympathy and love — a single token of well-being — a simple "God bless you my son, my daughter, or my lover?"

Oh Dives! Dives! thou hast thy good things in abundance; thou goest home at night from thy storehouse to thy dwelling, where riches, tastefully expended, surround thee with refined elegance, with statuary and painting; thou hast music, and books, and friends, and whatever thy heart desireth; thou hast, too, kindness and generosity in that heart, if it can be awakened; oh! begrudge not to the toiling ones the only luxury they have, — the luxury of the affections.

Many things serve in this our country and generation to weaken and to sever the ties of family love. Children are hardly grown, before they are tempted abroad to try their fortunes in a thousand ways; the parents grow gray in a lonely homestead, and pine for tidings of their scattered brood; the once tender affections of brother and sister become weaker and weaker by long separation; and the friendships of youth, and the attachments of neighbourhood, are gradually lost in absence and in forgetfulness.

This ought not so to be. The most binding union among men is the union of the family; its constitution was given by God himself; and its laws are those of affection. Next comes the bond of friendship, the most enduring cords of which are those which are twined about the heart in the tender season of youth. Without those two binding forces society is but a crowd of independent individuals, whose distinguishing feature is selfishness. Look at the hunters and trappers of the West; look at the floating population of Paris; the unmarried, *unloving men*, who have snapped all the ties of family and of friendship, and gathered together in that great centre of civilization, to prey upon each other and upon the race; men whose element is discord, whose religion is atheism, whose creed is passion, whose law is license, whose being's end and aim is self, self, and ever self; — men who make not the revolutions, but only profit by them; men who cry Liberty! only

that they may commit crimes in her name; — men who hurry on the premature birth of Freedom, and by force and violence make abortions of what would be the fairest offspring of human progress! The tendency of *our* commercial and political institutions is to create men like these; and if there were not a thousand enterprises to scatter them over a vast continent; if there were any great centre, like Paris or London, we should see with what recklessness they would trample on every law that restrained license.

To lessen this centrifugal force; to weaken this tendency to separation and selfishness; to check, indeed, any bad tendency, the most powerful means is instruction; and though our central government cannot give much of this directly, it may do much to *encourage reading and writing among the people;* it may do much to keep bright the chain of affection between the scattered families and parted companions, and keep them united by love, though divided by distance.

The moral effect of free and frequent communication by mail can hardly be conceived by those who have not thought closely upon it. The government cannot indeed "annihilate both time and space" and make all lovers happy, but it can do much towards it. Suppose the telegraph to be perfected; suppose its network to be spread over the whole land, and its filaments running into every house, would they not become like the stretched but unbroken heart-strings of a million families; should we not have, besides speculations in stocks and orders for goods, a constant stream of messages of love and friendship? would there not be, ever flying across the sky, such warm greetings as "how d' ye my mother? how fares my father, my sister, my friends?" and the tender replies, "it is well with me my child! my son, my daughter, my lover," — until the whole atmosphere would become so full of love and affection that the angels of God might delight to dwell therein? This will be called fancy, to-day, by the profane ones who doubt about progress; but, never mind! God will make it a fact to-morrow; meantime, something like this is within our reach, even now. Let the greatest attainable perfection be given to the present mail system; let postage be reduced to a single cent; let the gathering up and distributing of letters in populous places be free, so that by the side of the street door of the dwellings there may be a box open to the inside of the house, but closed on the outside by a lock, to which the postman has the key, and from which he may take all letters for the post, and drop

in it all directed to the household. By this arrangement, and by the simple use of *stamped envelopes*, families could receive and forward their letters without sending to the post-office, and without any trouble whatever. Is this visionary? Not at all! for no further off than London, this very thing is done in many houses, and the families receive and send off their letters with the utmost certainty and regularity, and without sending to the general post-office from the beginning of the year to the end.*

The use of *stamped envelopes* is not known here. They are envelopes for letters, which are stamped, or franked, at the post-office. You buy these by the hundred or the thousand, at any bookseller's or even grocer's, paying a penny for the stamp, and a trifle for the paper; you put your letter into one of them, seal it, direct it to any part of the kingdom, far or near, drop it into the nearest post-box, at your own door, if you have one; and the postman, at his next round, carries it to the post-office, and it goes free to its destination, and is delivered at your friend's door.

To such system is this reduced, and such labor-saving is made, that merchants who write very frequently to a particular correspondent, have a package of stamped envelopes printed with his address, say, "To John Thrifty, No. 48 Queen Street, Aberdeen, Scotland." The labor of writing the address is thus saved, and the saving is something. Suppose there are ten letters daily to regular correspondents, the time saved on the whole of them would be over fifty hours, equal to one week's work.

Despise not a crumb, or a cent, or a minute: a crumb will feed a starving bird; a cent may gladden a hungry beggar; a minute is one of the golden sands of life's hour-glass;—every one of them is the gift of God; for every one of them He will ask an account.

We need not spend time to show the social and moral and intellectual advantages that would flow from the establishment of a post-office upon such a system. Every business man will see the advantages of it in a business point of view. But there would be higher, far higher, advantages than these: it would hold out the strongest motive for those who cannot read

* It is not yet common to have boxes so arranged that the postman can take the letters out; but it is very easy to have them. They can be so contrived that he can tell as he passes along the street whether they contain any thing for him or not. With each letter is his penny fee.

and write to learn to do so; it would prevent thousands from losing, as they now do by long disuse, the faculty of writing and reading; it would make those who now write ten letters a year, write a hundred; it would save many a youth and maiden from the temptation which idle evening hours now bring; it would keep alive affections and friendships which now die out in distance; it would, in short, be a new bond of union, binding the people together in knowledge, and sympathy, and love.

All this would be very fine, says the politician, with a sneer, but government has no right to do it. No right, — why not? Because the post-office department must pay its own expenses! *Must?* — but why? Why more than the army-department — than the navy? Why not make the soldiers work; why not make the frigates carry freight? Is labor, is commerce, dishonorable?

This common political dogma, that the post-office must support itself, which is in every wiseacre's mouth, is sheer assumption; is nonsense, and worse than nonsense; it is narrow and illiberal. There is not one word in the Constitution to warrant it.

Strange with what stupid tenacity conservatism makes men cleave to things and thoughts merely because they are old. This one in question is only a relic of feudal days; a laying on of black mail. Politicians have *assumed*, without the shadow of a foundation, that the government has a right to lay whatever tax it chooses upon the carriage of letters, and that nobody has a right to compete with it in the business!

See how conservatism, the ghost of feudalism, gibbers at those smugglers, the people, who insist upon the right of doing their own business, and how it wails the loss of its perquisites. Congress-men complain that the "business [that is, of people's competing with the government mail by private expresses] has been some time struggling through its incipient stages;" — that "it has now assumed a bold and determined front, and dropped its disguises." . . . "Thus 3,268,000 letters a year, and $543,340 of annual revenue, are the *spoils* taken from the mails by *private cupidity!*"* The House Committee of 1845 said there is "no just reason why individuals engaged in smuggling letters and robbing the department of its legitimate revenues should not be punished in the same way and

* Report of House Committee, May 15th, 1844.

to the same extent as persons guilty of smuggling goods; nor why the same means of detection should not be given to the post-office department which are now given to the treasury."

The SPOILS taken by PRIVATE CUPIDITY! that is the light in which conservatism viewed the fact that people carried their own letters, because they could carry them quicker and cheaper than the government could or would do! It coolly proposes to search their persons, and to punish them as smugglers!

It is probable that the fear of the total loss of these *spoils* did more than any thing else to favor the reduction of postage in 1845. So it is always with poor old Conservatism; she grudgingly gives up part, only because she fears to lose the whole.

But the matter of the *right* of the people to demand cheap postage, is better set forth by the author of the pamphlet before us than we can do it. He says, pp. 23, 24,

"The constitutional rule for the establishment of the post-office, is as follows:

"'Congress shall have power to —

"'Establish post-offices and post-roads.'

"This clause declares plainly the will of the people of the United States, that the federal government should be charged with the responsibility of furnishing the whole union with convenient and proper mail privileges — according to their reasonable wants and the reasonable ability of the government. This is one point of the 'general welfare,' for which we are to look to Congress, just as we look to Congress to provide for the general defence by means of the army and navy. It imposes no other restrictions in the one case than the other, as to the extent to which provision shall be made — the reasonable wants of the people, and the reasonable ability of the government. It limits the resources for this object to no particular branch of the revenue. It gives no sort of sanction to the so oft-repeated rule, which many suppose to be a part of the Constitution, that the post-office must support itself. Still less does it authorize Congress to throw all manner of burdens upon the mail, and then refuse to increase its usefulness as a public convenience, because it cannot carry all those loads. The people must have mails, and Congress must furnish them. To reason for or against any proposed change, on the ground that the alternative may be the discontinuance of public mails, the privation of this privilege to the people, and the winding up of the post-office system, is clearly inadmissible. When the government ceases to give the people

the privileges of the mail, the government itself will soon wind up, or, rather, will be taken in hand and wound up by the people, and set a-going again on better principles. The sole inquiry for Congress is, what is the best way to meet the reasonable wants of the people, by means within the reasonable ability of the government?"

The reasonable wants of the people are, means of frequent and rapid intercourse by mail *at the lowest cost that will prevent abuse*, and that is, as we said, the lowest coin in use, or one cent; and it is within the *reasonable ability* of the government to provide this, even if it has to give up a few frigates, or a few regiments; even if it has to make its half-pay officers work as post-masters, and its lazy soldiers trot about with mail-bags. The employment would be better than their present one, which is merely to keep their long knives sharp, and be ready to slay at their employers' bidding, as the village butchers keep their knives ground and ready at any one's call; with this difference, that the butchers slay only swine and cattle, while the soldiers will slay nothing meaner than men and Christians.

Without going much into the details of the proposed post-office reform, we shall allude to two prominent features of it which seem the most objectionable to those not familiar with it. The first is the uniform rate of postage for all distances; the second, the delivery at dwelling houses.

"What!" says Mr. Holdfast, "charge no more to carry a letter from Maine to Louisiana than from one village to the next one? The thing is absurd! it is wrong!"

Let us look at it. The post-office system is a unit. The mail must go from Maine to Louisiana; the great expense is in establishing the route and carrying the bag; and there is no appreciable difference between the cost of carrying one letter, and carrying one thousand letters, for one thousand letters weigh only fifteen pounds.

"'It is not matter of inference,' says Mr. Rowland Hill, 'but matter of fact, that the expense of the post-office is practically the same, whether a letter is going from London to Barnet, (11 miles,) or from London to Edinburgh, (397 miles); the difference is not expressible in the smallest coin we have.' The cost of transit from London to Edinburgh he explained to be only one thirty-sixth of a penny. And the average cost, per letter, of transportation in all the mails of the kingdom, did not differ materially from this. Of course, it was impossible to vary the

rates of postage according to distance, when the longest distance was but a little over one tenth of a farthing. The same reasoning is obviously applicable to all the *productive* routes in the United States."

Mr. Leavitt thus presents the matter very forcibly. He says,

"The government establishes a mail between two cities, say Boston and New York, which is supported by the avails of postage on letters. Then it proceeds to establish a mail between New York and Philadelphia, which is supported by the postage between those places. Now, how much will it cost the government to carry in addition all the letters that go from Boston to Philadelphia, and from Philadelphia to Boston? Nothing. The contracts will not vary a dollar. In this manner, you may extend your mails from any point, wherever you find a route that will support itself, until you reach New Orleans or Little Rock, and it is as plain as the multiplication table, that it will cost the government no more to take an individual letter from Boston to Little Rock, than it would to take the same letter from Boston to New York. The government is quite indifferent to what place you mail your letter, provided it be to a place which has a mail regularly running to it."

"But," says old Holdfast, "you must make your productive routes pay for the unproductive ones." Thus out of false premises flow vicious consequences. This fundamental error of supposing the post-office must support itself is the root of all the mischief. Speaking of the expensive routes over the new states, Mr. Leavitt says well,

"The honor and interest of the nation required that as soon as the title to the country was settled, our citizens who were resident there, and those who shall go to settle there, should enjoy the benefits of the mail. And as it was the nation's business to establish the mail, it was equally the nation's business to pay the expense. No man can show how it is just or reasonable, that the letters passing between Boston and New York should be taxed 150 per cent. to pay the expense of a mail to Oregon, on the pretext that the post-office must support itself.

Once get rid of the false notions actually existing about the post-office being necessarily a self-supporting system, and view it as a great social machine, intended to weave a web of friendly and commercial intercourse between all parts of the country, and to promote purposes and ends the value of which cannot be measured by any money scale, and people will cease

to say, My brother in New Orleans shall pay more for a message, because he has the *disadvantage* of living further from the centre of the social circle than I do.

As we remarked, the most potent enemy to this improvement will be the fear of its cost; one of the vicious brood of that mother of false notions — the idea that the Post-office must support itself. Even this, however, will disappear or be dwarfed into insignificance, if closely examined. What are the causes of the great cost of the present mode of distribution of letters in Boston and other large cities? A spacious and very expensive building in the heart of the city; the fat perquisites of a chief, whose main business it is to see that no body else gets his office; a cashier, a head clerk, and several other clerks, men who can command high salaries; and younger clerks, whose business it is to sit and wait for all the people to come to them and ask them, through a hole in the wall, if there be any letters, instead of carrying the letters to the thousand who have any, and letting the other ninety-nine thousand stay at home and mind their business. As for the real work of the office, it is done by simple, honest, laboring men, the wages paid to a dozen of whom are not equal to the salaries of one high non-laboring officer. Now it is evident that under a reformed method, by which the *credit* system should be abolished, the occupation of most of those gentlemen would be gone; their ledgers, their journals, their blotters, their way-bills, and most of their trumpery accounts would be done away with; they would wipe their pens, and pack off to spoil paper elsewhere; and the humble laborers, who now work for a dollar a day, would take up the ten thousand letters which the clerks had been writing about, and run and deliver them quickly, and make an end of them.

The folly and littleness of what should be called the humbug of the day, if the infinite mischief it works did not demand for it a graver name, — the credit system, — is shown plainly in the present post-office management. Were it not for the prevalence of this pestiferous system, men would not presume to ask the government to carry a letter thousands of miles for ten cents, and, moreover, to give them or their correspondent credit for it. That they do this now is manifest, because every unpaid letter must be made account of; it must be stamped, it must be charged, it must be noted several times, and finally credited when paid, or, if payment is never made, go to the dead-letter office.

Under the present system there are nearly five millions of letters, newspapers, and pamphlets, mailed every year in the United States, upon which people refuse to pay the postage; and therefore, after having been carried to every part of the Union, they must all be trundled back to Washington, — so many dead bodies, — to be laid out in state awhile, that their friends may have a chance to recognize them, and finally embowelled, lest any treasure should be within them that ought not to be burned upon the great funeral pile on which they are finally to be consumed. By abolishing the credit system, about two hundred thousand dollars, the postage on these five million corpses, would be saved; but vastly more than this by the great simplification of the whole postal machinery. The same credit system, and to the same pernicious extent, existed formerly in England; indeed, vulgar people used to refuse to prepay their letters, upon the ground that if the government once got the money, the letters would not be half so well cared for. Now so well has the penny postage worked, that NINETY PER CENT. of the letters sent by mail are prepaid.

The other feature of the proposed reform which most alarms conservatism is the free delivery, at people's dwellings, of all stamped or prepaid letters. It was equally alarming, when first proposed in England; but you would as soon make John Bull give up a clause of Magna Charta, as attempt now to take away the privilege of free delivery of letters at houses and places of business. In speaking of this matter, we assume that letters would be almost universally prepaid; indeed we should be glad to have the government refuse to give credit upon letters, that is, to receive none but stamped and paid letters, or at least to demand five-fold more postage on letters that were not prepaid by stamps; so that few or none of them would be found.* The great difficulty then would be to fix upon the rate of population to the square mile which towns must attain, in order to have a post-office with free delivery. In some towns, of great extent and sparse population, it would be difficult to establish one. As a general rule, however, the number of letters to be distributed, is in direct ratio to the density of the population.

As this distribution must begin with populous towns and cities, and cannot at first be given to townships which extend straggling over miles and miles of hill and dale, selfishness will

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* It is already proposed in England to require that all letters be prepaid.

start up and cry out against the unfairness of giving to the citizen what is denied to the rustic. To be sure, Rusticus did not think of the privilege before; cared not, indeed, whether there was any post-office or not, but now that Cit has a postman to call upon him, he must have one also. If, however, Reform must take heed to every dog that barks at her when she walks abroad, she might as well stay at home. The end aimed at is the greatest attainable good to all mankind, and if Rusticus does not see that whatever saves time, saves money, quickens intercourse, commerce, and business of all kinds among the central groups of men, at the same time benefits him, it is none the less true that it does so.

The best way to show what would be the advantages of free delivery in large towns, is to set forth the actual working of the system elsewhere. In London there is a general post-office into which are received and mailed *one hundred and fifty million letters* yearly, or nearly five hundred thousand every day.

A large proportion of these letters is for the district of London itself. In 1839 the letters for London itself were one million per month; in 1842, after the reduction of postage, they were two millions; in 1847 they were three millions; during the current year it is probable there have been nearly four millions; say a million a week.

A million letters! it is very easily written or spoken, but does the reader get any adequate idea of the number? Did you ever send out a hundred notes of invitation, to be delivered at houses in different parts of the city? Try it, and you will find that it will keep one man trotting from sun to sun, even in a densely-peopled place like Boston; but extend his circle to twelve miles, and scatter the letters over it, and it would take him much longer. Now give the poor fellow a million letters on the day that he comes of age, and send him to deliver them at the rate of a hundred a day, and it will take him *twenty-seven years to do it!* Yes! he will be about fifty years old, before he has delivered the last one, without having had leisure time to propose and to get married! and a large proportion of the people addressed will have died before the letters reach their dwellings.

Now let us see how the mailing and distributing of a million of letters is done in London. In order to simplify the matter, suppose there are only a hundred thousand letters per day. One way to distribute them would be that which we adopt; a hundred thousand men and boys would trot to the general

post-office, in the morning, to deposit their letters; and the hundred thousand persons to whom they are directed would come to get them, while fifty or a hundred thousand more would come to see if there were any for them, and go away empty-handed. Thus there would be three hundred thousand persons spending their time, and most of them travelling several miles to and fro, about one hundred thousand letters. But the way actually adopted in London is, to let the three hundred thousand persons stay at home and mind their business, and to employ a small number of active men on horseback and on foot, to gather up the letters, bring them to certain central points, and send them out again according to their several directions.

In the book-stores, in the druggist's shops, in the grocery stores, and in other places where men and women most do congregate, are "receiving boxes," to the number of 220; you go and drop your letter, with a penny stamp upon it, into any one of those, at a quarter before eight o'clock in the morning, and your friend, two or three miles off, receives it at ten. He drops his answer into the nearest box, and you receive it at your door, or, if you have a box at your door with an opening on the street, you find it dropped in there, within two hours. You may send off your letters at eight o'clock, at ten, at noon, at one, two, three, four, five, six, or eight o'clock in the afternoon, and have your answer back within four or five hours, or early the next morning, if dropped too late in the afternoon; and all that is paid is the penny by yourself for your own letter, and a penny by your correspondent for his reply.

But suppose you do not want to go out to the receiving office, and have no one to send; you need not do so; your letter will be taken from your own door. In the afternoon a hundred men start from different points of the circumference of the great circle, each one carrying a locked bag, (which can be unlocked only at the post-office,) with a hole in the side large enough to admit a letter. They walk along the streets ringing their bells; they come at your beck, and you drop your stamped letter into the bag, paying the man his fee of one penny, and you may be quite sure your letter will reach the post-office, and be mailed that evening to any part of the kingdom.

It costs us in Boston more time, more labor, and therefore more money, to send a note from one part of the city to another, from the North end to the South end, than it does to send

a letter to New York, or even to New Orleans. We must have a messenger, who must run two miles and spend some time, perhaps, in finding the place; he must then run back again; and our friend, when he has got his answer ready, must employ not only another pair of legs, but the body, arms, and head, all the powers, in short, of a human being, for the safe conduct of a single little bit of paper. In London there is ever silently at work a vast machinery, which picks up a hundred thousand letters and brings back a hundred thousand answers, more swiftly, more surely, and more cheaply than we send a single thousand.

But after all, perhaps, there is an objection that will occur to many persons as insurmountable, and that is, that even if we had a system of free delivery at houses, people would not trust to it, but still run to the post-office. So they would, during a little while, because it is in the very nature of things for most persons to suppose that what they have always done they must always do. Turn the blind mill-horse out into the pasture, and he will go round and round awhile as he grazes, but at last stand and graze at his ease.

The best answer, however, to this objection, is the fact: Londoners once used to go gadding daily to the post-office, to get a letter, or a surly No! to their inquiry for one; but now, if a man should be seen hurrying towards the centre of the city, and should tell his friends he was going to the general post-office, they would be more surprised than if he should tell them he was going to take the steamer for the Continent or the United States.

There are many benefits arising from the method of free delivery at houses, which we have not time to dwell on; but we must allude to one, and that is, the advantage to the poor and humble, especially to timid females, who are now deterred from keeping up a correspondence with friends by the difficulties attendant upon the delivery of letters. They are often obliged to go a half a dozen times, and make vain inquiries at the post-office. They must often go in bad weather; they are liable to detention, to rudeness, and to a thousand vexations. We pretend that in this country one man is as good as another, and so we treat him, *in the abstract;* but we can easily see in how much greater esteem the rich and refined are really held, by supposing that a rule were passed that no letter should be delivered for any lady or gentleman at the post-office, except to themselves personally, and that Dives should

not send his messenger, or have his box, any more than Lazarus.

Suppose our rich men were obliged to go and mingle in the crowd, and push and be pushed, and struggle up to the post-office window, and pay out their specie for every letter; and suppose their wives and daughters should have to do as the poor milliners and sewing women must do,—go day after day to the most public place in the city, and work their way through a bustling crowd up to a pigeon-hole in a wall, and cling on to it with their hands, for fear of being pushed aside ere the pert clerk had looked at them long enough to see whether they were old or young, fair or ugly, before deciding with how much quickness and care he should look for their letters. Let rich and refined ladies have to do and suffer what poor and humble women have to do and suffer in order to mail and receive their letters; and we should have a post-office reform right speedily.

Far be it from us to propose or desire any restriction upon the conveniencies of one class, because they cannot be had by all; but we want Dives to bring down his nose (in imagination merely,) upon the grindstone of reality, in order to understand how it actually grinds the face of the poor.

We have thus very loosely and imperfectly jotted down some thoughts about the proposed post-office reform. We have not dwelt much upon statistics, because the financial side of the matter interests us much less than the moral. We have been willing to grant that the proposed reform would throw some burden upon the general treasury, though it would be easy to show that this would soon become very small, and perhaps be removed entirely.

The reduction of postage to one cent for all distances would act like a premium upon writing and reading. In 1839, the last year of the old high system of postage in Great Britain, the whole number of letters mailed was seventy-nine millions. In 1840, the first year of the reformed system, it rose to one hundred and sixty-nine millions; in 1842 it exceeded two hundred millions, and rose steadily till it reached three hundred and twenty-two millions in 1847, and is still rising.

The gross income, under the old system, had remained about stationary for nearly half a century, varying from ten to twelve millions of dollars. In 1839, it was little short of twelve millions. The sudden reduction of postage to one pen-

ny caused a great falling off in the net revenue, in 1841. But soon a flood of letters began to pour in, and the numbers increased so rapidly, without thereby materially increasing the expense, that in 1847 the gross income was about ten millions of dollars; and during the current year, information obtained by Mr. Hume in official quarters assures us that it is expected the gross revenue will equal the gross amount of postage in the year before the postage was reduced.

Yes! in 1847 the post-office system of Great Britain afforded the immense facilities to which we have alluded, circulated over three hundred millions of letters to all parts of the kingdom, at a penny apiece, took up and delivered many millions at the very doors of the inhabitants, and not only cost the government nothing, but actually paid into the treasury four millions of dollars,* its net earnings, over and above all expenses!

Here is a sop for Mammon!

In 1843, there were 24,267,552 letters circulated by mail in the United States, yielding the sum of $3,525,268. The number in 1847, under the partial reduction, was more than doubled, being 52,173,480, yielding $3,188,957; the reduction doubling the number without sensibly increasing the expense, and yielding almost the same revenue.

Take fifty million as the present number of letters circulated, and estimate the revenue at three millions of dollars, that is, an average of about six cents a letter. Now, if we reduce the postage to one cent, we must have six times as many letters, or three hundred millions yearly, to yield the same revenue. Let us see what is the probability of this being done. Look at Scotland: she has a population of two and a half millions; her foreign and her domestic commerce are very limited, compared with those of the States; one would suppose the intercourse between different parts of the country would be less than in ours; her people are not more intelligent, to say the least; and yet, under the reformed postage system, over twenty-eight millions of letters are circulated annually, or *eleven* letters for each inhabitant; while we circulate *less than three* letters per inhabitant. Now give us the cent postage, and suppose that we write only eleven letters, each, yearly, as many as they do in Scotland, and the revenue will be two millions two hundred thousand dollars. But suppose,

* The *net* revenue of the British post-office, in 1847, was £839,548, 9s. 6d.

as we well may, that we shall write one quarter more letters in proportion to our population, the revenue will then come up to what it now is, without materially increasing the expense.

But there will be other sources of economy, besides the increased number of letters circulated, if the proposed reform should be adopted. The odious franking privilege should be abolished at once. Suppose each member of Congress wants to send ten thousand letters per annum; let Congress provide him with ten thousand letter stamps, and charge it in the expenses of the session. Or, if he thinks this will not be enough to distribute his speeches to ubiquitous Buncombe, give him twenty — thirty thousand, but, in the name of conscience and reason, set him some limit, and do not make the people pay high postage on their letters, that his speeches may swarm over the land like winged incubi.

Serve presidents and secretaries in the same way; limit them somewhere. Let the rule be imperative and universal; let not even *ex-presidentesses* escape it. Give them stamps, as many as you choose, only let it be a specific charge upon the treasury. Give them even a hundred thousand, and let them sell them, if they will, it will not be worse *than selling human flesh, as one of them does!*

We have already alluded to the saving of the present loss upon dead letters; that on dead newspapers would be equally great, nay! it would be far greater, if we take the cost of transportation into the account. Under the present system, millions of newspapers and pamphlets are carried by mail to all parts of the country and left uncalled for, because the consignees will not pay the postage. Once require prepayment, and men will cease to put valueless papers into the mail.

Another saving would be made by a reduction of the cost of rail-road transportation. At present the enormous sum charged by rail-road corporations for carrying the mails is clear profit, for it costs next to nothing more to take a mail along in the cars, than to send them without it. The stockholder in a rail-road company now "goes shares" with the government in the black mail levied upon letters. You may send a man from Boston to Philadelphia with five thousand letters in his trunk, and it will cost you but ten dollars, board and lodging included; that is, a mill a letter. But government steps up and says, "Stop, friend, you are smuggling. You must put those letters into my bag, and pay ten cents for each one, or five hundred dollars for the whole." The rail-road

director witnesses this doing, and straightway steps up to the government and says, "Stop, old gentleman, since you get five hundred dollars for carrying that bag, you don't suppose I am fool enough to take it on board my cars at the same rate that I take a bag of common merchandise; you must pay me many fold more,—you must pay, not in proportion to what the freight is worth, but in proportion to what you get." The government blusters and threatens prosecution, but finally, thinking the less stir is made the better, it yields and shares part of its plunder with the company.

There can be no doubt that if proper reforms were made, and the post-office were regarded as a great social machinery for promoting the intellectual, moral, and material interests of the people, rail-road corporations, soulless as they are supposed to be, would coöperate with government to facilitate its working. So it would be in a hundred other ways, and unthought-of savings would be made.

This, then, is the one thing wanting—a right understanding of the great capacities of the post-office system. A moral age will make it as efficient a moral agent as a commercial age makes it an efficient commercial agent. To indulge in speculations about what would be the effect of developing all the latent force of this powerful agency, and yoking it into the cause of true reform, would swell this article to a volume. We cannot close, however, without alluding to one benignant feature which we discover already in the misty future; and that is, AN OCEAN CENT POSTAGE!

Let us first consider ocean postage as it is now usually regarded—it will give us a fair view of the spirit of commerce. Then let us look upon it as it will be regarded by and by—it will give us a faint idea of the spirit of beneficence.

Millions of men have torn themselves from the land of their birth, and the homes of their youth, and planted themselves in America. The heartstrings, however, are not like the tree's roots; they will stretch around the globe without breaking; and thoughts and affections will fly from end to end quicker than the lightning flashes along the wire. But parted hearts must have more than thoughts and wishes to satisfy their yearnings; there must be words and signs of love. Then Mammon looks on, and says, "Lo! these millions here would send messages to those millions there, let us carry them and make great gain thereon." So his servant, Commerce, says to the people, "I will take your merchandise cheaply; I will carry a hundred

occasions, but not of slight causes;* the Occasion may be obvious and obviously trivial, but the Cause obscure and great. The Occasion of the French Revolution of 1848 was afforded by the attempt of the king to prevent a certain public dinner: he had a legal right to prevent it. The Cause of the Revolution was a little different, but some men in America and England, at first, scarcely looked beyond the occasion, and, taking that for the cause, thought the Frenchmen fools to make so much ado about a trifle, and that they had better eat their *soupe maigre* at home, and let their victuals stop their mouths. The Occasion of the American Revolution may be found in the Stamp-Act, or the Sugar-Act, the Writs of Assistance, or the Boston Port-Bill; some men, even now, see no further, and logically conclude the colonists made a mistake, because for a dozen years they were far worse off than before the "Rebellion," and have never been so lightly taxed since. Such men do not see the Cause of the Revolution, which was not an unwillingness to pay taxes, but a determination to govern themselves.

At the present day it is plain that a revolution, neither slow nor silent, is taking place in the political parties of America. The occasion thereof is the nomination of a man for the presidency who has no political or civil experience, but who has three qualities that are important in the eyes of the leading men who have supported and pushed him forward:—one is that he is an eminent slave-holder, whose interests and accordingly whose ideas are identical with those of the slave-holders; the next, that he is not hostile to the doctrines of northern manufacturers respecting a protective tariff; and the third, that he is an eminent and very successful military commander. The last is an Accidental Quality, and it is not to be supposed that the intelligent and influential men at the North and South who have promoted his election, value him any more on that account, or think that mere military success fits him for his high office, and enables him to settle the complicated difficulties of a modern state. They must know better; but they must have known that many men of little intelligence are so taken with military glory that they will ask for no more in their hero; it was foreseen, also, that honest and intelligent men of all parties would give him their vote because he had

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* *Γίγνονται μὲν οὖν αἱ στάσεις οὐ περὶ μικρῶν ἀλλ' ἐκ μικρῶν, στασιάζουσι δὲ περὶ μεγάλων.*—Aristotle's *Polit.*, Lib. V., Chap. 4, §1.

never been mixed up with the intrigues of political life. Thus "far-sighted" politicians of the North and South saw that he might be elected, and then might serve the purposes of the slave-holder, or the manufacturer of the North. The military success of General Taylor, an accidental merit, was only the occasion of his nomination by the Whigs; his Substantial Merit was found in the fact that he was supposed (or known) to be favorable to the "peculiar institution" of the South and the protective policy of the manufacturers at the North: this was the cause of his formal nomination by the Whig convention of Philadelphia, and his real nomination by members of the Whig party at Washington. The men of property at the South wanted an extension of slavery; the men of property at the North, a high protective tariff, and it was thought General Taylor could serve both purposes, and promote the interests of the North and South.

Such is the occasion of the revolution in political parties: the cause is the introduction of a New Idea into these parties entirely hostile to some of their former doctrines. In the electioneering contest the new Idea was represented by the words "Free Soil." For present practice it takes a negative form; "No more Slave States, no more Slave Territory," is the motto. But these words and this motto do not adequately represent the Idea, only so much thereof as has been needful in the present crisis.

Before now there has been much in the political history of America to provoke the resentment of the North. England has been ruled by various dynasties; the American chair has been chiefly occupied by the Southern House, the Dynasty of Slave-holders: now and then a member of the Northern House has sat on that seat, but commonly it has been a "Northern Man with Southern principles," never a man with Mind to see the great Idea of America, and Will to carry it out in action. Still the Spirit of Liberty has not died out of the North; the attempt to put an eighth slave-holder in the chair of "the model Republic" gave occasion for that spirit to act again.

The new Idea is not hostile to the distinctive doctrine of either political party; — neither to Free Trade nor to Protection; so it makes no revolution in respect to them — it is neutral and leaves both as it found them. It is not hostile to the General Theory of the American State, so it makes no revolution there; this Idea is assumed as self-evident in the Declaration of Independence. It is not inimical to the theory of

the Constitution of the United States as set forth in the preamble thereto, where the design of the Constitution is declared to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

There are clauses in the Constitution which are exceptions to its theory, and hostile to the design mentioned above; to such this Idea will one day prove itself utterly at variance, as it is now plainly hostile to one part of the practice of the American government, and that of both the parties.

We have had several political parties since the Revolution: the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, — the latter shading off into Republicans, Democrats, and Locofocos; the former tapering into modern Whigs, in which guise some of their fathers would scarcely recognize the family type. We have had a Protective party and an Anti-Protective party; once there was a Free-trade party, which no longer appears in politics. There has been a National Bank party, which seems to have gone to the realm of things lost on earth. In the rise and fall of these parties, several dramas, tragic and comic, have been performed on the American boards, where "one man in his time plays many parts," and stout representatives of the Hartford Convention find themselves on the same side with worshippers of the Gerrymander, and shouting the same cry. It is kindly ordered that memory should be so short and brass so common. None of the old parties is likely to return; the living have buried the dead. "We are all Federalists," said Mr. Jefferson, "we are all Democrats," and truly, so far as old questions are concerned. It is well known that the present representatives of the old Federal party have abjured the commercial theory of their predecessors; and the men who were "Jacobins" at the beginning of the century, curse the new French Revolution by their gods. At the presidential election of 1840, there were but two parties in the field — Democrats and Whigs. As they both survive, it is well to see what Interests or what Ideas they represent.

They differ accidentally in the possession and the desire of power; in the fact that the former took the initiative in annexing Texas and in making the Mexican War, while the latter only pretended to oppose either, but zealously and conclusively coöperated in both. Then, again, the Democratic

party sustain the Sub-treasury system, insisting that the government shall not interfere with banking, shall keep its own deposits, and give and take only specie in its business with the people. The Whig party, if we understand it, has not of late developed any distinctive doctrine on the subject of money and financial operations, but only complained of the action of the Sub-treasury; yet, as it sustained the late Bank of the United States, and appropriately followed as chief mourner at the funeral thereof, uttering dreadful lamentations and prophecies which Time has not seen fit to accomplish, it still keeps up a show of differing from the Democrats on this matter. These are only Accidental or Historical differences, which do not practically affect the politics of the nation to any great degree.

The Substantial difference between the two is this: the Whigs desire a tariff of duties which shall directly and intentionally protect American Industry, or, as we understand it, shall directly and intentionally protect Manufacturing Industry, while the commercial and agricultural interests are to be protected indirectly, not as if they were valuable in themselves, but were a collateral security to the manufacturing interest: a special protection is desired for the great manufactures, which are usually conducted by large capitalists — such as the manufacture of wool, iron, and cotton. On the other hand, the Democrats disclaim all direct protection of any special interest, but, by raising the national revenue from the imports of the nation, actually afford a protection to the articles of domestic origin to the extent of the national revenue, and much more. That is the substantial difference between the two parties — one which has been much insisted on at the late election, especially at the North.

Is this difference of any practical importance at the present moment? There are two methods of raising the revenue of a country: first, by Direct Taxation, — a direct tax on the person, a direct tax on the property; second, by Indirect Taxation. To a simple-minded man Direct Taxation seems the only just and equal mode of collecting the public revenue: the rich man pays in proportion to his much, the poor to his little. This is so just and obvious, that it is the only method resorted to, in towns of the North, for raising their revenue. But while it requires very little common-sense and virtue to appreciate this plan in a town, it seems to require a good deal to endure it in a nation. The four direct taxes levied by the

American government since 1787 have been imperfectly collected, and only with great difficulty and long delay. To avoid this difficulty, the government resorts to various indirect modes of taxation, and collects the greater part of its revenue from the imports which reach our shores. In this way a man's national tax is not directly in proportion to his wealth, but directly in proportion to his consumption of imported goods, or directly to that of domestic goods, whose price is enhanced by the duties laid on the foreign article. So it may happen that an Irish laborer, with a dozen children, pays a larger national tax than a millionaire who sees fit to live in a miserly style; besides, no one knows when he pays or what. At first it seems as if the indirect mode of taxation made the burthen light, but in the end it does not always prove so. The remote effect thereof is sometimes remarkable. The tax of one per cent. levied in Massachusetts on articles sold by auction, has produced some results not at all anticipated.

Now since neither party ventures to suggest direct taxation, the actual question between the two is not between Free-trade and Protection, but only between a Protective and a Revenue tariff. So the real and practical question between them is this: Shall there be a high tariff or a low one? Now at first sight a man not in favor of free trade might think the present tariff gave sufficient protection to those great manufactures of wool, cotton, and iron, and as much as was reasonable. But the present duty is perhaps scarcely adequate to meet the expenses of the nation, for with new territory new expenses must come; there is a large debt to be discharged, its interest to be paid; large sums will be demanded as pensions for the soldiers. Since these things are so, it is but reasonable to conclude that under the administration of the Whigs or Democrats a pretty high tariff of duties will continue for some years to come. So the great and substantial difference between the two parties ceases to be of any great and substantial importance.

In the mean time another party rises up, representing neither of these interests; without developing any peculiar views relative to Trade or Finance, it proclaims the doctrine that there must be no more slave territory, and no more slave states. This doctrine is of great practical importance, and one in which the Free-soil party differs substantially from both the other parties. The Idea on which the party rests is not new; it does not appear that the men who framed the Constitution, or the people who accepted it, ever contemplated the

extension of slavery beyond the limits of the United States at that time; had such a proposition been then made, it would have been indignantly rejected by both. The principle of the Wilmot Proviso boasts the same origin as the Declaration of Independence. The state of feeling at the North occasioned by the Missouri Compromise is well known, but after that there was no political party opposed to slavery. No President has been hostile to it; no Cabinet; no Congress. In 1805, Mr. Pickering, a Senator from Massachusetts, brought forward his bill for amending the Constitution so that slaves should not form part of the basis of representation; but it fell to the ground, and not to be lifted up by his successors for years to come. The refusal of John Quincy Adams, while President, to recognize the independence of Hayti, and his efforts to favor the Slave Power, excited no remark. In 1844, for the first time the anti-slavery votes began seriously to affect the presidential election. At that time the Whigs had nominated as their candidate a man of great powers, of popular manners, the friend of Northern industry, but still more the friend of Southern slavery, and more directly identified with that than any man in so high a latitude. The result of the anti-slavery votes is well known. The bitterest reproaches have been heaped on the men who voted against him as the incarnation of the Slave Power; the annexation of Texas, though accomplished by a Whig Senate, and the Mexican War, though only sixteen members of Congress voted against it, have both been laid to their charge; and some have even affected to wonder that men conscientiously opposed to slavery could not forget their principle for the sake of their party, and put a most decided slave-holder, — who had treated not only them but their cause with scorn and contempt, — in the highest place of power.

The Whig party renewed its attempt to place a slave-holder in the President's chair, at a time when all Europe rises to end for ever the tyranny of man. General Taylor was particularly obnoxious to the anti-slavery men. He is a slave-holder, holding one or two hundred men in bondage, and enlarging that number by recent purchases; he employs them in the worst kind of slave-labor — the manufacture of sugar; he leaves them to the mercy of overseers, the dregs and refuse of mankind; he has just returned from a war undertaken for the extension of slavery; he is a Southern man with Southern interests, and opinions favorable to slavery, and is uniformly

represented by his supporters at the South as decidedly opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, and in favor of the extension of slavery. We know this has been denied at the North; but the testimony of the South settles the question. The convention of Democrats in South Carolina, when they also nominated him, said well, "His interests are our interests; . . . . we know that on this great, paramount, and leading queston of the rights of the South [to extend slavery over the new territory] he is for us and he is with us." Said a newspaper in his own state, "General Taylor is from birth, association, and conviction, identified with the South and her institutions, being one of the most extensive slave-holders in Louisiana, and supported by the slave-holding interest; is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, and in favor of procuring the privilege to the owners of slaves to remove with them to newly acquired territory."

The Southerners evidently thought the crisis an important one. The following is from the distinguished Whig Senator, Mr. Berrien.

"I consider it the most important presidential election, especially to Southern men, which has occurred since the foundation of the government.

"We have great and important interests at stake. If we fail to sustain them now, we may be forced too soon to decide whether we will remain in the Union, at the mercy of a band of fanatics or political jugglers, or reluctantly retire from it for the preservation of our domestic institutions and all our rights as freemen. If we are united, we can sustain them; if we divide on the old party issues, we must be victims.

"With a heart devoted to their interests on this great question, and without respect to party, I implore my fellow-citizens of Georgia, Whig and Democratic, to forget for the time their party divisions: to know each other only as Southern men: to act upon the truism uttered by Mr. Calhoun, that on this vital question,—the preservation of our domestic institutions,—the Southern man who is furthest from us is nearer to us than any Northern man can be; that General Taylor is identified with us in feeling and interest, was born in a slave-holding state, educated in a slave-holding state, is himself a slave-holder; that his slave property constitutes the means of support to himself and family; that he cannot desert us without sacrificing his interest, his principles, the habits and feelings of his life; and that with him, therefore, our institutions are safe. I beseech them, therefore, from the love which they bear to our noble state, to rally under the banner of

Zachary Taylor, and with one united voice to send him by acclamation to the executive chair."

Now there have always been men in America who were opposed to the extension and the very existence of slavery; in 1787, the best and the most celebrated statesmen were publicly active on that side. Some thought slavery a sin, others a mistake, but nearly all in the Convention thought it an error. South Carolina and Georgia were the only states thoroughly devoted to slavery at that time. They threatened to withdraw from the Union if it were not sufficiently respected in the new Constitution. If the other states had said, "You may go, soon as you like, for hitherto you have been only a curse to us and done little but brag," it would have been better for us all. However, partly for the sake of keeping the peace, and perhaps still more for the purpose of making money by certain concessions of the South, the North granted the Southern demands. After the adoption of the Constitution the anti-slavery spirit cooled down; other matters occupied the public mind. The long disasters of Europe; the alarm of the English party, who feared their sons should be "conscripts in the armies of Napoleon," and the violence of the French party, who were ready to compromise the dignity of the nation and add new elements to the confusion in Europe; the subsequent conflict with England, and then the efforts to restore the national character and improve our material condition, — these occupied the thought of the nation till the Missouri Compromise again disturbed the public mind. But that was soon forgotten; little was said about slavery. In the eighteenth century it was discussed in the colleges and newspapers, even in the pulpits of the North; but in the first quarter of the nineteenth, little was heard of it. Manufactures got established at the North and protected by duties; at the South cotton was cultivated with profit, and a heavy duty protected the slave-grown sugar of Louisiana. The pecuniary interests of North and South became closely connected, and both seemed dependent on the peaceable continuance of slavery. Little was said against it, little thought, and nothing done. Southern masters voluntarily brought their slaves to New England and took them back, no one offering the African the conventional shelter of the law, not to speak of the natural shelter of Justice. We well remember the complaint made somewhat later, when a judge decided that a slave brought

here by his master's consent became from that moment free! But where sin abounded grace doth much more abound. There rose up one man who would not compromise, nor be silent,— who would be heard. He spoke of the evil, spoke of the Sin —for all true Reforms are bottomed on Religion, and while they seem adverse to many Interests, yet represent the Idea of the Eternal. He found a few others, a very few, and began the anti-slavery movement. The "platform" of the new party was not an Interest, but an Idea—that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain Unalienable Rights." Every Truth is also a Fact; this was a Fact of Human Consciousness and a Truth of Necessity.

The time has not come to write the history of the abolitionists,—other deeds must come before words; but we cannot forbear quoting the testimony of one witness as to the state of anti-slavery feeling in New England in 1831. It is the late Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, a former mayor of Boston, who speaks.

"The first information received by me of a disposition to agitate this subject in our state, was from the Governors of Virginia and Georgia, severally remonstrating against an incendiary newspaper published in Boston, and, as they alleged, thrown broadcast among their plantations, inciting to insurrection and its horrid results. It appeared, on inquiry, that no member of the city government [of Boston] had ever heard of the publication. Sometime afterwards it was reported to me by the city officers, that they had ferreted out the paper and its editor; that his office was an obscure hole, his only visible auxiliary a negro boy, and his supporters a very few insignificant persons of all colors. This information . . . I communicated to the above named Governors, with an assurance of my belief that the new fanaticism had not made, nor was likely to make, proselytes among the respectable classes of our people."

Such was the state of things in 1831. Anti-slavery had "an obscure hole" for its head-quarters; the one agitator, who had filled the two doughty governors of Virginia and Georgia with uncomfortable forebodings, had "a negro boy" "for his only visible auxiliary," and none of the respectable men of Boston had heard of the hole, of the agitator, of the negro boy, or even of the agitation. One thing must be true, —either the man and the boy were pretty vigorous, or else there was a great Truth in that obscure hole; for in spite of the governors and the mayors, spite of the many able men in the South and the North, spite, also, of the wealth and respectability of the whole land—it is a plain case that the aboli-

tionists have shaken the nation, and their Idea is THE Idea of the time, and the party which shall warmly welcome that is destined before long to override all the other parties.

One thing must be said of the leaders of the anti-slavery movement: they asked for nothing but Justice; not Justice for themselves, — they were not Socratic enough to ask that, — but only Justice for the slave, and to obtain that they forsook all that human hearts most love. It is rather a cheap courage which fought at Monterey and Palo Alto — a bravery that can be bought for ten dollars a month; the patriotism which hurras for "our side," which makes speeches at Faneuil Hall, nay, which carries torch-lights in a procession, is not the very loftiest kind of patriotism; even the man who stands up at the stake, and in one brief hour of agony anticipates the long torment of disease, does not endure the hardest but only the most obvious kind of martyrdom. But when a man for conscience' sake leaves a calling that would ensure him bread and respectability, when he abjures the opinions which give him the esteem of honorable men; when for the sake of Truth and Justice he devotes himself to liberating the most abused and despised class of men, solely because they are men and brothers; when he thus steps forth in front of the world and encounters poverty and neglect, the scorn, the loathing, and the contempt of mankind — why there is something not very common in that. There was once a man who had not where to lay his head, who was born in "an obscure hole" and had not even a negro boy for his "auxiliary;" who all his life lived with most obscure persons — eating and drinking with publicans and sinners; who found no favor with mayors or governors, and yet has had some influence on the history of the world. When intelligent men mock at small beginnings, it is surprising they cannot remember that the greatest institutions have had their times which tried men's souls, and that they who have done all the noblest and best work of mankind, sometimes forgot self-interest in looking at a great Truth, and though they had not always even a negro boy to help them or an obscure hole to lay their heads in, yet found the might of the universe was on the side of Right and themselves Workers with God!

The abolitionists did not aim to found a political party; they set forth an Idea. If they had set up the Interest of the Whigs or the Democrats, the manufacturers or the merchants, they might have formed a party and had a high place in it,

with money, ease, social rank and a great name—in the party newspapers. Some of them had political talents, Ideas more than enough, the power of organizing men, the skill to manage them, and a genius for eloquence. With such talents it demands not a little manliness to keep out of politics and in the Truth.

To found a political party there is no need of a great moral Idea; the Whig party has had none such this long time; the Democratic party pretends to none and acts on none; each represents an Interest which can be estimated in dollars; neither seems to see that behind questions of political economy there is a question of political morality, and the welfare of the nation depends on the answer we shall give! So long as the abolitionists had nothing but an Idea, and but few men had that, there was no inducement for the common run of politicians to join them; they could make nothing by it—so nothing of it. The Guardians of Education, the Trustees of the Popular Religion, did not like to invest in such funds. But still the Idea went on, spite of the most entire, the most bitter, the most heartless and unrelenting opposition ever known in America. No men were ever hated as the abolitionists; political parties have joined to despise and sectarian churches to curse them. Yet the Idea has gone on, till now all that is most pious in the sects, most patriotic in the parties; all that is most Christian in modern philanthropy, is on its side. It has some representative in almost every family, save here and there one whose God is Mammon alone, where the parents are antediluvian and the children born old and conservative, with no faculty but memory to bind them to mankind. It has its spokesmen in the House and the Senate. The tide rises and swells, and the compact wall of the Whig party, the tall ramparts of the Democrats, are beginning to "cave in."

As the Idea has gained ground men have begun to see that an Interest was connected with it, and begun to look after that. One thing the North knows well—the art of calculation, and of cyphering. So it begins to ask questions as to the positive and comparative influence of the Slave Power on the country: who fought the Revolution?—why the North, furnishing the money and the men, Massachusetts alone sending fourteen thousand soldiers more than all the present slave states. Who pays the national taxes? the North, for the slaves pay but a trifle. Who owns the greater part of the property—the mills, the shops, the ships? the North. Who writes the

books — the histories, poems, philosophies, works of science, even the sermons and commentaries on the Bible? still the North. Who sends their children to school and college? the North. Who builds the churches; who founds the Bible-societies, Education-societies, missionary-societies — the thousand and one institutions for making men better and better off? why the North. In a word, who is it that in seventy years has made the nation great, rich, and famous for her Ideas and their success all over the world? The answer is — still the North, the North.

Well, says the calculator, but who has the offices of the nation? the South. Who has filled the presidential chair forty-eight years out of sixty? nobody but slave-holders. Who has held the chief posts of honor? the South. Who occupy the chief offices in the army and navy? the South. Who increases the cost of the post-office and pays so litttle of its expense?* the South. Who is most blustering and disposed to quarrel? the South. Who made the Mexican war? the South. Who sets at nought the Constitution? the South. Who would bring the greatest peril in case of war with a strong enemy? why the South, the South! But what is the South most noted for abroad? for her three million slaves; — and the North? for her wealth, freedom, education, religion!

Then the calculator begins to remember past times — opens the account-books and turns back to old charges: five slaves count the same as three freemen, and the three million slaves, which at home are nothing but property, entitle their owners to as many Representatives in Congress as are now sent by all the one million eight hundred thousand freemen who make the entire population of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, and have created a vast amount of property worth more than all the slave states put together! Then the North must deliver up the fugitive slaves, and Ohio must play the Traitor, the Kidnapper, the Bloodhound, for Kentucky! The South wanted to make two slave states out

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* The following table shows the facts of the case: —

Cost of post-office in slave states for the year ending July 1st, 1847,	$1,318,541	Cost of post-office in free states for the year ending July 1st, 1847,	$1,038,219
Receipts from post-office,	624,380	Receipts from post-office,	1,459,631

So the Southern post-office cost the nation $694,161, and the Northern post-office paid the nation $421,412, making a difference of $1,115,573 against the South.

of Florida, and will out of Texas; she makes slavery perpetual in both, she is always bragging as if she made the Revolution, while she only laid the Embargo, and made the late war with England,—but that is going further back than is needful. The South imprisons our colored sailors in her ports, contrary to Justice, and even contrary to the Constitution. She drove our commissioners out of South Carolina and Louisiana, when they were sent to look into the matter and legally seek for redress. She affronts the world with a most odious despotism, and tried to make England return her runaway slaves, making the nation a reproach before the world; she insists on kidnapping men even in Boston; she declares that we shall not abolish slavery in the capital of the Union; that she will extend it in spite of us from sea to sea; she annexed Texas for a slave-pasture, and then made the Mexican war to enlarge that pasture, but the North must pay for it; she treads the Constitution under her feet, the North under her feet, Justice and the Unalienable Rights of Man under her feet.

The North has charged all these items and many more; now they are brought up for settlement, and, if not cancelled, will not be forgot till the Muse of History gives up the ghost. The North has the American sentiment, the American Idea, puts the man before the dollar—counting man the Substance, property the Accident. The sentiment and Idea of liberty are bottomed on Christianity, as that on Human Nature; they are quite sure to prevail; the spirit of the nation is on their side — the spirit of the age and the Everlasting Right.

It is instructive to see how the political parties have hitherto kept clear of anti-slavery. It is "no part of the Whig doctrine;" the Democrats abhor it. Mr. Webster, it is true, once claimed the Wilmot Proviso as his thunder, but he cannot wield it, and so it slips out of his hands, and runs round to the chair of his brother senator from New Hampshire. No leading politician in America has ever been a leader against slavery. Even Mr. Adams only went as he was pushed. True, among the Whigs there are Giddings, Palfrey, Tuck, and Mann;—among the Democrats there is Hale, and a few others; but what are they among so many? The members of the family of Truth are unpopular, they make excellent servants but hard masters; while the members of the Family of Interest are all respectable; they are the best company in the world; their livery is attractive; their motto, "the almighty dollar," is a passport everywhere. Now it happens that some of the more ad-

vanced members of the family of Truth fight their way into "good society," and make matrimonial alliances with some of the poor relations of the family of Interest. Straightway they become respectable; the church publishes the bans; the marriage is solemnized in the most Christian form; the attorney declares it legal. So the Gospel and Law are satisfied, Truth and Interest made one, and many persons after this alliance may be seen in the company of Truth who before knew not of her existence. The Free Soil party has grown out of the anti-slavery movement. It will have no more slave territory, but does not touch slavery in the states, or between them, and says nothing against the compromises of the Constitution, — the time has not come for that. The party has been organized in haste, and is composed, as are all parties, of most discordant materials, some of its members seeming hardly familiar with the Idea; some are not yet emancipated from old prejudices, old methods of action, and old interests; but the greater part seem hostile to slavery in all its forms. The immediate triumph of this new party is not to be looked for; not desirable. In Massachusetts they have gained large numbers in a very short period, and under every disadvantage. What their future history is to be we will not now attempt to conjecture; but this is plain, that they cannot remain long in their present position, — either they will go back, and, after due penance, receive political absolution from the church of the Whigs, or the Democrats, — and this seems impossible, — or else they must go forward where the Idea of justice impels them. One day the motto "no more slave territory" will give place to this: "no slavery in America." The revolution in Ideas is not over till that is done, nor the corresponding revolution in deeds while a single slave remains in America. A man who studies the great movements of mankind feels sure that that day is not far off; that no combination of northern and southern interest, no declamation, no violence, no love of money, no party zeal, no fraud and no lies, no compromise, can long put off the time. Bad passions will ere long league with the holiest love of Right, and that wickedness may be put down with the strong hand which might easily be ended at little cost and without any violence, even of speech. One day the Democratic party of the North will remember the grievances which they have suffered from the South, and, if they embrace the Idea of Freedom, no constitutional scruple will long hold them from this work. What slavery is in the middle of the nineteenth

century is quite plain; what it will be at the beginning of the twentieth it is not difficult to foresee. The Slave Power has gained a great victory — one more such will cost its life. South Carolina did not forget her usual craft in voting for a *northern* man that was devoted to slavery.

Let us now speak briefly of the conduct of the election. It has been attended, at least in New England, with more intellectual action than any election that we remember, and with less violence, denunciation, and vulgar appeals to low passions and sordid interest. Massachusetts has shown herself worthy of her best days; the Free Soil vote may be looked on with pride, by men who conscientiously cast their ballot the other way. Men of ability and integrity have been active on both sides, and able speeches have been made, while the vulgarity that marked the "Harrison Campaign" has not been repeated.

In this contest the Democratic party made a good confession, and "owned up" to the full extent of their conduct. They stated the question at issue, fairly, clearly, and entirely; the point could not be mistaken. The Baltimore convention dealt honestly in declaring the political opinions of the party: the opinions of their candidate on the great party questions, and the subject of slavery, were made known with exemplary clearness and fidelity. The party did not fight in the dark; they had no dislike to holding slaves, and they pretend none. In all parts of the land they went before the people with the same doctrines and the same arguments; everywhere they "repudiated" the Wilmot Proviso. This gave them an advantage over a party with a different policy. They had a platform of doctrines; they knew what it was; the party stood on the platform; then the candidate stood on it.

The Whig party have conducted differently; they did not publish their confession of faith. We know what was the Whig platform in 1840 and in 1844. But what is it in 1848? Particular men may publish their opinions, but the doctrines of the party are "not communicated to the public." For once in the history of America there was a Whig convention which passed no "resolutions," — it was the convention at Philadelphia. On one point, of the greatest importance too, it expressed the opinions of the Whigs: it rejected the Wilmot Proviso, and Mr. Webster's thunder, which had fallen harmless and without lightning from his hands, was "kicked out" of the meeting! As the party had no platform, so their candidate had no polit-

ical opinions. "What!" says one, "choose a president who does not declare his opinions, — then it must be because they are perfectly well known!" Not at all: General Taylor is raw in politics and has not taken his first "drill." "Then he must be a man of such great political and moral ability that his Will may take the place of reason!" Not at all: he is known only as a successful soldier, and his reputation is scarcely three years old. Mr. Webster declared his nomination "not fit to be made," and nobody has any authentic statement of his political opinions — perhaps not even General Taylor himself.

In the electioneering campaign there has been a certain duplicity in the supporters of General Taylor: at the North it was maintained that he is not opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, while at the South quite uniformly the opposite was maintained. This duplicity had the appearance of dishonesty. In New England the Whigs did not meet the facts and arguments of the Free Soil party: in the beginning of the campaign the attempt was made, but was afterwards comparatively abandoned; the matter of slavery was left out of the case, and the old question of the Sub-treasury and the Tariff was brought up again, and a stranger would have thought, from some Whig newspapers, that that was the only question of any importance. Few men were prepared to see a man of the ability and experience of Mr. Webster in his electioneering speeches pass wholly over the subject of slavery. The nation is presently to decide whether slavery is to extend over the new territory or not: even in a commercial and financial point of view, this is far more important than the question of Banks and Tariffs; but when its importance is estimated by its relation to Freedom, Right, Human Welfare in general, — we beg the pardon of American politicians for speaking of such things, — one is amazed to find the Whig party of the opinion that it is more important to restore the Tariff of 1842 than to prohibit slavery in a country as large as the thirteen states which fought the Revolution! It might have been expected of little, ephemeral men — minúte politicians, who are the pest of the State, — but when at such a crisis a great man rises, amid a sea of upturned faces, to instruct the lesser men, and forgets Right, forgets Freedom, forgets Man, and forgets God, talking only of the Tariff and of Banks, why a stranger is amazed, till he remembers the *peculiar* relation of the great man to the moneyed men, — that he is their attorney, retained, paid, and pensioned to do the work of men whose interest it is to keep the

question of Slavery out of sight. If General Cavaignac had received a pension from the manufacturers of Lyons and of Lisle, to the amount of half a million of francs, should we be surprised if he forgot the needy millions of the land? Nay, only if he did *not* forget them!

It was a little hardy to ask the anti-slavery men to vote for General Taylor; it was like asking the members of a temperance society to choose an eminent distiller for president of their association. Still, we know that honest anti-slavery men did honestly vote for him. We know nothing to impeach the political integrity of General Taylor; the simple fact that he is a slave-holder seems reason enough why he should not be president of a nation who believe that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain Unalienable Rights." Men will be astonished in the next century to learn that the "model Republic" had such an affection for slave-holders. Here is a remarkable document, which we think should be preserved: —

DEED OF SALE.

"John Hagard, Sr. to Zachariah Taylor. *Received for Record*, 18*th Feb.*, 1843.

"*This Indenture*, made this twenty-first day of April, eighteen hundred and forty-two, between John Hagard, Sr., of the City of New Orleans, State of Louisiana, of one part, and Zachariah Taylor, of the other part, *Witnesseth*, that the said John Hagard, Sr., for and in consideration of the sum of *Ninety-Five Thousand Dollars* to him in hand paid, and secured to be paid, as hereafter stated by the said Zachary Taylor, at and before the sealing and delivering of these Presents, has this day bargained, sold, and delivered, conveyed, and confirmed, and by these Presents does bargain, sell, deliver, and confirm unto the said Zachariah Taylor, his heirs and assigns, forever, all that plantation and tract of land: . . . . Also, all the following Slaves — Nelson, Milley, Peldea, Mason, Willis, Rachel, Caroline, Lucinda, Ramdall, Wirman, Carson, Little Ann, Winna, Jane, Tom, Sally, Gracia, Big Jane, Louisa, Maria, Charles, Barnard, Mira, Sally, Carson, Paul, Sansford, Mansfield, Harry Oden, Harry Horley, Carter, Henrietta, Ben, Charlotte, Wood, Dick, Harrietta, Clarissa, Ben, Anthony, Jacob, Hamby, Jim, Gabriel, Emeline, Armstead, George, Wilson, Cherry, Peggy, Walker, Jane, Wallace, Bartlett, Martha, Letitia, Barbara, Matilda, Lucy, John, Sarah, Bigg Ann, Allen, Tom, George, John, Dick, Fielding, Nelson or Isom, Winna, Shellod, Lidney, Little Cherry, Puck, Sam, Hannah or Anna, Mary, Ellen, Henrietta, and two small children: — Also, all the Horses, Mules, Cattle, Hogs, Farming Utensils, and Tools, now on said

Plantation — together with all and singular, the hereditaments, appurtenances, privileges, and advantages unto the said Land and Slaves belonging or appertaining. *To have and to hold* the said Plantation and tract of Land and Slaves, and other property above described, unto the said Zachariah Taylor, his heirs and assigns, forever, and to his and their only proper use, benefits, and behoof, forever. And the said John Hagard, Sr., for himself, his heirs, executors, and administrators, does covenant, promise, and agree to and with said Zachariah Taylor, his heirs and assigns, that the aforesaid Plantation and tract of Land and Slaves, and other property, with the appurtenances, unto the said Zachariah Taylor, his heirs, and assigns against the claim or claims of all persons whomsoever claiming or to claim the same, or any part or parcel thereof, shall and will warrant, and by these Presents forever defend.

"*In Testimony Whereof*, the said John Hagard, Sr., has hereunto set his hand and seal, the day and year first above written."

If this document had been discovered among some Egyptian *papyri*, with the date 1848 *before* Christ, it would have been remarkable as a sign of the times. In a Republic, nearly four thousand years later, it has a meaning which some future historian will appreciate.

The Free Soil party have been plain and explicit as the Democrats; they published their creed in the celebrated Buffalo Platform. The questions of Sub-treasury and Tariff are set aside; "no more slave territory" is the watchword. In part they represent an Interest, for slavery is an injury to the North in many ways, and to a certain extent puts the North in the hands of the South; — but chiefly an Idea. Nobody thought they would elect their candidate, whosoever he might be; they could only arrest public attention and call men to the great questions at issue, and so, perhaps, prevent the evil which the South was bent on accomplishing. This they have done and done well. The result has been highly gratifying. It was pleasant and encouraging to see men ready to sacrifice their old party attachments and their private interests, ofttimes, for the sake of a moral principle. We do not mean to say that there was no moral principle in the other parties — we know better. But it seems to us that the Free Soilers committed a great error in selecting Mr. Van Buren as their candidate. True, he is a man of ability, who has held the highest offices and acquitted himself honorably in all; but he had been *the* "northern man with southern principles;" had shown a degree of subserviency to the South which was re-

markable, if not singular or strange: his promise, made and repeated in the most solemn manner, to veto any act of Congress abolishing slavery in the capital, was an insult to the country and a disgrace to himself. He had a general reputation for instability and want of political firmness. It is true, he had opposed the annexation of Texas, and lost his nomination in 1844 by that act; but it is also true that he advised his party to vote for Mr Polk, who was notoriously in favor of annexation. His nomination, we must confess, was unfortunate; the Buffalo convention seems to have looked at his availability more than his fitness, and in their contest for a principle began by making a compromise of that very principle itself. It was thought he could "carry" the state of New York; and so a man who was not a fair representative of the Idea was set up. It was a bad beginning. It is better to be defeated a thousand times rather than seem to succeed by a compromise of the principle contended for. Still, enough has been done to show the nation that the dollar is not almighty; that the South is not always to insult the North and rule the land, annexing, plundering, and making slaves when she will; that the North has men who will not abandon the great Sentiment of Freedom, which is the boast of the nation and the age.

General Taylor is elected by a large popular vote; some voted for him on account of his splendid military success; some because he is a slave-holder and true to the interests of the Slave Power; some because he is a "good Whig" and wants a high Tariff of duties. But we think there are men who gave him their support because he has never been concerned in the intrigues of a party, is indebted to none for past favors, is pledged to none, bribed by none, and intimidated by none; because he seems to be an honest man, with a certain rustic intelligence; a plain blunt man, that loves his country and mankind. We hope this was a large class. If he is such a man, he will enter upon his office under favorable auspices and with the best wishes of all good men.

But what shall the Free Soil party do next? they cannot go back, — Conscience waves behind them her glittering wings and bids them ON; they cannot stand still, for as yet their measures and their watchword do not fully represent their Idea. They must go forward, as the early abolitionists went, with this for their motto: NO SLAVERY IN AMERICA. "He that would lead men must walk but one step before them;" true, but he must *think* many steps before them, or they will

presently tread him under their feet. The present success of the Idea is doubtful. The Interests of the South will demand the extension of slavery,* the Interests of the party now com-

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* The following extract, from the *Charleston Mercury*, shows the feeling of the South.—"Pursuant to a call, a meeting of the citizens of Orangeburg district was held to-day, 6th November, in the court house, which was well filled on the occasion. . . . . Gen. D. F. Jamison then rose, and moved the appointment of a committee of twenty-five, to take into consideration the continued agitation by Congress of the question of Slavery; . . . . the Committee, through their chairman, Gen. Jamison, made the following Report:

"The time has arrived when the slaveholding States of the confederacy must take decided action upon the continued attacks of the North against their domestic institutions, or submit in silence to that humiliating position in the opinions of mankind that longer acquiescence must inevitably reduce them to. . . . . The agitation of the subject of Slavery commenced in the fanatical murmurings of a few scattered abolitionists, to whom it was a long time confined; but now it has swelled into a torrent of popular opinion at the North; it has invaded the fireside and the church, the press and the halls of legislation; it has seized upon the deliberations of Congress, and at this moment is sapping the foundations, and about to overthrow the fairest political structure that the ingenuity of man has ever devised.

"The overt efforts of abolitionism were confined for a long period to annoying applications to Congress, under color of the pretended right of petition; it has since directed the whole weight of its malign influence against the annexation of Texas, and had well nigh cost to the country the loss of that important province; but emboldened by success and the inaction of the South, in an unjust and selfish spirit of national agrarianism it would now appropriate the whole public domain. It might well have been supposed that the undisturbed possession of the whole of Oregon territory would have satisfied the non-slaveholding States. This they now hold, by the incorporation of the ordinance of 1787 into the bill of the last session for establishing a territorial government for Oregon. That provision, however, was not sustained by them from any apprehension that the territory could ever be settled from the States of the South, but it was intended as a gratuitous insult to the Southern people, and a malignant and unjustifiable attack upon the institution of Slavery.

"We are called upon to give up the whole public domain to the fanatical cravings of abolitionism, and the unholy lust of political power. A territory, acquired by the whole country for the use of all, where treasure has been squandered like chaff. and Southern blood poured out like water, is sought to be appropriated by one section, because the other chooses to adhere to an institution held not only under the guaranties that brought this confederacy into existence, but under the highest sanction of Heaven. Should we quietly fold our hands under this assumption on the part of the non-slaveholding States, the fate of the South is sealed, the institution of Slavery is gone, and its existence is but a question of time. . . . . Your committee are unwilling to anticipate what will be the result of the combined wisdom and joint action of the Southern portion of the Confederacy on this question; but as an initiatory step to a concert of action on the part of the people of South Carolina, they respectfully recommend, for the adoption of this meeting, the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the continued agitation of the question of Slavery, by the people of the non-slaveholding States, by their legislatures, and by their representatives in Congress, exhibits not only a want of national courtesy, which should always exist between kindred States, but is a palpable violation of good faith towards the slaveholding States, who adopted the present Constitution 'in order to form a more perfect union.'

ing into power will demand their peculiar boon. So another compromise is to be feared, and the extension of slavery yet further west. But the ultimate triumph of the Genius of Freedom is certain. In Europe it shakes the earth with mighty tread; thrones fall before its conquering feet. While in the eastern continent kings, armies, emperors, are impotent before that Power, shall a hundred thousand slave-holders stay it here with a bit of parchment?

ART. VIII.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1.—*Endymion: A Tale of Greece.* By HENRY B. HIRST, Author of the "Penance of Roland," "The Funeral of Time," and other Poems. Boston. William D. Ticknor & Co. 1848.

IDEAL LOVE! The story of the mortal swain who wooed a Goddess and was loved by her! Endymion and the Moon! The Grecian tale cannot grow obsolete so long as human hearts and poetry and love are facts of life. Every youth whose soul was ever kindled with the love of beauty, and ever yearned with boundless aspiration, has or has had an Endymion in him, and reads the tale with as much trembling interest as he might the secret of his own heart, were he to find it in the public print, some morning, delicately told, so as to flatter rather than betray. The deepest consciousness, the fairest imaginings, the loftiest ambition, the profoundest, tenderest joy, the deepest tragedy, and wildest unrest,—indeed the whole problem, metaphysical and moral, of human life and destiny, are exquisitely involved in this antique fable. It is classic for ever. Happy the artist or the poet who

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"*Resolved*, That while we acquiesce in adopting the boundary between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States known as the Missouri Compromise line, we will not submit to any further restriction upon the rights of any Southern man to carry his property and his institutions into territory acquired by Southern treasure and by Southern blood.

"*Resolved*, That should the Wilmot Proviso, or any other restriction, be applied by Congress to the territories of the United States, south of 36 deg. 30 min. north latitude, we recommend to our Representative in Congress, as the decided opinion of this portion of his district, to leave his seat in that body, and return home.

"*Resolved*, That we respectfully suggest to both houses of the Legislature of South Carolina, to adopt a similar recommendation as to our Senators in Congress from this State.

"*Resolved*, That upon the return home of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, the Legislature of South Carolina should be forthwith assembled to adopt such measures as the exigency may demand.

"The Resolutions were then submitted, *seriatim*, and, together with the Report, were unanimously adopted."

can reproduce it to us in its living beauty! Keats adopted it, and almost breathed out his own passionate life in it. Now a rival has sprung up, verily an American Endymion, and more Grecian than the other, however you may find them compare in other respects. Take, for instance, the very first stanzas:

"Through a deep dell with mossy hemlocks girded —
A dell by many a sylvan Dryad prest, —
Which Latmos' lofty crest
Flung half in shadow — where the red deer herded —
While mellow murmurs shook the forests gray —
Endymion took his way.

"Like clustering sun-light fell his yellow tresses,
With purple fillet, scarce confining, bound,
Winding their flow around
A snowy throat that thrilled to their caresses,
And trembling on a breast as lucid white
As sea-foam in the night.

"His fluted tunic swelling, yielding, floated,
Moulded to every motion of his form,
And with the contact warm,
Round charms on which the Satyrs might have gloated
Had he been buskined nymph; but, being man,
They loved him like to Pan."

We break off here abruptly, for no reason but the unreasonableness of offering selections, specimens, where every stanza is essential to the picture. In this style it goes on, richer and more beautiful at every step; every verse as polished, every image as distinct, every suggestion brief and direct, standing in organic unity with every other, and all bathed in the warmest atmosphere of beauty. The hero stands before you, bold and beautiful and statuesque. Yet we must dismember the living whole, by tearing from their setting and presenting a stanza or two more, to show Endymion bathing in that crystal lake, as the beach rises over him wistfully watching.

"Endymion yet was heated: sudden turning,
He loosed the clusters of his hyacinth hair,
And shook them on the air;
Laid down his pipes; unbound his girdle, burning
The while with August heat; his tunic now
He drew above his brow.

"There, in the moon-light radiantly gleaming,
Lovely as morn he rose; the swelling veins
Seeming like purple stains
Along his limbs, which, like a star's, were streaming
Serenest light, as lustrously he stood,
Reflected in the flood.

"And now, her purple zenith reaching, brighter
Than ever before, reclined the Queen of Night,
Enchanted with the sight
Of one whose pure and perfect form was whiter
Than Indian pearl, her bosom's frozen snow
Melting in passion's glow.

"Slowly Endymion bent, the light Elysian
Flooding his figure. Kneeling on one knee
He loosed his sandals, lea
And lake and wood-land glittering on his vision,
A fairy landscape, bright and beautiful
With Venus at her full.

"His milky feet gleaming in emerald grasses;
The moon-beams trembling on his whiter neck;
His breast without a speck;
While the dense woods around, the mossy masses
Of rudest rock, the bronzed and Titan trees
Looking on Latmian leas,

"Assumed from him an aspect soft and holy;
For, like a naked God, the shepherd youth
Stood in his simple truth.
At last, with gentle steps retiring slowly,
He paused beside a rude, rough laurel brake,
A bow-shot from the lake.

"White-footed, then he passed the crimson clover
Like a swift meteor gleaming on the night,
Streaming in silver light,
His arms uplifted and his hands flung over
His noble head; — a single spring he gave,
Then flashed beneath the wave.

"Down, as he sank, a flood of yellow glory
Shot from the moon, as if the moon had drooped
And on the mountain stooped;
And soon the sphere itself, grown gray and hoary,
Its essence gone, slid slowly 'neath a cloud
That wrapped it like a shroud.

"Then, like a ghost of some unwedded maiden,
On whose pale lips life seemed to strive with death,
Hushing, as 'twere her breath,
A glorious figure, wreathed with vapor laden
With delicate odors, stood with yearning eyes,
Waiting Endymion's rise:

. . . .

"Endymion rose and on the water lying
Flung out his arms, sank, rose and sank again;
Pale Dian in her pain,
(For it was Dian's self who watched him,) sighing,
While gazing on him, and her breath came short
And heavy from her heart.

"She saw not Eros, who on rosy pinion
Hung in the willow's shadow — did not feel
His subtle, searching steel
Piercing her very soul, though his dominion
Her breast had grown; and what to her was heaven
If from Endymion riven?

"Nothing; for love flowed in her, like a river,
Flooding the banks of wisdom; and her soul,
Losing its self-control,
Waved with a vague, uncertain, tremulous quiver;
And, like a lily in the storm, at last
She sank 'neath passion's blast."

These stanzas are a fair sample of the style of the whole four cantos, — cantos which only disappoint you by their brevity and win you back to re-perusal. Glossy and symmetrically rounded are they as the Grecian marble, clipping with their wise bounds a wealth of beauty not easily exhausted. Hence we call the poem Grecian, because it is not diffuse and limitless like Keats's, but so direct, bold, simple, and objective. Here the creative impulse does not overflow its banks, as in the case of Keats; it is confined within its own severe symmetric channel, and observes the unity of Art. The imagination of this poet does not riot, as Keats did, and pursue in its vague and greedy plan the whole subterranean, sub-marine labyrinth and wilderness of kindred mythology, exhausting you with the very fever of Endymion's dream. It beholds Endymion and sets his marble form before you.

As to Mr. Hirst's peculiar treatment of the story, his making a Roman of his hero, and bringing him back to a repentant practicality before the *dénouement*, we will not quarrel with him, for he so clings to the dream in the dismissing of it, that really we feel its empire reëstablished. Keats solves the knot more to our mind however, who makes him find the goddess *in* the mortal bride.

Our rambling remarks are not a criticism. We mean them for a recognition, which we hope they may convey to our readers, of a genuine poem. Indeed, a more artistic, vital, and substantial product of the poetic temperament has seldom, if ever, made its appearance among this practical people. It has the healthy glow of a creative genius, thoroughly aroused and self-possessed. Its rhythmic form is a sure sign of life; spontaneous music true to severest laws of the great world-vibration. Its pulse is vigorous and full. The measure of the stanza is most apt, and stimulates the right mood; we dismiss one after the other as reluctantly as we do the waves which ripple up upon the pebbly beach, and beautiful often as gems are the single words, pictures in themselves, which are strung together in those musical series.

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2. — *Se Jin Kwei Chung Tung Tseuen Cheuen. The Complete History of Se Jin Kwei: or, the Conquest of Corea.* A Novel. Translated from the Chinese, by Stanislas Hernitz, late Attaché of the United States Mission to China, Member of the "Institut Historique de Paris," of the American Oriental Society, &c, &c., &c.

The above is the title of a work making four small volumes in the original Chinese, which has been translated by the accomplished interpreter to the American Legation to China; but not yet published or even printed. Some of our readers may remem-

ber the course of lectures on China delivered by Mr. Hernitz, a few years ago, at New York, and be ready to anticipate a good deal of pleasure from this work. We will not give an analysis of the entire work, and spoil the effect of the *novel* by relating the whole of its plot; for its whole, we trust, will soon be laid before the public.

"In a retired and peaceful part of the district Lung Mun, in Keang Chan Fu, in the province of Shan Se, there was a village called Se Kea. In that village lived a very wealthy man, whose name was Se Han. He had two sons: the name of the oldest was Se Heung, that of the younger, who was then about thirty years of age, was Se Ying. After the death of the old man the two brothers made an equal division of the heritage. To each fell a share of a considerable extent of rich soil, and both enjoyed in their neighbourhood the reputation of being wealthy gentlemen. Se Ying had married a lady called Fan, who, when she was in her thirty-fifth year, dreamed one night that a star had fallen into her lap. Soon afterwards she became pregnant, and at the end of ten months gave birth to a boy, who received the name of Te Le, with the additional designation of Jin Kwei. As he grew up the boy never uttered a word, and his parents were apprehensive he would remain dumb for life. This was to them a subject of great sorrow."

One day the Emperor, Tai Tsung, held his court, and the Duke Sew Mo related a dream portending misfortune to the empire. But the Emperor also had a dream, of the same import, which he told as follows: —

"My dream was a strange one, indeed. I dreamed I had mounted my horse, and, unattended, was riding out of the camp. I admired the scenery before me, which was extremely beautiful. After a short while I looked back, when, lo! my camp had disappeared, and I perceived a strange man hastening on towards me. He wore a red helmet, was clad in complete armor of the same color, and flourished in his hand a red copper sword. His face was of a green hue, and bore an expression of extreme ferocity. He urged the steed upon which he was mounted to the utmost speed, pushing forward with the evident design of taking my life. I immediately called out for assistance, but no one came. In this perilous situation, I had no other resource but to whip my horse and flee for my life. The road through which I fled was hilly, steep, and dangerous, but still my pursuer continued after me. I came to the shore of the sea, — the agitated waves were rising to the skies. There was no road left for me to escape, and my heart was full of agitation and terror. In this extremity I rushed into the sea, but my horse's feet soon sank in the muddy bottom near the shore.

"I once more called out for assistance, and, to my great joy, a warrior made his appearance. He wore on his head a white hel-

met, was clad in a white silken war-dress, was mounted upon a white steed, and held in his hand a large double-headed spear. 'Sire,' he shouted from a distance, 'be not alarmed; I come to the rescue of your majesty.' He immediately fell upon my pursuer, attacked him vigorously, and after a struggle of a few minutes killed him with a thrust of his spear. My heart was full of joy; I requested my deliverer to tell me his surname and name, and invited him to accompany me to the camp, where I would richly reward him for this signal service with promotion to a high office at my court. But he excused himself, by saying that he was called away by urgent business, and could not accept of my invitation. 'Upon another occasion,' said he, 'I will again appear to save your majesty's life, but now I must depart.' I continued, however, to urge him to give me his name and place of abode, that hereafter I might send messengers to bring him with honor to the capital, and promote him to a high office. He replied that he could recite before me some verses, from which could be gathered his surname, name, and residence. I requested to hear them, and they ran as follows:—

'My home is far away
Where the red dot is seen,
Where storms rage with fury,
And fierce winds careen;
No footstep leaves a trace behind,
And shadows flit unseen.

In my infant days,
When a child but three years old,
My merits shone conspicuous;
I did such wit unfold
That my worth esteemed was
A thousand *leang* in gold.

In future I may be
In serving my native land,
The saviour of my Emperor's life,
When he will cross the Eastern Sea,
To commence the bloody strife,
And assert his supremacy.'

"When he ceased to speak, there suddenly arose a blue dragon from the sea; his immense jaws were wide open, and into these the warrior and his horse suddenly sprang and disappeared. How strange and wonderful! exclaimed I, laughing at the same time at his singular departure. But here I awoke, and found that the whole had been but a dream. I know not whether this portends good or evil."

The Duke thought this portended a war, and therefore the hero of the dream must be found out. The Duke then explains the vision, and concludes that in the province of Shan Se, the district of Lung Mun, (Dragon's Jaw) the man must be found, and that his name must be Se Jin Kwei. But to *find* the man

was the next difficulty, and the Duke prepared to send thither an able officer to organize an army of one hundred thousand men, for the hero would certainly present himself amongst them. Several officers presented themselves as candidates for this post of honor, and, amongst others, General Chang S'z Kwei, the commander of the vanguard of the seventy-two roads, presented himself. Now this general with the melodious name wished his son-in-law, Ho Tsung Hien, to fill the office of the visionary hero, and, already conceiving a hatred against the actual Se Jin Kwei, determined to kill him if he should ever be found; with this intention he set out for the province of Shan Se.

By and by it appears that the king of Corea intends to invade the Central Empire; the king is in a great rage, intending instantly to punish the rebellious chief, but the Duke advises him to wait till the Hero is discovered. The hero, Se Jin Kwei, remained entirely dumb, until once upon a time, in his tenth year, whilst asleep in his father's library, he dreamed he saw a white tiger enter the room, beating his ribs with his tail; he woke up and cried out "Ah me!" and ever after had the art of speech, but his father and mother both died, in consequence of the visit of the white tiger. After their death Jin Kwei applied himself to study the arts of war, "bending the bow, and riding the horse." But by the time he had mastered "the eighteen branches of military science," he had spent all his patrimony, which was considerable. He was reduced to the last extremity of want; applied to his rich uncle, Se Hung, who only turned him out of doors. Then Jin Kwei in despair made a rope of rushes and hung himself by the neck, but, before life was extinct, a man in humble circumstances, by name Mo Sang, came and took him down, conducted him to his own home, and adopted him as a brother. At length he goes to work as a day laborer for a wealthy man called Lew, who is building a palace,—and is so prodigiously strong that he carries three immense logs at a time, one on his shoulders and one under each arm. In the winter he is set to watch the buildings, and has a hut of straw built near the palace. Now Lew had a beautiful daughter, rejoicing in the name of Kin Hwa, and one day she saw Se Jin Kwei, and fell in love with him. So one night, in pity for his sufferings in his straw hut, when the snow was deep and the weather devouringly cold, she dropped out of her window a piece of cloth, which fell upon the sleeping youth. It was dark when this was done, and she knew not *what* cloth it was she had thus bestowed upon him. But in the morning the father, old Mr. Lew, finds his servant wrapped in an elegant scarlet cloth, which he had bestowed upon his daughter. He accuses her of the basest conduct, and threatens to kill her. Jin Kwei flees off for his life. Dame Lew, the mother, gets a servant to throw a great earthen jar into the well, and then all pretend it is

the daughter who has thrown herself there. In the mean time she escapes with an old nurse and three hundred pieces of silver. Now, as fortune will have it, Miss Kin Hwa and the nurse stop to pass the night in an old house where Mr. Jin Kwei lay concealed. He overheard the young maiden's conversation, and thereby learned how he had obtained his scarlet cloth. The nurse proposed that he should conduct his benefactress to his home — but alas! he had no home save a chance lodging in a neglected brick-kiln; — then that he should marry her. At this proposition of the old nurse, Kin Hwa reflected within herself; she confessed to herself that when she threw the scarlet cloth on Jin Kwei she had done so really from a feeling of affection for him. The advice she had just received was therefore in accordance with her own desires, but she thought it was unbecoming in a young lady to speak out her mind freely upon such a subject. She therefore modestly hung down her head and made no reply. Jin Kwei objects to the proposition, but at length is prevailed on to take the maiden in his arms to his brick-kiln and then marry her. When there he meets his adopted brother Mo Sang, who again is a friend in need, and supplies the wants of the wedded pair. Jin Kwei remains in his brick-kiln till the money is all spent, and then, as the wife suggests he should do something to earn their bread, he takes to shooting wild geese, and is so skilful an archer that he shoots an arrow down the throat of the birds, and thus kills his game without ruffling a feather. After continuing for a while in this business, he learns that General Chung S'z Kwei has come into the province for the sake of raising an army. He meets with an old friend, Chan Tsing, and the two go to offer themselves as volunteers, after Jin Kwei has taken a leave of his wife, whose condition renders his absence painful. The two friends send in their cards to the general. Jin Kwei arrayed himself in garments borrowed from his friend. "He covered his head with a white silken cap, on his body he put a war robe of white sarsnet, shod his feet with black leather shoes, and completed his costume with all the other necessary articles. His face was covered with a fine down, his nose was straight, his mouth large, garnished with teeth of snowy whiteness; his ears were long, his eyes bright surmounted by beautiful eyebrows; his height was about ten cubits, and his whole appearance bespoke a young hero." Chan Tsing was examined and admitted to the army as a volunteer, and immediately raised to the rank of a standard-bearer. Jin Kwei sent in his card, with this inscription: "Card of a volunteer. Se Jin Kwei, a native of the district of Lung Mun, Keang Chan Fu, in the province of Shan Se." When the general read the words, he remembered the name of the visionary man, and resolved to be rid of so formidable a rival. So when Jin Kwei presented himself, the general ordered him to be beheaded, on the plea that he had taken

the name of his commander — *Kwei.* After much entreaty his life is spared, but he is forced to flee from the camp. He wanders on in despair, till, overtaken by night, he seeks shelter in a house brilliantly illuminated. The owner receives him kindly. "May I respectfully ask," said Jin Kwei, "what is your honorable surname and name?" "My name," replied the host, "is Fan, and my surname Hung Hae, and I possess great wealth, but I have no male issue." It presently appears that Mr. Fan Hung Hae is about to give his only daughter, Seu Hwa, in marriage to a famous robber, Le King Hung, who with his brothers, Keang Hing Pa and Keang Hwan Pan, called themselves Ta Wang, (great kings) and ravaged all that part of the country. Neither the father nor the bride had consented to the marriage, which was one of necessity, and which was to take place that night. Jin Kwei went out to meet the robbers, who came with a great army to celebrate the nuptials, conquered them and made them prisoners. He spares their lives, and makes them promise to go and join the army with him. The host, Fan Hung Hae, offers Jin Kwei his daughter in marriage. But Kwei pleads that he has already a wife; that is no objection, says the father, for the law allows three wives. Kwei, however, obtains a respite for two years, and leaves his "many colored girdle" as a token of his engagement, and departs to the army with the three robbers, who have now sworn eternal fraternity with their conqueror. Here we will leave the book. only adding that the translation is made into easy and rather beautiful language. We hope soon to see the work laid before the public.

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3. — *A Complete Dictionary of English-German and German-English Languages.* Containing all the words in general use, in two volumes. Vol. I. English-German; Vol. II. German-English. Compiled from authors of established reputation, and exhibiting the pronunciation of every word, according to Walker, Smart, and other prominent English orthoepists. By Dr. J. G. Flügel, Consul of the United States of America. Third edition. Leipsic. 1847. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. lxxxii. and 1656, and viii. and 1274.

Dr. Flügel is well known to the American and European public by the two previous editions of his dictionary published at Leipsic, and by the scandalous and piratical reprints of it elsewhere. It would be difficult to mention an author whose works have been so shamefully pirated as his; nor is this all: but the men who pilfered his gold were not satisfied with the theft, but fell to abusing him, and declared that the gold was of their own minting, while in his treasury there was nothing better than brass, or so lasting as that.

However, the excellent author knows how to expose these dishonest writers, who have added particular insult to general injury; though he cannot prevent the knaves from pilfering the results of his indefatigable labors.

The present work is invaluable as a help to the German who wishes to gain a knowledge of English; or the English scholar who studies German. There is scarce a word or a phrase in the English tongue which is not found in this dictionary. The English-German part contains about 135,000 articles. Obsolete words, which are yet found in writers now extensively read, have been diligently studied, and happily united to their corresponding German terms; technical words, used only in the various arts or sciences, or which belong to military or maritime affairs, are carefully noted and explained. Words which have not yet become classic, but are coming into the permanent literature, through the broad channels of newspapers and other periodicals; provincial words or forms of expression, which, though sometimes not much used in conversation, yet find their way into books; Americanisms, which spring up in abundance in New England, and still more at the South and West — all these have been carefully studied.

In each article he gives first the proper or *real meaning* of the word, and then the *derivative signification*, the metaphorical sense, and so passes on to the various *senses* in which it is used: the more remote senses, which differ often a good deal from the primitive meaning, are carefully preserved and indicated by their appropriate German words. We find words in Dr. Flügel's work which we seek in vain in other dictionaries, — such, for example, as *feck*, an English provincial term for the third stomach of ruminating animals, and *wride*, another provincial term for a bunch of stalks that grow out of a single grain of corn, but which one is glad to see, as they have no synonyms in the language, and besides, they would puzzle a German, if he should find them in a book. Dr. Flügel has taken great pains to indicate by Walker's method the pronunciation of every word; in this he follows the best guides, and in general seems quite successful. We have been surprised at some criticisms of his pronunciation which have been shown to us. A distinguished English orthoepist, Mr. Smart, maintains *heir* should be pronounced with the aspirate *hare;* and thinks Dr. Flügel mistaken in finding a difference between the sound of *Pay-er* and *Pair*, where the London authority recognizes none.

The work is the result of the most extensive, careful, and laborious study of the English language, as it is developed in the ancient and modern literature of both continents; it is printed with great neatness and surprising accuracy, — indeed, the proof-sheets were read five times by as many different persons; it supplies the want which has long been felt, and entitles its learned and estimable author to the lasting gratitude of the two most widely

extended nations of the western world. Long may he rejoice in his labors, and thus receive the twofold reward he so richly merits — a pecuniary compensation and the honor of producing a work which can introduce the two nations to the literary treasures of the German and English tongue.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

An Appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, by Rev. J. L. Merrick, twelve years in the service of the Board. Springfield. 1847. 8vo. pp. 126.

An Appeal to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from the unjust and oppressive measures of the Secretary and Prudential Committee, by Rev. J. D. Baxter, D. D. New Haven. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Oration delivered before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa at Cambridge, August 24th, 1848, by Horace Bushnell. Cambridge. 1848. 8vo. pp. 40.

The Least of Two Evils, a Sermon Preached on July 9th, 1848, by John Weiss, Minister of the First Congregational Church in New Bedford. New Bedford. 1848. 12mo. pp. 12.

Communication to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences relative to a late Report on the subject of Ventilation and Chimney-Tops, by Frederick Emerson. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 12.

Friends in Council, a Series of Readings and Discourses thereon. Book the First. London. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. VIII. and 228.

The Conquerers of the New World and their Bondmen, being a Narrative of the Principal Events which led to Negro Slavery in the West Indies and America. Volume the First, [by the author of the preceding work.] London. 1848. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. XII. and 264. [These are two delightful and instructive works.]

Poems by Dora Greenwell. London. 1848. 1 vol. 16mo. pp. VI. and 192.

Madonna Pia, and other Poems, by James Gregor Grant. London. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. XII. and 320, and XIV. and 360. [These two volumes, printed with all the beauty of the English press, are dedicated to Mr. Wordsworth, by an author who seems to be a young man, and an earnest admirer of that poet. The volumes contain a few pieces of considerable merit.]

The System of Nature, or Laws of the Moral and Physical World, by Baron d' Holbach. 2 volumes in one. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. X. and 368.

The Son of the Wilderness, a Dramatic Poem, in five acts, by Frederick Halm, [Baron Münch-Bellinghausen,] translated from the German by Charles Edward Austin. New York. 1848. 12mo. pp. VII. and 166.

Verses of a Life Time, by Caroline Gilman, &c., &c. Boston and Cambridge. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. VIII. and 264.

A Discourse delivered before the First Congregational Society of Cincinnati, Sunday, Oct. 8th, 1848, by James H. Perkins. Cincinnati. 1848. pp. 16.

The Mysteries of Russia, by Frederick Lacroix, translated from the French, Boston. 1848. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 212.

An Universal History in a Series of Letters, being a complete and impartial narrative of the most remarkable Events of all nations, from the earliest period to the present time, forming a complete History of the World, by G. C. Hebbe, LL. D. Vol. I. Ancient History. New York. 1848. Vol. I. pp. VIII. and 562. 8vo.

Orators of the American Revolution, by E. L. Magoon. 2d Edition. New York. 1848. 1 vol. 12mo. pp. XVI. and 456.

Ancient Sea Margins, as Memorials of Changes in the relative Level of Sea and Land, by Robert Chambers, Esq., F. R. S. E. Edinburgh and London. 1848. 8vo. pp. VI. and 338.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. VI.—MARCH, 1849.

By Bernard Roelker

ART. I.—THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THE year eighteen hundred and forty-eight will be henceforth, in the history of Europe, the normal year to which scholars, legislators, and nations will refer, as the date when a new phase in the social and political life of nations began; as the period when a new foundation was laid for rights and obligations forming the basis of public and civil laws; and as an epoch from which the years of the people's emancipation will be reckoned. The number "forty-eight" has already acquired an importance for the student and statesman, as a mark in the history of the transatlantic nations, and more especially of that of Germany. It was in the year 1648 that the memorable Peace of Westphalia was concluded, which put an end to the fatal war that for thirty years had laid waste the whole of Germany, and which established a new system of state-rights and policy among the reigning princes. Although religion had been the pretext under which the rulers had called upon the people to take up arms and shed their blood, yet the stipulations of the treaty of peace showed their true design to have been personal aggrandizement and absolute power, without regarding the people, who together with their lands were disposed of like goods and chattels. In glaring contrast with this, the year 1848 shows the people rising, demanding and obtaining their sovereign independent power, and crowns and sceptres and thrones disposed of as goods and chattels fit only for collections of curiosities and antiquities. Retributive Justice seems to have chosen the very year of the two hundredth anniversary of the triumph of the Princes over the Germanic Union, to vindicate its own immutable laws, and

to show, by a contrast the more strikingly impressive, that wrong committed will be its own avenger.

Of all the revolutions which this last year has seen, that in Germany deserves the greatest consideration, and more than has been generally bestowed upon this nation in a political respect. When quiet, sober Germany suddenly arouses from its political lethargy; when we see a country which has heretofore been known abroad only by its literature and art, but which, for the last two centuries, has hardly been heard of in politics, except in a few of its component parts, as Prussia and Austria, so that persons often ask in wonder whether a Prussian is a German,—when we see this nation of forty millions of souls at last rise in its might and awake into a living consciousness of its existence, as one and indivisible, and of its rights as such by nature and nature's law,—then the attention of even the most indifferent is arrested. We are led to inquire into the causes that have produced such a phenomenon, which is evidently more than a mere feverish excitement accidentally brought on by some restless spirits, from a desire of notoriety and change. The apparent suddenness of this great commotion of the people may have led some to suppose that it was only a fitful fever, caught by contagion from a neighbouring country; those, however, who have taken an interest in the life of this nation, cannot have been surprised at the popular outbreak, but rather that it did not take place before. As a vessel filled with water, which is chilled through, requires but a slight concussion to change the fluid into one solid mass of ice, so in Germany it required but an impulse from without to make the political atmosphere, long charged with the elements of a violent storm, break out in a tempest which would shake every one of the thirty-eight states to its foundation.

Political revolutions are, no doubt, always to be dreaded, as great temporary social evils, and those who pass through them are regarded as martyrs for future generations. But revolutions must not, on this account, be condemned as monstrosities, conceived and born of evil, as many seem to think, who owe the blessings they now enjoy to the revolutions their forefathers accomplished. A sanctimonious cry of "Law and Order" is raised on all such occasions, by men who regard only existing artificial laws, established, perhaps, by a despotic power in by-gone ages, and entirely disregard or overlook the fact that there is a law immutable and unchangeable as the

stars in heaven, and existing coeval with the universe itself, namely, the Law of Nature. If this law be violated in the physical world, it avenges and restores itself, and often, too, by violent and formidable outbreaks, upheaving all the elements. The law inherent in the moral world follows a like course, and although its voice may for a time be muffled and smothered, it will at last, with tones of thunder, break forth and call out, "Law and Order." To uphold this law and order is true conservatism.

A nation's social and political organization must be in perfect accordance with its peculiar character and that state of development which it has reached in the progressive course of the destiny of man. The forms of a state and its laws must be the natural exponent of the people's spirit and genius and its human development, and they must grow out of these, but cannot and must not be engrafted thereon by an extraneous wilful power. The gradual changes in all organic bodies of nature follow according to inherent laws, and the external forms accommodate themselves to the development of the living principle which is working under them. If we try to check this natural growth, the violation will vindicate itself, and either death or monstrosities will be the consequence. When a nation has outgrown its existing political and social forms, or if the existing suitable and fitting forms are wilfully violated and changed, the living spirit working beneath them will maintain its right and try to restore itself. This effort we call a Revolution, and as such we do not only deem it justifiable, but unavoidable and demanded by the Law of God.

There are some, however, who would condemn the resort to force under any circumstances, and maintain that love and forbearance are the only weapons that should ever be wielded. Undoubtedly they ought to rule and control all hearts, all classes, and all nations; but it is also true, that where these do not prevail, there they ought to be established. The field must be prepared to receive costly seed, that it may strike root and bear fruit. The great founder of the kingdom of peace and love laid down his life for the *Law of God*, and every one who will be his true follower must be willing to do the same, when the object is to uphold and maintain divine laws. The most scrupulous will allow the justness of self-defence by force, when life and limb are endangered, and should the same privilege be denied when a People's life and existence are at stake?

The question, whether the revolution which has broken out in Germany and is still going on, is justifiable, desirable, and necessary on the ground we have before claimed and pronounced as reasonable and just, it is our purpose to answer by giving a brief statement of the political condition of this country, and this principally by facts, so that every one may draw his own conclusion, and form an answer to the above question himself; but we must plead, in the beginning, the insufficiency of our space for a perfect statement of so vast a subject.

Since the general watchword in Germany is, at present, "One Germany, one empire as of old, and a constitutional representative government," we shall begin with giving a brief outline of what Germany was in former times, when it was yet called an empire, and when it was, at least nominally, a confederated state; we shall then proceed to state what the political condition was after the dissolution of the empire, and conclude with giving the plan of the projected union of the new empire now in process of being established.

The old Germanic empire may be said to have existed, at least nominally, from the time of Charlemagne, in the year 800, till Francis II., in 1806. Charlemagne was the first who renewed the title of Cæsar (Kaiser) or Emperor, when he was crowned Roman Emperor in the year 800, by Pope Leo III., at Rome. He connected with this title the claim of universal sovereignty over all Christendom, and it was long considered as attached to the sovereignty of Rome. It was therefore given to the oldest son of Louis the Pious, Lothaire, as King of Italy, and was afterwards bestowed upon Charles the Bald and other Italian princes, until Otho I., in 962, for ever united the imperial crown with the German royal dignity. However, until Maximilian I., the title of Roman Emperor was given only to those German kings who were crowned by the Pope, otherwise they had only the title of Roman King. After Maximilian had called himself, for the first time, Roman Emperor, the German kings took this title without having been in Rome. The last German king who was crowned in Italy was Charles V.

Among the Carlovingians, the German crown was hereditary, but after their extinction it became elective, and the German kings were chosen by all the princes of the empire, until, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the elective right was confined to certain electoral princes; this distinctly appears in 1256, at the election of Emperor Richard of Cornwallis.

The electoral princes were those of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne, — as the first archbishop and chancellors of the empire, — and those of the Palatinate, alternating for a time with Bavaria, and of Brandenburg, Saxony, and Bohemia. The other princes still demanded the right of participating in the election, but the electoral princes succeeded in maintaining their exclusive privilege, until Charles IV., in 1356, confirmed it by the edict called the Golden Bull.

The qualifications required for the imperial dignity were to be of legitimate birth, a German, at least eighteen years old, of high nobility, at least a count, and in later times an electoral prince, not a clergyman, and not an infidel. When a person of such qualifications had been elected, he had to sign the so called Capitulation, or compact drawn up by the electoral princes, which began, however, first, when Maximilian proposed his grandson, afterwards Charles V. Hereupon he was crowned as German King, at Aix la Chapelle, and in later times at Augsburg or Regensburg, and for the most part at Frankfort on the Maine, by bestowing upon him the imperial insignia, namely, the golden crown, gilt sceptre, golden globe, the sword of Charlemagne and that of St. Maurice, the gilt spurs, the *dalmatica* and other robes; at Milan he received an iron crown, and was finally crowned at Rome by the Pope. This last ceremony ceased, as we have said, with Maximilian I.

The college of electoral princes remained the same, seven in number, till the Peace of Westphalia, except that Bohemia, after King Wenzel had been deposed in 1400, did not exercise her right, and was not admitted again into the electoral college till 1708. When the Elector Frederick V. of the Palatinate was outlawed, his electoral right and dignity were transferred to Bavaria; but at the Peace of Westphalia, it was stipulated that an eighth electoral dignity and vote should be created for the Palatinate, on condition that in case of the extinction of the Bavarian Wilhemian line, the Bavarian electoral vote should fall again to the Palatinate, and the eighth electorate should be discontinued. In 1692 a ninth electoral dignity was created by Leopold I., who made Brunswick Luneburg an electorate, but it was not admitted into the college till 1710, after a long resistance on the part of the Estates of the empire. When, in 1777, the Bavarian line became extinct and its lands fell again to the Palatinate, the Bavarian electoral vote ceased, according to the previous agreement, and hence there were again but eight votes.

The electoral princes had privileges which the other Estates of the empire did not possess, beside their exclusive right of electing the emperor. They had royal honors, but not the title "majesty;" they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the imperial and aulic courts; their lands were indivisible, and they held their regalia without investiture. They were called, according to the Golden Bull, "the seven pillars and lights of the holy empire;" they could give advice, even when it was not called for, and could recommend matters to the emperor, as of particular urgency, through addresses; and, finally, they had the right to draw up "the capitulation of election," of which we shall make mention presently. The Elector of Mayence was arch-chancellor.

By the Peace at Luncburg, in 1801, the left bank of the Rhine was ceded to France, and important alterations became necessary, particularly since only the hereditary princes could receive indemnification from the German empire. On the 14th of July, 1802, the imperial deputation was called at Regensburg, and through Russia and France a plan of indemnification was proposed, by which only one ecclesiastical electoral prince, the Archbishop of Mayence, with the title of Electoral Prince and first Chancellor of the empire, and three new secular electoral princes, to wit, of Baden, Wurtemburg, and Hesse Cassel, and afterwards, also, Salzburg and the new arch-chancellor, were admitted into the electoral college. This took place on the 22nd of August, 1803. Thus there were now ten electoral princes. In 1805, by the Peace of Presburg, Bavaria and Wurtemburg received the royal titles, but still continued to be parts of the German empire. But on the 12th of July, 1806, at Paris, the Rhenish confederation was established, whereupon Bavaria, Wurtemberg, the Arch-chancellor, and Baden broke off their connection with the old German union. When the French ambassador declared at the Diet at Regensburg that Napoleon no longer recognized a German empire, and that he had taken the title of Protector of the Rhenish confederation, Francis II., on the 6th of August, 1806, laid down the crown as German Emperor, and discharged all princes and states from their further allegiance and duties to him as Emperor of Germany, and thus the complete independent sovereignty of all the different states was formally declared.

The constitution of the German empire, which thus ended, may be said to have been principally based upon five imperial

laws: to wit, the Golden Bull of 1356, the Permanent Peace of the Land of 1495, the Imperial Capitulation beginning with Charles V., the Religious Peace of 1555, and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The import of these edicts or laws we will now briefly state.

The Golden Bull is the imperial law which Charles IV. issued in 1356, at the Diet at Nuremberg, after it had been discussed by the states. It contained, in thirty chapters, rules regarding the electoral princes and their privileges, and particularly those of the king of Bohemia; and regulations of the imperial election and coronation, of the currency, tolls, and feuds, and of the cities, whose further increase of power, at the expense of princes and sovereigns, Charles wished to check.

The Permanent Peace of the Land was the law made and proclaimed in 1495 by Maximilian, by which all feuds and personal revenge were prohibited under a fine of two thousand marks in gold. The Estates were to assemble every year to maintain the peace and punish offences against it; at the same time, an imperial court of justice was established, the judges of which were chosen by the Estates and the emperor, before whom subjects might enter complaints against their princes.

The Capitulation of Election was the articles of agreement which the electoral princes drew up on the election of an emperor, and which the emperor, before entering upon his office, swore to maintain. The first capitulation was submitted by the electors, when Maximilian I. proposed his grandson, Charles V., as emperor. For every newly elected emperor a special capitulation was drawn up, called "capitulatio cæsarea," but the main points remained the same; they were that the emperor should take care of the church and the Pope, protect the empire, give the proper protection to the electoral and other princes, and leave them in their possessions and rights; that he should undertake nothing without the consent of the Diet, enter into no compact without the concurrence of the same, support the police and commerce, impose no new taxes, keep in proper order the mint and currency, neither sell nor pledge any part of the empire, keep the stipulations of the Peace of Westphalia in force, reside in Germany, if possible; not suffer foreign powers to interfere in matters of religion, preserve the peace of the land and the independence of the judicial authority, and the imperial postal arrangements, &c. By this means the princes secured to themselves

the power of forcing from the emperor concessions favorable to their own independent sway.

The Religious Peace at Augsburg was concluded at the imperial Diet, held at this city in 1555. The import of this compact between the Protestant and Catholic princes was, that the Protestants should enjoy full exercise of their religion and remain in possession of all the sequestrated ecclesiastic estates. Each sovereign should have the right to establish a prevailing religion of state, but should allow his subjects of a different faith to emigrate. Religious controversies should be settled in a peaceable manner; and ecclesiastical jurisdiction should not extend to and have power over the faith and divine worship of the Protestants. The reformed church was, however, still excluded, and this compact included only the Lutheran church: at the Peace of Westphalia the Reformed church was also received into this compact.

The Peace of Westphalia of 1648 established, besides the adjustment of religious controversies, the independent sovereignty of the individual German states, which made the imperial power dwindle into a mere shadow. Each prince obtained the right to make war, conclude peace, and negotiate treaties with foreign nations, and thus the bond of the united empire was in fact rent asunder, though the imperial title continued to linger for a century and a half. The diplomacy of cabinets now commenced. Each prince sought only his own independence in his own territory, regardless of the welfare of the whole nation, and even of his own subjects. The freedom of trade and commerce was checked, as each petty state was surrounded with a barrier of duties and imposts, to supply the wants of the expensive princely households; the earnings of the industrious subjects were taxed and taken to uphold useless and ridiculous pride in courts, armies, and foreign diplomatic establishments.

The laws of the empire were made at the imperial diets, which consisted of the Estates of the realm, and these were divided into Ecclesiastic and Secular Estates; to the former belonged the clerical electors, archbishops and bishops, prelates, abbots and abbesses, the grand master of the Teutonic orders, and that of St. John; to the latter the secular electors, dukes, princes, margraves, counts, and the free imperial cities. At first the emperor appeared in person at the diets, but afterwards by a commissioner, who was a prince of the empire. The elector of Mayence, as chancellor of the em-

pire, was president of the diet, to whom the envoys of the Estates and foreign ambassadors presented their credentials. The business was transacted in three colleges; namely,

First, That of the Electoral Princes, in which Mayence collected the votes.

Second, That of Princes, which was divided into the clerical and secular benches. The protestant bishops of Lubeck and Osnaburg sat on a cross-bench. The counts of the empire had in this college no individual votes, (votum virile,) but were divided into four benches, namely, of the Wetterau, Swabia, Franconia, and Westphalia, of which each bench gave but one vote (votum curiatum); and, likewise, the prelates of the realm, — as abbots, prebendaries, and abbesses, — were divided into two benches, namely, the Swabian and Rhenish, and had two votes. The presidency was exercised alternately by the archbishop of Salzburg and the archduke of Austria.

Third, That of the Free Imperial Cities, which was divided into two benches, the Rhenish and Swabian. The city where the diet sat had the honor of the presidency, and each city had one vote.

Generally the majority of votes controlled all matters, except in religious affairs, and those concerning the individual Estates. Each of the colleges passed its resolutions separately, and then sought, by conference, to effect unanimity in the three colleges. This done, the resolution thus passed was called "conclusum imperii," and laid before the emperor for ratification, and if it received his approbation, it became a law, and was called "an Edict of the Empire," (Reichsschluss,) and the publication of all the edicts passed at a diet was called "recessus imperii," (Reichsabschied.) The emperor might refuse this ratification in whole or in part, but he could not alter the import of the resolves, nor supply the needful assent of any one college. The edicts having been signed, they were published and sent to the imperial courts for registration. The usual business of the diet was to pass, abolish, and interpret laws, to conclude war and peace, to make compacts and treaties, and transact other similar business.

The last imperial diet was opened by Ferdinand III. in the year 1653, at Regensburg, and closed the 17th of May, 1654. It is called the last, because the other diet, opened in 1663, remained in session till the dissolution of the empire, and was

closed without the promulgation of any laws. The laws passed at this last diet related to the appointment of judges to the imperial court, (Reichskammergericht,) and the forms of procedure. It was a characteristic proceeding on the part of the German diet, that it presented minutely, in one hundred and sixty-one paragraphs, the forms under which justice might be demanded in the highest court of the empire, in matters where the value in dispute exceeded four hundred rixthalers, and laid down the forms of appeal from courts of the imperial states; but left single judicial lords and magistrates to exercise jurisdiction over thieves, witches, and revilers of religion, and dispose of their lives without appeal or opposition.

Leopold, the son and successor of Ferdinand, being of a weak mind and feeble character, allowed the members of the empire to establish completely their independent sovereignty. The idea of the century, which Richelieu had begun to carry out in France and Louis XIV. had adopted, namely, that of giving to the ruling sovereign or his chosen minister exclusively all power of government, was now likewise carried out in all the different states of Germany. Emperor Leopold, at his election in 1658, had been obliged by the princes to swear to uphold a capitulation which stipulated "that the Estates should not assume the disposition of taxes, to the exclusion of their sovereigns; and that they should not refuse contributions for the support of fortresses and garrisons, as decreed in the last recess of the diet; and if they should, on that account, make complaints at the imperial courts, they should be refused a hearing, and ordered to obey their sovereigns; that the electoral princes and the other Estates should be permitted to assemble and enter into leagues; that the electoral princes should be allowed, with the assistance of neighbouring states, to maintain their rights against their own subjects, and to force them to obedience; and, finally, that, although complaints and suits arising in consequence of this compulsion of their subjects should be decided with all speed, nevertheless the princes should not be compelled to obey the mandates issued by the imperial and aulic courts at the instance of subjects."

Thus the Estates and the subjects were entirely barred from the protection of the supreme power of the empire. Moreover, at the diet called in 1663, on account of the war with the Turks, the emperor, for the first time, did not appear, to open it in person, but sent a commissioner to represent him. He afterwards permitted the princes who could not come to

an agreement, to leave the diet, and send ambassadors in their stead. The diet, formerly an assembly of all the princes, now became a congress of ambassadors, who could act only after communicating with their princes upon each question under discussion. The consequent slowness in transacting business made the session of the diet permanent, and it continued in session till the final dissolution of the empire, in 1806. The emperor also permitted each imperial Estate to raise the expenses for these embassies from their subjects, and thus he confirmed the permanency of the diet. The principal subjects discussed were the so called "religious complaints," arising from the relations of the different religious parties.

Through the above cited stipulations in the capitulation to which Leopold agreed, the princes had become independent of the grants of taxes by their Estates and subjects, and thus they could easily break through all restraints which the Estates laid upon them. The electors of Bavaria and Brandenburgh set the example to the others in dispensing entirely with the coöperation of the Estates within their dominions. Instead of calling all the Estates together, they retained, at first, only committees, to perform the same duties which the assembled representatives had performed before; and these committees became, at last, permanent; or were abolished without any ceremony.

It would lead us too far to go into a particular statement of the shameless violations of all existing rights and laws, which the princes committed in their respective dominions. The atrocities which some of them were guilty of seem almost incredible. We will only refer to the brutalities of a Frederick William of Brandenburgh and a Charles Eugene of Wurtemburg, as proof that we do not give too harsh a name to their base deeds.

Thus things went on, till on the Seine the corrupted political atmosphere gave birth to a violent storm, which shook all Europe to its centre. The dawn of a new age broke on the world — the age of the Rights of the People and of their Sovereign Will; the age when it was to be received as a self-evident truth that the rulers are made for the people, and not the people for the rulers, and that the people shall have a voice in deciding on their own welfare. The princes saw the mighty spirit rising from the deep, which threatened their existence. They rushed one and all to stifle or smother it in its cradle. But it embodied itself in one mighty giant, the

Titan of Corsica, who now like a tempest swept over the earth, overthrew all thrones, shattered the sceptres and tore the ermine of kings and princes. No earthly hand could approach and touch him, and he fell only by the hand which raised him. The thunderbolt of Heaven alone hurled him from his lofty station; and even then he rose a second time, like another Antæus, when he touched his mother earth, and stood forth in his native strength; his unruly Titanic spirit knew no submission, and could not feel that it was only an instrument wielded by the over-ruling Power by which he was overthrown a second time, not to rise again, having fulfilled his mission.

The princes then began to breathe freely once more, and recover from the fright and dismay which had struck to their hearts, in gazing on the awful meteor which had passed before their eyes. They could not but see in it a messenger sent by a higher power, to reveal and teach solemn truth. Although they were pleased with the absolute sovereign sway which the King of kings had wielded to crush the wild demon of the people's rule, yet they could not forget that he was a son of the Revolution, a man risen from the people, who had destroyed the vague yet sacred halo of the divine rights of kings, dimly floating round their sovereign thrones. As such, he was but the representative of the evil spirit which had broken forth on the Seine. Therefore he was banished to a desolate isle in the ocean, there to linger out his crushed existence, among the mighty waters — his only companions.

However, this bitter lesson made a deep impression upon the minds of the princes, and filled them with a passing spirit of repentance, and a desire to mend their evil ways.

The rulers who had stood foremost in the alliance against Napoleon, were the Emperor Alexander of Russia, Emperor Francis of Austria, and King Frederick William III. of Prussia. All three had passed through the bitter ordeal of humiliation, and in the hours of sorrow had found in religion that consolation which they had vainly sought in earthly glory and power. They now looked upon their high vocation from a religious point of view. From Alexander, the most talented but also the weakest of the three, the great idea proceeded of establishing a European alliance, which should have for its basis the mild, love-breathing doctrines of Christianity, and not the narrow policy of temporal success. This alliance was called by some, from reverential admiration, and

by others from a spirit of derision, the Holy Alliance. It was signed by the three monarchs, at Paris, on the 26th of September, 1815. They hereby declared to the whole world their pious resolution, both in the administration of their own kingdom, and in relation to other governments, to take for their guide only the commands of the Christian religion; the dictates of Justice, Christian Love, and Peace. The three monarchs pledged themselves according to the words of the Scripture, which demand that all men should regard each other as brothers, to remain united and to aid each other like brothers on all occasions, and to show themselves to their subjects and armies as fathers, and to cause the same feeling of brotherhood to pervade their subjects; and the states governed by them, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, should in future be only three branches of one and the same Christian people, who acknowledge as their only ruler Him to whom all power is given. All the princes of Europe were invited to join in this alliance, excepting the Turkish Sultan and the Pope.

For the first time in the history of the world, the mighty of the earth had pronounced, in a solemn compact, the principle that all Christian Europe should unite in one alliance, in which the highest law for princes and subjects should be, brotherly love and kindness. If it had been possible to carry out this plan, the golden age, of which poets speak and common mortals dream, would have been realized. But in their belief that they wished only what was good and just, they had reserved the highest and final decision of all affairs to their own personal feeling, which, both with high and low, is influenced by accidental circumstances, and which cannot therefore be a safe guide in the intricate management of public affairs. The supreme rule of personal feeling was, in reality, nothing else but absolute unlimited power, whatever religious cloak the piety of the authors wished to throw over it. They, therefore, restored the tyranny against which they had called upon their people to draw the sword. "Freedom" was the watchword and battle-cry which inspired the people of all classes to break the foreign yoke, and it was the princes themselves who raised this word of enchantment, which electrified all hearts, the young and the old, high and low.

To what degree disinterested love filled the hearts of the German princes, and influenced their conduct towards the people over whom they were now to resume control—their immediate actions showed, and in a manner which left no

doubt of the actual spirit which guided them. We see this distinctly, even in the attempt to give shape again to the fragments of the old Germanic empire.

After the first victory over Napoleon, the princes of the Germanic states assembled at Vienna to take into consideration the new order of things which was to succeed the broken empire of foreign power. By an article in the treaty of Paris it had been decided "that the states of Germany shall be independent, and shall be united by a federative tie." In pursuance of this, thirty-eight out of three hundred and fifty sovereign states, that once existed, all the rest having been absorbed in these, met together. But most contradictory views and claims were brought forward. Some demanded that every thing should be placed again as it existed before the dissolution of the empire, and if possible, at the time of the Peace of Westphalia. These views were entertained by the smaller and mediatized princes. But neither Austria nor Prussia felt inclined to accept the imperial dignity, from which they could promise themselves no advantages under existing circumstances. They entertained the plan of uniting all parts that once belonged to the Germanic empire into one whole, which, without interfering with the internal government, should form a solid union against all foreign states. The new kingdoms created by Napoleon — Bavaria and Wurtemburg, and also the Grand Duchy of Baden, made the most resolute resistance to any thing that might in the least disturb their independence. It might have been long before harmony would have been established, if the sudden reappearance of Napoleon, upon his return from Elba, had not driven them to a speedy conclusion. Instead of establishing a confederated state, they contented themselves with forming a confederation of states, which was based upon the entire equality of all the members, and had for its object only the preservation of internal and external security. The compact was concluded on the 10th of June, 1815, eight days before the battle of Belle Alliance. Its principal provisions are as follows: —

§ 1. The sovereign princes and the free cities of Germany, including the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and the Netherlands — the two former for all their possessions formerly belonging to the German empire, the King of Denmark for Holstein, and the King of the Netherlands for the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg — enter into a perpetual confederation, which shall be called the German Confederation.

§ 2. The design of it is the preservation of the external and internal security of Germany, and the independence and inviolability of the individual German states.

§ 3. All members of the confederation have, as such, equal rights. They all bind themselves equally to keep the federal compact.

§ 4. The affairs of the federal union shall be transacted by a federal diet, at which all members, through their plenipotentiaries, have partly single, partly collective votes, in all 17.

§ 5. Austria presides at the federal diet. Each member has the right to make proposals, and the president is bound to bring them up for consultation within a given time.

§ 6. In cases regarding the making or altering of fundamental laws of the confederation, of resolutions concerning the compact itself, the organic federal constitutions, and generally useful arrangements, the diet forms itself into a plenum, in which, in regard to the difference in size of the individual states, the following distribution of votes is agreed upon: six have 4 votes, five 3 votes, three 2 votes, and the rest only one, which make in all 69 (afterwards 70) votes.

The assembly is in constant session, but may adjourn for four months at most.

§ 9. The seat of the diet is at Frankfort on the Maine, and is fixed for Semptember 1st, 1815.

§ 10. The first duty of the diet shall be the making of fundamental laws of the confederation, and the organic arrangement regarding its foreign military and internal relations.

The following sections stipulated that all the members of the confederation should protect both the whole of Germany and each federal state against any aggression; that in case of war no one member should enter into separate negotiations with the enemy; that each state should retain the right of making treaties with other nations, provided they did not tend to prejudice the safety of the confederation or of its members; and that the members should not màke war against each other, but submit their disputes to arbitration.

The thirteenth section provided, "In all the federal states a representative constitution shall be established;" and the eighteenth section guaranteed to the subjects of all the states the right of acquiring real estate in any one of them, and of emigrating from one state into another without paying a tax on their property; and lastly, uniform regulations regarding the liberty of the press and the security of authors and publishers against piracy.

This confederation was, as distinctly appears, only the act of the princes of Germany for the support of their own sovereign independence; but not the act of the people, forming themselves into one nation. It was only after great exertions on the part of Prussia, that the thirteenth article was inserted, which made it incumbent on all the states to introduce a representative form of government; and another article which guaranteed liberty of the press. No provision was made to enable the people of the individual states to obtain redress against their rulers, if they should be deprived of their rights; nor were the rights of the people in the least defined, or the principles laid down on which the representative form of government should be established. All this was left to the sovereign will of each prince. Several states, however, proceeded at once to comply with the thirteenth article of the compact, and gave constitutions, such as they were. Prussia, also, showed the best intentions at first, and made preparations to give to its people a general representative form of government. On the 22nd of May, 1815, there appeared an edict of the king, that provincial diets should be constituted, out of which a general diet should be chosen. Of this we shall have occasion to speak more at large hereafter. The Prussian government, with Prince Hardenburg as chancellor at the head of the state, favored at first the free political development in Germany. Soon after the Peace at Tilsit, under the protection of the amiable and gifted Queen Louisa and the Baron Von Stein, an association had been formed called "the league of virtue," (Tugendbund,) to which, besides the princes of the house, the most distinguished men belonged, as Fichte, Humboldt, Schleiermacher, Niebuhr, Arndt, Jahn, and others. The openly declared object of the society was the moral and mental culture of its members, whilst it in secret pursued the plan to prepare their native country, Germany, for redemption and elevation from its disgraceful humiliation and oppression. At the demand of the Emperor of the French this league was annulled, but it continued to exist in secret, and spread far beyond the boundaries of Prussia. As long as the enemy was near at hand, all onward movements in Prussia proceeded in the spirit of this league; but when peace was established, there were not wanting those who saw or pretended to see in this league tendencies dangerous to the state, or rather to the absolute monarchical principle, and endeavoured to represent them as such to the king, and to

the world in general. The expectations of the young generation, who had in large numbers drawn the sword in their country's cause, were naturally and justly in favor of an internal political regeneration of the German people; and this spirit prevailed particularly among the young men at the universities, many of whom had manfully fought for freedom in the battles against the common enemy. The celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation gave occasion for a large concourse of students from the different parts of the country at the Wartburg, to celebrate this festival, on the 18th of October, 1818, this being the anniversary day of the victory over foreign thraldom. The day was celebrated in the spirit which filled every heart; namely, enthusiasm for the regeneration of the German nation. The impression which this celebration made upon all Young Germany was deep and astounding. But the governments and their servile supporters thought that the devil, who appeared to Luther three hundred years ago at this same place, had risen again and was actively at work. In addition to this, it happened that a Mr. Von Kotzebue, known to the English public by his dramatic works, made himself particularly obnoxious by his writings, ridiculing the generous enthusiastic spirit of the young; and, being in the pay and employ of the Russian government, he represented to the same the spirit prevailing in Germany as most dangerous to the existing governments. A young man, a student at Jena, Charles Sand, a great enthusiast for the regeneration of his country, formed the idea that Kotzebue intended to betray Germany to Russia, and he felt himself called upon to remove this Russian spy at all hazards. His resolution was soon taken; the enemy fell by his dagger.

This act, together with what had preceded, was sufficient to bring the princes to definite and rigorous measures, and the tyrannical acts which now followed year after year, and which have been continued till the year 1848, took their date from 1819.

Prince Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, who had long looked upon the onward movement of the people in different states with fear and dread, as diametrically opposed to his system of preserving the existing state of things, now deemed it high time to use effective means to check this innovating spirit of the age. Already, in the year previous, the Austrian ambassador had expressed, regarding the execution of the thirteenth article, the following view of his government: "It

is in existence; it therefore must be executed, that is, there shall and must exist in all German states representative-constitutions, and they must therefore be introduced where they do not now exist. It lies in the nature of a promise, which is not bound to a certain time, that the fulfilment of it must be had as soon and as well as possible. But the wisdom of the government and the interest of the subjects require that the best of things should be attained under the given circumstances." Then he went on to say, that requisite time must be given to the governments to bring about the proper result. The Prussian ambassador, also, had, in a previous session, on the 5th of February, 1818, expressed himself in a similar way, saying that his government would now soon establish the provincial diets, so that the essential part of the edict of the 22nd of May, 1815, would be carried out; that it would then proceed in the way of experiment, and first establish what the welfare of the individual provinces required, and then see what could be done for a common bond which should unite all provinces.

These declarations showed distinctly that neither of these great powers would be led into so great a departure from the absolute monarchial system as to bind its hands by a representative constitution; and at the same time it became evident that they would not scruple to evade their promises and pledges by the most paltry and jesuitical subterfuges.

Prince Metternich, after the occurrences mentioned, called a meeting of the ministers of all the principal states for the purpose of conferring together to determine in what manner the gaps left in the act of the confederation of 1815 should be filled up, and at the same time to decide upon measures to meet the danger of the moment. The result of these conferences was the so called Resolutions at Karlsbad, which were published on the 20th of September, 1819, at Frankfort. They were as follows:

1. That the confederate states should, at the next session, in the spirit of the monarchial principle and the preservation of the confederation, give their views on a proper interpretation and explanation of the thirteenth article of the act of confederation.

2. That, until definite executive regulations be established, provisional regulations should be introduced, for the purpose of carrying out and watching over the measures and resolutions necessary for the internal safety, according to the second section.

3. That provisional measures should immediately be taken for a thorough reform of schools and universities.

4. That for the necessary superintendence over all matters of the press, and for the purpose of preventing the abuse of it, a provisional order should be generally introduced in regard to newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets.

5. That a central committee should be appointed for the express purpose of investigating the revolutionary intrigues discovered in several states.

The presiding ambassador of Austria stated, in opening the session, that the most rigorous measures must be taken to suppress the fermentation of minds in Germany; that one of the principal causes of the excitement was the indefiniteness of the thirteenth article of the act of confederation, promising a representative form of government to the individual states; that it was true that this promise had been given, but neither the time had been fixed *when*, nor the form *in which* it should be done. That nothing else had been understood by representative states, but what had always been understood by it in Germany, and that he was far from understanding by it a kind of government by the people according to foreign patterns; that, therefore, no constitutions should be granted in the different states until the diet had given an interpretation of the thirteenth article, which must be based upon upholding the monarchial principle, — that a wrong idea was abroad in regard to the extent of power and duties of the confederation; that its object was its own self-preservation and that of the states, and, in this respect, it was the highest legislative body. The resolves of the diet, therefore, which related to the internal and external safety of the whole, the independence and inviolability of the individual members of the league, and the upholding of the existing order, must have a general binding force, and the execution of them must not be checked by separate legislation, and by the laws of a single confederate state.

In accordance with the aforementioned resolutions and in the spirit of the sentiments expressed by the Austrian ambassador, the following measures were adopted: A committee of five members was appointed who should watch over the execution of the resolves of the diet. In case the resolves should meet with resistance on the part of the subjects of any state, and its own government should not be able to enforce them, the diet should enforce them by military power, and the

diet should determine on the number of troops and the states which should furnish them. The same should take place in case the government itself should refuse to carry out the resolves.

In order to control the revolutionary spirit which had shown itself in the universities, a plenipotentiary of each state was to be appointed at each university, who should watch over the disciplinary regulations, the spirit of the professors in their lectures, and give them a salutary direction for furthering the objects of the state. All governments were enjoined to remove for ever from public instruction every teacher who should abuse his influence over the minds of the youth by spreading corrupting principles endangering the public peace and safety; and such a teacher should be excluded from admission to any other institution in any other state. All secret and prohibited associations of students in universities, especially that of the Burschenschaft, should be strictly suppressed, and every individual, taking part in any such, should be excluded from holding any public office.

To carry out the last resolution, a court of seven commissioners was appointed to assemble at Mayence, to carry on the investigations regarding "the demagogic intrigues," as they were called; all local authorities were ordered to deliver over to this committee the respective legal papers of prosecution, and at the same time to pursue diligently all traces leading to new discoveries. At the same time, extraordinary power was given to this committee to make arrests throughout all the German states, and to have the arrested persons brought to Mayence, where a safe custody was provided for them.

The total subversion of all legal rights, which was effected through these measures, is so evident that it need not be dwelt upon. At the Congress of Vienna, absolute independence in regard to its internal affairs was guaranteed to each state; but here was established a most arbitrary tribunal, which could arrest any individual in any state, and, on mere suspicion, drag him from his native state before its bar, and try him according to its own wish and pleasure. History has no other example, where a league was formed by so many absolute sovereigns for the special purpose of upholding their own absolute sway within their own dominions over their subjects.

There exists no pretence of any apology for such measures as these; it cannot be said that they were for the purpose of

upholding law and order, for the very measures themselves were a gross breach of the existing laws; and moreover, this very august body, which deserves better the name of a conspiracy and band of tyrants, and which thought itself entitled to interfere with the internal affairs of the individual states, when their own safety was concerned, declared itself utterly incompetent to interfere in behalf of subjects, when their sacred rights were most grossly abused by their princes. A striking instance of this was the worse than piratical act of the Elector of Hesse, who pronounced null and void all the sales of domains made during the French dominion, without indemnifying the individual purchasers. When these applied to the diet for redress, the Elector deprecated the interference of their body in the internal affairs of his state, and the unfortunate persons, who had been robbed of their property in the most outrageous manner, remained unaided in their helpless condition. Another equally glaring instance of this kind occurred in 1837, when the present king of Hanover, upon his ascending the throne, set aside the established constitution; and the diet, when applied to for upholding law and order, declared itself incompetent to interfere. It requires the patience of the German people to endure such outrages, and one would be inclined to doubt the Eternal Justice if no retribution should follow.

Prince Metternich had, with these Resolutions at Karlsbad, only begun the great work of establishing the existing order of things. He full well saw that great danger threatened his system through the new constitutions which the states in the south of Germany had obtained, and by which the subjects had received rights which might lead to a partial rule of the people. But the diet had so far no right to interfere; it was therefore necessary to get a semblance of right. For this purpose the Austrian cabinet invited all the German governments to send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, for the purpose of deliberating on and passing resolves regarding "general subjects of the confederation." On the 25th of November, 1819, this congress was opened, Prince Metternich presiding.

To get a deeper insight into the principles and views of this statesman, we will here insert a letter which he wrote at this time to Baron de Berstett, minister at Baden.

"Time advances amid storms; to strive to check its violent rushing, would be a vain endeavour. Firmness, moderation, and

union of well-calculated forces — these alone remain to the protectors and friends of order; in these alone consists at present the duty of sovereigns and of disinterested statesmen; and he alone will deserve this title in the day of danger, who, convinced of what is possible and reasonable, does not, either through impotent desires or inertness, swerve from the noble aim towards which his exertions must be directed. That aim is easily determined. In our times it is nothing more nor less than the *upholding of things as they are.* To attain this aim is the only saving means, nay, perhaps the most appropriate to *recover what has been lost.* Under the present circumstances the transition from the old to the new is attended with as much danger as the change from the new to what no longer exists. Both may alike produce an outbreak of disturbances, which must be avoided at any price. To swerve in no way from the existing order of things, of whatever origin it may be, and to make alterations, if they appear absolutely necessary, without constraint and with a maturely considered resolution — this is the first duty of a government which wishes to resist the curse of our century. Such a determination, however just and natural it may be, will certainly provoke obstinate conflicts; but the advantage of standing upon a well known and admitted foundation is evident, because it will be easy, from this position, to frustrate and check the uncertain movements of the enemy in all directions. The fortification of the German league offers at present, to each of the states, an actual guaranty — an inestimable advantage under the present circumstances, of which we could make sure only in the way prescribed. The rules which the German governments will have henceforth to pursue may be pointed out in a few words: first, confidence in the duration of the peace of Europe, as well as in the unanimity of the principles guiding the great powers; secondly, conscientious attention to their own system of administration; thirdly, perseverance in maintaining the legal foundations of existing institutions, and a firm determination to defend them with vigor and caution against every individual attack; and also, fourthly, the improvement of radical defects in the national institutions, with a public statement of the reasons of each improvement; fifthly, in case of insufficiency of individual means, to call for the support of the league, which each member has the most sacred right to demand, and which, according to the new regulations, cannot be refused."

The result of this second congress at Vienna was the so called "concluding Act at Vienna" (Wiener Schlussacte), of which we shall give here a few articles, whereby its spirit may be sufficiently seen. The indefiniteness with which the whole was worded admitted of any interpretation which the princes

might, in future, hold it for their advantage to make. It must also be stated, that as soon as the good-natured German people had received the tidings of this new congress, they had indulged in the fond hopes that now many of their grievances would find in these conferences at least a hearing and some consideration. It was particularly the commercial portion of the people which suffered under severe oppression. All the states being sovereign, each one thought it proper to its dignity and advantage to surround its own territory (which might, in most cases, be called only a patch of land,) with customs and duties hostile to every other state, both foreign and German. The most ardent advocate for the protective system will at once admit the baneful effect this state of things must produce upon all trade and commerce. The merchants, who were assembled at the fair in Frankfort in 1819, sent a petition to the diet, setting forth the condition of the country; but without attaining a hearing. They then established a German Commercial Union, and sent a special commissioner, Professor List of Tubingen, to Vienna, to represent their cause to the Congress at Vienna. But he was at once, without ceremony, sent back with the answer, "that the Commercial Union being an unlawful self-constituted association, could neither be heard nor considered by the Congress." The same answer was given to the petition of the so called "Anti-piratical Union," which had been formed at the Hanseatic cities, and had petitioned for a general German flag, because under it the German shipping would be protected against foreign oppression, and the piracy of the Barbarians.* But through the influence of Metternich, supported by Prussia, this august body resolved to settle only political questions, for which special purpose they were convened. What these political questions were the following articles show sufficiently.

Sections 25 and 26 read thus: "The maintenance of internal peace and order in the states belongs to their respective governments alone, but by virtue of the obligation of the federal members to lend mutual assistance, the coöperation of all may take place for the preservation and restoration of quiet, in case of open revolt or dangerous movements in several states on part of the subjects; and if any government should

* In the spring of 1817 there had appeared two corsairs of Tunis in the German or North Sea, and had captured, almost in sight of the German coast, the ships *Ocean* of Hamburg, and *Christina* of Lubeck, and afterwards two other vessels.

be hindered, in case of a revolt, from asking assistance from the confederation, the same shall interfere of its own accord."

Sections 57, 58, and 59 provide that the whole power of state must remain united in the sovereign, who could be bound by a representative constitution, only in the exercise of certain rights; but not be limited by the same in the fulfilment of his federal obligations; and that where the publication of legislative transactions was allowed, the bounds of free speech must not be overstepped either in debates nor in the printed publication, so that the peace of the individual state or that of the whole of Germany might be endangered.

Most rigorous measures were also adopted to keep the press within perfect control, and to prevent the voice of the oppressed from making itself heard. In accordance with the resolutions at Karlsbad, a law was issued on the 20th of September, 1819, to be in force for five years, but which was renewed in 1824. Its provisions were as follows: 1. All periodical writings, and all other writings of less than twenty sheets, must be subjected to a previous censorship, and the single states are responsible, in this respect, one to the other and to the whole confederation. 2. The diet is entitled, of its own accord, to prohibit writings, and the editor of a suppressed newspaper or other periodical shall not be admitted to the editorship of any other similar paper for the next five years. 3. Complaints of governments regarding the abuse of the press in other states, shall be legally prosecuted in states where the writings were printed. 4. In regard to writings of more than twenty sheets, it is left to the individual governments, whether they will introduce a censorship or leave them to the superintendence of the police, and under a legal prosecution on the same, but, 5. it is required that in works of over twenty sheets, the name of the publisher, and if the work be a periodical, the name of the editor, must be inserted, and that all the books which do not bear the names mentioned, shall be confiscated and not be sold in any state.

In consequence of this law a number of newspapers and periodicals were suppressed. Afterwards the diet directed its attention also to greater works, and to the attempts of some booksellers in neighbouring countries to spread in Germany political writings of a passionate import. The governments were requested to give notice of those writings, the suppression and prosecution of which were deemed necessary because their contents were dangerous to the state. Cat-

alogues of writings prohibited in the single states were handed in, and prohibitions were now likewise issued by the diet. Matters at length came to such a pass, that not only all the books published by certain booksellers, but also all the writings of certain authors, that had not yet been published, were prohibited. The law of the diet of July 5th, 1832, prohibited all political writings which were published in the German language out of the confederated states, unless a special permission had been obtained from the governments. The edict of June 28th made it incumbent upon the governments to take care, in regard to the publication of the transactions in representative bodies, that the bounds of free discussion should not be overstepped, and attacks upon the diet should be prevented. A later edict of April 28th, 1836, prohibited the publication of any news regarding debates in German representative bodies, in newspapers and periodicals, from other than the official sources appointed for publishing them.

The independent position of the princes was now fortified to their hearts' content, and if it was not, no one was to blame but themselves, since the people were not even allowed to present petitions to the diet. Each one now dispensed at his own paternal board the blessings of an almost absolute government to the subjects of his land, over whom he had been called to rule "by the grace of God." Their representatives were in constant session at Frankfort; but for what purpose and to what use it would be difficult to say. If one prince was recommended on account of his general inefficiency, and another for the art of doing the least possible work in the greatest possible time, this dignified body would undoubtedly accept both. The people lived on quietly, and if it be true that those states are governed best of which history has least to record, the German states may be said to have enjoyed this enviable position. The revolution of France, in 1830, found Germany in deep repose; however, the crowing of the Gallic cock awoke the people somewhat from their slumbers.

We have no space to specify the various movements that took place in different states. The princes became startled at this new and daring spirit of reform which showed itself among their subjects, and the result was the issue of six new edicts, dated June 28th, 1832, which are the crowning piece of their despotic fabric. The edicts speak for themselves, and we give here the document itself, rather than offer any remarks or indulge in denunciation or lamentation over the rights infringed and trampled under foot.

"Since a German sovereign can be bound by a constitution to the coöperation with the estates only in the *exercise* of certain rights, he not only may but *must* reject any petition which is in conflict with the same. If the representative assemblies attempt to make the granting of taxes dependent upon obtaining other wishes, such proceedings are to be classed among revolt and resistance to the government, as specified in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth sections. A committee shall be appointed at the federal diet to watch over the transactions of the representatives in the individual states, and to inform the diet of all petitions and resolutions conflicting with the rights of governments. The diet has the exclusive right of interpreting its own laws and compacts."

The new restrictive measures in regard to the press, we have already mentioned. Here we must leave the proceedings of the confederation of German princes. Some idea, at least, may be formed of the political condition of Germany, as regards its union into one nation and the freedom of the people. If we should go into the particular grievances which the subjects in each particular state had to endure, volumes would be required to set them forth. We think it, however, necessary to take more particular notice of one individual state, because it is more generally known abroad, and enjoys a certain reputation for its administration in some of its internal affairs — we mean Prussia. In regard to Austria it need only be stated that there the principles of Metternich were carried out to the fullest extent, and unblushing absolutism reigned with a vigor and energy which give history no chance of recording any acts or events indicative of the existence of life within the body politic. We will therefore pass over this state entirely, and turn our eyes to the other, where some life and energy were shown to exist both on the part of the government and the people.

The fact that the king of Prussia, on the 3rd of February, 1847, issued a patent, which was intended to be the long promised constitution, and by which the States General were called together to assemble in one body at Berlin, has been alleged by some (no doubt from ignorance of the actual state of things,) as a proof of the development of political rights in Germany, Prussia being one of the greatest states of the confederation, counting 15,600,000 inhabitants, of whom 11,-900,000 belong to the Germanic confederation. So far from this being the case, we think it serves as an additional proof that all established law was disregarded, and absolutism pro-

claimed as the basis and fundamental principle of government. A short allusion to this first assembly of States General in Prussia may be of interest, to see whether the German people had a legitimate cause to resort to a revolution and demand law and order.

It was as early as the 22nd of May, 1815, that the late king of Prussia issued a decree, declaring that a representation of the people should be formed, and that for this purpose provincial diets should be restored in those provinces where they had formerly existed, and should be instituted where they had not existed; that of these provincial diets a general assembly of representatives should be chosen to meet at Berlin, and the power of these representatives should extend to the deliberation on all subjects of legislation which concern the rights of person and property of citizens, including taxation; that without delay a committee should be appointed, consisting of intelligent statesmen and citizens of the provinces, whose duty it should be, first, to organize the provincial diets, secondly, the general diet of the kindgom, thirdly, to frame a constitution.

This committee met on the 1st of September following; but all that resulted from it was the decree of the 5th of June, 1823, concerning the establishment of provincial diets. The king, at the same time, reserved to himself the decision *when* the calling together of the States General should be necessary, and how they should be formed out of the provincial Estates. This law provided, first, that the possession of real estate should be the qualification of the members, that to them should be submitted for deliberation all propositions of laws which concern the province alone; secondly, so long as there existed no General Diet of Estates, propositions of such general laws which relate to alterations of rights regarding persons and property and taxes, in so far as they concern the province, should be laid before them for deliberation; thirdly, petitions and complaints which relate to the especial welfare and interest of the province should be received and examined by the king, who would then give his determination concerning them.

It was also provided that desirable changes in these special laws should be had only upon consulting the provincial diets. It must be borne in mind, however, that these provincial diets had no legislative power, but had merely to give their opinion on the proposed laws which the crown should lay before them; the crown could, nevertheless, issue such laws as it pleased.

Previous to this, another decree or law had been issued, bearing date the 17th of January, 1820, concerning the administration of the state debts, which stated:

> "We declare this account of the state debts for ever closed. Over and above the sums therein stated, no certificate of state debt or any other document concerning the state debt shall be issued.
>
> "If the state should in future be obliged, for its preservation, or for the furthering of the general good, to take up a new loan, then this can be done only with the coöperation and under the guarantee of the future assembly of the States General."

By this same decree, a board of administration of state debts was instituted, consisting of four persons, and it was established that the members thereof should in future be proposéd by the assembly of the States General, and furthermore, "the board of administration of state debts should be obliged to give a yearly account to the future diet of the States General;" and "until the meeting of the States General, a deputation consisting of the magistrate and the board of administration, should yearly, after the account had been rendered, take into safe keeping the redeemed documents of state debts, and take measures for the separate and safe deposit of the same."

These were the three principal decrees or laws issued by the late King Frederick William III., granted of his own free will and absolute sovereign power, which continued unabated, and was transmitted to the present incumbent of the Prussian throne. Thirty-two years had the subjects of this kingdom waited patiently for the fulfilment of the law of 1815, and that of the thirteenth article of the act of confederation. Finally, on the third of February, 1847, the hope of the people so long deferred was to be realized, and expectation was at the highest, though the seven years' reign of the present king allowed no one to expect the most liberal of grants. But the people were stunned and paralyzed when the letters patent of the king were made public. After stating in the preamble that it had ever been his anxious care to develop the relations of the Estates of the kingdom, and that it was one of the weightiest problems laid by God upon him to solve, and that in doing so he had had a twofold aim, namely, to transmit the rights, the dignity, and the power of the crown inherited from his ancestors, intact and unabated to his successors, but at the same time to grant to the Estates that coöperation which was

in harmony with those rights and the peculiar relations of the kingdom, he continued :

"In respect whereof — continuing to build on the laws given by my royal father, particularly on the ordinance respecting the national debt of the 17th of January, 1820, and on the law respecting the formation of provincial diets of the 5th of June, 1823 — we decree as follows:

"I. As often as the wants of the state may require either fresh loans or the introduction of new taxes, or the increase of them, we will call together around us the provincial diets of the kingdom in a United Diet, in order, first, to call into play that coöperation of the diets provided by the ordinance respecting the national debt, and, second, to assure us of their consent.

"II. We will call together, at periodical times, *a committee* of the United Diet.

"III. To the United Diet, and, as its *representative*, to the *committee* of the United Diet, we entrust:

"*a*. In reference to the counsel of the diet in matters of legislation, the same coöperation which was assigned to the provincial diets by the law of 1823.

"*b*. The coöperation of the diet in paying the interest on and in liquidating the state debts, provided by law of Jan. 17th, 1820, in so far as such business is not confided to the deputation of the diet for the national debt.

"*c*. The right of petition upon internal affairs that are not merely provincial."

This now was the great work, the result of thirty-two years' deliberation; and this deliberation would have been protracted still longer, if the crown had not been sadly in want of money, and no banker was willing to engage a loan without the consent of the States General, according to the law of 1820. This royal decree cannot possibly be called a constitution, nor did the royal author consider it as such, as he himself declared, in his royal speech delivered at the opening of the diet, on the 11th of April, 1847; nay, he distinctly declared that the absolute monarchial power should be sustained by him intact and unimpaired, and in accordance with this, the people have no rights whatsoever, except those *granted* by the crown. But, in the present instance, the king recognized not even former laws issued by his predecessor, but vindicated to himself the right of giving such interpretation to past laws, and carry out such thereof and as much thereof as he saw fit and proper. The royal speech is a fit commentary on the letters patent, by some

called a constitution, and as such must be noticed here. It occupied, in printing, nine large octavo pages, of which we will give here a few passages, from which it will appear that this document stands prominent among all royal speeches of Europe for insolence and foul-heartedness. The royal orator speaks, for instance, as follows: —

"I feel myself impelled to make the solemn declaration: that no power on earth shall ever succeed in inducing ME to change the natural relation between the Prince and the people, which is, especially with us, so powerful through its living truth, into a *conventional* and *constitutional* one, and *that I shall never allow a written piece of paper to force itself, like a second providence, so to speak, between our Lord God in Heaven and this country, in order to rule us by its paragraphs and by them to supply the old sacred loyalty.*"

"It has been God's pleasure to make Prussia great through the sword, through the sword of war externally, and through the sword of the spirit internally, but surely not through that of the *negative spirit of the age*, but through that of the spirit of *order* and *subordination.* I proclaim it, gentlemen: As in the camp, without the greatest pressing danger and greatest folly, only *one* will is allowed to command, so the destinies of this land, if it shall not instantly fall from its height, can only be guided by *one* will, and if the king of Prussia should commit an outrage by demanding from his subjects the obedience of a slave, he would surely commit a far greater outrage if he should not demand from them that which is the crown of the free man, *obedience* for the sake of God and conscience."

"You, gentlemen, are German states, in the old established meaning of the word, that is, above all and essentially 'advocates and curators of your proper rights,' and of the rights of the states whose confidence has sent the greater part of you here. Beside this you have to exercise the rights which the crown has *granted* you. Moreover, you are *conscientiously to give to the crown the advice* which it *asks* from you. Finally you have the liberty of laying before the throne, but only after mature examination, *petitions* and *complaints, taken from your sphere of action and from your range of vision.*"

"These are the rights, and these the duties of German states, and this is your glorious calling. But it is not your calling '*to represent opinions,*' and to make prevalent the opinions of the *schools* and *of the age.* This is thoroughly un-German, and be-

sides thoroughly impracticable for the welfare of the whole, for it leads to indissoluble entanglements with the crown, which is to ule according *to the law of God and of the land, and according to its own free will; but must not and cannot rule according to the will of majorities*, if Prussia shall not soon become an empty sound in Europe."

The speech had the beneficial effect of uniting at once the liberal members of the different provinces. The representatives from the provinces of Prussia and Silesia, who already before had desired to declare themselves incompetent, and thus throw to the government the gauntlet, now wanted to leave Berlin directly. The more practical Rhinelanders, however, dissuaded them from doing so, by stating that a calm perseverance and an actual beginning of the fight would be both better and braver than leaving the field before the battle. They now agreed to move an address as an answer to the speech from the throne, although the order of business, minutely prescribed by the king, had not mentioned such a procedure. This motion was accordingly made and carried, without any resistance on the part of the royal commissary, the minister of the interior. The idea and plan was to express, in this address, a reservation of all the rights which the previous laws, particularly those of 1820 and 1823, which we have stated at large before, had given to the states, and which this new law, establishing the present general diet, had broken and violated. They wished to stand on a legal ground solely, which they now saw breaking from underneath them, and threatening the overthrow of all existing social and political order. They maintained, that since the laws and royal decrees of June 5th, 1823, and January 17th, 1820, were pretended to have been carried out and fulfilled by calling together a general diet of the kingdom, this diet of the States General had acquired and now possessed all the rights founded upon and given in those laws; namely, that the law of 1820 made it the duty of the department or board of administration of the state debts to give an *annual* account to the assembly of the *States General*, and that thereby this stated periodical return of the general diet was guaranteed; that this same law decreed the coöperation and guarantee of the general diet not only in regard to loans, for which the *whole collective* property of the state was to be given as security, or which served for purposes of peace; but also in regard to *every new loan*, which the state should be obliged to take up for its preservation, or the promotion of the general welfare.

Further, they declared that the guarantee of state debts was essentially dependent upon an accurate knowledge of the financial condition of the state, and upon the condition of the property of the state, by reason of which the coöperation of the diet in the disposition of the domains which goes beyond the articles of the law of 1820, formed a part of its rights.

Further, that the law of 1823 decreed, that so long as no general diet of the states should take place, the propositions of general laws should be laid before the provincial diets, but that by the actual constitution and establishment of the general diet, this enactment had naturally expired, so that now the general diet must be consulted in regard to all general laws which contemplated changes concerning the rights of persons and property, and concerning taxes, and that this legal right could not be transfered upon the provisional diets, nor upon the assembly of the united committees, as decreed in this new law of February, 1847.

These were the rights, which were claimed as rights, based upon laws in existence before the new decree, and they were manfully maintained by able speakers, of whom we will only name as the most prominent, Berkerath, Hauseman, and Camphausen of the Rhenish Province, and Von Vincke of Westphalia, men on whom, at this present moment, the king depends for his sole support and safety. The sentiments and principles of the crown had already been plainly expressed by the king in his speech, and through the letter patent itself; but they were now openly stated again, and defended by the servants, and advocates, and servile followers of the crown, and thus an open proclamation and declaration was made in face of the whole world, *that the sixteen millions* of people of the Prussian kingdom had no rights and could not claim a legal ground for any rights, but that they depended solely upon the grace and absolute will of their sovereign and king. All the arguments which they could oppose to the able demonstrations of the advocates of law and order, the liberal representatives, were but variations or a decided repetition of the theme in the king's speech, that, as heir to an unimpaired crown, he knew himself to be perfectly free from any obligation in regard to things that had not been carried out, and "that no power on earth would succeed in inducing him to change the relation between the prince and the people into a conventional and constitutional one." The ministers of justice, Uhden and Lavigny, the jurist of European reputation, standing at the

head of the historical school in law, argued in this same manner; nay, the former, Uhden, said quite naively, that the contest about the legal point was of no use, since the question here was about the interpretation of laws, on the correctness or incorrectness of which not the assembly but the king had to decide; and that *he* had already decided; and hence the question of legality had been disposed of. The words "*Stat pro ratione voluntas*," were never more strictly applied. It was asserted, that the ground taken in the address to the king —that the states had certain rights, flowing from previous laws —could not be maintained, because it was not in harmony with the fundamental principle of absolute and unlimited power in the crown; that the present king was not bound by the laws of his predecessor, but could interpret them as he liked, or could annul them at pleasure; and this present decree of February was given from the king's own free will and grace, as a boon, which the giver could withdraw when he pleased. The states, therefore, could not demand any rights, or reserve to themselves any rights based upon previous laws; all that they could do was to ask his Majesty to give them certain laws. An amendment to this effect was adopted, and thus the liberal party for law and order defeated. It must be understood, however, that the two houses were convened in joint ballot. A Protest or Reservation of rights, specifying the rights guaranteed by former laws and violated by the new decree, was then presented, signed by one hundred and thirty-eight members, to be inserted in the record of the house; but the marshal refused to receive and record it.

Mention must be made of a petition which came under discussion, touching the freedom of religious belief, and the relation of religion to political rights. According to the Peace of Westphalia, three religious parties were recognized; namely, The Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed. The union of the two latter was established in Prussia under the name of Evangelical Church. A special "Evangelical Church Liturgy" was introduced in Prussia in 1821, and more or less forced upon the congregations. A decree of 1834 compelled, also, all churches not united to adopt the liturgy, (Agende,) but many Lutherans resisted, and emigrated in consequence. The present king, in 1846, allowed those Old Lutherans, as they are designated, to constitute independent congregations. Nevertheless, the king's design, from the beginning of his reign, had been to establish the so called "Christian State,"

which means that Christianity, as a *dogmatic system*, shall be recognized as the highest principle, and be carried out by the government, applying it to civil laws and other relations of state, so that only Christians shall have full civic rights. But one could not stop here: the state could recognize only those parties as Christians who adhered to the Christian dogmatic system approved by the head of the state; and the dissenters from this state-Christian church were tolerated only on restrictive conditions, but had not the usual political rights. In other states Prussia was imitated in this respect, and in the Electorate of Hesse the government went so far as to exclude the German Catholics from holding a solemn funeral service. Prussia sought, also, in an indirect way, to enforce her peculiar Christian church upon her subjects. In filling important offices, the government often looked more upon the Prussian Christianity, than the capacity of the candidates. It once happened that a representative was rejected on account of his German Catholic faith.

A petition was now introduced and passed by both houses, requesting the king to alter the law in so far that the qualification of electors and representatives should no longer depend upon their connection with one of the Christian churches, but that all who *profess* to belong to the Christian religion should have the right of franchise.

This petition, however, together with three others, though presented by a majority of two thirds of both chambers, was entirely ignored by the king—a proceeding unheard of before, as the ordinary mode had been for the king either to reject a petition or to promise to *consider* it. He could not have manifested more strongly his contempt for the Estates and their relation to the crown.

Our space does not allow us to enter further into the proceedings of this first united diet of Prussia.

We hope that it will appear, from the brief statement we have given above, that the very act for which the king of Prussia was lauded abroad, was a gross infringement and violation of law and the rights of the people; and, at the same time, that the champions of law and order and the People's Rights used their utmost exertions to obtain and secure these rights in a peaceable manner. Years before, similar champions of liberty had sprung up in all the different states, and particularly in the Grand Duchy of Baden, where such as Itzstein, Welcker, Bassermann, Hecker, had fought for the people's

cause without weariness, and had long ago prepared for a general demand of rights, which the beginning of the year 1848 has heard repeated from all the thirty-eight states of Germany at once, and it must not be thought that it was only the outbreak in France which made these claims spring up suddenly and by accident. As a proof of this we will only refer to the fact that it was as early as the fifth of February last that in the second chamber, in Baden, a petition to the Duke was moved, that he would take proper steps to effect a representation of the German states at the diet in Frankfort, for the purpose of creating a uniform German legislation and national institutions. A newspaper, "The Suabian Mercury," published at the same time ten petitions from Heidelberg, which asked for the restoration of the liberty of the press, and freedom of religion, a general arming of the people, that the military should be sworn upon the constitution, and the sectarian schools changed into general schools of the people; for a code of police laws, and the transfer of the power of punishment for police offences to the regular courts; for regulations regarding the communes, and checking the accumulation of landed property in the hands of speculators; for the establishment of trial by jury, a representation of the people at the diet, and the abolition of capital punishment. We enumerate these demands, for the purpose of showing that the wishes of the people were of a decided character before the revolution had broken out in France. This event was, however, the external impulse which concentrated the courage of the people, and enabled them to speak with authority.

The apparently sudden convention of fifty men, from different states in Germany, who stood forth, at once, as an executive committee, to call together a general congress of representatives from the whole of Germany, and thus to effect a national union of the German people, had been prepared for years before, and now only stood prominent to public view when the curtain could with safety be drawn aside. After the disgraceful humiliation of Germany, as one nation, which had been effected by her princes during two centuries, and after she had sunk to the lowest degree of debasement through the high treason of the princes, who entered into a league under the protection of Napoleon against their common native country—it was the years 1813, '14, and '15 which saw once more a feeling of nationality and patriotism kindle in the German breast, and all the people of the different states unite to

shake off the foreign yoke. The deeds which the generous enthusiasm of united Germany then performed will for ever remain stamped upon the page of her history in bold relief. But the treachery of the princes was displayed again in the formation of the new confederation. The political education of the people at large had not yet been sufficiently developed to make them feel this deception, so as to resort at once to proper means for ensuring their liberty and union. There were but few men who stood forth to combat the internal foe; and the spirit of liberty and national union burned with noble enthusiasm only in the hearts of the young men at the universities, who united in that much persecuted association, the "Burschenschaft." The states were again separate bodies, and the patriots in each had to struggle against the ruthless hands of their princes, to save and establish, in some measure, the political rights of their fellow-citizens. The French revolution of 1830 awoke again the national feeling that had fallen asleep, and the desire for a national union led to some popular assemblies, which attempted to accomplish their object by force, but were soon suppressed. An assembly or union of delegates or representatives of the people of the different states was not thought of then, because they were too much taken up with the battles in their own individual states; and, moreover, such an attempt would have at once been regarded as high treason, and the individuals would have been subjected to imprisonment, banishment, and even death. It was, however, natural that the general oppression and persecution of the patriots in the different states, should bring them together, at last, to consult together and try to act according to some concerted plan. The noble-hearted men of Baden were also the movers in this attempt at establishing a union. It was in the year 1839 that, upon the invitation of Von Itzstein and Welcker, several distinguished men of Baden and Saxony came together at Hattersheim. In the subsequent years similar assemblies of representatives of different states and a few other worthy men, were held every year, either at the mansion of Von Itzstein, or at Leipsic, or somewhere else. The number increased every year, and in the latter years almost every state found itself represented, yet the number never exceeded fifty.

These assemblies were neither secret nor public, but resembled more a free, social gathering. The members abstained from speaking of them in newspapers, in order not to provoke

persecution, which, in those times, was directed against men who took the most legal of steps; and, at the same time, no secret was made of them, which might have been fatal to them in case of a prosecution. The advantage which these yearly gatherings produced is evident. The men from the different states became acquainted, exchanged ideas, agreed on requisite steps for the future, and perhaps on propositions to be moved in the different German chambers. It was not till the autumn of 1847, that the assembly which was held at Heppenheim gave a report of their proceedings in the public papers, as the age had somewhat advanced, and in consequence danger was less imminent.

After the events in France, in February, no intelligent person could doubt of the danger which threatened Germany, and at the same time, that this was the best opportunity to obtain freedom and union for Germany. In order to ward off the dangers from abroad and protect the country, a more powerful and central point of the whole people was needed than that which the "German Confederation" afforded. To procure such a central point was the problem of the German people. The demand for a "German Parliament" proceeding from Manheim in Baden, had already reëchoed in a great part of Germany, and nothing was more natural than that those men who had attended the above mentioned annual assemblies should take the first steps to call into existence a German national representation. There was not time enough to call all together from the remoter parts and wait for their coming; therefore, those nearest at hand were invited. The men of Baden again issued this invitation to those known to them from their former meetings, and to a few other men of like sentiments, to convene on the fifth of March at Heidelberg. On this day fifty-one men, almost all representatives in their respective states, from Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Baden, Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort, came together there, to consult on the most pressing measures necessary for their common country. They were unanimously of opinion that the restoration and defence of the freedom, union, independence, and the honor of the German nation must be sought to be accomplished by a coöperation of all the German tribes; and that the sad experience regarding the inefficiency of the German diet at Frankfort had shaken all confidence in the same, so that an application to it would call forth the bitterest feelings in all citizens, since this same body, which now pub-

lished a flattering call to the people (it had put forth such a call on the third of March,) to stand by their princes, had heretofore strictly forbidden all petitions of the people to the same. They were unanimously of opinion that the German nation must not interfere with the political affairs of another nation; and that there must be a National Assembly of representatives chosen according to the number of the people; and that as soon as possible a larger assembly of men worthy of confidence must be called together from all the German states, to consult together and coöperate with the present government in order to establish this National Assembly.

A committee of seven was appointed to call the preliminary national assembly and make the necessary preparations for its meeting. This committee sent an invitation to all past and present members of the different chambers of representatives in all German lands, (East and West Prussia and Schleswig-Holstein of course included,) and to some other distinguished men sharing the public confidence, who were not representatives, to assemble on the 31st of March at Frankfort. About five hundred and fifty men came together in consequence of this call, and Professor Mittermaier, the celebrated jurist of Heidelberg, was chosen President. A programme of the subjects of discussion had been prepared by the committee of seven. It contained the following propositions:

1. To have a Chief of the German Union, with responsible ministers.

2. A Senate, from the individual states.

3. A House of the People, on the basis of one representative for every 70,000.

4. Competent power of the union and the individual states, to give up to the central government their rights on the following points: *a*, a national army; *b*, negotiation with foreign states; *c*, a system of commerce, marine laws, duties, coins, measures, weights, ports, highways by water, and rail-roads.

5. Harmony of civil and criminal legislation and judicial procedure: a Federal Court.

6. A Constituent National Assembly on the above basis, established by the governments, supported by men of confidence.

7. A Permanent Committee, chosen by this present assembly, to effect the meeting of the constituent national assembly.

If this Constituent Assembly should not convene within four weeks, then this present assembly should meet again on the

third and fourth of May. The Committee might, in case of need, call the Assembly before then.

A committee of fifty was chosen to coöperate with the confederation of princes to effect the election of the Constituent Assembly. This met and opened its sittings on the 1st of May, and on the 29th of June chose a Vicar of the future empire, which choice fell upon Archduke John of Austria. A special committee of seventeen had also drafted a constitution, which was laid before the Constituent Assembly, and is at this moment the subject of deliberation.

The principal features of their projected constitution are essentially different from any thing that Germany has had before. Although the idea of restoring the old Germanic empire and union under it has been the general watchword, yet we find the new sketch entirely different from the one we have before given of the old empire, and very properly so. All the present Germanic states are to form one Federal State with an hereditary chief, called emperor, at the head of the government. The independence of the different German states which constitute the confederation is maintained, but is limited so far as the unity of Germany demands it. This limitation consists, partly, in this: that some special affairs of state shall come under the exclusive dominion of the imperial power; and in part, that certain fundamental rights and certain institutions are guaranteed to the people. The rights and duties of the federal government are essentially the same which are reserved for our American federal government, and those of the emperor are the same with our president, except that his person is inviolable and irresponsible, but his ministers are responsible, and all ordinances emanating from him must be signed by at least one minister.

The Diet or Congress of the empire is to consist of two chambers. The maximum number of the Upper Chamber is to be two hundred members, consisting of the reigning princes or their substitutes, delegates from each of the four free towns, and councillors of the empire, being men deserving well of their country, to be chosen for twelve years, in such a manner that one third of them are renewed every four years. The right of election is to be divided among the different states in proportion to their population. In those states which only delegate one councillor, he is to be appointed by the legislatures, and so in the four free towns; in those states which delegate more than one, one half shall be appointed by the

legislative bodies, the other by the respective governments; the councillors of the empire are to be natives of the states which appoint them, and must have attained their fortieth year.

The Lower Chamber shall consist of deputies of the people chosen for six years—one third to be renewed every two years. One deputy is to be returned for every 100,000 souls. Every independent citizen who is of age, with the exception of those under condemnation for crime, is an elector, and those who have attained their thirtieth year are eligible, no matter to what state of Germany they belong. The functionaries elected need no sanction from the government. Each member of the Diet represents all Germany, and shall not be bound by instructions. Each chamber is to have the right of proposing laws and impeaching the ministers. The budget of the empire is first to pass through the Lower Chamber. The result of the vote of this latter can only be rejected *in toto* by the Upper Chamber, who cannot change any separate article. The Diet is to meet annually, and the emperor may call an extra session; he may also dissolve the same, but new elections must then take place fifteen days after the dissolution; if this is not done, the former diet shall meet three months after its dissolution. The sittings of the two chambers are to be public.

A Court of Judicature of the empire, consisting of twenty-one members, is also to be instituted. They shall be appointed for life, in part by the emperor and in part by the Lower Chamber. The jurisdiction of this court is mainly the same with that of our federal Supreme Court of the United States, but it is to have more extensive powers; namely, in regard to disputes on the order of succession, or the required capacity to govern in the different states; in regard to complaints raised by private individuals against reigning princes and against states; in regard to disputes between the government of a state and its diet on the validity of the interpretation given to the constitution of the state; in all cases where justice has been refused, or impediments thrown in the way; in regard to accusations against the ministers of the empire, or against the ministers of particular states.

The fundamental rights of the German people guaranteed to them are, in substance, a popular representation, with a deliberate voice regarding legislation and taxes, and the responsibility of the ministers; a free municipal constitution, based on an independent administration in communal affairs;

the independence of tribunals, oral and public pleadings in the courts of justice, with trial by jury for all criminal and political offences; the execution, throughout the whole of the empire, of the sentences rendered by the German tribunals; equality of all classes as regards the charges of the state and of the communes and eligibility to office; the establishment of a national guard; the right of assembling; unlimited right of petition; the right of appealing to the Diet against the acts of any functionary, after having appealed in vain to the established authorities and to one of the chambers; the freedom of the press from all censorship, privileges, and caution money, and trial by jury in offences of the press; guarantee against arbitrary arrests and domiciliary visits, by virtue of an act of *habeas corpus;* the right of every citizen to reside anywhere in the empire; the right of emigration; religious liberty, and freedom of conscience in public and private worship; equality of all religious sects as regards civil and political rights.

To change the constitution of the empire, the consent of the Diet and of the Chief of the empire is requisite, and in each chamber the presence of three fourths, at least, of the members, and a majority of three quarters of the members present.

These are the outlines of the constitution proposed for the new German empire. No extravagant demands are made in it; on the contrary, it must surprise any one that it was thought necessary to insert provisions for certain rights which relate to personal safety and liberty of conscience, and might have existed before in perfect harmony with the absolute monarchial principle of government. The principal aim is to secure to the German people a country in common, so that the intercourse of the citizens from all parts shall be untrammelled and free, and their political rights essentially the same wherever they may reside, in order to remove all jealousies and sectional feeling between the members of the same nation, which it was the interest of the princes to engender and foster.

The question now arises, WILL it be possible to establish this projected German Union and establish the sovereignty of the German people?

The principal difficulty we conceive to be, the independent sovereignty which thirty-four princes have for a long time arrogated to themselves. Two states among them, Prussia and Austria, have acquired a national importance among the great powers of Europe, so that their names are taken as denoting distinct nationalities. Now they are called upon to

lay aside all their individual importance, and to be merged in the general German nationalty; their intercourse with foreign nations is to cease, and the central power of all Germany is to assume the dignity which was doled out in homœopathic quantities upon thirty-eight distinct bodies. The results of the wars that have been waged, of the unhallowed blood shed in those wars, the unmitigated and unwearied exertions made with the sacrifice of all that is holy and just, which have made Prussia what she now is, — all this is to be swept away at one swoop, and the king of Prussia is to become a mere provincial governor and an executive of prescribed laws! As regards the princes, then, particularly those of the great states, this projected union calls forth a strife for life or death. They are preparing to wage this battle with all available means, and the result will and must be most sanguinary. Every post, almost, brings us new tidings of *émeutes* or mobs, as they are called, in the three principal cities — Berlin, Vienna, and Frankfort, the scenes of the great drama now struggling through its *dénouement.* All law and order seem to be subverted, and barbarous acts have already been perpetrated on both sides, which may stand by the side of the atrocities witnessed in the first French revolution. No one can regret them more than we do; yet we must say, that we have been for years waiting with fear and dread for the sanguinary conflict of which we have as yet seen, as we believe, only the beginning. We look upon it with the same sympathy that we feel for a man in a raging fever, in whom the seeds of disease have been accumulating for years, and who must now pass through a crisis the more fearful the longer it has been delayed.

From the grossness of the violation of the natural rights of the people in Germany, may be inferred the magnitude of the crisis which this country has to go through before a healthy state will be restored. The absolutism in the different states must first be crushed. Though this work has been fairly begun, yet it will be some time before it can be finished. The retrograde movement and reactionary spirit on the part of the princes, and especially on the part of Prussia, will bring matters to a crisis, and we believe that the agitation in that state will not subside until the king and his royal brother are satisfactorily disposed of.

The other question that arises is, whether the people of the different states will give their ready assent to this consolidation. We may safely say, that, generally speaking, they will

do so; nay, they desire and call loudly for this union. But we cannot disguise from ourselves the difficulty that arises from the spirit of separatism, so to speak, which it has been the object and interest of the princes to engender and to foster for centuries; so that we now hear many in Prussia cry out that they want to remain Prussians and will not be Germans. Here, however, we must take into consideration the legion of civil office-holders, the countless number of military officers and noblemen, who, together with the king, are to battle for their very existence, and will leave no means untried to accomplish their design. The quiet and sedate merchants and tradesmen — who only look to their daily gains, and dread any innovation from which they cannot calculate their immediate profits — may also, for the time, object to this new order of things, on account of the troubles which they see arise from the conflict of the parties in endeavouring to establish it. Add to this the spirit which the crown had the power to infuse and strengthen through education and religion, both being under its own direct control and superintendence.

The more elevated desire to unite kindred elements into one symmetrical whole, does not move the masses of people; they are necessarily more influenced by material interests. But also, in this view of the question, there can exist no doubt but the union would give an impulse to commerce and trade which would make itself felt throughout all classes, and do away, in a measure, with the present crying wants of the proletarian population. We hold to the doctrine that the more untrammelled and free the intercourse between man and man, the greater is the result of his activity, and so much less the fluctuation. The merchant and tradesman would, therefore, soon cling to the new state of things with that peculiar patriotism of their own which would make them soon forget that once they had to pay their taxes into the treasury of a government called Prussian, or by some other name.

On the part of the people of the different states, then, we apprehend less difficulty; but as regards their present rulers, we believe that this difficulty can be removed only by removing them. As long as they are left in their hereditary dignity and sovereignty, even if their powers be crippled for a time, they will use every exertion to recover what they have lost, in the same way as their ancestors knew how to arrogate and secure to themselves this power under the old empire. We therefore do not look forward to a solid and powerful union of

the whole of Germany, until all the different districts of Germany are made as many little republics, in substance and in spirit, if not in name; we say districts, and not states, because these are now constituted of provinces, or parts of territory which have been artificially patched together, when at the end of wars the princes divided and distributed the spoils.

The time when this desirable result will be effected we do not deem already close at hand, for we fear that the people will yet have to pass through repeated sanguinary struggles, before their victory will be entirely accomplished. Even after a complete overthrow of the absolute monarchial power, there remain still formidable obstacles to be overcome. The force of habit and custom deep rooted in the older generations; interests and property founded upon the old order of things; jealousies and fears of the persons in affluence and a superior social position; and, more than all, the ignorance and inexperience of the masses in political self-government, — all these and many other difficulties will yet, for a generation, prevent the troubled waters of the social and political life in Germany from finding a level and flowing calmly in their new channels. It is the coming generations, chiefly, who will enjoy the fruits and blessings of the present struggles and changes, and appreciate the sacrifices their fathers have made at the altar of their country. We do not find it strange, therefore, if many a one, in the bitterness of the present trials, calls out, in the words of Hamlet —

> "The time is out of joint; O cursed spite!
> That ever I was born to set it right."

Since writing the foregoing remarks, the events which have taken place in Prussia and Austria furnish a sad proof how well founded our fears were of a reactionary movement on the part of the sovereigns of these two states. What faith and reliance could be placed upon men whose words and acts had always been in direct opposition to what they professed? It was this well founded suspicion which induced the liberal party of the left, (often called "red republicans" by the English tory press and others of a like stagnant spirit, in derision of their warm zeal for the good cause,) in the national assembly at Frankfort and in the constituent assemblies at Vienna and Berlin, to insist upon more vigorous measures to wrest the means of arbitrary tyranny from the hands of the princes. It was with this view that the assembly at Berlin

passed a resolution on the ninth of August and seventh of September, which enjoined upon the minister of war to issue an order to the army, commanding particularly the officers to conform to the present constitutional state of things, and to refrain from reactionary tendencies and actions. The king steadfastly resisted this order, but the assembly insisted upon its being executed. From this time, a crisis was preparing. The king could find no ministry to support his treachery, until he at last resorted to those very men who had been his ardent adherents before the revolution. He full well knew, that if his servile military hordes were taken from him, all hope of the execution of his iniquitous plans was lost. Through them he has succeeded, at least for a time, in breaking through all law and order again. The Constituent Assembly has been dissolved, and a constitution has been published of his own free will and absolute power. "Might is right" is the fundamental principle from which this new law flows. If the scales should now turn, no one can complain if the Might of the People should exercise a Right over the person of the king. Austria shared a similar fate before, but her imbecile monarch has now chosen to withdraw from the scene, and has entrusted the fate of his dominions to the strong hands of a youth of eighteen, who comes forward and assures his faithful subjects of his paternal good will! The national assembly at Frankfort continue in session, and prove by their timid and weak action in regard to all these momentous and reactionary movements, that they are surprised and overcome by these unexpected proceedings, and that a guilty conscience tells them how blind and deaf they have been to the forewarnings of the much abused left side of their body. We can only hope that the people will profit by this sad experience, and that, if in the next bloody conflict they are victorious, they will effectually remove the causes of reaction and disturbance of law and order, so that they may begin to enjoy the fruits of liberty and self-government.

Although the Constituent Assembly at Frankfort has now finished the framing of the projected constitution for United Germany, the most important part remains yet to be accomplished; namely, to carry out its provisions. Whoever may be chosen the nominal head of the Germanic Union, which so far exists only on paper, and whatever title he may bear, whether Emperor or Protector, his best exertions will always encounter the insuperable obstacle of the sovereignty of the

other princes. Austria has already entirely withdrawn from the projected union, and will isolate itself as before, and the influence and the name of Prussia seem to absorb all that is German proper. The resistance and repugnance of the three middling powers — Hanover, Bavaria, and Wurtemburg — may, however, yet thwart the ambitious designs of the king of Prussia, and, although he may be chosen by the sage legislators at Frankfort, may prevent Germany from being converted into Prussia. The hostile position of the princes among themselves may finally produce some benefit to the people. The fond hopes of seeing the German people united into one sovereign nation seem now, at the beginning of the new year, almost entirely blighted; but we may indulge in the conviction that the events of the past year have taught a lesson to the people, which will increase their desire to make further advances in the science of self-government. It is to be hoped that they will, in future, entrust their interests not to the hands of fanciful, pedantic, learned professors and similar savants, who fancy that the dreams they indulged in whilst engaged in their libraries could be made realities. Instead of facing plain matters of fact and drawing practical inferences therefrom, such men begin with speaking on historical development, and descend into their "moral consciousness" to construct the frame-work of a law, the substance of which a mind not clouded by the dust of antiquarian books would have drawn from the simple truth that man is a moral and responsible being, or that the government is made for the people and not the people for the government.

The mass of the German people have so long lived in slavish dependence upon their governments, that the abject spirit engendered for so many years by the latter seems to have deadened in them the manly spirit of individual independence which prompts a man to walk upright and fear nobody, to repel indignantly and with energy any attempt at encroaching upon his sovereignty in his own affairs, and to maintain this his right at the hazard of all other goods of life. It is hoped that the rising generation will redeem the honor of the past, and learn to see and feel that a man, though possessed of all the learned lore of centuries and all the music and art which collective Europe can boast of, but who lacks the pride of a free and independent soul, sinks into insignificance by the side of men like Hermann and Tell, who, though unskilled in art and sciences, warm the heart as true examples of man's worth and dignity.

Art. II.—THE ETERNITY OF GOD.

A HYMN TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

I.

Thou Ocean-deep of God's Eternity;
Thou, the Primeval Source of Time and Space;
Sole Ground of refuge from a world of storms
Art thou: Perpetual Presentness Thou art.
The ashes of the Past are but the Germ
Of vast Futurities to Thee. Then what
Is man,—the point we call To-day, the worm,
Born yester-night,—when with Thy greatness weighed?

II.

To Thee Eternal One, a Universe
Marks but a day, and we in our brief lives
Are scarcely seconds there. Perhaps the Sun
I now behold is e'en the thousandth Sun,
Dancing 'fore Thee with ever changing years,
And thousands, waiting birth, when strikes their hour
Shall come, at thine Almighty word moved forth.
But Thou remain'st, nor count'st the vanished Orbs.

I.

O Meer von Gottes Ewigkeit!
Uralter Quell von Welt und Zeit!
Grund alles Fliehns von Welt und Zeiten!
Beständ'ge Gegenwärtigkeit!
Die Asche der Vergangenheit
Ist Dir ein Keim von Künftigkeiten.
Was ist der Mensch, der Punkt von Heut',
Der Wurm, der sich seit Gestern freut,
Gemessen gegen deine Weiten?

II.

Vor dir, Gott, Ewiger, vor dir
Sind Welten Tage nur; und wir
In unserm Leben kaum Sekunden.
Vielleicht wälzt sich die tausendste
Der Sonnen alternd, die ich seh,
Und tausend sind noch nicht entbunden,
Und kommen, wenn die Stunde schlägt,
Durch deiner Allmacht Wink bewegt.
Du bleibst, und zählst nicht, die verschwunden.

III.

The Stars, in all their silent majesty,
And raised on high within unbounded space;—
They who to us discourse the measured time,
And stand before our eyes such myriad years,—
Before Thine Eye, oh Lord, shall pass away
But as the Grass in summer's sultry days:
As roses at the noontide blooming young,
But shrunken pale before the twilight hour—
Such is the Wain and Polar Star to Thee.

IV.

In the Primeval Time when Life, new born
And quickened by Almighty power, struggled
'Gainst chaos still; when Ancient Nothingness
Had scantly left the threshold of that Life;—
Before e'en Gravity had learnt to fall,
And ere the earliest gleam of new made Light
Had shot upon the grim and desert Dark—
Thou still wert there, wert then, and, spread abroad
Far from thy source as now, didst all things fill!

III.

Der Sterne stille Majestät,
Im unbegränzten Raum erhöht;
Sie, die uns Jahr' und Monden sagen,
Und uns viel tausend Jahre stehn,
Sie werden, Herr, vor dir vergehn,
Wie Gras am schwülen Sommertagen.
Wie Rosen, die am Mittag jung,
Und welk sind vor der Dämmerung,
Ist dir der Angelstern und Wagen.

IV.

Zur Urzeit, als durch Allmachtszwang
Mit Nichtseyn noch ein Werden rang,
Und kaum von neuer Wesen Schwelle
Das alte Unding sich entfernt;
Eh' Schwerkraft fallen noch gelernt,
Eh' noch des Lichtes erste Helle
Sich auf ein ödes Dunkel goss,
Warst du, der allerfüllend floss,
Gleich ewig fern von aller Quelle.

V.

And when a different breath shall come of thine
Omnipotence to sepulchre the world
In nothingness, in dead and silent harmonies;
When many a Firmament, far, far away,
Though swarming now with hosts of stars, shall yield
Its Being up, and vanish into Nought—
Creator! Thou art, young as now, untouched
By age, to live for ever future days.

VI.

Compared with Thought—time, wind, and sound,
And winged light are tedious and slow;
But Thought—wearied her rapid wing, hung down,
And wearied, too, in vain—Eternal One!
Must bow 'fore Thee and vainly hope to find
The limit of Thy Might. A million times
In thought the monstrous numbers monstrous sum,
I multiply till Sense and Reason fail:

V.

Und Wenn ein andrer Allmachtshauch
Die Welt in Nichts begräbet auch,
  In todte Stille Harmonien;
Wenn mancher ferne Himmel noch,
Obgleich von Sternen wimmelnd, doch
  Wird seinem Daseyn einst entfliehen,
Wirst, Schöpfer, du so jung als jetzt,
Von keinem Alter je verletzt,
  Im ewig künft'gen Heute blühen.

VI.

Wogegen Zeit und Schall und Wind
Selbst Lichtesflügel langsam sind,
  Die schnellen Schwingen der Gedanken,
Ermüdet stehn sie fruchtlos hier,
Und beugen, Ewiger, sich dir,
  Und hoffen nur vergebens Schranken.
Ich thürme millionenmal
Der Zahlen ungeheure Zahl,
  Und alle meine Sinnen schwanken.

VII.

Then age to age I add, and world to world.
But when I've builded up that height sublime,
And turn, Eternal One, my wildered eye
On Thee, — the monstrous sight of billion worlds,
Ages, and times, though multiplied by 'tself,
Is all no part, nay not a Now of Thee!
I take them all away, and Thou art still
The same; complete in Thy Eternity!

VIII.

Oh Measure of immeasurable time,
Thy Now is in itself Eternity:
And Thou, Sun of the universe dost stand
Perpetual noon, with ever equal power;
Nor risest Thou — of circling times the Cause,
Nor from Thy midday height shalt Thou descend!
On Thee Eternal and Unchanging God,
On Thee who art, and wert, and art to come, —
On Thee alone doth all Existence hang.

VII.

Ich wälze Zeit auf Zeit hinauf,
Ich thürme Welt auf Welt zu Hauf.
Wenn ich, der grausen Höh' Erbauer,
Dann richte meinen Schwindelblick,
O Ewiger, auf dich zurück,
Ist Billionen-Zahlen-Schauer,
Mit sich vermehrt, kein Theil, kein Nu
Von dir. Ich tilge sie, und du
Liegst ganz vor mir in deiner Dauer.

VIII.

O Maass der ungemessnen Zeit!
Dein Jetzt ist lauter Ewigkeit.
Du Sonne bleibst im Mittag stehen,
In gleicher Kraft. Du gingst nie auf,
Du Grund von aller Zeiten Lauf!
Nie wirst du jemals untergehen.
An dir, der da unwandelbar
Gott ewig ist, und ewig war,
An dir allein hängt Allbestehen.

IX.

Aye, now, could Nature's firm and solid power,—
Which, all sustaining, ever new creates—
Sink in some moment back to thee:
In that same hour, with wide and horrid mouth,
Would Nothingness devour the host of Suns,
That transient shine, and drink the wide-spread realm
Of all existing things; yes, Time and e'en
Eternity would sink within that horrid maw,
As Ocean drinks a dropling of the rain.

X.

Thou Ocean-deep of God's Eternity
Thou the Primeval Source of Time and Space;
Sole Ground of refuge from a world of storms
Art Thou: Perpetual Presentness Thou art.
The ashes of the Past are but the Germ
Of vast Futurities to Thee. Then what
Is man,—the point we call To-day, the worm
Born yester-night,—when with Thy greatness weighed?

IX.

Ja wenn des Wesens veste Kraft,
Die allerhaltend ewig schafft,
In dir, Gott, jemals könnte sinken:
Dann würde, zu derselben, Stund',
Mit grässlich aufgesperrtem Schlund
Und ob jetzt Sonnenheere blinken,
Das Nichts der Wesen-Heere Reich,
Die Zeit und Ewigkeit zugleich,
So wie das Meer ein Tröpflein, trinken.

X.

O Meer von Gottes Ewigkeit!
Uralter Quell von Welt und Zeit!
Grund alles Fliehns von Welt und Zeiten!
Beständ'ge Gegenwärtigkeit!
Die Asche der Vergangenheit
Ist dir ein Keim von Künftigkeiten.
Was ist der Mensch, der Punkt von heut',
Der Wurm, der sich seit gestern freut,
Gemessen gegen deine Weiten?

XI.

No! he is more than that brief point — To-day;
More than the worm born yester-night; and may
Himself compare with that Immensity!
For when God founded Earth, and Angel choirs
Proclaimed His praise, — unseen and fondly wrapped
In swaddling garments of primeval Time,
A riddle to myself, I still was there,
Although I could not then therewith rejoice,
Nor see my God establishing the world.

XII.

And when yet many a thousand times
New heavenly hosts appear, and as a robe
Worn out and old are laid aside by Thee; —
When other heavenly hosts made by Thy hand,
Come forth in ever new vicissitude,
Yet seem for ever during durance made —
Shall I eternal be as Thou, and, robed
In glory, through the eternal Ocean-deep,
Shall celebrate Thine everlasting Praise.

XI.

Nein, er ist mehr als Punkt von heut',
Als Wurm, der sich seit gestern freut;
  Darf messen sich mit jenen Weiten.
Als Gott die Erde gründete,
Ihn Engellob verkündete,
  Schon in den Windeln grauer Zeiten,
Mir selbst ein Räthsel, war ich da,
Wenn ich gleich noch nicht jauchzend sah
  Durch Ihn der Erde Grund bereiten.

XII.

Und wenn auch einst viel tausendmal
Noch neuer Himmel Heere all'
  Vor dir wie ein Gewand vergehen;
Wenn andre, Gott, durch deine Hand
Dann treten in den Wechselstand,
  Zu scheinbar ewigem Bestehen,
Dann werd' ich, ewig wie du, Herr,
Durch aller Ewigkeiten Meer
  Verklärt dein ewig Lob erhöhen.

ART. III. — 1. *Die Entdeckung von America durch die Isländer im zehnten und eilften Jahrhunderte.* Von K. H. HERMES. Braunschweig. 1844. 8vo. pp. 134.

2. *Antiquitates Americanæ sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America.* Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniæ. 1837. 4to. pp.

3. *Die Entdeckung Amerikas im zehnten Jahrhundert.* Von C. C. RAFN. Aus der dän. Hdschrift von G. Mohnike. Stralsund. 1838. 8vo. pp. 38.

4. *The Discovery of America by the Norsemen in the Tenth Century.* By N. L. BEAMISH. London. 1841. 8vo. pp. 239.

THE term "Anglo-Saxon," which has got into such common use of late, as a comprehensive appellation for the various branches of the English stock, is doubtless a very convenient one, has acquired a definite meaning, and we should hardly know what to substitute in its place. Nevertheless, the assumption which it seems to make, that the "Anglo-Saxon" nations are the descendants of the old Angles and Saxons, or belong physically or morally to that type, is very clearly erroneous. On the contrary, a large admixture from the Norse or Scandinavian branch of the great Germanic stock is both historically certain, and, moreover, very obvious in the present character of these nations. Perhaps it will be safest to confine ourselves to the circle of our own immediate observation. This, at least, we may confidently assert, that the modern New England character has in it much more of the Norse than of the Saxon. Not that in any case we hold to the doctrine that all traits and qualities are derived from one's ancestors, any more than we do to the preformation or pill-box theory in Physiology — that all the human race were contained in embryo in Adam. The most important part of the character of individuals or of nations is not what they got from their forefathers, but what in the course of their moral development they have arrived at themselves. Nevertheless, in the *foundation* of the character, in the instinctive tendencies and predilections of a man or a nation, the influence of blood is not to be denied. Now if we compare the modern Angles and Saxons, namely, the Germans of the neighbourhood of the Elbe, the genuine descendants of the invaders of England under Hengst and

Horsa, with ourselves, what do we find? Why, the restless activity, the impatience of control, and the practical faculty which distinguish the Yankee, are precisely what the German lacks. Yet we need not go far to find these traits again, only across the Baltic, — not, indeed, in any great development nowadays, for reasons which it would take us too long to touch upon here, — but strikingly characteristic of the old Norsemen. One of the most prominent features of the New England character is a talent for maritime affairs. The New Englander is born with a love for the ocean and an intuitive skill in navigation. The novelist Seatsfield has made use of this trait in one of his stories, where an American, being in a boat exposed to danger in a sudden storm on one of the Swiss lakes, astonishes his German companions by assuming the command and bringing them to shore in safety. This talent we find prominent, also, in the Scandinavians, particularly those of former times, but not at all with the Germans. Even now you find Swedish and Danish sailors scattered all over the world, but who ever saw a German sailor? The Hollanders, indeed, impelled by the all-powerful spirit of traffic, do carry on an extensive commerce; but their vessels are mere warehouses afloat, they are driven to sea by the necessity of the case, and do not take to it with any *gusto* or good will. England is now a great maritime power. But when England was Saxon it had no sailors and no fleet. King Alfred had to work hard to get up a coast-guard to keep off the Norsemen. Ships he could build, but for seamen to work them he had to employ "pirates" — no doubt another swarm from the same hive. Some time after this, though of uncertain date, we find a law of the Anglo-Saxons, that "any merchant who fared thrice over the high sea in his own craft was thenceforth of thane-right worthy;" that is, he was raised to the nobility in reward. But the Norsemen needed no such bribe. Long before that they had circumnavigated Europe from the White Sea to the Black. Their discovery of the Faroes is of unknown antiquity. These islands, which are four hundred miles from the coast of Norway, have never had any but a Norse name, the signification * of which would seem to indicate, that at the remote period when they first appear in history, and when they had no regular inhabitants, they were used as depots of provisions for the wandering voyagers.

* *Færeyar*, that is, "sheep-islands."

About the year 860, a seafarer, named Gardar, was unexpectedly driven on to the shores of Iceland; and within a year or two, and without any concert with Gardar, another Norseman, named Naddodd, took shelter there under similar circumstances. Now Iceland lies, at a rough calculation, about six hundred miles to the westward of Norway. Yet, within sixty years after its discovery, the population seems to have reached about its present number, namely, 50,000, principally by direct immigration from Norway. At one time this immigration was so great, that Harald the Fair-haired, fearing a depopulation of his kingdom, forbade any one to leave it without permission, under penalty of a fine of five ounces of silver. More than forty years before, one Gunnbiörn had already discovered the cliffs off the east coast of Greenland, about two hundred miles to the westward of Iceland. Towards the end of the tenth century, Eirek the Red established a colony in Greenland.

It is true, in most or all of these instances the discoverers had been driven out of their course by storms. Yet they must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of the shores on which they were driven. And the facility with which the passage direct to Iceland and afterwards to Greenland was made shows that voyages of such extent were already familiar to them. Now, if we consider that in these voyages they did not merely coast along the shore, where there might be a chance of shelter in case of need, like the Phœnicians, but pushed boldly out into the restless North Atlantic in their undecked boats, without even the aid of the compass, we must acknowledge that for pure daring the exploits of these Norse sailors are even yet unequalled.

This habit of making long voyages is shown also in many provisions of the ancient Icelandic code, the "Gray Goose," which was reduced to writing from ancient oral tradition, in the beginning of the twelfth century. In a special chapter, "Of Naval Affairs," provisions are made for taking the testimony of witnesses about to depart "in the floating fir" (*a fliotandi furo*); for harbor duties; for general average in case of jettison; concerning the mutual rights and duties of ship-owners and charterers, of sailors and skippers, of tenants in common of ships. Among other things, every householder who kept any servants was bound to assist, once a year, with all his retinue except his shepherd, in launching or hauling up any vessel. Like the inhabitants of the New England coast,

the sterility of the land affording no scope for their energetic disposition, they became of necessity a seafaring nation.

The particular exploit which forms the subject of the works at the head of this article is probably no novelty to any of our readers, yet, as it has been discredited by influential writers, and as those who have admitted the authority of the account have drawn some conclusions from it which we shall feel obliged to criticize, we place before them, nearly entire, the more important documents in this case.. The perusal must, we think, produce the conviction of their genuineness in the mind of any unprejudiced person. The skepticism above alluded to is not, indeed, of much importance, since it is not shared, we believe, by any writer qualified to pronounce a critical opinion on the matter. It rests, no doubt, mainly on a vague notion of the antecedent improbability of so extensive a voyage having been made at that early period and with such imperfect means. But a moment's consideration of the facts above stated will show how unfounded such a notion is. The Norsemen had already been, for more than a century, in the habit of making voyages direct from Norway to Iceland, if not direct to Greenland, (since we hear of arrivals in the Greenland colony "from Norway"). At all events, they could have touched only at Iceland. The colony on the west coast of Greenland consisted at that time of above one hundred and thirty farms. Probably it had already reached its most populous state. Now the distance across Davis' Strait, even at its mouth, is only about the same as from Norway to Iceland. But if we take it somewhat to the southward of Disco, (which we know the ancient colonists reached, and even went further north,) it is not more than two hundred miles. Greenland evidently belongs much more to the New World than to the Old; and if we take into consideration the southerly current flowing out of Davis' Strait along the Labrador coast; the prevalence of northerly winds in those regions; and above all, the fact that the voyagers to Greenland had occasion to run so far to the westward in order to reach that colony, whereas there was before nothing to attract them to cruise in that direction; it was much more probable, *a priori*, that some of them, missing the point of Cape Farewell, or driven off to sea in their northern explorations of Baffin's Bay, should reach the coast of Labrador, than that they should have discovered Greenland. It would be singular, indeed, if these bold ad-

venturers, whose dwelling, as Tacitus said even in his time, seemed to be the ocean, had missed the discovery of an extensive continent comparatively close at hand.

Such are the antecedent probabilities. In this position of things, the internal evidence of the documents themselves would seem, as we said, sufficient to convince any unprejudiced person of the correctness of the main facts they assert. It may be interesting, besides, to have in convenient compass the earliest fragment of history relating to this country, and this may serve at the same time as an illustration of what was said concerning the sea-faring talent of the Scandinavians, and as a specimen of their exploits.

The following translations are taken from the *Tháttr Eireks rauda* and the *Graenlendinga thátt* ("the piece about Eirek the Red" and "the piece about the Greenlanders"), which are presented here nearly entire. These pieces are fragments which have been interpolated into a Life of King Olaf Tryggvason. The manuscripts are of the end of the 14th century, (1387–1395,) but the style and other evidences show them to be copies from much older ones.

It seems that among a large number of Icelanders who accompanied Eirek the Red, (who was the first to make a voyage to Greenland, after its discovery by Gunnbiörn,) was one Herjulf, whose son Biarni, a merchant, had been in the habit of passing every other winter at home with his father, and then sailing again on distant voyages.

"That same summer (985 or 986) came Biarni with his ship to Eyrar, in the spring of which his father had sailed from the island. These tidings seemed to Biarni weighty, and he would not unload his ship. Then asked his sailors what he meant to do, he answered that he meant to hold to his wont and winter with his father, 'and I will bear for Greenland if you will follow me thither.' All said they would do as he wished. Then said Biarni, 'Imprudent they will think our voyage, since none of us has been in the Greenland sea.'

"Yet they bore out to sea as soon as they were boun,* and sailed three days till the land was sunk, then the fair wind fell off and there arose north winds and fogs, and they knew not whither they fared, and so it went for many days. After that they saw the sun, and could then get their bearings. Then they hoisted sail and sailed that day before they saw land, and they counselled with themselves what land that might be. But Biarni said he

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* Or bound, (*búnir*); namely, ready, as we say a ship is bound for London.

thought it could not be Greenland. They asked him whether he would sail to the land or not. 'This is my counsel, to sail nigh to the land,' (said he); and so they did, and soon saw that the land was without fells, and wooded, and small heights on the land, and they left the land to larboard, and let the foot of the sail look towards land.* After that they sailed two days before they saw another land. They asked if Biarni thought this was Greenland. He said he thought it no more Greenland than the first; 'for the glaciers are very huge, as they say, in Greenland.' They soon neared the land, and saw it was flat land and overgrown with wood. Then the fair wind fell. Then the sailors said that it seemed prudent to them to land there. But Biarni would not. They thought they needed both wood and water. 'Of neither are you in want,' said Biarni; but he got some hard speeches for that from his sailors. He bade them hoist sail, and so they did, and they turned the bows from the land and sailed out to sea with a west-southwest wind three days, and saw a third land; but that land was high, mountainous, and covered with glaciers. They asked then if Biarni would put ashore there, but he said he would not; 'for this land seems to me not very promising' They did not lower their sails, but held on along this land, and saw that it was an island; but they turned the stern to the land, and sailed seawards with the same fair wind. But the wind rose, and Biarni bade them shorten sail and not to carry more than their ship and tackle would bear. They sailed now four days, then saw they land the fourth. Then they asked Biarni whether he thought that was Greenland or not. Biarni answered, 'That is likest to what is said to me of Greenland, and we will put ashore.' So they did, and landed under a certain ness (cape), at evening of the day. And there was a boat at the ness, and there lived Herjulf, the father of Biarni, on this ness, and from him has the ness taken its name, and is since called Herjulfsness. Now fared Biarni to his father, and gave up sailing, and was with his father whilst Herjulf lived; and afterwards lived there after his father."

Eirek the Red, the leader of the colony, was still looked upon as its head, and Biarni once having paid him a visit, and being well received, the conversation fell upon his adventures and his discoveries of unknown lands. All thought Biarni had shown very little curiosity in not making further explorations. There was much talk about voyages of discovery, and Leif, the eldest of Eirek's three sons, resolved to see this newly-discovered country. Accordingly he paid Biarni a visit, bought his vessel of him, and engaged a crew.

* Ok lètu skaut horfa á land.

He now endeavoured to persuade his father to accompany him, and after some trouble succeeded. But the old man, on the way to the vessel, fell from his horse and injured his foot. Thereupon he said, "It is not fated that I should discover more countries than those we now inhabit, and we can now no longer fare all together." So he returned home, but Leif with his companions, thirty-five in all, set sail.

(A. D. 999.) "First they found the land which Biarni had found last. Then sailed they to the land, and cast anchor and put off a boat and went ashore and saw there no grass. Mickle glaciers were over all the higher parts, but it was like a plain of rock from the glaciers to the sea, and it seemed to them that the land was good for nothing. Then said Leif, 'We have not done about this land like Biarni, not to go upon it; now I will give a name to the land, and call it Helluland (flat-stone land). Then they went to their ship. After that they sailed into the sea, and found another land, sailed up to it and cast anchor; then put off a boat and went ashore. This land was flat and covered with wood, and broad white sands wherever they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif, 'From its make shall a name be given to this land, and it shall be called Markland (Wood-land). Then they went quickly down to the vessel. Now they sailed thence into the sea with a northeast wind, and were out two days before they saw land, and they sailed to land, and came to an island that lay north of the land, and they went on to it and looked about them in good weather, and found that dew lay upon the grass, and that happened that they put their hands in the dew and brought it to their mouths, and they thought they had never known any thing so sweet as that was.* Then they went to their ship and sailed into that sound that lay between the island and a ness which went northward from the land, and then steered westward past the ness. There were great shoals at ebb-tide, and their vessel stood up, and it was far to see from the ship to the sea. But they were so curious to fare to the land that they could not bear to bide till the sea came under their ship, and ran ashore where a river flows out from a lake. But when the sea came under their ship, then took they the boat and rowed to the ship, and took it up into the river and then into the lake, and there cast anchor, and bore from the ship their skin-cots, and made there booths.

"Afterwards they took counsel to stay there that winter, and made there great houses. There was no scarcity of salmon in the rivers and lakes, and larger salmon than they had before seen.

* Probably the so called honey-dew, a sweet substance deposited on plants by certain insects, (*aphides*,) which often attracts swarms of ants and flies to rose-bushes infested by them.

There was the land so good as it seemed to them, that no cattle would want fodder for the winter. There came no frost in the winter, and little did the grass fall off there. Day and night were more equal there than in Greenland or Iceland; the sun had there *eyktarstad* and *dagmalastad** on the shortest day. But when they had ended their house-building, then said Leif to his companions, 'Now let our company be divided into two parts, and the land kenned, and one half of the people shall be at the house at home, but the other half shall ken the land, and fare not further than that they may come home at evening, and they shall not separate.' Now so they did one time. Leif changed about, so that he went with them (one day) and (the next) was at home at the house. Leif was a mickle man and stout, most noble to see, a wise man and moderate in all things.

2. LEIF THE LUCKY FOUND MEN ON A SKERRY AT SEA.

"'One evening it chanced that a man was wanting of their people, and this was Tyrker, the Southerner.† Leif took this very ill, for Tyrker had been long with his parents, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now chid his people sharply, and made ready to fare forth to seek him, and twelve men with him. But when they had gone a little way, there came Tyrker to meet them, and was joyfully received. Leif found at once that his old friend was somewhat out of his mind; he was bustling and unsteady-eyed, freckled in face, little and wizened in growth, but a man of skill in all arts. Then said Leif to him: 'Why wert thou so late, my fosterer, and separated from the party?' He talked at first a long while in German, and rolled many ways his eyes and twisted his face, but they skilled not what he said. He said then in Norse after a time: 'I went not very far, but I have great news to tell; I have found grape-vines and grapes.' 'Can that be true, my fosterer,' quoth Leif. 'Surely it is true,' quoth he, 'for I was brought up where there is no want of grape-vines or grapes.' Then they slept for the night, but in the morning Leif said to his sailors, 'Now we shall have two jobs; each day we will either gather grapes or hew grape-vines and fell trees, so there will be a cargo for my ship,' and that was the counsel taken. It is said that their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was hewn a cargo for the ship, and when spring came they got ready and sailed off, and Leif gave a name to the land after its sort, and

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* *Dagmalastad* was 7 1-2, A. M., the hour of sunrise in the south of Iceland on the first day of winter, (Oct. 17th.) *Eyktarstad* was the period fixed (in the laws,) as the end of the natural day; namely, 4 1-2, P. M.—*Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 435.

These, therefore, were two great periods of the day, and are not to be taken too minutely.

† That is, the German.

called it Vinland (Wine-land). They sailed then afterwards into the sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the fells under the glaciers. Then a man took the word, and said to Leif, 'Why steerest thou the ship so close to the wind?' Leif answered, 'I look to my steering and to something more, and what see ye remarkable?' They said they saw nothing that seemed remarkable. 'I know not,' said Leif, 'whether I see a ship or a rock.' Now they looked, and said it was a rock. But he saw further than they, and saw men on the rock. 'Now we must bite into the wind (*beitim undir vedrit*),' said Leif, 'so that we may near them if they are in need of our aid, and it is needful to help them; but if so be it that they are not peaceably disposed, all the strength is on our side and not on theirs.' Now they came close to the rock, and furled their sail and cast anchor, and put out another little boat which they had with them. Then asked Tyrker, Who rode before them? (who was their leader.) He said he was named Thórir, and that he was a Norseman of kin. 'But what is thy name?' Leif told his name. 'Art thou son of Eirek the Red of Brattahlid?' said he. Leif said it was so. 'Now will I,' said Leif, 'bid you all to my ship, and as many of the goods as the ship will carry.' They were thankful for the chance, and sailed to Eireksfirth with the cargo, until they came to Brattahlid, and then unloaded the ship. Afterwards Leif bade Thórir to stay with him, and also Gudrid, his wife, and three other men, and got lodgings for the other sailors, both Thórir's and his own fellows. Leif took fifteen men from the rock; after that he was called Leif the Lucky: Leif was now both well to do and honored. That winter there came a great sickness among Thórir's people, and carried off Thórir and many of his people. This winter died also Eirek the Red.

"Now there was a great talk about Leif's Vinland voyage, and Thorvald, his brother, thought the land had been too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald, 'Thou shalt go with my ship, brother! if thou wilt, to Vinland; but I want that the ship should go first after the wood that Thórir had on the rock;' and so was done.

3. THORVALD FARES TO VINLAND.

"Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with thirty men, with the counsel thereon of Leif, his brother. Then they fitted out their ship, and bore out to sea, (A. D. 1002,) and there is nothing told of their voyage before they came to Vinland to Leif's booths, and they laid up their ship and dwelt in peace there that winter, and caught fish for their meat. But in the spring Thorvald said they would get ready their ship, and send their long boat and some men with it along to the westward of the land, and explore it during the summer. The land seemed to them fair and woody,

and narrow between the woods and the sea, and of white sand. There were many islands and great shoals. They found neither man's abode nor beasts; but on an island to the westward they found a corn-shed of wood; more works of men they found not, and they went back, and came to Leif's booths in the fall. But the next summer fared Thorvald eastward with the merchant-ship and coasted to the northward. Here a heavy storm arose as they were passing one of two capes, and drove them up there and broke the keel under the ship, and they dwelt there long, and mended their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions: 'Now will I that we raise up here the keel on the ness and call it Keelness,' and so they did. After that they sailed thence, and coasted to the eastward, and into the mouths of the firths that were nearest to them, and to a headland that stretched out. This was all covered with wood; here they brought the ship into harbour and shoved a bridge on to the land, and Thorvald went ashore with all his company; he said then, 'Here it is fair, and here would I like to raise my dwelling.' They went then to the ship, and saw upon the sands within the headland three heights, and they went thither and saw there three skin-boats, and three men under each. Then they divided their people, and laid hands on them all, except one that got off with his boat. They killed these eight, and went then back to the headland, and looked about them there, and saw in the firth some heights, and thought they were dwellings. After that there came a heaviness on them so great that they could not keep awake, and all slumbered. Then came a call above them, so that they all awoke: thus said the call: 'Awake, Thorvald! and all thy company, if thou wilt keep thy life, and fare thou to thy ship, and all thy men, and fare from the land of the quickest.' Then came from within the firth innumerable skin-boats, and made toward them. Thorvald said then, 'We will set up our battle-shields, and guard ourselves the best we can, but fight little against them.' So they did, and the Skrælings shot at them for a while, but then fled each as fast as he could. Then Thorvald asked his men if any of them was hurt; they said they were not hurt. 'I have got a hurt under the arm,' said he, 'for an arrow flew between the bulwarks and the shield under my arm, and here is the arrow, and that will be my death. Now I counsel that ye make ready as quickly as may be to return, but ye shall bear me to the headland which I thought the likeliest place to build. It may be it was a true word I spoke, that I should dwell there for a time. There ye shall bury me, and set crosses at my head and feet, and call it Krossanes henceforth.' Greenland was then Christianized, but Eirek the Red had died before Christianity came thither. Now Thorvald died, but they did every thing according as he had said, and then went and found their companions, and told each other the news they had to

tell, and lived there that winter, and gathered grapes and vines for loading the ship. Then in the spring they made ready to sail for Greenland, and came with their ship to Eireksfirth, and had great tidings to tell to Leif."

In the meanwhile Thorstein, Eirek's third son, had married Gudrid, the widow of the Norwegian Thórir, whom Leif had rescued from the rock. When the news of his brother's death arrived, Thorstein resolved to go after Thorvald's dead body, in order to give it a Christian burial. Accordingly he set off, but after driving about the whole summer unsuccessfully, he was obliged to put in at the western settlement of Greenland, where they remained that winter. Here Thorstein and many of his men died of a pestilence, and Gudrid returned to Leif, at the eastern settlement. This summer a rich Norwegian, named Thorfin Karlsefni, came to Greenland and stayed at Leif's house, where he fell in love with Gudrid and married her. There being still a great talk about Vinland, Thorfin was persuaded to undertake a voyage thither, which he did, taking with him his wife and a company of sixty men and five women. (A. D. 1007.)

"This agreement made Karlsefni and his seamen, that they should have even handed all that they should get in the way of goods. They had with them all sorts of cattle, as they thought to settle there if they might. Karlsefni begged Leif for his house in Vinland, but he said he would lend him the house, but not give it. Then they bore out to sea with the ship and came to Leif's booths hale and whole, and landed there their cattle. There soon came into their hands a great and good prize, for a whale was driven ashore, both great and good; then they went to cut up the whale, and had no scarcity of food. The cattle went up into the country, and it soon happened that the male cattle became wild and unruly. They had with them a bull. Karlsefni had wood felled and brought to the ship, and had the wood piled on the cliff to dry. They had all the good things of the country, both of grapes and of all sorts of game and other things. After the first winter came the summer, then they saw appear the Skrælings, and there came from out the wood a great number of men. Near by were their neat-cattle, and the bull took to bellowing (*tók at belja*) and roared loudly, whereat the Skrælings were frightened, and ran off with their bundles. These were furs and sable-skins and skin-wares of all kinds. And they turned towards Karlsefni's booths, and wanted to get into the house, but Karlsefni had the doors guarded. Neither party understood the other's language. Then the Skrælings took down their bags, and opened them, and

offered them for sale, and wanted above all to have weapons for them. But Karlsefni forbade them to sell weapons. He took this plan; he bade the women bring out their dairy stuff* for them, and so soon as they saw this they would have that and nothing else. Now this was the way the Skrælings traded, they bore off their wares in their stomachs, but Karlsefni and his companions had their bags and skin-wares, and so they parted. Now hereof is this to say, that Karlsefni had posts driven strongly round about his booths, and made all complete. At this time Gudrid the wife of Karlsefni bore a man-child, and he was called Snorri. In the beginning of the next winter the Skrælings came to them again, and were many more than before, and they had the same wares as before. Then Karlsefni said to the women, 'Now bring forth the same food that was most liked before, and no other.' And when they saw it they cast their bundles in over the fence. . . . [But one of them being killed by one of Karlsefni's men, they all fled in haste and left their garments and wares behind.] 'Now I think we need a good counsel,' said Karlsefni, 'for I think they will come for the third time in anger and with many men. Now we must do this, ten men must go out on to that ness and show themselves there, but another party must go into the wood and hew a place clear for our neat-cattle, when the foe shall come from the wood. And we must take the bull and let him go before us.' But thus it was with the place where they thought to meet, that a lake was on one side and the wood on the other. Now it was done as Karlsefni had said. Now came the Skrælings to the place where Karlsefni had thought should be the battle; and now there was a battle and many of the Skrælings fell. There was one large and handsome man among the Skrælings, and Karlsefni thought he might be their leader. Now one of the Skrælings had taken up an axe and looked at it awhile and struck at one of his fellows and hit him, whereupon he fell dead, then the large man took the axe and looked at it awhile and threw it into the sea as far as he could. But after that they fled to the wood each as fast as he could, and thus ended the strife. Karlsefni and his companions were there all that winter, but in the spring Karlsefni said he would stay there no longer, and would fare to Greenland. Now they made ready for the voyage, and bare thence much goods, namely, grape-vines and grapes and skin-wares. Now they sailed into the sea and came whole with their ship to Eireksfirth, and were there that winter."

The next year Freydis, a daughter of Eirek the Red, persuaded two Norwegian voyagers who had lately arrived in Greenland, to undertake an expedition to Vinland with her

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* *Búnyt, lacticinia* — any thing made of milk.

and her husband. They departed, accordingly, in two ships, (1012,) and reached Leif's booths without difficulty; but in the course of the winter Freydis, who appears to have been a woman of the most savage temper, stirred up quarrels between the two ships' companies, and finally, having with her party fallen upon the Norwegians by night, tied them hand and foot, and killed them all.

This horrid deed seems to have caused a repugnance to further visits to the spot where it was perpetrated. Then, as Dr. Hermes remarks, the adventurous spirit of the Norsemen received a check at the introduction of Christianity, which had now spread throughout Greenland as well as Iceland. Whether Christianity had any thing to do with it or not, certain it is that a change was manifested in the Norse character about this time; that they seem to have lost some of their old vigor and restless spirit. This is shown, also, in the fact that about this time (1023,) Greenland submitted to St. Olaf of Norway. The way to Vinland seems to have been forgotten, so that when Eirek, the first Bishop of Greenland, went in the year 1121 to seek it out, (*at leita Vinlands*) he seems to have been unsuccessful; at least, nothing further is said about the voyage. After this there occur in various of the Icelandic annals records of the finding of "new land" (*fundu nýja land**) to the westward of Iceland, but no definite mention of Vinland until the year 1347, when some sailors arrived in Iceland from Greenland, who said they had visited Vinland.

The disturbed state of the Scandinavian kingdoms and the bad policy of their rulers interrupted by degrees all communication with these distant colonies. All trading to Iceland, to Greenland, and the other distant provinces, without a special royal license, was forbidden, and some merchants who were driven to Greenland in a storm, in the year 1389, were prosecuted on their return for breach of this law.† In the year 1406, the last Bishop of Greenland was appointed, and is known to have officiated there in 1409.‡ A letter from Pope Nicholas V. to the Bishops of Skalholt and Holum, in the year

* The editors of the *Antiquitates Americanæ* suggest that this term *nýja fundu land* may have been the origin of the name of Newfoundland, discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1496–7. There was doubtless at this time some commercial intercourse between England and Iceland. This conjecture, if well founded, would tend to show that Newfoundland was at that time considered as the Vinland of the Norsemen.

† "Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands." — *Edinb. Cab. Lib.*, 274.

‡ Beamish, p. 152.

1448, speaks of the destruction of the greater part of the inhabitants of Greenland, and of their churches, &c., by "heathen foreigners from the neighbouring coast," about thirty years before.

Already, in the year 1349, or according to some, 1379, the western settlement had been entirely laid waste and the inhabitants killed by the Skrælings. Probably the eastern settlement fared the same. Indeed, there is a tradition current to this effect among the Esquimaux of the present day.* In 1559, the prohibition against trading to Greenland was removed, and ships sent thither, but they were hindered by the ice from approaching the eastern coast, (where the eastern settlement was erroneously supposed to be,) and on the western coast only Esquimaux were found, and they so barbarous and ferocious that all thoughts of intercourse were abandoned until 1721, when the heroic missionary Hans Egede persuaded the King of Denmark to establish a colony there, which has been maintained ever since, and now numbers some six thousand inhabitants.

Such is, in brief, the chronicle of the Norse settlements on this side of the Atlantic. But besides these special accounts, incidental notices of the discovery of Vinland occur in many of the historical documents of the North, among others in the *Heimskringla* and the *Eyrbyggia Saga*, two of the most authentic among them.† All these notices exist in MSS. known to be older (some of them several hundred years older,) than Columbus's discovery. To reject their evidence, therefore, we must suppose a universal and most unaccountable delusion and a fabulous account of imaginary regions, corresponding in all essentials with an existing reality.

It is true, some of the accounts are mixed with fable, and all of them must be received with cautious criticism. One of them, the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga*, we have passed over altogether, although it has been considered (except by Dr. Hermes,) as one of the most important documents. But it seems evidently a later amplification of the account of Karlsefni's voyage given in the *Graenlendinga Thátt*, and printed above.

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* Beamish, pp. 151, 153, 156.

† For instance, *Eyrb. Saga*, (Hafn. 1787) Cap. xlviii, sub anno 999: "But Snorri fared to Vinland the Good with Karlsefni, and there fought with the Skrælings," &c. See, also, *Heimskringla*, Olaf Tryggvason's Saga. And Adam of Bremen (1016) mentions the discovery of "Winland," where grapes and corn grew wild.

It has the same outline, but filled up with various additional incidents, some of them, perhaps, genuine traditions of the voyage, others evidently fabulous, and others, again, belonging to other voyages. Various incidents simply narrated in the ancient account are here heightened by fanciful or supernatural features. For example, in the account of the death of Thorvald at Kiarlarness, (which is imported hither doubtless as an effective incident,) the arrow is shot by a *uniped* (*einfœtingr*). And the heroism of his simple announcement of his death-wound is sought to be heightened by the exclamation, on drawing out the arrow, "Fat are my entrails, it is a good land we have come to, but little good will come to us of it;" a very clap-trap sort of speech, and moreover taken at second-hand from the dying speech of the poet Thormod Kolbrunor-skálld, at the battle of Stiklestad.*

Other incidents are disfigured in a similar manner. Thus, the Skrælings when attacked suddenly sink into the earth; the whale they find on their first arrival being sent in consequence of prayers to Thor, proves poisonous; an addition evidently belonging to an epoch when Christianity was firmly established, and not befitting the early times when heathendom was still respectable, although on the decline. So, also, his connection Eirek the Red must be Christianized, and when he falls from his horse attributes it to his having sinfully performed a heathen rite; whereas we know from the older account that he died a pagan. Then it is often inconsistent with itself. Thus in the commencement it says Eirek the Red had two sons, Leif and Thorstein, but afterwards mentions the third, Thorvald. Many other grounds are brought forward by Hermes in his introduction, to show that this Saga is of later origin, and in fact a family chronicle of the descendants of Karlsefni, whose exploits are related and amplified to flatter his posterity, and into which various scattered stories, as that of the death of Thorvald, are introduced in order to increase the interest. At the end of the *Graenlendinga Thátt* are genealogical registers of the descendants of Karlsefni, ending with "Brand the Bishop," and "Bjarni the Bishop," who were in power in Iceland in the latter part of the twelfth century, these being probably the latest descendants at the time the Saga was written down. But the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga* continues the list to "Hauk

* *Heimskringla*, Olaf H. Saga, cap. 247.

the Judge," and the Abbesses *Gudrun* and *Hallbera*, who lived at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

This Saga, therefore, is to be received with great caution, though it mentions a number of additional particulars, which bear the marks of probability, and may very naturally have been handed down by family tradition.

The Sagas which the editors of the *Antiquitates Americanæ* and Mr. Beamish after them think sufficient ground for presenting us with maps of the Southern and Middle United States as far as the Mississippi valley, under the name of *Irland it mikla*, or *Hvitramannaland*, (Great Ireland, or White Man's Land,) we concur with Dr. Hermes (*Einleitung*, 48,) in thinking fabulous. This "Great Ireland," or "White Man's Land," according to these accounts, was *six days' voyage* westward from Ireland, and was inhabited by persons riding on horses and speaking the Irish language.

It appears, then, past doubt, that some part of the northeastern coast of North America was visited by the Scandinavians long before Columbus. The next question is — what part it was.

The former opinion, that of Malte Brun and others, was in favor of Labrador or Newfoundland. The editors of the *Antiquitates Americanæ* and their faithful follower, Mr. Beamish, endeavour to show, however, partly from independent evidence and partly from the descriptions given in the accounts themselves, that it was much further south. According to Mr. Beamish, "the countries discovered by Biarni were Connecticut, Long Island, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland;" *Helluland* is Newfoundland, *Markland* Nova Scotia; Leif's island is Nantucket, and the place where he built his booths Mount Hope Bay. Cape Cod, Plymouth harbour, and even Point Alderton and Gurnet Point have each assigned to it a Norse name. Even Dr. Hermes, in general skeptical enough, in this case shows unusual easiness of faith. Now, it is no doubt true that the features of the country noticed by the Norsemen correspond often very strikingly with points on the New England coast. Yet before any conclusions are founded upon such resemblances, it should be shown that the descriptions given will not fit equally well any other region. Thus, for instance, it is very true that grape-vines and grapes occur about Mount Hope Bay, but so they do in

Nova Scotia and Canada.* It is true that halibuts (or flounders) and maple trees are common on the coast of Rhode Island, but so they are also on the west coast of Newfoundland. Neither can the frequent occurrence of sand-beaches and flats be said to distinguish the Vineyard Sound from parts of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In short, there is not one of the supposed indications of this particular locality which, as far as we know, can be said to designate particularly any one region of the coast between Newfoundland and New York, except one or two, which we shall notice as making decidedly against their hypothesis.

In the first place, the fact being admitted that the Norsemen did actually reach this country, it is most natural, unless the contrary be shown, to suppose that their exploration was confined to the neighbourhood of the point first reached. The coast between Labrador and Long Island Sound is a particularly rough and dangerous one, beset with rocks and sandbanks, rendered more perilous by strong currents, and lashed by the full swing of the Atlantic. All the knowledge and skill of the present day are insufficient to prevent frequent shipwrecks. It is to be remembered, also, that the Norsemen, in exploring an unknown coast, would not steer the shortest course from one point to another, nor launch at random into the ocean, but would follow the windings of the shores, and thus probably double the distance to be passed over. For instance, if they kept outside of Newfoundland, they would not steer across to Nova Scotia, but return to the Straits of Belle-Isle, nearly where they started from. If they passed inside, they would be likely to ascend the St. Lawrence for some distance before finding it was a river. The large bays so numerous on this coast, as the Bay of Fundy, the Bay of Chaleurs, and others, would be all circumnavigated.

These things are needful to be kept in mind, in order to form a just notion of what is in fact implied by the voyages supposed. We do not intend to go into a minute examination of the topography or of the probable distance, but, roughly estimated, it cannot be less than two thousand miles from the northern coast of Labrador to Narragansett Bay, following the larger indentations of the coast. From a fortnight to three weeks must have been consumed in such a voyage, at the least, and any account of it could not fail to notice the deep wind-

* McGregor's *British America*, I., 90.

ings and bays of the coast, or the labyrinth of islands and headlands. Now we maintain that nothing of the kind appears in these narratives. They are evidently plain-sailing trips, of a few days only. It is only by the most violent distortion that the ancient geography can be made to fit the hypothesis. Let us look for a moment at the accounts themselves.

In the first place, Biarni, sailing for Greenland, struck the American coast at an unknown point, which, however, was overgrown with wood. It might have been Newfoundland or Southern Labrador. Hence he sailed northward two days,* finding the land still woody. Then, turning away from the land, he sailed three days, and came to an icy and mountainous island, perhaps one of the islands at the mouth of Hudson's Strait. Then he bore away from the land again four days, and arrived in Greenland.

Next Leif, sailing for the new country, reached the spot which Biarni last visited, and named it *Helluland;* thence he proceeded to the wooded country, which he called *Markland;* the number of days not given.† It seems most natural to assume that this was the most northerly part of the coast covered with forest; namely, the southern part of Labrador or the northwesterly part of Newfoundland, which was formerly covered with a dense forest of large trees.‡ It may have been a more southern point, but the burden of proof is on those who maintain this. Hence he goes in two days to Vinland. In returning, nothing is said about his voyage, which would hardly have been the case had he gone to the southward of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

Next comes Thorvald, who finds Vinland without difficulty, and after his death his seamen return without their leader, and yet no incidents of the voyage are mentioned.

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* *Tvö dægr:* there is an uncertainty as to the meaning of this word. B. Haldorsen in his Lexicon, the Glossary to the *Edda Sæmundar*, (II. 58 and 606,) and Rafn, in most of his translations in the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, distinguish between *dægr*, a space of twelve hours, and *dagr*, a space of twenty-four hours. But Rafn afterwards, in a note, (p. 420,) says he has since come to the conclusion that the words are sometimes synonymous, giving an instance from the *Landnamabok*, and he thinks such is the case throughout these accounts. For this change of opinion he gives no reasons beyond the single citation above, but to be on the safe side we have translated throughout in accordance with his suggestion.

† In the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga* it is said to be two days (2 *dægr*).

‡ McGregor, p. 145. In Captain Atkins's relation concerning the coast of Labrador, lat. 53° 40′, he says the woods are full of large pines and other trees suitable for ship-building. In Fitch's Inlet he found good grass-land.—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., p. 233.

In like manner Thorfin Karlsefni and Freydis and her companions all sail to Vinland and back, without any remarks made on the navigation of the route.

One or two voyages are made in which no part of the continent is reached, but we do not hear of any one who had ever reached any part of the continent failing to find Vinland, or experiencing the slightest difficulty.

Now it is to be observed that the Gulf of St. Lawrence divides the northeastern coast into two quite different regions. Having the Labrador coast under their lee, the Norse navigators might well hit that, somewhere to the northward of the region of forest, that is, somewhere in Helluland, (for this is evidently only a general expression for the northern barren regions). To coast along there until they recognized the landmarks given by their predecessors would also be not very difficult, and corresponds with the accounts. But the moment we get beyond the Straits of Belle-Isle, the case is entirely changed. We come then to an intricate and dangerous navigation, which we cannot suppose the traditions of a nation of sailors should have passed over in silence. Nor could the requisite distance have been accomplished in the time stated. Even if we assume, according to the entirely unwarranted conclusion of the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, that *Markland* is Nova Scotia, and suppose the intervening regions whisked by without remark, yet it is to be remembered that from Cape Sable, the southernmost extremity of Nova Scotia, to Cape Cod, in a direct course, is seventy leagues, and if we coast round the Bay of Fundy, and follow the indentations of the shore, (as explorers unacquainted with the navigation would of course have done,) the distance will be nearly doubled. Add to this the distance to Mount Hope Bay, and we shall have not far from two hundred leagues, or six hundred miles, which, according to the average day's sailing of the Norsemen given by the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, (pp. XXXIV and 420,) namely, one hundred and eight to one hundred and twenty miles, would have been five or six days' voyage, whereas Leif accomplished it in two, at most. Nor, finally, is it conceivable that one after the other should have found so easily the sought-for haven, or returned with so little apparent difficulty. The direct evidence, therefore, fails entirely.

Various collateral circumstances, however, touching the appearance and productions of the country, as mentioned in the narratives, have been brought forward in support of the

hypothesis in question. Most of these are already disposed of. Some of them are fabulous, as the discovery of grain-fields, in the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga*. When true they do not prove any thing, since they apply as well to the region about the Gulf of St. Lawrence as to our own coast. Some of them do not apply to either of these regions; such are the mildness of the winter, without frost or snow, and affording feed to cattle throughout the winter. The assertions of some writers, that snow falls indeed in New England, but never remains long on the ground, &c., &c., we need not tell our readers are entirely unfounded; and there is no reason to suppose that the climate has ever been milder than at present within the historical era. The story is a mere exaggeration, natural enough from the contrast with the winter climate of Iceland and Greenland, but no more probable as to the State of Rhode Island than as to the islands of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Something has been attempted to be made of the names *Nauset* and *Mount Hope*, which occur on our coast. *Nauset*, it is supposed, may have come from *nésit*, a cape or point. But any one at all familiar with the Indian names in this part of the country, will notice the similarity of sound to many well known names of localities, such as *Sokonesset*, *Wamesit*, *Neponset*, *Hassanamesit*, *Okommakamesit*, *Unset*, and a hundred others; the very name of our state, *Massachusetts*, is of this kind. As to Mount Hope, which is sought to be connected with the name *Hop*, occurring in the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga*, it was remarked by a critic, some time ago, that the Indian word was not *Hope*, but *Montaup*, and the prefix was not made by the whites, but by the Indians. It is probably the same word as *Montauk*, on Long Island. And there is a Mount Hope or *Montaup* in Orange county, New York; another in the neighbourhood of Albany; one in Pennsylvania, one in South Carolina, one in Virginia, and no less than three in Alabama.

Besides these, however, two pieces of evidence have been adduced as showing the presence of the Norsemen in Narragansett Bay. One of these are the inscriptions on the Dighton rock, and others in that neighbourhood; the other, the remark made in the *Graenlendinger Thátt*, that the sun, on the shortest winter day, was above the horizon nine hours, rising at 7 1-2 and setting at 4 1-2. This, the antiquaries have reckoned, would make the latitude 41° 24′ 10″, that of Seaconnet Point being 41° 26′, and this, they think, all things taken into

consideration, is near enough. In our opinion it is altogether too near, and we would ask what chronometers or other means the Icelanders had, to tell the time of day so exactly? At home in Iceland, and probably in Greenland, they had their "day-marks," objects in the landscape which they had learned to mark the sun's place by. But here, of course, they had no help of the kind. It was a mere guess, and however accurately they be supposed to have guessed, they may very well have erred half an hour in their estimate. But half an hour, morning and night, will give us a shortest day of eight hours, and this brings us to about the latitude of the Straits of Belle-Isle.

As to the Dighton rock,* the strong resemblance of the whole, and more especially of the square-shouldered figure on the right, to the paintings on buffalo-robes, &c., long ago excited the suspicions of those acquainted with the handiwork of our Indian tribes; and since the publication of Messrs. Squier & Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," † the probabilities, to say the least of it, are decidedly in favor of the Indian origin of these inscriptions. These gentlemen (pp. 293 – 300) give representations and descriptions of six sculptured rocks occurring on the Guyandotte river in Virginia, and notices of various others in other parts of the country, all bearing a strong general resemblance to the Dighton rock. The objects represented are men, animals of various kinds, and their tracks, and, moreover, lines, triangles, circles, &c., such as we see in the Dighton rock.

In one instance, in particular, (fig. 206,) two figures represented on the left-hand lower corner of the stone instantly remind one of the figures occupying a similar position in the supposed Norse inscription. On another occurs a very distinct capital P, (fig. 200,) which would make quite as good a Runic *Th* (Þ) as that which in the other case has been so interpreted. These rocks have been partly covered with earth, and are thus less defaced than the Dighton rocks, but they need only to have some of the connecting lines erased, to make letters and numerals out of the figures of men and animals. And it may be remarked, that the horizontal disposition of the marks on the Dighton rock, which might seem to

* For drawings of this rock see the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, or the works of Mr. Beamish or Dr. Hermes. Also, the *Memoirs of the American Academy*, Vol. III. There is a fac-simile cast in the geological collection at Cambridge.

† Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, Vol. I.

give it a more inscription-like character, was, no doubt, determined by the horizontally stratified, slaty structure of that rock. It has been argued that the hard graywacke of the Dighton rock could not have been cut without iron instruments. But in the work above cited, we have numerous instances of elaborate sculpture of porphyry, quartz, greenstone, and jasper, in implements found in the mounds of the Western country.*

We think, therefore, that there is thus far no sufficient evidence in support of the Mount Hope hypothesis. On the other hand, some of the circumstances mentioned in the account of Vinland seem to us strongly in favor of a more northern locality. In the first place, it is universally admitted that the *Skrælings* were Esquimaux. This is the name by which the undoubted Esquimaux of Greenland were afterwards known. And it could not have been borrowed from thence and transferred to other tribes, since the Esquimaux did not make their appearance at the Norse settlements in Greenland until long afterwards. Their skin-boats agree with what we know of the Esquimaux canoes, but not with those of any of our Indians. In the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga* they are said to have used slings, an implement unknown, we believe, among the more southern races, but in use (at least, some similar contrivance for casting darts,) among the Esquimaux.

Now it is very certain that no traces of the Esquimaux have ever been seen to the southward of Labrador. The suggestion of Hermes, (p. 101,) that they may formerly have inhabited New England, and have been since driven northward by the Indians, is, we believe, without the slightest foundation. The Esquimaux are evidently a northern race, representing the Kamschatkans and other northern tribes of Asia, and, doubtless, from the first confined to similar latitudes. It is no more likely that the Esquimaux ever inhabited this part of the

* It is also remarked, that these sculptures seem to have been performed with a *gouge-shaped* instrument. This was noticed as to the Dighton rock, in some of the earliest accounts. See *Mem. Am. Acad.*, III., 175 et seq. And Messrs. Squier & Davis (p. 298) notice that the figures on the rocks described by them were evidently *pecked into the stone*, and not regularly chiselled. The Rhode Island Society's committee say of the Dighton inscriptions, that the characters are "pecked in upon the rock and not chiselled or smoothly cut out."—*Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 358. It may be remarked here, that the resemblance is still stronger in the case of the Portsmouth and Tiverton rocks, (see figures in *Antiquitates Americanæ*,) in which the figures are yet more at random.

continent, than that polar bears or Arctic foxes were found here.

Other northern features in the Scandinavian narrative are the abundance of salmon and the skins of sables, both animals being at this day remarkably abundant about the St. Lawrence region. Salmon are found as far south as the Merrimack river in this state, and they formerly ascended the Connecticut; but we are not aware that they were ever found in Taunton river, nor is it likely they ever frequented so sluggish a stream. We never heard of the so-called sable (*Mustela Martes*) in Massachusetts or Rhode Island. That they formerly may have occurred there is possible; but, at all events, both salmon and sable certainly indicate a more northern region.*

The remarkable rise and fall of the tide, which seems to have struck the ancient navigators, is much more in accordance with the more easterly position of Newfoundland and the adjacent regions, where, from the absence of obstruction, the tides rise to a much greater height than on the New England coast.†

We have dwelt thus disproportionately long on this comparatively unimportant point, because no one, to our knowledge, has taken the trouble before to state the obvious considerations that arise on reading these ancient accounts in the region of which they are supposed to treat.

Our attention was called to the subject at this time by the receipt of Dr. Hermes' very interesting pamphlet. But we have left ourselves no room for any thing more than a recommendation of his critical and thorough performance to all interested in the matter. As for the other works on our list, the *Antiquitates Americanæ* have probably been heard of by most of our readers. An account of it may be found in the *North American Review* for January, 1838.

[Since writing the above, we have had an opportunity, through the kindness of Dr. Webb, of reading an account of the "skeleton in armour" dug up at Fall River, in the year

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* The same may be said of the eider-ducks' nests, which are mentioned in the *Thorfin Karlsefni Saga* as occurring in great numbers on the islands. These birds pass and repass our coast in their annual migrations, but that they ever built here is highly improbable, since it is a decidedly arctic species, and would find the weather much too warm in the breeding season. On the other hand, they are known to breed in great numbers on the coast of Labrador.

† In the harbour of Mingan, on the Labrador coast, north of Anticosti, the tide rises from ten to twelve feet. — *Blunt's Coast Pilot*, p. 103.

1831, and which, it has been thought, might be the remains of one of the Norse colonists. This account was sent by Dr. Webb to the Society of Northern Antiquaries in Copenhagen, and published by them in the "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord," Copenhagen, 1843. From it we extract the following particulars. The skeleton was found in a sand-bank, at a short distance inland from the mouth of Taunton river.

"The individual was buried in a sitting posture, with the legs flexed upon the thighs and the thighs bent towards the abdomen; the hands were inclined to, if not, indeed, resting against, the clavicular portion of the thorax. The body had evidently been carefully enveloped in several coverings of woven or braided bark-cloth of different textures, the finest being innermost; and exterior to the whole was a casement of cedar-bark. On the chest was found a breast-plate of brass or other metallic composition, measuring about fourteen inches in length and five and one fourth inches in breadth at one end, and six inches at the other. . . . The impression of the skin is very strongly exhibited in some parts. What were the original length and form of this plate it is impossible for me to say, as it was broken or destroyed at both ends when found. Over the breastplate, at its lower extremity, and completely encircling the body, was a belt, consisting of metallic tubes arranged in close contact with each other, so as to make a continuous cincture. These tubes are in length four and a half inches, and in diameter one fourth inch. . . . These were formed around pieces of hollow reed, the edges being brought so nicely in contact as to give them the appearance of unbroken cylinders. Through the inclosed reeds sinews, or narrow strips of animal hide, were passed, and the ends braided together, so that another string, similar in kind, might run transversely at top and bottom, and thus complete the belt. Two armlets or bracelets were found near the remains; these, when closely examined, appear to have been made not of manufactured or dressed leather, but of raw hide, (having the hair still upon them). . . . The only other articles found were half a dozen arrow-heads, made of the same material that the breastplate and sash or cincture were."

These were triangular, two inches long by one and a third wide, and perforated at base. Pieces of the shafts, a few inches long, were still connected with the heads. The metal being afterwards examined by Berzelius, proved to be brass, of about the ordinary composition.

"Wherever the breastplate or cincture came in contact with or near propinquity to the body, there the flesh, underneath and

for a few inches above and below, was in such a perfect state of preservation, that the muscles could be readily separated or dissected from one another. The flesh and integuments on the trunk, from the top of the shoulders down to the short ribs, likewise on the hands and arms, with the exception of the elbows, and on the inner side of the right leg or knee, were well preserved. The bark coverings were much decayed, except when they came in contact with the metallic trappings."

The following osteological measurements are given in the same article by Dr. Hooper of Fall River: Os femoris, 18 3-4 inches; Tibia, 14 1-2. *Lower jaw:* width at angles, 4 1-16; ditto at top of coronoid process, 3 15-16; from symphysis to angle, 3 3-4. *Cranium:* Circumference at division line between sincipital and basilar regions, (as laid down by phrenologists,) 20 1-2; from root of nose to junction of coronal and sagittal sutures, 5 1-2: from ditto to external occipital protuberance, 13 3-4; between the meatus auditorii over Firmness, 13 1-4; ditto over Causality, 11 3-4; over Cautiousness, 13 5-8; parietal diameter half an inch above meatus, 5 1-4; ditto through "superior edges of ossa temporum," 5 1-2; ditto through Cautiousness, 5 3-8. "The skull indicates a deficiency of Philoprogenitiveness, *which is not characteristic of the Indian.*" No article of European manufacture could be found. No Indian burial-ground is known to have existed on this spot, but there is a very ancient one three fourths of a mile north, and another about the same distance northwest of it. Nothing of the character of the articles above described has been found in these. The land was occupied and improved by the whites as early as 1681.

These highly interesting remains, with the exception of the specimens of bark-fabric and the brass tubes, sent to Denmark, were destroyed by fire a few years since. Nevertheless, we think enough appears from the above account to show that they belonged to the aborigines of the country, and not to any European colonist. The metal of which the ornaments were composed was undoubtedly of European origin, but the forms into which it had been wrought are almost identical with those of the copper ornaments found in the mounds of the West, (see Squier & Davis' "Monuments, &c.," pp. 205, 207,) and leave a suspicion, as a learned friend of ours remarks, that they may trace their origin to some of the brass kettles of those Frenchmen, who, in Captain John Smith's time, had so overstocked the New England market, that the

worthy captain thought it not worth his while to enter Massachusetts Bay. Some of these kettles, Dr. Webb says, are found in neighbouring Indian graves. At all events, the metal, although European, does not give the slightest presumption of a Norse origin, for even if we extend the "age of bronze" as far as that period, these ornaments are not of bronze, but of brass, which, we believe, was not in use among the Norsemen. The sitting position of the body, it is well known, is usual among Indian remains. The braided cedar-bark is decidedly an Indian manufacture, and is still extensively used for cords among the Ojibwas and probably other tribes. Then the state of preservation of the body and of the arrow-shafts militates strongly against any great antiquity. It is true, the salts of copper exercise a strong antiseptic influence, but here the effect would be rather too extensive. For we must bear in mind that a sand-bank is, perhaps, the most unfavorable position for the preservation of organic remains, owing to its permeability to water and the facility with which it condenses and absorbs moisture from the atmosphere. A careful examination of the skeleton might settle the question, but this, unfortunately, is no longer possible. Perhaps some of our anatomical readers may satisfy themselves from the few notes made by Dr. Hooper. On this point we may notice the unusual proportions of the leg-bones, the femur being longer and the tibia shorter than the average in the European type. Then the proportions of the skull seem to approach more nearly to those of the American races. Krause gives as the average parietal diameter between the *tubera parietalia*, (which we take to be the bump of Cautiousness,) 6.128 inches in the male European cranium, and 6.039 in the female. Dr. Hooper's measurement of the same part will be seen to be less, in which it agrees with Dr. Morton's measurements of aboriginal American skulls, in which the average of this diameter is 5.5 to 5.6. Then the greater parietal diameter at the highest point of the squamous suture (Secretiveness?) agrees with the pyramidal form noticed by Dr. Morton. Above all, the "deficiency of Philoprogenitiveness," namely, the flat occiput, is, perhaps, the most unequivocal characteristic of the American type yet discovered. See Morton's *Crania Americana*, p. 65.]

ART. IV.—1. *The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, &c., &c. Boston. 1838. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *History of the Conquest of Mexico, with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortes.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, &c., &c. New York. 1845. 3 vols. 8vo.

3. *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, &c., &c. New York. 1847. 2 vols. 8vo.

IT is now more than eleven years since our accomplished and distinguished countryman, Mr. Prescott, appeared before the world as a writer of history. Within that period he has sent forth three independent historical works, which have found a wide circle of readers in the New World and the Old. His works have been translated into all the tongues of Europe, we think, which claim to be languages of literature; they have won for the author a brilliant renown, which few men attain to in their lifetime; few, even, after their death. No American author has received such distinction from abroad. The most eminent learned societies of Europe have honored themselves by writing his name among their own distinguished historians. He has helped strengthen the common bond of all civilized nations, by writing books which all nations can read. Yet while he has received this attention and gained this renown, he has not found hitherto a philosophical critic to investigate his works carefully, confess the merits which are there, to point out the defects, if such there be, and coolly announce the value of these writings. Mr. Prescott has found eulogists on either continent; he has found, also, one critic, who adds to national bigotry the spirit of a cockney in literature; whose stand-point of criticism is the church of Bowbell; a man who degrades the lofty calling of a critic by the puerile vanities of a literary fop. The article we refer to would have disgraced any journal which pretended to common fairness. We often find articles in the minor journals of America, written in a little and narrow spirit, but remember nothing of the kind so little as the paper we speak of in the *London Quarterly Review*, No. CXXVII., Art. 1. We have waited long for some one free from national prejudice to come, with enlarged views of the duty of a historian, having suitable acquaintance

with the philosophy of history, a competent knowledge of the subjects to be treated of, and enough of the spirit of Humanity, and carefully examine these works in all the light of modern philosophy. We have waited in vain; and now, conscious of our own defects, knowing that every qualification above hinted may easily be denied us, we address ourselves to the work.

The department of history does not belong to our special study; it is, therefore, as a layman that we shall speak, not aspiring to pronounce the high cathedral judgment of a professor in that craft; the History, Literature, and General Development of the Spanish nation fall still less within the special range of the writer of this article. We are students of history only in common with all men who love liberal studies and pursue history only in the pauses from other toils. However, the remarkable phenomena offered by the Spanish nation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries long ago attracted our attention and study. Still, it is with reluctance we approach our task; had any of the able men whose business it more properly is, girded himself and applied to the work, we would have held our peace; but in the silence of such we feel constrained to speak.

Before we proceed to examine the works of Mr. Prescott, let a word be said of the office and duty of an Historian — to indicate the stand-point whence his books are to be looked upon. The writer of Annals, or of Chronicles, is to record events in the order in which they occur; he is not an Historian, but a Narrator; not an Architect, but a Lumberer, or Stonecutter of History. It does not necessarily belong to his calling to elaborate his materials into a regular and complete work of art, which shall fully and philosophically represent the Life of the nation he describes.

The Biographer is to give an idea of his hero, complete in all its parts, and perfect in each; to show how the world and the age with their manifold influences acted on the man, and he on his age and the world, and what they jointly produced. It is one thing to write the Memoirs or Annals of a man, and a matter quite different to write his Life. Mr. Lockhart has collected many memorials of Sir Walter Scott; laboriously written annals, but the Life of Sir Walter he has by no means written. In telling what his hero suffered, did, and was, and how all was brought to pass, the Biographer must be a critic also, and tell what his hero ought to have been and have done. Hence comes the deeper interest and the more in-

structive character of a true Biography; Memoirs may entertain, but a Biography must instruct.

The Annalist of a nation or a man works mainly in an objective way, and his own character appears only in the selection or omission of events to record, in referring events to causes, or in deducing consequences from causes supposed to be in action. There is little which is personal in his work. On the other hand, the personality of the Biographer continually appears. The lumberer's character or the stonecutter's does not report itself in the oak or travertine of Saint Peter's, while the genius of the architect confronts you as you gaze upon his colossal work. Now as the less cannot of itself comprehend the greater, so a Biographer cannot directly, and of himself, comprehend a man nobler than himself. All the Oysters in the world would be incompetent to write the Life of a single Eagle. It is easy for a great man to understand the little man; impossible to be directly comprehended thereby. It is not hard to understand the position of a city, the mutual relation of its parts, when we look down thereon from a high tower. Now while this is so, by the advance of mankind in a few centuries, it comes to pass that a man of but common abilities, having the culture of his age, may stand on a higher platform than the man of genius occupied a short time before. In this way the Biography of a great man, which none of his contemporaries could undertake, because he so far overmastered them, soon becomes possible to men of marked ability, and in time to men of ordinary powers of comprehension. At this day it would not be very difficult to find men competent to write the Life of Alexander or of Charlemagne, yet by no means so easy to find one who could do justice to Napoleon. Lord Bacon was right in leaving his "name and memory" "to foreign nations and to mine own countrymen after some time be passed over." We are far from thinking Lord Bacon so great as many men esteem him, but at his death there was no man among his own countrymen, or in foreign nations, meet to be his judge. The followers of Jesus collected only a few scanty memorials of the man, and they who have since undertaken his life are proofs that the world has not caught up with his thoughts, nor its foremost men risen high enough to examine, to criticize, and to judge a spirit so commanding. But after all, no advance of mankind, no culture however nice and extensive, will ever enable a Hobbes or a Hume to write the Life of a Jesus or even a Plato. It

would be hard, even now, to find a man, in England or out of it, competent to give us the Biography of Shakspeare, even if he had all that Annals and Memoirs might furnish.

Now an Historian is to a Nation what a Biographer is to a Man: he is not a bare chronicler, to indite the memoirs of a nation and tickle his reader with a mere panorama of events, however great and brilliantly colored, — events which have a connection of time and place, but no meaning, coming from no recognized cause and leading to no conclusion; he is to give us the Nation's Life, — its Outer Life in the civil, military, and commercial transactions; its Inner Life in the thought and feeling of the people. If the Historian undertake the entire history of a nation that has completed its career of existence, then he must describe the country as it was when the people first appeared to take possession thereof, and point out the successive changes which they effected therein; the geographical position of the country, its natural features — its waters, mountains, plains, its soil, climate, and productions — all are important elements which help modify the character of the nation. The Historian is to tell of the origin of the people, of their rise, their decline, their fall and end; to show how they acted on the world, and the world on them, — what was mutually given and received. The causes which advanced or retarded the nation are to be sought, and their action explained. He is to inquire what Sentiments and Ideas prevailed in the nation; whence they came, from without the people or from within; how they got organized, and with what result. Hence, not merely are the civil and military transactions to be looked after, but the Philosophy which prevails in the nation is to be ascertained and discoursed of; the Literature, Laws, and Religion. The Historian is to describe the industrial condition of the people, — the state of Agriculture, Commerce, and the Arts — both the useful and the beautiful; to inform us of the means of internal communication, of the intercourse with other nations — military, commercial, literary, or religious. He must tell of the Social State of the people, the relation of the cultivator to the soil, the relation of class to class. It is important to know how the Revenues of the state are raised; how the taxes are levied — on person or property, directly or indirectly; in what manner they are collected, and how a particular tax affects the welfare of the people. The writer of a Nation's Life must look at the whole people, not merely at any one class, noble or plebeian, and

must give the net result of their entire action, so that at the end of his book we can say: "This people had such sentiments and ideas, which led to this and the other deeds and institutions, which have been attended by such and such results; they added this or that to the general achievement of the Human Race."

Now in the history of each nation there are some Eminent Men, in whom the spirit of the nation seems to culminate — either because they are more the nation than the nation is itself, or because by their eminent power they constrain the nation to take the form of these individuals; such men are to be distinctly studied and carefully portrayed; for while embodying the nation's genius they are an epitome of its history. In a first survey, we know a nation best by its great men, as a country by its mountains and its plains, its waters and its shores, — by its great characters. Still, while these eminent men are to be put in the foreground of the picture, the humblest class is by no means to be neglected. In the Family of Man there are elder and younger brothers; it is a poor history which neglects either class. A few facts from the every-day life of the merchant, the slave, the peasant, the mechanic, are often worth more, as signs of the times, than a chapter which relates the intrigues of a courtier, though these are not to be overlooked. It is well to know what songs the peasant sung; what prayers he prayed; what food he ate; what tools he wrought with; what tax he payed; how he stood connected with the soil; how he was brought to war, and what weapons armed him for the fight. It is not very important to know whether General Breakpate commanded on the right or the left; whether he charged uphill or downhill; whether he rode a bright chestnut horse or a dapple gray, nor whether he got dismounted by the breaking of his saddle-girth or the stumbling of his beast. But it is important to know whether the soldiers were accoutred well or ill, and whether they came voluntarily to the war, and fought in battle with a will, or were brought to the conflict against their own consent, not much caring which side was victorious.

In telling what has been, the Historian is also to tell what ought to be, for he is to pass judgment on events, and try counsels by their causes first and their consequences not less. When all these things are told, History ceases to be a mere panorama of events having no unity but time and place; it becomes Philosophy teaching by experience, and has a profound

meaning and awakens a deep interest, while it tells the lessons of the Past for the warning of the Present and the edification of the Future. A nation is but a single family of the Human Race, and the Historian should remember that there is a Life of the Race, not less than of the several nations and each special man.

If the Historian takes a limited period of the life of any country for his theme, then it is a single chapter of the nation's story that he writes. He ought to show, by way of introduction, what the nation has done beforehand; its condition, material and spiritual, the state of its Foreign Relations, and at home the state of Industry, Letters, Law, Philosophy, Morals, and Religion. After showing the nation's condition at starting, he is to tell what was accomplished in the period under examination; how it was done, and with what result at home and abroad. The Philosophy of History is of more importance than the Facts of History; indeed, save to the antiquary who has a disinterested love thereof, they are of little value except as they set forth that Philosophy.

Now the subjective character of an Historian continually appears, colors his narrative, and affects the judgment he passes on men and things. You see the mark of the tonsure in a history written by a priest or a monk; his standing-point is commonly the belfry of his parish church. A courtier, a trifler about the court of Queen Elizabeth, has his opinion of events, of their causes and their consequences; a cool and wise politician judges in his way; and the philosopher, neither a priest, nor courtier, nor yet a politician, writing in either age, comes to conclusions different from all three. A man's philosophical, political, moral, and religious creed will appear in the history he writes. M. de Potter and Dr. Neander find very different things in the early ages of the Christian church; a Catholic and a Protestant History of Henry the Eighth would be unlike. Mr. Bancroft writes the history of America from the stand-point of Ideal Democracy, and, viewed from that point, things are not what they seem to be when looked at from any actual Aristocracy. Hume, Gibbon, Mackintosh, and Schlosser, Sismondi, Michelet, and Macaulay, all display their own character in writing their several works. Hume cannot comprehend a Puritan, nor Gibbon a "Primitive Christian;" Saint Simon sees little in Fenelon but a disappointed courtier, and in William Penn Mr. Bancroft finds an ideal Democrat.

A man cannot comprehend what wholly transcends himself.

Could a Cherokee write the history of Greece? a Mexican, with the average culture of his nation, would make a sorry figure in delineating the character of New England. If the Historian be a strong man, his work reflects his own character; if that be boldly marked, then it continually appears — the one thing that is prominent throughout his work. In the Life and Letters of Cromwell we get a truer picture of the author than of the Protector. The same Figure appears in the French Revolution, and all his historical composition appears but the grand Fabling of Mr. Carlyle. But if the Historian is a weak man, a thing that may happen, more receptive than impressive, then he reflects the average character of his acquaintance, the circle of living men he moves in, or of the departed men whose books he reads. Such an Historian makes a particular country his special study, but can pass thereon with only the general judgment of his class. This is true of all similar men: the water in the pipe rises as high as in the fountain, capillary attraction aiding what friction hindered; you know beforehand what an average party-man will think of any national measure, because his "thought" does not represent any individual action of his own, but the general average of his class. So it is with an ordinary clergyman; his opinion is not individual but professional. A strong man must have his own style, his own mode of sketching the outline, filling up the details, and coloring his picture; if he have a mannerism, it must be one that is his own, growing out of himself, and not merely on him, while in all this the small man represents only the character of his class: even his style, his figures of speech, will have a family mark on them; his mannerism will not be detected at first, because it is that of all his friends. Perhaps it would make little difference whether Michael Angelo was born and bred amid the rugged Alps or in the loveliest garden of Valombrosa — his genius seeming superior to circumstances; but with an artist who has little original and creative power, local peculiarities affect his style and appear in all his works.

Now within a thousand years a great change has come over the spirit of history. The historical writings of Venerable Bede and of Louis Blanc, the *Speculum Hystoriale* of Vincencius Bellovacensis, so eagerly printed once and scattered all over Europe, and the work of Mr. Macaulay, bear marks of their respective ages, and are monuments which attest the progress of mankind in the historic art.

In the middle ages Chivalry prevailed: a great respect was felt for certain prescribed rules; a great veneration for certain eminent persons. Those rules were not always or necessarily rules of Nature, but only of Convention; nor were the persons always or necessarily those most meet for respect, but men accidentally eminent oftener than marked for any substantial and personal excellence. The Spirit of Chivalry appears in the writers of that time, — in the Song and the Romance, in History and Annals, in Homilies, and in Prayers and Creeds. Little interest is taken in the people, only for their chiefs; little concern is felt by great men for industry, commerce, art; much for arms. Primogeniture extended from Law into Literature; History was that of Elder Brothers, and men accidentally eminent seemed to monopolize distinction in letters, and to hold possession of History by perpetual entail. History was aristocratic; Rank alone was respected, and it was thought there were but a few hundred persons in the world worth writing of, or caring for; the mass were thought only the sand on which the mighty walked, and useful only for that end; their lives were vulgar lives, their blood was puddle blood, and their deaths were vulgar deaths.

Of late years a very different spirit has appeared; slowly has it arisen, very slow, but it is real and visible, — the Spirit of Humanity. This manifests itself in a respect for certain rules, but they must be Laws of Nature — rules of Justice and Truth; and in respect for all mankind. Arms yield not to the gown only, but to the frock; and the aproned smith with his creative hand beckons destructive soldiers to an humbler seat, and they begin with shame to take the lower place, not always to be allowed them. This Spirit of Humanity appears in Legislation, where we will not now follow it; — but it appears also in Literature. Therein Primogeniture is abolished; the entail is broken; the monopoly at an end; the Elder Sons are not neglected, but the Younger Brothers are also brought into notice. In History as in Trade, the course is open to talent. History is becoming democratic. The Life of the People is looked after; men write of the ground whereon the mighty walk. While the coins, the charters, and the capitularies — which are the monuments of kings — are carefully sought after, men look also for the songs, the legends, the ballads, which are the medals of the People, stamped with their image and superscription, and in these find materials for the Biography of a nation. The manners and customs of the great mass of

men are now investigated, and civil and military transactions are thought no longer the one thing most needful to record. This spirit of Humanity constitutes the charm in the writings of Niebuhr, Schlosser, Sismondi, Michelet, Bancroft, Grote, Macaulay, the greatest historians of the age; they write in the interest of mankind. The absence of this spirit is a sad defect in the writings of Mr. Carlyle;—himself a giant, he writes History in the interest only of giants.

Since this change has taken place, a new demand is made of an Historian of our times. We have a right to insist that he shall give us the Philosophy of History, and report the lessons thereof, as well as record the facts. He must share the Spirit of Humanity which begins to pervade the age; he must not write in the interest of a class, but of mankind,—in the interest of Natural Right and Justice. Sometimes, however, a man may be excused for lacking the Philosophy of History; no one could expect it of a Turk; if a Russian were to write the history of France, it would be easy to forgive him if he wrote in the interest of tyrants. But when a man of New England undertakes to write a history, there is less excuse if his book should be wanting in Philosophy and in Humanity; less merit if it abound therewith.

Mr. Prescott has selected for his theme one of the most important periods of history—from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. The three greatest events of modern times took place during that period: the Art of Printing was invented, America discovered, the Protestant Reformation was begun. It was a period of intense life and various activity, in forms not easily understood at this day. The Revival of Letters was going forward; the classic models of Greece and Rome were studied anew; the Revival, also, of Art; Lionardo da Vinci, Pietro Perugino, Michael Angelo, Raphael, were achieving their miracles of artistic skill. Science began anew; new Ideas seemed to dawn upon mankind; modern Literature received a fresh impulse. The new Thought presently reported itself in all departments of life. Navigation was improved; commerce extended; a new world was discovered, and, baited by the hope of gold or driven by discontent and restless love of change, impelled by desire of new things or constrained by conscience, the Old World rose and poured itself on a new

continent, and with new Ideas to found empires mightier than the old. In Europe a revolution advanced with the steps of an earthquake. The Hercules-Pillars of authority were shaken; the Serf rose against his Lord; the great Barons everywhere were losing their power; the great Kings consolidating their authority. Feudal institutions reeled with the tossings of the ground, and fell — to rise no more. It was the age of the Medici, of Macchiavelli, and of Savonarola; of Erasmus and Copernicus; of John Wessel, Reuchlin, Scaliger, and Agricola; Luther and Loyola lived in that time. The Ninety-five Theses were posted on the church door; the *Utopia* was written. There were Chevalier Bayard and Gonsalvo "the Great Captain"; Cardinal Ximenes, and Columbus. Two great works mark this period, — one, the establishment of National Unity of Action in the great monarchies of Europe, the king conquering the nobles; the other, the great Insurrection of Mind and Conscience against arbitrary power in the school, the state, the church, — an insurrection which no legions of mediæval scholars, no armies, and no Councils of Basil and of Trent could prevent or long hinder from its work.

Writing of this age, Mr. Prescott takes for his chief theme one of the most prominent nations of the world. Spain, however, was never prominent for Thought; no Idea welcomed by other nations was ever born or fostered in her lap; she has no great Philosopher — not one who has made a mark on the world; no great Poet known to all nations; not a single Orator, ecclesiastic or political; she has been mother to few great names in Science, Art, or Literature. In Commerce, Venice and Genoa long before Spain, England and Holland at a later date, have far out-travelled her. Even in Arms, save the brief glory shed thereon by the Great Captain, Spain has not been distinguished; surely not as France, England, and even the Low Countries. But her geographical position is an important one — between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. At the time in question her population was great, perhaps nearly twice that of England, and she played an important part in the affairs of Europe, while England had little to do with the continent. Spain was connected with the Arabs, for some centuries the most civilized people in Europe; hence she came in contact with industry, skill, and riches, with letters and with art, and enjoyed opportunities denied to all the other nations of Europe. For her subsequent rank among nations, Spain is indebted to two events, which, as they did not come

from the genius of the people, may be called accidental. One was the connection with the house of Austria, the singular circumstance which placed the united crowns of Castile and Arragon on the same head which bore the imperial diadem of Germany. This accident gave a lustre to Spain in the age of Charles the Fifth and his successor. But the other cause, seemingly more accidental, has given Spain a place in history which nothing else could have done — the fact that when the Genoese navigator first crossed the Atlantic, the Spanish flag was at his mast-head.

Mr. Prescott writes of Spain at her most important period, at the time when the two monarchies of Castile and Arragon, were blent into one; when the Moors were conquered and expelled; the Inquisition established; the Jews driven out; the old Laws revised; a new world discovered, conquered, settled, its nations put to slavery, Christianity, or death; an age when Negro Slavery, Christianity, and the Inquisition first visited this western world. Not only has the historian a great age to delineate and great events to deal with, — a new continent to describe, a new race to report on, their origin, character, language, literature, art, manners, and religion, — but, to enliven his picture, he has great men to portray. We will not speak of Ferdinand, Isabella, and Charles the Fifth, who pass often before us in kingly grandeur; but there are Gonsalvo, Ximenes, and Columbus, here are Cortes and Pizarro.

Few historians have had an age so noble to describe; a theme so rich in events, in ideas, and in men; an opportunity so fortunate to present the lessons of History to ages yet to come. The author has this further advantage: he lives far enough from the age he writes of to be beyond its bigotry and its rage. The noises of a city hardly reach the top of a steeple; all the din of battle is hushed and still far below the top of Mont Blanc; and so in a few years the passions, the heat, the dust, the rage and noises of kings and nations are all silenced and lost in the immeasurable stillness which settles down upon the Past. If the thinker pauses from his busy thought, and after a year or so returns thither again, how clear it all becomes! So is it with mankind: the problems of that age are no problems now; what could not then be settled with all the noise of parliaments and of arms, in the after-silence of mankind has got its solution. Yet Mr. Prescott does not live so far from the time he treats of that genius alone has

power to recall the faded images thereof, to disquiet and bring it up again to life. Yet he lives so remote that he can judge counsels by their consequences as easily as by their cause; can judge theories, laws, institutions, and great men by the influence they have had on the world, — by their seal and signal mark. In addition to these advantages, he lives in a land where there is no censorship of the press; where the body is free, and the mind free, and the conscience free — to him who will. His position and his theme are both enviable; giving an Historian of the greatest genius scope for all his powers.

To judge only from his writings, Mr. Prescott is evidently a man with a certain niceness of literary culture not very common in America; of a careful if not exact scholarship in the languages and literature of Italy and Spain. Perhaps he cannot boast a very wide acquaintance with literature, ancient or modern, but is often nice and sometimes critical in his learning. He is one of the few Americans not oppressed by the *Res angusta domi*, who devote themselves to literature; to a life of study and the self-denial it demands in all countries, and eminently here, where is no literary class to animate the weary man. His quotations indicate a wealthy library — his own fortune enabling him to procure books which are rare even in Spain itself. Where printed books fail, manuscripts, also, have been diligently sought. He writes in a mild and amiable spirit: if he differ from other historians, he empties no vials of wrath upon their heads. He always shows himself a Gentleman of Letters, treating his companions with agreeable manners and courtesy the most amiable. Few lines in these volumes appear marked with any asperity, or dictated in any sourness of temper. These few we shall pass upon in their place.

Within less than thirteen years eight volumes have appeared from his hand; the first evidently the work of many years, but the last five volumes reveal a diligence and ability to work not common amongst the few literary gentlemen of America. Labor under disadvantages always commands admiration. How many have read with throbbing heart the lives of men pursuing "knowledge under difficulties;" yet such men often had one advantage which no wealth could give, no colleges and guidance of accomplished men supply — an able Intellect and the unconquerable Will: but Mr. Prescott has pursued his labors under well known difficulties, which might make the stout-

est quail. These things considered, no fair man can fail to honor the accomplished author, and to rejoice in the laurels so beautifully won and worn with modesty and grace.

After this long preamble, let us now examine the three works before us, and see how the author has done the high duties of an Historian. Treating of this great theme, we shall speak of the three works in their chronological order, and examine in turn the History of Spain, of Mexico, and of Peru, in each case speaking of the Substance of the work, first in details, then as a whole — and next of its Form. The remainder of this article will be devoted to the History of Ferdinand and Isabella.

To understand what was done by Ferdinand and Isabella, we must know what had been achieved before their time, — must take the national account of stock. This Mr. Prescott undertakes in his Introduction, (Vol. I., pp. XXIX. — CXXIV.,) but he fails to render an adequate account of the condition of Castile and Arragon, and of course it is not easy for the reader to appreciate the changes that subsequently were made therein.

To be a little more specific: his account of the condition of the Law is meagre and inadequate; the history of the Reform and Codification of laws poor and hardly intelligible (Part I., Ch. VI.); and though he returns upon the theme in the general account of the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, (Part II., Ch. XXVI.) still it is not well and adequately done. What he says of the Cortes of Castile and that of Arragon does not give one a clear idea of the actual condition and power of those bodies. He does not tell us by whom and how the members were chosen to their office; how long they held it, and on what condition. The reader wonders at the meagreness of this important portion of the work, especially when such materials lay ready before his hands. After all, we find a more complete and intelligible account of the Constitution, of the Laws, and of the administration of justice in the brief chapter of Mr. Hallam's work than in this elaborate history. Nay, the work of Mr. Dunham, written for the *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, written apparently in haste, and not always in good temper — gives a far better account of that matter than Mr. Prescott. This is a serious defect, and one not to be anticipated in an Historian who in this country undertakes to describe to us the ancient administration of a foreign

land. With a sigh the student remembers the masterly chapter of Gibbon which treats of the administration of justice and of the Roman Law, a chapter which made a new era in the study of the subject itself, and longs for some one to guide him in this difficult and crooked path. With the exception of the *Code of the Visigoths*, the *Fuero Juzgo*, and the *Siete Partidas*, works of Spanish Law, or treating thereof, are in but few hands: Marina, Zuaznavar, and Garcia de la Madrid can be but little known in England or America; for information the general scholar must here depend on the historian; considering the important place that Spanish legislation has held, the wide reach of the Spanish dominion on both continents, it was particularly needful to have in this work a clear, thorough, and masterly digest of this subject.

In speaking of the Revenue of the Kingdom, Mr. Prescott does not inform us how it was collected, nor from what sources. (Introduction, Sect. I. and II. and Part I., Ch. VI.) We are told that the king had his royal demesnes, that on some occasions one fifth of the spoils of war belonged to him, and it appears that a certain proportion of the proceeds of the mines was his — but there is no systematic or methodical account of the Revenues. True, he tells us that Isabella obtains money by mortgaging her real estate and pawning her personal property (Part I., Ch. XIV.); afterwards it appears, accidentally, that two ninths of the tithes, *Tercias*, formed a part of the royal income. (Part II., Ch. I., p. 283.) We are told that the Revenues increased thirty fold during this administration. (Part II., Ch. XXVI., p. 484.) It is mentioned as a proof of sagacity in the ruler and of the welfare of the people — but we are not told whence they were derived, and it appears that in 1504 the single city of Seville paid nearly one sixth of the whole revenue.* In a note he tells us that the bulk of the crown revenue came from the *Tercias* and the *Alcavalas*. The latter was an odious tax of ten per cent. on all articles bought, sold, or transferred. Mr. Prescott tells us it was commuted — but how or for what he does not say. (Part II., Ch. XXVI., p. 438.)

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* Mr. Prescott says *near a tenth*. This is probably a clerical or typographical error. The whole amount is given in the authority as 209,500,000 maravedis, of which Seville paid 30,971,096.

Armies figure largely in any history of Spain, but it is in vain that we ask of Mr. Prescott how the armies were raised, and on what principle, the modern or the feudal; how they were equipped, paid, fed, and clothed. He often dwells upon battles, telling us who commanded on the right or the left; can describe at length the tournament of Trani, and the duel between Bayard and Sotomayor — but he nowhere gives us a description of the Military Estate of the realm, and nowhere relates the general plan of a campaign. This, also, is a serious defect in any history, especially in that of a nation of the fifteenth century — a period of transition. He does not inform us of the state of Industry, Trade, and Commerce, or touch, except incidentally, upon the effect of the laws thereon. Yet during this reign the laws retarded industry in all its forms, to a great degree. Soon after the discovery of America, Spain forbade the exportation of gold and silver, and, as Don Clemencin says, "our industry would have died from apoplexy of money, if the observance of the laws established in this matter had not been sufficient for its ruin." At a later date it was forbidden to export even the raw material of silk and wool. "Spain," says M. Blanqui, the latest writer on the political economy of that country that we have seen — "is the country of all Europe where the rashest and most cruel experiments have been made at the expense of industry, which has almost always been treated as a foe, managed to the death (*exploitée à l'outrance*) instead of being protected by the Government, and regarded as a thing capable of taxation, rather than a productive element." Restrictions were laid not only on intercourse with foreign nations, but on the traffic between province and province, and a tax, sometimes an enormous one, the *Alcavala*, was collected from the sale of all articles whatever. "Members of the legal and military profession," says M. Blanqui, "affected the most profound contempt for every form of industry. Any man who exercised a trade was disgraced for life. A noble who ventured to work lost his privilege of nobility, and brought his family to shame. No town accepted an artisan for its alcalde; the Cortes of Arragon, says Marina, never admitted to their assembly a deputy who came from the industrial class. You would think you were reading Aristotle and Cicero when you find in the writers, and even in the laws of Spain, those haughty expressions of contempt for the men who bow their faces towards the earth, and stoop to smite the anvil, or tend a loom."

Mr. Prescott does not notice the Condition of the People, except in terms the most general and vague. Yet great changes were taking place at that time in the condition of the laboring class. He does not even tell us what relation the peasantry bore to the soil; how they held it, by what tenure; for what time; what relation they bore to the nobles and the knights. In Castile Mr. Hallam says there was no villanage. Mr. Prescott gives us no explanation of the fact, and does not mention the fact itself. In Catalonia a portion of the peasantry passed out of the condition of vassalage, — Mariana calls them Pageses, others Vassals de Remenza, — to that of conditional freedom, by paying an annual tax to their former owner, or to entire freedom by the payment of a sum twenty times as large. This was an important event in the civil history of Spain. Mr. Prescott barely relates the fact. From other sources we have learned, we know not how truly, that no artisan was allowed in the Cortes of Arragon, that only nobles were eligible to certain offices there, and no nobles were taxed.

In all this History there are no pictures from the lives of the humble, — yet a glimpse into the cottage of a peasant, or even at the beggary of Spain in the fifteenth century, would be instructive, and help a stranger to understand the nation. Much is said, indeed, of the wealthier class, of the nobles, and of the clergy, but we find it impossible from this History alone to form a complete idea of their position in the kingdom; of their relation to one another, to the People, or the crown; of the number of the clergy, of their education, their character, their connection with the nobles or the people, of their general influence — he has nothing to tell us. He pays little regard to the progress of society; to advances made in the comforts of life, in the means of journeying from place to place. Now and then it is said that the roads were in bad order, and so a march was delayed; even at this day the means of internal communication are so poor, the roads so few and impracticable, that some provinces lie in a state of almost entire isolation. Says M. Blanqui, "More than one province of Spain could be mentioned which is more inaccessible than the greater part of our most advanced positions in Africa." "Castile and Catalonia differ as much as Russia and Germany, and the inhabitants of Gallicia do not undertake the journey to Andalusia so often as the French that to Constantinople."

A philosophical inquirer wants information on all these sub-

jects, and the general reader has no authority but histories like this. It cannot be said that Mr. Prescott feared to encumber his work with such details, and make his volumes too numerous or big. He has space to spare for frivolous details; he can describe the pageant afforded by the royal pair in the camp before Moclin, in 1486; can tell us that "the queen herself rode a chestnut mule, seated on a saddle chair embossed with gold and silver;" that "the housings were of a crimson color, and the bridles of satin were curiously wrought with letters of gold;" that "the Infanta wore a skirt of fine velvet over others of brocade; a scarlet mantilla of the Moorish fashion, and a black hat trimmed with gold embroidery," and that the king "was dressed in a crimson doublet with *chausses* or breeches of yellow satin. Over his shoulders was thrown a cassock or mantilla of rich brocade, and a sopra vest of the same material concealed his cuirass. By his side, close girt, he wore a Moorish scymitar, and beneath his bonnet his hair was confined by a cap or headdress of the finest stuff. Ferdinand was mounted on a noble war-horse of a bright chestnut color." (Part I., Ch. XI., p. 401, et seq.)

The account of the Inquisition is eminently unsatisfactory. No adequate motive is assigned for it, no sufficient cause. It stands in this book as a thing with consequences enough, and bad enough, but no cause; you know not why it came. Mr. Prescott treats Catholicism fairly. We do not remember a line in these volumes which seems dictated by anti-Catholic bigotry. He has no sympathy with the Inquisition; he looks on it with manly aversion; but he treats the subject with little ability, not showing how subtly the Inquisition worked, undermining the Church and the State, and corrupting life in its most sacred sources. Who made the Inquisition; for what purpose was its machinery set a-going; what effect did it have on the whole nation?—these are questions which it was Mr. Prescott's business to answer, but which, as we think, he has failed to answer. Whosoever brought it to pass, there is little doubt but it gained Ferdinand and Isabella the title of Catholic. But our historian does not like to lay the blame on them; they are the heroes of his story. Ferdinand may indeed be blamed,—it were difficult in this century to write and not blame him; but Isabella must not be censured for this—her heroism is to be spotless. The Spirit of Chivalry in our author is too strong for the Spirit of Humanity. He thinks Ferdinand

may have had political motives for establishing the Inquisition, but Isabella only religious motives for its establishment in Castile. (Part I., Ch. VII., p. 246.) Certainly there was a great blame somewhere: it falls not on the People, who had neither the ability nor the will to establish it; nor on the Aristocracy of nobles and rich men, — they had much to lose, and little to gain; it was always hateful to them. The Priests, no doubt, were in favor of the Inquisition, but they could not have introduced it; nay, could have had little influence in bringing it about if the crown had opposed it. Ferdinand and Isabella were no slaves to the priesthood; they knew how to favor the interests of the Church when it served their turn; but no forehead was more brazen, no hand more iron than theirs, to confront and put down any insolence of sacerdotal power. Isabella did not favor the old Archbishop of Toledo; she abridged the power of the priests; nay, that of the Pope, and easily seized from him what other monarchs had long clutched at in vain. She allowed no appeals to him. (Part I., Ch. XII., p. 4; Ch. XV., p. 84. Part II., Ch. XXVI., pp. 435, 436, 437.) The Pragmaticas of Isabella tended to restrict the power of the clergy and of the Pope within narrower limits than before. Ferdinand and Isabella are the very parties to be blamed for the Inquisition: if so enlightened above their age, the more to be blamed; if cool-headed and far-sighted, they deserve more reproach; if Isabella were so religious as it is contended, then the severest censure is to be pronounced against her. It was only thirty-six years before the Reformation that she introduced the Inquisition to Castile. It is idle to lay the blame on Torquemada (Part I., Ch. VII., p. 247, et al.); we profess no great veneration for this genuine son of Saint Dominic, but let him answer for his own sins, not his master's. We cannot but think history is unjust in painting Isabella so soft and fair, while her Inquisitor-General is portrayed in the blackest colors, and she, with all her intelligence, charity, and piety, puts the necks of the people into his remorseless hands. Ferdinand and Isabella were not fools, to be deluded by a priest, however cunning. It seems to us that the Inquisition must be set down to their account, and should cover them both with shame; that as James the Second is to be blamed for Jeffries and the bloody assizes, so are Ferdinand and Isabella for Torquemada and the Inquisition. Mr. Prescott admits the most obvious and pernicious cruelties thereof, but has not the heart to trace the evil

to its source. It is the fashion of certain writers to dwell with delight on every fault committed by the masses of men. What eloquent denunciation have we heard on the "horrid crimes of the old French Revolution": "horrid crimes" they were, and let them be denounced; but when the writers come to butcheries done by the masters of mankind, they have no voice to denounce such atrocities. Yet both equally proceed from the same maxim — that Might is Right. Llorente may be wrong in the numbers who suffered by the Inquisition; perhaps there were not 13,000 burned alive at the stake, and 191,143 who suffered other tortures. Suppose there were but half that number — nay, a tenth part; still it is enough to cover any monarch in Europe, since the twelfth century, with shame. Grant that Torquemada projected the scheme; the fact that Isabella allowed it to be executed shows that she was of soul akin to her infamous ancestor, Peter the Cruel, and deserves the sharp censure of every just historian.

We come next to speak of the Moors and Jews. At the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, there were in Spain two distinct tribes of men. On the one side were the descendants of the Visigoths, one of the new nations who had appeared in history not many centuries before, and united with the existing population of Spain, as the Romans had formerly united with the settlers they found there; on the other side were two nations, descended, as it is said, from Abram, the mythological ancestor of numerous tribes of Asia, the Moors and the Jews. Both of these nations had been for centuries distinguished for their civilization; they had long dwelt on the same soil with the Spaniards, and if we may believe the tale, few families of the Spanish nobility were quite free from all Moorish or all Hebrew taint. A philosophical Historian would find an attractive theme in the meeting of nations so diverse in origin, language, manners, and religion, as the sons of the East and the West. It would be curious to trace the effects of their union; to learn what the Hebrews and the Moors had brought to Spain and what they established there; how much had been gained by this mingling of races, which, as some think, is a perpetual condition of national progress. The Jews were not barbarians — they are commonly superior to the class they mingle with in all countries. The Moors were amongst the most enlightened nations of Europe: they had done much to promote the common industrial arts, the higher

arts of beauty; they had practised agriculture and the mechanic arts with skill and science, for, unlike the Spaniards, they were not ashamed of work; they had fostered science and letters; on their hearth had kept the sacred fire snatched from the altar of the Muses before their temple went to the ground, and still fed and watched its flame, in some ages almost alone the guardians of that vestal fire. The English reader familiar with Gibbon's account of the Arabian race,—a chapter not without its faults, but which even now must still be called masterly,—looks for something not inferior in this history, where the occasion equally demands it. But he looks in vain. The chapter which treats of the Spanish Arabs, (Part I., Ch. VIII.,) though not without merit, is hardly worthy of a place in a history written in this age of the world.

After the two chief monarchies of Spain were practically united into one, it was not to be expected that the Catholic sovereigns would allow so fair a portion of the peninsula to remain in the hands of the Moors. They had only been there on sufferance, and seem never to have recovered from their terrible defeat in 1210. Spanish sovereigns, with the spirit of that age, would wish to subdue the Moors — Christians, the "Infidels"; and when such feelings exist an occasion for war is not long to seek. The conquest of a rich kingdom like that of Granada, with a high civilization, is an affair of much importance; the expulsion of a whole people, in modern times, though still meditated by men whom the chances of an election bring to the top of society in Republican America, is an unusual thing, and in this case it was barbarous not less than unusual.

Mr. Prescott does justice to the industry, intelligence, skill, and general civilization of the Moors; while he points out defects and blemishes in their institutions with no undue severity, he has yet just and beautiful things to say of them. But he glozes over the injustice shown towards them, and averts the sympathy of the reader for the suffering nation by the remark, that "they had long since reached their utmost limit of advancement as a people;" "that during the latter period of their existence, they appear to have reposed in a state of torpid and luxurious indulgence, which would seem to argue that when causes of external excitement were withdrawn, the inherent vices of their social institutions had incapacitated them from the further production of excellence." Then he puts the blame — if blame there be — on Providence, and

says, "In this impotent condition, it was wisely ordered that their territory should be occupied by a people whose religion and more liberal form of government . . . qualified them for advancing still higher the interests of humanity." (Part I., Ch. xv., p. 105, et seq.) Mr. Prescott elsewhere speaks with manly and becoming indignation of the conduct of Ximenes, who burnt the elegant libraries of the Moors; yet he has not censure enough, it seems to us, for the barbarous edict which drove the Moors into hypocrisy or exile.

The expulsion of the Jews is treated of in the same spirit: the blame is laid in part on the Priests, on Torquemada, and in part on the spirit of the age. Both were bad enough, no doubt, but if Ferdinand and Isabella, as represented, were before their age in statesmanship, and the latter far in advance of its religion, we see not how they can be shielded from blame. It is the duty of an Historian to measure men by the general standard of their times,—certainly we are not to expect the morals of the nineteenth century from one who lived in the ninth; but it is also the Historian's duty to criticize that spirit, and when a superior man rises, he must not be judged merely by the low standard of his age, but the absolute standard of all ages. Such a judgment we seldom find in this work. Many acts of these princes show that they were short-sighted. Allowing Isabella's zeal for the Church, which is abundantly proved, it must yet be confessed that she possessed its worst qualities—Bigotry, Intolerance, and Cruelty—in what might be called the heroic degree. Ferdinand cared little for any interest but his own. We doubt, after all, if it was love of the Church which expelled the Moors and the Jews, and think it was a love yet more vulgar; namely, the love of plunder. He hit the nail on the head who declared that uncounted numbers of Jews were richer than Christians—*innumeri* [*Judæorum*] *Christianis ditiores.* The Jews displayed their usual firmness in refusing to pretend to be converted, but their resolution to adhere to the faith of their fathers and their conscience meets with but scanty praise from our author, living under institutions formed by religious exiles, though he calls it "an extraordinary act of self-devotion."

Mr. Prescott's defence of Isabella does little honor to his head or heart, but is in harmony with the general tone of the history. The Catholic sovereign thus struck a deadly blow at the industry of the nation. The Moors had almost created agriculture in Spain; they had founded the most important

manufactures — that of silk, wool, leather, and of tempered steel. They were ingenious mechanics and excellent artists. Since that time foreigners have braved the national prejudice against manual work. It was the Flemish and the Italians who reëstablished the manufacture of tapestry, of woollen goods, and of work in wood; and more recently the English and French have engaged there in the manufacture of linen, cotton, and mixed goods. In the time of Louis XIV., more than seventy-five thousand Frenchmen had gone to settle in Spain.

Mr. Prescott's account of the Literature of Spain has been much admired, not wholly without reason. The chapters (Part I., Ch. XIX. and XX.,) which treat of the Castilian literature were certainly needed for the completeness of the work. Every body knows how much Mr. Schlosser adds to the value of his Histories, by his laborious examination of the literature, science, and art of the nations he describes. To know a nation's deeds, we must understand its thoughts. "It will be necessary," says Mr. Prescott, "in order to complete the view of the internal administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, to show its operation on the intellectual culture of the nation. . . . It is particularly deserving of note in the present reign, which stimulated the active development of the national energies in every department of science, and which forms a leading epoch in the ornamental literature of the country. The present and following chapter will embrace the mental progress of the kingdom, . . . through the whole of Isabella's reign, in order to exhibit as far as possible its entire results." (Part I., Ch. XIX., p. 184, et seq.)

The education of Isabella was neglected in her youth, and, at a mature age, she undertook to supply her defects, and studied with such success, says one of her contemporaries, that "in less than a year her admirable genius enabled her to obtain so good a knowledge of the Latin tongue that she could understand without much difficulty what was written or spoken in it." She took pains with the education of her own children, and those of the nobility. She invited Peter Martyr and Marinæo Siculo to aid in educating the nobility, which they readily did. Mr. Prescott mentions the names of several noblemen who engaged zealously in the pursuit of letters. "No Spaniard," says Giovio, "was accounted noble who held science in indifference." Men of distinguished birth

were eager, we are told, to lead the way in Science. Lords, also, of illustrious rank, lent their influence to the cause of good letters: one lady, called La Latina, instructed the Queen in the Roman tongue; another lectured on the Latin classics, at Salamanca, and a third on Rhetoric, at Alcalá. Yet, spite of all this royal zeal, this feminine and noble attention to letters, Mr. Prescott confesses that little progress was made in the poetic art since the beginning of the century. One cause thereof he finds in the rudeness of the language, which certainly had not become more rude during the progress of so much Latinity and Rhetoric; — and another "in the direction to utility manifested in this active reign, which led such as had leisure for intellectual pursuits to cultivate science rather than abandon themselves to the mere revels of the imagination." (p. 229.)

Let us look at this subject a little more in detail, and see what opportunities Spain had for intellectual culture, what use she made of them, what results were obtained, and how Mr. Prescott has described "the mental progress of the nation."

The Arabians, as we have twice said before, were for some time the most enlightened nation in the world; they cultivated arts, the useful and the elegant, with singular success; they diligently studied Physics and Metaphysics; they pursued Literature, and have left behind them numerous proofs of their zeal, if not of their genius. There was a time when the great classic masters of Science were almost forgotten by the Christians, but carefully studied and held in honor by the disciples of Mahomet. Men of other nations sought instruction in their schools, or sat at the feet of their sages, or studied and translated their works. By means of their vicinity to the Moorish Arabs, the Spaniards had an excellent opportunity to cultivate science and letters, but they made little use of those advantages. Robert and Daniel Morley, Campano, Athelhard, Gerbert of Aurillac, (afterwards Sylvester II.,) and others, earned from the Arabian masters; but there were few or no Spaniards of any eminence who took pains to study the thought of their Mahometan neighbours.

It seems to us that Mr. Prescott a good deal overrates the literary tendency of the Spaniards under Ferdinand and Isabella. It is true, at that time a great movement of thought went on in the rest of Europe. The capture of Constantinople drove the Greek scholars from their ancient home; the printing-press diffused the Scriptures, the ancient laws, the old

classics, spreading new thought rapidly and wide. Literature and Philosophy were studied with great vigor. This new movement appeared in Italy, in Switzerland, in Germany, and France — even in England. But in Spain we find few and inconsiderable traces thereof. Mr. Prescott cites Erasmus for the fact that "liberal studies were brought in the course of a few years, in Spain, to so flourishing a condition, as might not only excite the admiration but serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe." (p. 202.) But it deserves to be remembered that Erasmus made this statement in a letter to a Spanish professor at the University of Alcalá, and besides, founds his praise on the religion as much as on the learning of the country. In a former letter he had said that the study of literature had been neglected in Germany to such a degree that men would not take learning if offered them for nothing, — "nobody was willing to hear the professors who were supported at the public charge." But elsewhere Erasmus knows how to say that in Germany their "schools of learning were numerous as the towns." But this is of small importance.

It is certain that Ferdinand and Isabella did something to promote the literary culture of their people; yet it had not been wholly neglected before the University of Huesca (Osca) was certainly old. Plutarch, in his Life of Sertorius, informs us that the Roman general founded a school there, and some one says that Pontius Pilate was a "Professor Juris" — utriusque juris, we suppose — on that foundation; Spaniards may believe the story. The University of Seville was founded in 990; that of Valencia in 1200, or about that time; that of Salamanca in 1239, — though some place it earlier and some much later; universities had been founded at Lerida and Valladolid in the fourteenth century. This statement may read well on paper, but it is plain that universities had done little to enlighten the nation, — otherwise Cardinal Ximenes had never celebrated that *auto da fe* with the Arabian libraries.

Queen Isabella, we are told, encouraged the introduction of printing into Spain, and caused many of the works of her own subjects to be printed at her own charge; that she exempted a German printer from taxation, and allowed foreign books to be imported free of duty. But more than twenty years elapsed after the discovery of the art before we hear of a single printing-press in the kingdom; and during the whole of the fifteenth century we cannot find that four hundred

editions were printed in all Spain, while during that period the press of Florence had sent forth five hundred and fifty-three, that of Milan six hundred and eighty-three, that of Paris seven hundred and fifty-seven, Rome nine hundred and fifty-three, Venice three thousand one hundred and thirty-seven. The little city of Strasburg alone had published more than the whole kingdom of Spain. About fifteen thousand editions were printed in the last thirty years of that century. The character of the works printed in Spain is significant; — first of all comes a collection of songs in honor of the Virgin, setting forth the miraculous conception. It is true, a translation of the Bible into the Limousin dialect was printed at Valencia in 1478, but during the fifteenth century we do not find that a single edition of the Vulgate, or of the Civil Law was printed in all Spain, though no less than ninety-eight editions of the Latin Bible came forth from the presses of Europe.

Mr. Prescott professes to describe the mental progress of the nation. To accomplish this, the Historian must tell us the result of what was done in Law — in the study of the Roman, the National, and the Canon Law, for all three have been important elements in the development of the Spanish nation; what was done in Physics; in Metaphysics, including Ethics and Theology; and in General Literature. Now Mr. Prescott, in this examination, passes entirely over the first three departments, and bestows his labor wholly upon the last. It is true, he treats of the alteration of the laws in his last chapter, but in a brief and unsatisfactory style. Yet he had before told us that the attention of studious men was directed to Science, and it is elsewhere asserted that much was done in this reign for the reformation and codification of the Laws. It would be interesting to the mere reader and highly important to the philosophical student who wishes to understand the mental progress of Spain, to know how much the Roman Law was studied; how much the Canon Law, and what modifications were made thereby in the national institutions themselves — by whom, and with what effect. After all that has been written of late years, it would not be difficult, certainly not impossible, to do this. The publication of *Las Siete Partidas* for the first time in 1491, twenty years after the accession of Isabella to the throne, was an important event; the legal labors of Alfonso de Montalvo deserved some notice; the celebrated *Consolato del Mare*, which has had so important an

influence on the maritime laws of Europe and America, and first got printed during this reign, certainly required some notice, even in a brief sketch of the intellectual history of that reign. In all Catholic countries the study of the Canon Law is of great importance, but during the fifteenth century, though more than forty editions thereof got printed in other parts of Europe, we do not find one in Spain.

In Science, including the Mathematics and all departments of Physics, the Spanish did little. Yet circumstances were uncommonly favorable: the conquest of Granada put them in possession of the libraries of the Moors, which were destined only to the flames; under the guidance of Columbus, they discovered new lands and had ample opportunities to study the Geography, Zoölogy, and Botany of countries so inviting to the naturalist. But nothing was done. It is true, Andres, with his national prejudices, undertakes to mention some names that are illustrious in Medicine — but Piquer and Lampillas, Monardes, Cristoforo da Costa, Laguna, "the Spanish Galen," and the rest that he mentions, may be celebrated throughout all Spain and even in La Mancha: we think they are but little known elsewhere. In the departments of Geography and Astronomy the Spanish accomplished nothing worthy of mention.

In Metaphysics and Ethics there are no Spanish names before the sixteenth century — few even then; Scholastic Philosophy, which once prevailed so widely in the West of Europe, seems not to have found a footing in the Peninsula. In the tenth century Gerbert went to Spain to learn Philosophy of the Arabs; in the eleventh, Constantinus Africanus communicated its doctrines to the world; in the twelfth and thirteenth, Athelhard of Bath, called Athelhard the Goth, Gherard, Otho of Frisingen, Michael Scott, and others, filled Europe with translations of Arabian authors. But Spain did nothing.

In Theology the Spaniards have but one work to show of any note, which dates from the period in question. The *Complutensian Polyglot* was a great work; but to achieve that nothing was needed but great wealth and the labors of a few learned and diligent men. The wealth was abundant, and flowed at the Cardinal's command; the treasures of the Vatican and of all the libraries of Europe were freely offered; the manuscripts of the Jews in Spain were at Ximenes' command; the services of accomplished scholars could easily be

bought. Learned Greeks there were in the South of Europe, seeking for bread. Of the nine men who were engaged in this undertaking, one was a Greek and three were Jews—of course converted Jews. Artists came from Germany to cast the types for the printing. Mr. Prescott exaggerates the difficulty of the undertaking: the scholars could be had, the manuscripts borrowed or bought; indeed, so poorly was the matter conducted, that some manuscripts, purchased at great cost, came too late for use. Mr. Prescott says, "There were no types in Spain, if indeed in any part of Europe, in the Oriental character," but only three alphabets were needed in the Polyglot—the Roman, the Greek, and the Hebrew. The two first were common enough, even in Spain; and in various parts of Europe, before the end of the fifteenth century, no less than thirty-nine editions had been printed of the whole or a part of the Hebrew Bible. The *Complutensian Polyglot* is indeed a valuable work, but at this day few men will contend that in the Old Testament it has a text better than the edition at Soncino, or that the Complutensian New Testament is better than that of Erasmus. Indeed, we hazard nothing in saying that Erasmus, a single scholar and a private man, often in want of money, did more to promote the study of the Scriptures and the revival of letters than Cardinal Ximenes and all Spain put together,—and never burnt up a library of manuscripts because they were not orthodox.

All these matters, except the Polyglot, Mr. Prescott passes over with few words, in his sketch of the mental progress of Spain in her golden age. While France, Germany, Italy, and England made rapid strides in their mental progress, Spain did little—little in Law, little in Science, in Theology little. But Mr. Prescott writes in a pleasing style about another portion of the Literature of Spain, which is, after all, her most characteristic production in letters—her Ballads and the Drama. The *Redondilla* is the most distinctive production of the Spanish muse. The Ballads of Spain are unlike those of England, of Scotland, and of Germany, in many respects, yet bear the same relation to the genius of the people. They grew up in the wild soil of the Peninsula; no royal or ecclesiastical hand was needed to foster them. Beautiful they are,—the wild flowers of the field,—but under the eye of Isabella they began to droop and wither; no new plants came up so fair and fragrant as the old. Why not? The life of the people was trodden down by the hoof of the Priest

whom Isabella had sent to his work. The language was rude, says Mr. Prescott. That hindered not; Burns found a rude speech in Auld Scotland, but the verses he sung in "hamely westlin jingle" will live longer than the well filed lines of Pope. Rudeness of language hindered not the genius of Chaucer, of Hans Sachs. Mr. Prescott had small space to note the alteration of laws, the change of social systems, or the progress of civilization in Spain, but he has some twenty pages to bestow upon the Drama, and gives us an analysis of the "Tragicomedy of Celestina, or Calisto and Melibea," spending four pages upon such a work. A philosophical reader would consent to spare all mention of Encina, Naharro, Oliva, Cota, and even Fernando de Roxas, if in the place which they but cumber there had been an account of the real thought, manners, and life of the nation. Far be it from us to complain of the time and space allotted to the popular literature of Spain, — the chapters are the best of the work; but one familiar with that delightful growth laments that the historian made no better use of his materials to indicate the life, character, and sentiments of the people.

Mr. Prescott overrates the excellence of Queen Isabella. The character of Ferdinand was so atrocious that it admits of no defence. Shall it be said the age was distinguished for fraud, double-dealing, perfidy, and hypocrisy? It affords no good defence, for it was in these very qualities that Ferdinand surpassed his age. He was a tyrannical king; a treacherous ally; a master whom no servant could trust; a faithless husband in the life of Queen Isabella, and false to her memory after her death. Few will deny that he had some ability and some knowledge of kingcraft, though we think his powers and political foresight have been somewhat overrated. The great men of the realm he used as his servants, but when they acquired renown he endeavoured to ruin them; cast them off neglected and covered with dishonor. His treatment of Columbus, Gonsalvo, or of Ximenes, would have been a disgrace to any prince in Christendom. He was no friend to the nobility, and quite as little the friend of his people; he did not favor commerce or the arts; no, nor letters and science. His zeal for religion appears chiefly in the expulsion of the Moors and the Jews. Isabella had some natural repugnance to the establishment of slavery in America, but Ferdinand had none. Mr. Prescott, who is not blind to his faults, says truly, "His

was the spirit of egotism. The circle of his views might be more or less expanded, but self was the steady, unchangeable centre."

Mr. Prescott censures Ferdinand, but it seems to us for the purpose of making a contrast with Isabella, quite as much as in reference to the unchangeable laws of morality; the effects of his character on the institutions of his country and the welfare of his people he does not point out in a manner worthy of an historian. Let us turn to Isabella. "Her character," he says, "was all magnanimity, disinterestedness, and deep devotion to the interest of the people." (Vol. III., p. 398.) "Isabella, discarding all the petty artifices of state policy and pursuing the noblest ends by the noblest means, stands far above her age;" "she was solicitous for every thing that concerned the welfare of her people." This is high praise; but laying aside the rules of Chivalry let us look in the spirit of Humanity. The great political work of this reign was the establishment of National Unity of Action. Spain had been divided into many kingdoms; the separate provinces of each had been united by a feeble tie; the power of the King was resisted and diminished by the authority of the great Barons, and thus the nation was distracted, and its power weakened. Under these sovereigns the different kingdoms were formed into one; the several provinces were closely united, the great Barons were humbled and brought into dependence upon the throne; and thus National Unity of Action established by the might of a great central power. To accomplish this work, the first thing to be done, after the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, was to diminish the power of the nobles. The same problem was getting solved in other countries at the same time. In some countries, as the nobles lost power, the cities, with their charters, gained it; the communes, the guilds, in short, the people, in one form or another, got an increase of political power. But in Spain it was not so. As power receded from the nobles, it fell into the hands of the king. The people only gained domestic tranquillity, not practical political power, or the theoretic recognition of their rights. Ferdinand and Isabella were both jealous of the Cortes. Once, when Isabella wanted the Cortes of Arragon to declare her daughter their future sovereign, and they refused, she exclaimed, "It would be better to reduce the country by arms at once than endure this insolence of the Cortes." (Part II., Ch. II., p. 362.) After Isabella's death Ferdinand for a long

time neglected to convene the Cortes. (Vol. III., p. 284.) Once he obtained a dispensation from the Pope, allowing him to cancel his engagement with the Cortes. (Ibid., p. 393, note 53.) In the first two years of her reign, Isabella called three meetings of the Cortes — of the popular branch alone. The motive was plain: she wanted to reduce the power of the nobles, and the commons were the appropriate tool. After this work was done, the sessions became rare. She made the Hermandad take the place of the Cortes, to the great detriment of popular liberty. But in 1506 the foolish Cortes, either incited by the court or stimulated by the Spanish desire of monopoly, complained that the right of representation was extended too far. Both Ferdinand and Isabella "were averse to meetings of the Cortes in Castile oftener than absolutely necessary, and both took care on such occasions to have their own agents near the deputies to influence their proceedings," (Part II., Ch. XXVI., p. 444, note 34,) and to make the deputies understand that they had not so much power as they fancied. If Isabella had all the superlative qualities which Mr. Prescott and others, also, ascribe to her, the result must have been different.

We will not deny that Isabella did much for the nation — much to establish internal tranquillity; much to promote the security of property and person. The first thing mentioned by Don Clemencin — the restoration of the currency from its debased condition — if taken alone, was highly important. She elevated men of worth to high stations, though they were men of mean birth; doubtless this was done in part to show the nobles that she could dispense with them in places which they had long monopolized; still she knew how to distinguish between the accidents and the substance of a man, and chose her counsellors accordingly. Her management of the affairs of the Church displayed no little skill and much energy. She kept the Church from the incursions of the Pope, — a task not so difficult as it would have been a century or two before, for the papal power was visibly on the wane; still, on the whole, we must confess that she did little to elevate the religious character of the clergy or the people.

Did she encourage letters and establish printing-presses? few great works were published in Spain: the Lives of Saints, treatises in honor of the Virgin, books of "Sacred Offices," and fulminations against Moors, Jews, and heretics; Papal Bulls, and the works of Raymond Lully — such were the books

which the Spaniards printed and devoured in the fifteenth century. The works of Sallust were the most important works issued from the press of Valencia in that century. Did she encourage Science? it bore no fruits which the nation has aspired to gather from the Spanish tree; Poetry? little was brought to pass which could rival the best works of former days. In Theology, with the exception of the Polyglot and the publication of the Bible in the Limousin dialect, certainly a surprising event in that age, little was done — nothing worthy of note. Under a hand so despotic, and under the eye of the Inquisition which Isabella had established, what could a Spaniard effect? It must be confessed that Isabella did not foster the greatest interests of the nation. The publication of Proclamations which had the force of law, (Pragmaticas,) so frequent in her reign, shows plainly enough her desire to rule without the advice of the people whose constitution she thereby violated. It matters not that they purport to be made at the demand of the Cortes, at the request of corporate cities, or of prominent men. Even in America we could find here and there a man in the Senate of the United States who would recommend a powerful President to do the same — perhaps a city or even a state to advise it. Those Proclamations were the passing-bell of popular freedom. Even if they did not, as Mr. Prescott assures us, intrench on the principles of criminal law, or affect the transfer of property, they not less undermined the liberty of Castile. The Cortes of Valladolid, foolish as it was in other respects, was right in remonstrating against those Pragmaticas. Mr. Prescott mentions several causes which contributed to increase the royal power at the expense of the people: the control of the military and ecclesiastical Orders; the pensions and large domains; the fortified places; the rights of seigneurial jurisdiction; the increase of power over the Moors; the acquisition of territory in Italy, and the discovery of a new continent; but he omits the one cause which gave force to all these — the selfish disposition that counted political power as a right, which the monarch might use for her own advantage, not a trust, which she must administer by the rules of justice, and for the good of all her subjects. This was the cause which enfeebled the people after it had broken their noble tyrants to pieces. The rights of the people were continually abridged. In 1495, the nobles and the representatives of the cities complained that the people were without arms. Mr. Prescott thinks this

fact a proof that they were in a fortunate condition, not remembering that in such an age an armed people was what the Constitution is to America; what the British Parliament and acknowledged Law are to England — the one great barrier against the incursions of the crown. She found the people burthened with an odious tax, imposed for a temporary emergency, and continued through the inertia of the Cortes and the tyranny of the crown. Isabella had conscientious scruples about this tax, but continued it. Monopolies were established by this queen, who is represented as so far before her time: goods must not be shipped in foreign vessels when a Spanish bottom could be had; no vessel must be sold to a foreigner; even horses were not allowed to be exported; gold and silver must not be sent out of Spain on pain of death. Yet when she forbade the exportation thereof by her commercial policy, by sumptuary laws she forbade their use at home. There are four things which will long continue as the indelible monuments of her reign: the establishment of the Inquisition for the torture and murder of her subjects; the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors; the enslaving of the Indians in America, and the establishment of Negro Slavery there. With this we leave her and her memory, to speak on the general form and style of this work.

It is no part of our plan to criticize the account of civil and military transactions; but so far as we have examined his authorities, Mr. Prescott is remarkably accurate. Some errors will always escape the vigilance of an author; in this case they are rare and unimportant. The whole work is divided into three portions: an Introduction; a History of the Domestic Policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, (Part I.,) and a History of their Foreign Policy, their Discoveries and Conquests. (Part II.) The main division is a good one, the minuter division into chapters is judicious, and the chapters well arranged. In separate chapters the author treats of various subjects, so as not to confuse the reader. But we notice several defects in the matter and style of the work. There is no description of the large towns; no account of their history, the growth or decline of their population; of their relation to the villages and hamlets; of the political tendencies of their inhabitants. A brief description of Madrid, Toledo, and Seville, of Barcelona and Valencia, would be of great value to one who wished to understand the age; the materials for this are not wanting.

Again, his portraits of distinguished men are not good; they often lack distinctness and specific character. We have a right to demand a careful analysis of the character of such men as Columbus, Gonsalvo, and Ximenes; an Historian never does his duty completely until he gives us a picture of each prominent man of the times he describes. Portraits of men like Torquemada, Fonseca, Carillo, and Mendoza,—the Archbishops of Toledo and Seville—of Bayard and Foix, of the monarchs of those times, and of the other eminent foreigners who come upon the stage, ought to have a place in a work like this.

The author does not present himself to his readers as a Philosopher who knows Man scientifically, and therefore has an a priori knowledge of men; nor does he appear as a Man of the World, who knows men by a wide practical acquaintance with them. In consequence of this twofold defect the reader finds neither the careful judgment of the philosopher nor the practical judgment of the man of affairs. Both of these defects appear frequently in this work;—for example, in his general review of the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, which is not written in the spirit of the Statesman, or the spirit of the Philosopher, but of an amiable Gentleman of letters filled with the spirit of Chivalry.

The book lacks Philosophy to a degree exceeding belief. The author seems to know nothing of the Philosophy of History, and little, even, of Political Economy. He narrates events in their order of time, with considerable skill, but the causes of the events, their place in the general history of the race, or their influence in special on the welfare of the nation, he does not appreciate. He tells the fact for the fact's sake. Hence there are no pages in the book, perhaps no sentences, which the reader turns back to read a second time, to see if the thought be true; here are the facts of History without the thought which belongs to the facts. It would be difficult to find a history in the English language, of any note, so entirely destitute of Philosophy. Accordingly, the work is dull and inanimate; the reading thereof tiresome and not profitable. Thus lacking Philosophy, and having more of the spirit of Chivalry than of Humanity, it is impossible that he should write in the interest of mankind, or judge men and their deeds by Justice—by the Immutable Law of the Universe. After long and patient study of his special theme, Mr. Prescott writes with the average Sense of mankind, with their average

of Conscience — and his judgment, the average judgment of a trading town, is readily accepted by the average of men, and popular with them; but he writes as one with little sympathy for mankind, and seems to think that Spain belonged to Ferdinand and Isabella; that their power was a Right and not a Trust, and they not accountable for the guardianship which they exercised over their subjects. The style of the work is plain, unambitious, and easily intelligible. The language, the figures of speech, the logic, and the rhetoric are commonplace; like the judgment of the author they indicate no originality, and do not bear the stamp of his character. There is a certain mannerism about them, but it is not the mannerism of Mr. Prescott, — only of the class of well-bred men. His metaphors, which usually mark the man, are commonplace and poor; rarely original or beautiful. Here are some examples: To "spread like wildfire;" to act "like desperate gamblers;" to run "like so many frighted deer;" to extend "like an army of locusts;" to be "like a garden." He calls womankind "the sex;" not a very elegant or agreeable title. There is a slight tendency to excess in his use of epithets; sometimes he insinuates an opinion which he does not broadly assert, rhetorically understating the truth. In his style there is little to attract, nothing to repel, nothing even to offend; he is never tawdry, seldom extravagant; never ill-natured. If he finds an author in error, he takes no pleasure in pointing out the mistake. Everywhere he displays the marks of a well-bred gentleman of letters; this is more than can be said of the Reviewer we have alluded to before. After long study of this work, we take leave of the author, with an abiding impression of a careful scholar, diligent and laborious; an amiable man, who respects the feelings of his fellows, and would pass gently over their failings; a courteous and accomplished gentleman, who, after long toil, has unexpectedly found that toil repaid with money and with honors, — and wears the honors with the same modesty in which they have been won.

ART. V.—*The Bothie of Toper-na-Fuosich. A Long-Vacation Pastoral.* By ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH. London: Chapman & Hall. 1848.

HERE is a new English poem which we heartily recommend to all classes of readers. It is an account of one of those Oxford reading-parties which, at the beginning of a long vacation, are made up by a tutor with five or six undergraduates, who wish to bring up arrears of study, or to *cram* for examination and honors, and who betake themselves with their guide to some romantic spot in Wales or Scotland, where are good bathing and shooting, read six hours a day, and kill the other eighteen in sport, smoking, and sleep. The poem is as jocund and buoyant as the party, and so joyful a picture of college life and manners, with such good strokes of revenge on the old tormentors, Pindar, Thucydides, Aristotle, and the logical Aldrich, that one wonders that this ground has not been broken up before. Six young men have read three weeks with their tutor, and after joining in a country dinner and a dance in a barn, four of them decide to give up books for three weeks, and make a tour in the Highlands, leaving the other two partners with the tutor in the cottage, to their *matutine*, or morning bath, six hours' reading, and mutton at seven. The portraits of the young party are briefly but masterly sketched. Adam the tutor, Lindsay the dialectician, Hope, Hobbes, Airlie, Arthur, who, from his thirty feet diving, is the "glory of headers," and Hewson. Philip Hewson, the hero of the poem, the radical poet, in this excursion falls in love with the golden-haired Katie at the farm of Rannoch, and is left behind by his returning fellows. The poet follows his hero into the mountains,

"Here in Badenoch, here in Lochaber, anon in Lochiel, in
Knoydart, Croydart, Moydart, Morrer, and Ardnamurchan,"

wherever the restless Philip wanders, brooding on his passion;—

"Would I were dead, I keep saying, that so I could go and uphold her."

Whilst the tutor anxiously, and his companions more joyously, are speculating on this dubious adventure of their comrade, a letter arrives at the cottage from Hope, who travelled with Philip, announcing that Philip and Katie have parted, and

that Philip is staying at Castle Balloch, in assiduous attendance on the beautiful "Lady Maria." In an earnest letter to his friend the tutor, Philip explains himself; and the free-winged sweep of speculation to which his new life at the Castle gives occasion, is in a truly modern spirit, and sufficiently embarrassing, one can see, to the friendliest of tutors. Great is the mirth of the Oxford party at this new phase of the ardent Philip, but it is suddenly checked again by a new letter from Philip to Adam, entreating him to come immediately to the *bothie* or hut of Toper-na-Fuosich, to bring him counsel and sanction, since he has finally found rest and home in the heart of—Elspie! We are now introduced to Elspie, the right Anteros, hitherto pursued in vain under deceiving masks, and are made with Adam the tutor to acquiesce in Philip's final choice. The story leads naturally into a bold hypothetical discussion of the most serious questions that bubble up at this very hour in London, Paris, and Boston, and, whilst these are met and honestly and even profoundly treated, the dialogue charms us by perfect good breeding and exuberant animal spirits. We shall not say that the rapid and bold execution has the finish and the intimate music we demand in modern poetry; but the subject-matter is so solid, and the figures so real and lifelike, that the poem is justified, and would be good in spite of much ruder execution than we here find. Yet the poem has great literary merits. The author has a true eye for nature, and expresses himself through the justest images. The Homeric iteration has a singular charm, half-comic, half-poetic, in the piece, and there is a wealth of expression, a power of description and of portrait-painting, which excels our best romancers. Even the hexameter, which, with all our envy of its beauty in Latin and in Greek, we think not agreeable to the genius of English poetry, is here in place to heighten the humor of college conversation. We take almost at hazard a specimen of these dactyls and spondees, describing a day at the cottage.

"So in the cottage with Adam the pupils five together
Duly remained, and read, and looked no more for Philip,
Philip at Balloch shooting and dancing with Lady Maria.
Breakfast at eight, and now, for brief September daylight,
Luncheon at two, and dinner at seven, or even later,
Five full hours between for the loch and the glen and the mountain.
So in the joy of their life, and glory of shooting-jackets,
So they read and roamed, the pupils five with Adam.

What if autumnal shower came frequent and chill from the westward,
What if on browner sward with yellow leaves besprinkled
Gemming the crispy blade, the delicate gossamer gemming,
Frequent and thick lay at morning the chilly bead of hoar frost,
Duly in matutine still, and daily, whatever the weather,
Bathed in the rain and the frost and the mist, with the *Glory of Headers*,
Hope. Thither also at times of cold and of possible gutters,
Careless, unmindful, unconscious, would Hobbes, or e'er they departed,
Come, in a heavy peacoat his trouserless trunk enwrapping,
Come, under coat over-brief those lusty legs displaying,
All from the shirt to the slipper the natural man revealing.

Duly there they bathed and daily the twain or the trio
There where of mornings was custom, where over a ledge of granite
Into a granite bason descended the amber torrent;
Beautiful, very, to gaze in ere plunging; beautiful also,
Perfect as picture, as vision entrancing that comes to the sightless,
Through the great granite jambs, the forest and glen and mountain,
Purple with heather the mountain, the level stream in foreground;
Beautiful seen by snatches in intervals of dressing,
Morn after morn, unsought for, recurring; themselves too seeming
Not as spectators, accepted into it, immingled, as truly
Parts of it as are the kine in the field lying there by the birches.

So they bathed, they read, they roamed in glen and forest;
Far amid blackest pines to the waterfall they shadow,
Far up the long, long glen to the loch, and the loch beyond it,
Deep under huge red cliffs, a secret; and oft by the starlight,
Or the aurora perchance racing home for the eight o'clock mutton.
So they bathed, and read and roamed in heathery Highland;
There in the joy of their life and glory of shooting-jackets,
Bathed and read and roamed, and looked no more for Philip."

A more musical passage follows the arrival of Adam at the "bothie."

"Ten more days did Adam with Philip abide at the change-house,
Ten more nights they met, they walked with father and daughter.
Ten more nights, and night by night more distant away were Philip and she.
Happy ten days, most happy; and otherwise than thought of,
Fortunate visit of Adam, companion and friend to David.
Happy ten days, be ye fruitful of happiness! Pass o'er them slowly,

Slowly; like cruse of the prophet be multiplied, even to ages!
Pass slowly o'er them, ye days of October; ye soft misty mornings,
Long dusky eves; pass slowly; and thou great Term-Time of Oxford,
Awful with lectures and books, and little-goes and great-goes,
Till but the sweet bud be perfect, recede and retire for the lovers,
Yea, for the sweet love of lovers, postpone thyself even to doomsday!
Pass o'er them slowly, ye hours! Be with them, ye Loves and Graces!

We have just received a new collection of poems by Mr. Clough, published in one volume, with a collection of poems by Thomas Kurbridge, under the name of *Ambarvalia.* From Mr. Clough's part in the book we select the following lines of his *Endymion:* —

"On the mountain, in the woodland,
In the shaded secret dell,
I have seen thee, I have met thee!
In the soft ambrosial hours of night,
In darkness silent, sweet,
I beheld thee, I was with thee,
I was thine, and thou wert mine!

When I gazed in palace-chambers,
When I trod the rustic dance,
Earthly maids were fair to look on,
Earthly maidens' hearts were kind;
Fair to look on, fair to love;
But the life, the life to me,
'T was the death, the death to them,
In the spying, prying, prating,
Of a curious cruel world.
At a touch, a breath they fade,
They languish, droop, and die;
Yea, the juices change to sourness,
And the tints to clammy brown;
And the softness unto foulness,
And the odor unto stench.
Let alone and leave to bloom;
Pass aside, nor make to die;
— In the woodland, on the mountain,
Thou art mine, and I am thine.

Mr. Clough's verses in "Ambarvalia" appear to be of an earlier date than his Pastoral, and by no means to promise the vigor of sense and of humor which abound in that poem.

Art. VI.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1.—*History of the Philosophy of Mind: embracing the opinions of all writers on Mental Science from the earliest period to the present time.* By Robert Blakey, Esq. 4 vols. 8vo. pp. 478, 517, 557, and 676. London: Saunders. 1848.

"There are two modes," says Mr. Blakey, "of writing a history of philosophy. The one is, to classify authors under general heads, in conformity with a principle of resemblance or affinity subsisting among their respective speculative opinions. . . . . The other is, to follow the order of time, and give a distinct and personal outline of every philosopher's views, in the precise order in which chronology develops them." The former mode Mr. B. thinks likely to create confusion, and to be an inconvenience to young students. "Generalization on the philosophy of mind ought not to precede observation and instruction, but to follow them. For these and other reasons, I have adopted the order of time, as nearly as the nature of the subject would admit; leaving the reader, except in some few special cases, to select and classify writers according to his own opinions and judgment. . . . . This work is arranged upon a plan somewhat particular. It is almost exclusively confined to mental science. I am not acquainted with any publication precisely of the same kind, with the exception of Stewart's *Dissertation*, prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britanica*. Every reader knows that, on the continent, religion, morals, and politics, as well as metaphysics, are comprehended under the general term *Philosophy*. In England, however, we have commonly kept these topics apart from each other; allowing each to rest upon its own basis; and this I consider a better plan upon the whole." By way of illustration of this latter view we quote the following from the Introduction: "Philosophy is a comprehensive term, and, in its fullest extent, embraces every thing which a man can know and feel. Philosophers are, however, like other humbler workmen, obliged to divide their labors in order to ensure more successful and efficient execution; and accordingly we find that from the first dawn of any thing like science and literature, all knowledge has been classified under three leading divisions; namely, a knowledge of external bodies, of mental faculties or powers, and of moral duties and obligations." These extracts will, we think, sufficiently indicate Mr. Blakey's position. Very evidently, nothing like a "Philosophy of Mind," properly so called, is undertaken by him, or to be expected at his hands. To give a correct notion of what his aim really is, this part of his title-page should be stricken out, and the whole should read, "Opinions of Robert Blakey, Esq., on the opinions

of all writers," &c. Opinions are all he treats of, and his opinion all he has to offer. But here we will borrow from Mr. Blakey (I. p. 258) a saying of Tertullian that seems to the point. "Heresies," says he, "are the individual opinions of men and demons." Leaving out the demons, as hypothetical, the converse of the proposition, namely, that the *individual opinions* of men are heresies, however it may be in the Liberal Churches of the day, in the Church of Philosophy is an axiom. A science that ends in *opinions* is a contradiction in terms; for Science begins where Opinion ends.

One inconvenience of this method is, that if we undertake to relate *opinions*, it is difficult to know where to stop. We cannot enumerate *all* the opinions that have ever been held by men. And if we undertake to select the more important, who is to determine which are more and which less important? His own opinion is dear to every one, and the opinions of the like-minded. But this does not prove that they are of any value to the public at large. Supposing Mr. Whewell had undertaken in his History to retail all the crazy fancies of the alchemists. He might have made a rare curiosity-shop, but the bearing upon Science would have been, at best, a very indirect one.

The result of such a procedure must naturally terminate, as in the work before us, in an attempt to give a little of every thing. We have here accounts of about six hundred and thirty writers, according to our reckoning, besides enumerations of and hasty allusions to a host of others. Of these, to judge by ourselves, the very names of a large proportion will be new to the mass even of readers of metaphysical writings.

Another uncertainty, besides the list to be admitted, is, how much to say about each. Mr. Blakey's means are limited: his whole number of pages, exclusive of unconnected dissertations, notes, and indices, is about 1,860. This, divided by the number of writers, will give a fraction less than three pages to each; and you cannot very well say any thing about a man in less than half a page. Then a little favoritism is unavoidable on this plan. With no guide but opinion, strict impartiality is not to be expected. All these things taken together, the reader will guess that some of the august names of Philosophy come off rather slimly. Socrates gets but three pages; Plato eleven; Bruno, Böhme, Hamann, and Hegel are barely touched upon; while the "Lady Mary Shephard" runs at large in a spacious common eight pages square. Even a tolerable sample of the opinions of any distinguished man is hardly to be found in these volumes; indeed, under the circumstances could not be looked for.

As for criticism, this is, of course, out of the question, since no criterion is established or acknowledged. In its stead we have general remarks, often of a *personal* nature, on the character and

disposition of the men reviewed. Thus, Spinoza is censured for his want of enthusiasm, feeling, and patriotism; his consoling himself, after an unsuccessful love-affair, by a devotion to philosophy and a life of retirement and meditation, shows his coldness and apathy, &c., &c. On the other hand, Alfred the Great, probably from his interesting character, has the advantage of Plato by five pages.

Having found so much fault with this work, we are bound to say that it displays much liberality, good feeling, and industrious research. It is, in one respect, the most *extensive* work of the kind that we know of. It includes writers of all times and all European nations, with notices of some Hindoo philosophies, and of metaphysics in the United States. As Bibliography, therefore, (though by no means complete,) it has its value. Besides the regular matter, there are interspersed dissertations of Mr. Blakey's, on the Faculties of the Mind; on the Influence of Language; on the Sublime and Beautiful.

2.— *The Natural History of the Human Species, its typical forms, primeval distributions, filiations, and migrations.* Illustrated by thirty-nine colored plates, with portrait and vignette. By Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hamilton Smith. Edinburgh. 1848. 16mo. pp. 464.

This book has suffered from the ambition of the bookseller to get a great deal into a very small compass. The consequence is, a mass of information on a variety of topics and of great extent, so scanty in general views or application of the facts stated, and in every way so cramped, clipped, and, so to say, short-breathed, as to be spoiled for the general reader, and, on the other hand, altogether too hasty and dogmatic for the scholar. On a topic so recent as this, assertions cannot be admitted unless properly authenticated. In the work before us there are very few authorities cited, and those often so loosely as to give the impression that a general recollection is trusted to. It is difficult, therefore, to pronounce an opinion with regard to its accuracy in matters of fact. We notice many unqualified statements on what are usually considered very doubtful points. Thus, the hypothesis of a former continent between America and Asia, at best an entirely unsettled matter, is laid down as an admitted fact. Other statements seem to have still less foundation, as, for instance, that in the northern portion of the United States, "there still remain rude sculptures of very long vessels manned with numerous rowers, particularly on tide-

rocks in Massachusetts,"—of which we, at least, hear for the first time. It is impossible to say what proof the Colonel may have obtained, perhaps only yesterday, of these and innumerable the like matters, even where he contradicts all foregoing authorities; but it is quite out of the question to expect that such statements will be received as correct, without, at least, more circumstantial exposition.

From the want of recapitulation or hint as to what is expected to be proved; from the great want of method, and a frequent obscurity of style, it is by no means easy to make out, in all cases, the views intended to be maintained. In general, they seem to be these: That the human race is not a single species, but a genus composed of three aboriginal or normal types; that these types from a very early period have been intermingled to a considerable extent, yet, taken largely, are distinguished in their geographical distribution not less than specifically. They are, 1. The Woolly-haired Tropical type, with the Malay and the American sub-types; 2. The Hyperborean, Beardless, or Mongolic type, with the Finnic, Ouralian or Tschudic, and the Ethiopic sub-types; 3. The Bearded, (geographically) Intermediate, or Caucasian type, with the Semitic and the Typical Caucasian subdivisions.

This original diversity is kept up by an instinctive repulsion between the various stocks; yet they are intermingled by a necessity of nature as the condition of progress, producing the subtypical stems. P. 120: "War and slavery seem to have been, and still are, the great elements, perhaps the only direct agents, to produce amalgamation of the typical stocks, without which no permanent progress in the path of true civilization is made." And p. 167: "Individual interunions between the typical races not only tend to the superior development of form and capacity in the offspring, but the same tendency continues to operate between different tribes; the constant crossing of Celtic with Teutonic blood, upon a Perso-Arabian basis, being, perhaps, a principal cause of the early progressive civilization of Southern and Western Europe; and the stationary character chiefly observed in the Mongolic races being a result of the want of the same acting cause." The first chapter is occupied with an examination of the "changes of the earth's surface since the commencement of the present zoölogical system," to appearance partly with the view of obviating the difficulty of accounting for the population of countries now separate, by the same stock; and partly with the declared purpose of establishing "man's coexistence with the latter period of the great Pachydermous era." The fact that human bones are found in company with remains of extinct animals, is, we believe, beyond question, so far as that goes. Besides the instances given by our author in his second chapter, (which is devoted to the subject,) we may mention that numerous fragments of human

bones, together with pottery, arrow-heads, and other implements, have lately been found associated with bones of the Mastodon in Florida. It is understood that the locality is in a fair way to be thoroughly examined, and the subject investigated, by one in every respect qualified for the task.

The next chapter is upon the question of the unity of the human race, but the first part of it is so obscurely written, that after considerable study, we are utterly at a loss to detect in it what the Colonel's real opinion is. But from other passages it is clearly as above stated. Next he treats of certain abnormal forms; among others, of the Flathead tribes of this continent. Here he quotes recent observations of Sir R. Schomburgh to the point (which Dr. Morton also maintains) that some of these tribes had naturally this shape of skull, which, as he well remarks, "appears to have had a commanding influence in the ideal divine of the human head; for the depression of forehead and occiput is found reproduced by many tribes in both the southern and western continents."

The rest of the volume is taken up with a detailed examination of the various races, in which will be found a great deal of information, doubtless in many cases original, but exceedingly confused, and stated in such a way as to be deprived of much of its value. Its use is accordingly that of suggestion, rather than direct. The hints are very excellent, for instance, that about the necessity of *crossing* among the different races, as the condition of progress. But it remains only a hint. It is like listening to the conversation of a well informed person, who is endeavouring to tell in half an hour what he knows would take him half a day to tell properly, and whom you cannot interrupt by a question.

As to the Colonel's theory of the triplicity of the human race, as this respects a question which, if not the most interesting, is at present the most vexed in the whole field of Ethnography, — the question of the physical unity of the human race, — we desire to say a few words upon this point. The case seems to stand thus. In Zoölogy, the fact of numerous centres of distribution is unquestionable. There is no animal whatever that is to be found in every part of the world. Among vertebrate animals there is no species, we believe, common to the southern, middle, or temperate regions of the Old World and the New. More than this, every country is subdivided into numerous Faunas, the species of which respectively confine themselves to their own often very narrow limits, and this evidently by no physical constraint, but by a natural instinct. The various species of Birds and Fishes, for example, inhabit each its own region, and use their facilities of locomotion only to resist all removal beyond their fixed limits. Every part of the globe has its peculiar animals and plants; and besides minuter subdivisions, there are certain continental peculiarities, and

higher still, characters distinguishing the New and the Old World. But this diversity according to space is combined with regular coincidences in analogy between the Faunas of the same latitudes, varying in proximity from the north pole southward. Thus, the arctic region of each of the three northern continents has many species which are common to all three, and many others that strikingly resemble each other. As we go southward, the number of identical species diminishes; each species is confined within narrower limits; and the analogies become less and less close in regular progression as we approach the south pole. The animals of the antartic extremities of the continent are entirely dissimilar.

Now if we look at the distribution of the various races of mankind over the world, we find a precisely similar arrangement. In the north, we have everywhere races closely resembling each other, perhaps, in some cases, identical; as the Namollos of the Aleutian islands and the Esquimaux, who are said to speak dialects of the same language. Here we find the same or allied tribes stretching entirely across the continent. As we go towards the south we find a constantly decreasing analogy with tribes of corresponding geographical position in other continents and on the different sides of the same continent. Thus, in this country, we come immediately to a diversity of tribes; the Flatheads of the west coast, although having some general characters in common with our more eastern Indians, are strikingly different from them. At the same time, they present analogies with Asiatic tribes of corresponding latitudes. The Indians of California are said to resemble the Malays; the more northern tribes, the Mongolian nations, &c. But in South America, these analogies gradually lose themselves. When we come to the southern extremities of the continents, we have, in the comparison of corresponding tribes, the extremes of dissimilarity between any of the savage races of men. The Patagonians are the largest of mankind, with lank, straight hair, and remarkably robust forms. The Australians are tall, but their limbs astonishingly shrivelled; their hair neither straight nor woolly, but intermediate, namely, frizzled, and in some tribes standing up to a great height from the head. Finally, the Hottentots are small or of middle stature, some of them only four feet high, and their hair consists of tufts of very crisp wool.* Then the general difference of character between the animal kingdom as a whole, in the Old World and the New, is found also, to a certain extent, in the races of men. Excluding the arctic races, (who form an exception also in Zoölogy,) there is, with all the diversity of tribes, a common character of the

* In a Bushman who was in this city last year, the hair was in hard twisted bunches, and in shape so much compressed, that on a transverse section the diameters were as 1 to 5.

cranium (the only point thus far extensively examined,) among all the American tribes.

The general laws of geographical distribution, therefore, in the present state of the world, hold good as well of the savage races of mankind, as of animals. Prima facie, then, they have held good from the beginning; and it is necessary to suppose that the various typical races among savages have originated, as a general rule, where they are now found, unless the contrary be shown.

Those who contend for the physical unity of the human race have contented themselves with showing intermediate forms between the various races, and certain physical and mental peculiarities which they have in common; whence they deduce the possibility that the present diversity may be the result of external circumstances. But if this be granted, the burden of proof is still on them to show that it *is* so. As it seems to us, not only physical evidence, but the reason of the thing, is against them. Differences of race consist in aberrations on all sides from a normal standard. These, they contend, have been produced by the influence of climate and various outward circumstances. But, in the first place, it is among savages, and in proportion to the want of civilization, that these aberrations exist. Nations in proportion to their civilization resemble each other. It is only the absence of civilization that permits any extensive effect of outward influences. The civilized man resists them. In a word, the civilized man, and not the savage, is the typical man. But to suppose that from an originally civilized state mankind by external influences degenerated to the savage, is contrary to reason and experience. The course of nature is not from the perfect to the imperfect; from the highly developed to the less developed; but the reverse.

The truth is, what makes man man is not his body, but his mind. It is in the mental condition that the secret of external condition, or of any change in it, is primarily to be sought. What is really meant by the warm opposition to a separation of species, its source and strength, is, an instinctive feeling of a profound unity and brotherhood among men, transcending all distinctions, however vast to appearance, as mere degrees, more or less, of the same nature; and an utter separation from the brutes, not even lessened by the nearest approach in outward resemblance or even in apparent intelligence. This unity and this separation we also feel as thoroughly as any. But it is a spiritual and not a physical one. Its true ground is the possibility of a spiritual nature. This, in the highest, remains in part a possibility only; it is not less a possibility to the lowest. This is the great fact which constitutes the sacredness of the human being as such. It is not affected by any conceivable degree of brutishness or degradation, for it is a distinction not in degree, but in kind. No race has ever been found so low as not to recognize a Superior Being. This may

sometimes seem not very important. That the savage should fall down before a bunch of rags at the top of a stick, does not seem to argue any great dignity of nature. But what possessed him to do it? What want or desire did he thereby gratify? Very evidently, in order to dream of a Higher, he must have recognized the *lower*, himself; he must be *conscious* of his own existence. This is the great step. Consciousness is the gate by which we pass out of the animal kingdom into higher regions. Henceforth all spiritual attainments and excellences are present in possibility. The soul has recognized itself, and an infinite horizon is spread before it. Thus, those who contend for the physical unity of man are right in what they mean, but they do not say and do not know what they mean. It is necessary to distinguish between these notions, for they are altogether diverse, and a confusion of them must of course make mischief. Thus, for instance, it were much to be desired that arguers against Slavery, who occasionally wander into the field of Ethnography, would stick to this great point, and not lose themselves in trying to disprove the obtruding cerebellum; the webbed hand; the ape-like arm, and leg, and pelvis. What of all that? Is he not a man? If he is, all these things may be, or not; they are totally insignificant. This is our tower of strength, and if we forsake this, we are delivered over to the enemy.

That man, so far as he is an animal, should be governed by the same laws as the animals, seems to be self-evident. That these laws, however, should be modified in his case, is not less natural. He has an animal nature, but this is a comparatively insignificant part of him. We should expect, therefore, that the sharp distinctions of species would be less marked and less persistent. The ideal animal, the perfect horse or dog, is that in which the specific traits are the most developed, in which the species is most distinct. For this is the character of the animals, to express distinctly some special character. In man, the ideal of development, on the contrary, is a point where all differences of race disappear, since it is physical characteristic of man to unite all the animal organs in a central harmony.

In these views we are by no means sure that we should not have Colonel Hamilton Smith on our side, if he would but speak out; for some obscure utterances of his seem to look that way. But his hypothesis, as he states it, misses all round. He rests it on zoölogical analogy, but does not carry this analogy out. If there are three races, it is the highest improbability that there are not more. We hope he will take time some day to write out fully what he means. We may observe, in parting, that the thirty-four colored plates (many of which are original) are well executed and satisfactory, although small.

3. — *The Plant: a Biography, in a series of Popular Lectures.* By M. J. SCHLEIDEN, M. D., Professor of Botany to the University of Jena. Translated by A. HENFREY, F. S. S., &c. With five colored plates and thirteen wood engravings. London: H. Bailliere. 1848. 8vo. pp. 365.

PROFESSOR SCHLEIDEN is one of the most distinguished living botanists of Germany. As we have understood, however, he was bred a lawyer, and came to Science at a somewhat advanced age. He seems to have early attached himself to the philosophical or anti-philosophical doctrines of Fries of Jena, and to have espoused his quarrel with the "Physiophilosophers," who in the early part of the century had their head quarters there. This quarrel appears to have inflamed, in his mind, into a general hostility to all philosophy, if, indeed, the Friesian doctrines do not of themselves amount to that. More than half of the first volume of his "*Grundzüge der Wissenschaftlichen Botanik*," his principal work hitherto, is occupied with the bitterest polemics against the *Naturphilosophen;* and in the work before us, where one would expect him to respect the neutral ground of Society, we find him still in the most bellicose humor, and ready to keep the lists against all comers. Science in Germany occupies (or until the new revolutions there has occupied) similar ground to Politics among us, as it is the most generally interesting topic, and forms the battle-field in that war of words that here expends itself on questions of state. This importing into Science the polemics and partizan spirit of the forum is thus not quite so extraordinary or in so bad taste as it would be here.

But, as before remarked, the old pique against individuals has in the present book extended into a hatred of philosophy in general. His mission, Professor Schleiden thinks, (p. 60,) is "to labor at this unspiritualizing of Nature, and I took occasion in my former lecture to point out how the forms of the world of plants, impressing themselves so vividly on the sensuous nature, how their mysterious and silent weavings and workings, transformed before the eye of the instructed naturalist into chemico-physiological processes, which take place on and in an invisible utricle, the vegetable cell;" doubtless altogether safe from spiritual influences. And again, (211,) that "we may define the purpose of all investigation of Natural Science as an attempt to show that the whole world around us is bound by exceptionless mathematical laws." The naturalist, however, on this scheme must be confessed to be as yet very partially "instructed;" for Schleiden himself confesses, (212,) "in plants and animals, the forms become so varied and so aberrant, that a mathematical basis is out of the question:" of course; for they cannot be so "unspiritualized" as

to be brought under the laws of mere dead matter. They are living, concrete realities, and not mathematical abstractions. "Yet," says he, "there lies in Man an irrecusable necessity, never, in his contemplation of the world, to allow of *accident*, which would leave him comfortless and hopeless in the presence of the forces of Nature, to which he is subject." Truly, if he *were* so subject; but this he is not, unless he be a plant or an animal, and then he probably will not trouble himself much about the matter. Nothing can be shallower than these trite assertions of the impossibility of accident or imperfection in Nature. God, it is argued, being perfect, can make no mistake, and undertake nothing beyond his powers. But let us turn this pious argument round. Nothing surely is perfect except God; then if God creates nothing but what is perfect, he can create nothing but himself; that is to say, there is no creation. Or see in another aspect to what this exaltation of Nature leads. (P. 268.) "He who lets his free glance rove over the earth's ball, and looks at large over the play of active forces, laughs at the digging, dragging, bustling, panting ant-hill which we call Humanity, and which with all its imagined wisdom is not able to alter the slightest working of the laws which the tyrant grantess, Nature, has prescribed to her slaves." Can any thing be more preposterous than this setting of material forces, of Size and Weight, above the Spiritual? One fancies the transformed companions of Ulysses might have talked thus, if the conversation fell on scientific subjects.

Now this "unspiritualizing" of Nature is just as repulsive to common-sense as it is to philosophy. It is simply the product of the abstract Understanding. Thus we find our author just as much averse to Goethe's morphological doctrines, his Metamorphosis of the Plant, (which seems generally admitted by botanists,) as to the "physiophilosophers" and their tenets.

In spite of all his talents and learning, therefore, and a lively paradoxical way that attracts the attention, he is incapable of producing a truly popular book. Nevertheless, this is a readable and instructive volume, from the facts he gives, though not from the use he makes of them. We copy for the benefit of our readers some detached bits, without regard to context or order, since these do not much affect their value even in the work itself.

"It was discovered by Arago that the vine will no longer ripen its fruit where the mean temperature of the year is higher than eighty-four degrees, and on the contrary, the Date will not flourish where the temperature sinks below eighty-four degrees. These conditions exactly meet in Palestine; and the Jews, when they took possession of this country, found the Date and the Grape together. Now, had the temperature of the earth either risen or fallen in the least since that time, one of these plants must either

have disappeared from Palestine or become unfruitful there, which, however, is not the case." . . . "When it is considered that almost a century is required to form a layer of humus (vegetable mould) nine inches thick, by the most luxuriant vegetation of the tropics; that this layer, to convert it into Coal, must be compressed into a twenty-seventh part of its thickness, an approximative conception may be formed of the duration of that period; since the super-imposed layers of coal in England, for instance, often have a collective thickness of forty-four feet, and correspond, therefore, to a period of time almost equalling 100,000 (158,400 ?) years." . . . "Spontaneously, and without the conscious coöperation of Man, a certain number of plants attach themselves to the Lord of Creation and follow him whithersoever he goes. . . . It is more than probable that the different great families of Nations may be distinguished through this circumstance, and from the weeds which have firmly attached themselves to their transit may with some certainty be determined whether Sclaves or Germans, Europeans or Orientals, Negroes or Indians, &c., formerly built their huts on any spot. . . . The North American savage significantly calls our Plantain, or Road-weed, (*Plantago major,*) 'the Footstep of the Whites;' and a common species of Vetch (*Vicia cracca*) still marks the former abode of the Norwegian colonists in Greenland." . . . "An old Chinese legend narrates: A pious hermit, who in his watchings and prayers had often been overtaken by sleep, so that his eyelids had closed, in holy wrath against the weakness of the flesh, cast them off and threw them on the ground. But a god caused a Tea-shrub to spring out of them, the leaves of which exhibit the form of an eyelid bordered with lashes, and possess the gift of hindering sleep." . . . "An acre of land planted with cabbages requires more than five million pounds of water in the four summer months; an acre planted with hops, as much as six or seven millions of pounds. From accurate examinations, it appears that streams carry away in some cases four fifths of all the water precipitated from the atmosphere, and indeed it would seem fully the whole. But assuming that only one half is thus carried away, and the rest made available to the plants, this, even in England, will give us less than twelve hundred thousand pounds per acre. The watery vapor of the atmosphere must therefore be brought to the plant in some other way, and this happens through the property of absorbing the moisture of the atmosphere, which is possessed by most of the constituents of the soil. No substance possesses this property in so high a degree as humus."

4.—*Labor and other Capital: the Rights of each secured and the Wrongs of both eradicated, or, an Exposition of the Cause why few are Wealthy and many Poor, and the Delineation of a System, which, without infringing the Rights of Property, will give to Labor its just Reward.* By EDWARD KELLOGG, Author of "Currency, the Evil and the Remedy." New York. 1849. 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 298.

MR. KELLOGG is a merchant of New York, who has retired from active business and now devotes himself to studying the Philosophy of Finance. The work referred to in the title-page contained a remarkable exhibition of the evils of our present monetary scheme. The present work sets forth the same thoughts in a new form, and applied to other examples.

The book contains an Introduction and two Parts. In the Introduction Mr. Kellogg very briefly defines his terms, and states his design. Part I. treats of the Principles of Distribution. The several chapters relate to value, to money as the medium of distribution; to a rate of interest, which determines the amount to be distributed to the Capitalist and the Laborer; to the Banking System. In this part of his work he explains at length the evils of the present monetary system, and illustrates his opinions by striking examples.

Money, he says, is the measure of all values; hence, as the nation fixes the length of the yard and the capacity of the bushel, so must it the value of money: this can only be done by fixing the rate of interest, and in doing that the nation determines what proportion of a laborer's earnings shall go to the capitalist, and what remain in his own hands.

"Money is valuable *in proportion* to its power to accumulate value by interest. A dollar which can be loaned for twelve per cent. interest, is worth twice as much as one that can be loaned for but six per cent., as much as a railroad stock which will annually bring in twelve per cent., is worth twice as much as one that annually brings in six per cent."—p. 56.

"The right to fix the value of money is as much reserved by the government, as the right to fix the length of the yard or the weight of the pound, and the regulation of its value is a thousand times more important to the people, than the regulations of the length of the yard-stick or the weight of the pound."—p. 61.

Money is not merchandise, for it is the standard measure of all values. The common laws of merchandise will not apply to money. He thus states the effect of a high rate of interest, pp. 75–77, 94, 115.

"There are but two purposes to which the yearly produce of labor can be applied. One is the payment of the yearly rent or interest on the capital employed, and the other is the payment of labor. If laborers pay to capital, as use or interest for the year, their whole surplus products, the laborers, as a

body, work merely for a subsistence, and the capital takes their whole surplus earnings. The laborer receives for his year's toil, food, clothing, and shelter only, and these, perhaps, of the poorest kind; while the capitalist lives in luxury, increases the number of his bonds and mortgages, or with his income buys land or builds houses to let, which will, in succeeding years, take a still greater sum from the laborer. The law of interest, or per centage on money, as much governs the rent or use of all property, and consequently the reward of labor, as the law of gravitation governs the descent of water. If interest on money be too high, a few owners of capital will inevitably accumulate the wealth or products of the many. No body of men can, by labor, offer successful resistance to accumulation by the law of interest, more than they can by labor alter the effect of the law of gravitation. The evil is legislative, and the remedy must be legislative.

"Money loaned on interest, or invested in property, is doubled in a certain length of time, according to the rate of interest charged. When this rate is too high, it requires the principal to be doubled in so short a time, that the borrower is compelled to give all his surplus products as interest or rent on the capital; whereas, justice requires that he should pay for its use only a moderate per centage, and himself retain the chief surplus of his labor.

"The following illustration, calculating property to accumulate or double at certain rates of yearly per centage, in the same manner as money, will clearly exhibit the various results to laborers from various rates of interest. A., B., and C., are young men, who have just come of age. C. is heir to $10,000, while A. and B. are mechanics, without capital. C. contracts with A. and B. to build a house which shall cost $5,000, on a lot for which he paid $5,000. The house and lot together are worth $10,000. C. leases this property to A. and B., and charges them seven per cent. upon its cost, clear of insurance, taxes, and repairs. The interest is payable once a quarter. A rate of interest of seven per cent. per annum, paid quarterly, will accumulate a sum equal to the principal loaned or invested in property in ten years. In this period, A. and B. are compelled to buy another lot, build upon it another as good a house, and pay the lot and house to C. for the use of the house they occupy. In twenty years, if A. and B. retain the use of the house and its accruing rents, they must pay C. three houses; in thirty years, they must pay him seven houses; in forty years, fifteen houses; in fifty years, thirty-one houses; in sixty years, sixty-three houses; and in seventy years, one hundred and twenty-seven houses. In seventy years all these are built by A. and B., and paid to C. for the use, or as the accumulation on the one that he leased to them. The one hundred and twenty-seven lots which A. and B. earn the money to buy, cost $635,000, and the buildings cost an equal amount, making together, $1,270,000; which sum is paid to C. for seventy years' rent of one house and lot worth $10,000. At the expiration of the lease, the original house must be returned to its owner, as well as the rent. If, instead of being invested in the house and lot, the $10,000 were loaned on interest at seven per cent., and the interest were collected and re-loaned quarterly, the money would accumulate in a given period precisely the same amount as the property.

"Now, suppose interest to be at three per cent. per annum, and A. and B. to build the house, and pay C. three per cent. annually on its cost of $10,000. This is $300, instead of $700 a year; and, at this rate, the interest on money collected and re-loaned quarterly, requires nearly twenty-four years to accumulate a sum equal to the principal. Therefore, in twenty-four years A. and B. would give C. another house; and in seventy-two years, seven houses, instead of one hundred and twenty-seven, which they are compelled to do at seven per cent. interest. The labor of building the houses is neither increased by a high rate, nor diminished by a low rate of interest." — pp. 75–77.

"The ten thousand most wealthy men in the United States are probably worth, on an average, at least $300,000 — in the aggregate $3,000,000,000. The annual interest on this sum at six per cent. would be $180,000,000. If these men should sell their property, and invest the proceeds in bonds and

mortgages bearing six per cent. interest per annum, and remove from the country, they would impose a tribute on the productive industry of the nation which would impoverish it for ages. It is doubtful whether the people would ever be able to pay and satisfy the interest and principal of the debt. They would pay $180,000,000 of their products yearly, without receiving any equivalent. And yet, without the labor of the buyers or borrowers, the property would be useless; and if the owners received any benefit from it, they would be obliged to remain and cultivate it themselves. Should laws be such, that ten thousand wealthy men leaving their country, could impose such a burden upon the millions left behind? If interest were reduced to one per cent., and the ten thousand men should sell their property, leaving the proceeds on interest at one per cent., this nation would pay them $30,000,000 interest annually. And this would be quite enough for producers to pay for the use of capital." — p. 94.

"Suppose, when Virginia was settled in 1607, England had sold to the first settlers the whole of the United States for $1,000, and had taken a mortgage for this sum covering the whole property. Instead of paying the interest yearly at seven per cent., the settlers agree to take up their bonds at the end of every six months, and add in the interest. Allow the $1,000 and the accruing interest to remain outstanding until 1850, and then become due. Although the prosperity of the nation has far surpassed that of any other, yet its property of every description would not pay the debt. The interest would double the principal in ten years and one month. In one hundred years and ten months, the debt would amount to $1,024,000; and in two hundred and one years and eight months, to $1,048,576,000. Add forty years and four months to 1849, and the sum would amount to $16,777,216,000." — p. 115.

He says that less than one twentieth of the population owns more than one half of the property of the whole land. If they have done more than one half of the needful productive work — of hands or head — this is right; if not, wrong. This unjust distribution comes from high rates of interest.

"In 1835, the whole valuation of the taxed real and personal estate in the State of New York, was $530,653,524; and in 1845, it had increased to $605,646,095. In the ten years, the people of the State added to their wealth $74,992, 571 — equal to $7,499,257 a year, or a fraction over one and four tenths per cent. a year on the capital employed." — p. 105.

"If the people had rented the State of a foreign nation, and at the end of every six months we had taken up our obligations and added in the six months' interest, at the end of the ten years we should have added to the principal over $524,000,000. We should have owed the foreign nation, in interest or rent, a sum seven times greater than all that we earned above our own support. If we earned only $74,992,571 more than our own support, how could we return the property to its owners, and pay them $524,000,000 of rent, or seven times more than our labor would produce? Yet the laws of the State, fixing the interest at seven per cent., make a requisition equal to this upon laborers in favor of capital." — p. 106.

"The debts yearly contracted in the State by sales of land, merchandise, &c., amount to several hundred millions of dollars, and two, three, or four hundred millions bear interest. Must not the payment of so great an amount of interest, by producers, concentrate the wealth of the State in the hands of a few capitalists, and continue more and more to oppress producers? We might as well expect by labor to dam up the mouths of the rivers of our continent, so that they could not empty into the ocean, as to expect, by labor, to contend successfully against the power of capital, even at two and a half per cent. interest, and much less against six or seven per cent. An interest of even two and a half per cent. per annum, on capital, would as certainly break down pro-

ductive industry, and accumulate the wealth in favor of capital, as the waters of the rivers would certainly break down the dams, and force their waters and the obstructing dams into the ocean." — p. 107.

"If all men are by nature free and equal, why has legislation reversed the order of nature so as to secure the greatest possible inequality? It is not in the power of man to continue a more effectual method of concentrating property in a few hands, than by high rates of interest. This method works rapidly and securely, because it extorts consent as it operates. If civilization require, as its basis, that property should descend from father to son, it certainly does not require that legislation should do its utmost to magnify the inequalities arising from this right of inheritance. These inequalities only exist because the whole body of producers are obliged to pay an exorbitant price for the yearly rent of every description of property; and why are they obliged to pay this price? Because the rent is determined by the legal interest on money, the standard of value, to which no individual, nor class of individuals, can offer successful resistance." — pp. 141, 142.

"In consequence of our higher rates of interest, the property of the United States is concentrating in the hands of a few men much more rapidly than in older countries. This concentration will continue until the rates of interest are reduced below the rates obtained in older countries." — p. 169.

"High rates of interest have been, and are, the cause of the poverty of producers in all nations." — p. 171.

"The income of the holder of English government securities is earned by the operatives in the mines and the factories, and by the seamstresses and various workmen in the cities. But the bond holder comes in direct contact with none of these. His income is paid by the government, which gathers it from every branch of industry in the country by grievous taxations."

"The laws of the British government, respecting money, as much compel the producing classes to toil for the capitalists, as the laws of the Southern States compel the slave to work for his master." — pp. 172, 173.

Mr. Kellogg shows reasons enough why there are many poor and few rich, but he undertakes to point out a remedy. He proposes that the nation should found an institution called the National Safety Fund, which shall issue paper money and loan it at one per cent. a year, taking real property for security, and shall also receive money on deposit and pay the same interest.

The work is striking, and in many respects is original.

5.— *The Town; its Memorable Characters and Events.* By LEIGH HUNT. St. Paul's to St. James, with forty-five Illustrations. London. 1848. 2 vols. 8vo. Vol. I. pp. XII. and 350. Vol. II. pp. VIII. and 312.

THIS work is written in the agreeable style which distinguishes all the works of the author. It contains a good deal of curious information, and is a valuable hand-book for the visitor of the great commercial metropolis of the world. The changes in the outward aspect of London from the days of "King Lud" to Queen Victoria, are nicely delineated; the changes of Manners,

Laws, and Religion, are also touched upon. The distinguished men who have lived in London during the many centuries of its existence pass before the reader's eye, and pleasant stories are related of some of them; still, the work is not so interesting or so valuable as one might reasonably expect from the subject or the author. He seems to have been resolved to *make a book*, and has done so. Mr. Macaulay's account of London, though brief, is far more satisfactory.

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6. — *A Dictionary of the German and English Languages.* Indicating the accentuation of every German word; containing several hundred German synonyms, &c., &c. Compiled from the works of Hilpert, Flügel, Grieb, Heyse, and others. In two parts: Part I. German and English; Part II. English and German. By J. G. Adler, &c., &c. New York. 1849. 2 vols. in one. 8vo. pp. xvi., 850, and 522.

The German-English portion of this work is more valuable than any that we have before seen. The English-German part is taken from the London edition of Dr. Flügel, without alteration. We only wish it had been from the last edition of Dr. Flügel. This Dictionary of Mr. Adler affords all that an American or English scholar will ordinarily want for reading the German classics, and appears to be as complete a manual as Leverett's Lexicon is for the Latin, or Mr. Pickering's for the Greek language.

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7. — *Deutsches Märchenbuch.* Edited by Ludwig Bechstein. Leipsic. 1847. 1 Vol. 12mo. pp. viii. and 301.

This is a pleasant collection of popular stories, legends, and the like. Some of them have been taken from the mouths of the people, and never before printed. Others are tolerably well known.

We give a translation of the first in the book, which is by the Editor himself.

Once there was a time when there were no little stories (Märchen), and it was a sad time for the children, for the fairest of

butterflies was wanting in their Youth's-Paradise. And there were two children of a king, who were playing together in their father's stately garden. The garden was full of majestic flowers; its walks were strown with various colored stones and golden sand, and glittered in rivalry with the sparkling dew on the flower-beds. In the garden there were cool grottos with plashing waters, fountains rushing high up towards fair marble statues, and lovely banks to lie on and go to sleep. Gold and silver fish swam in the basins; the most beautiful birds fluttered about in great gilt bird-houses, and other birds hopped and flew about in the open air, singing their songs with clear, sweet voices. But the two children had all this and saw it every day, and so they were tired of the glitter of the stones, of the sweet smell of the flowers, of the leaping waters, of the fish that were so dumb, and of the birds whose songs they could not understand.

The children sat down silent together and were sad. They had all that a child could wish — costly playthings, handsome clothes, pleasant food and drinks, and every day they could play in the beautiful garden. They were sad — they knew not why, nor what was wanting.

One day the queen, their mother, came to them, — a tall, handsome woman, with mild and agreeable features, — and she took it to heart because her children were so sober and only smiled upon her in a melancholy way, instead of running to meet her with a shout. She was disturbed because her children were not happy as children should be and can, for they know no cares, and the heaven of childhood is, for the most part, without clouds.

The queen seated herself beside her children, — the one a boy, and the other a girl, — and putting one of her round white arms about each of them, said in a motherly tone, "What do you want, my dear children?"

"Dear mother," said the boy, "we do n't know what." "We are so sad," said the girl. "It is so beautiful here in the garden, and you have all that heart could wish. Why are you not happy?" said the queen, and a tear came into her eye, out of which a kindly soul was wont to laugh.

"What we have does not give us joy enough," said the girl; and the boy added, "We want something and know not what."

The mother was troubled and silent, and thought, What can the children wish for, to make them happy, besides the fine garden, these handsome clothes, abundance of playthings, and agreeable food and drink. But she could not find out what it was they thought of.

"Oh that I were myself again a child," said she to herself, with a gentle sigh. "Then I could soon know what would make my children happy. But I have roamed too far from the land of my youth, where the gold birds fly through the trees of Paradise —

those birds that have no feet because they are never weary and need no earthly rest. Oh that such a bird would come and bring my darlings what will make them happy."

And lo, as the queen was wishing for it, suddenly there hovered over her, in the blue sky, a wonderful bird; a splendor shot out from it like the flame of gold and the glitter of precious stones. It came nearer and nearer; the queen saw it and the children, who cried, "Ah, ah!" and for very astonishment could find no other words.

The bird was very lovely to look upon, as, flying lower and lower, it sank down, so shimmering and shining with a rainbow-glitter, almost dazzling the eyes, and yet attracting them. It was so beautiful that the queen and the children shuddered with joy as they felt the waving of its wings. But before they anticipated it, the wonderful bird had alighted in the lap of the queen-mother, and looked at the children with eyes like the gentle eyes of a child, and yet there was something in its eyes which the children did not understand — something strange that made you shudder. So they did not venture to touch the bird, but they saw that this strange and beautiful unearthly creature, under its variegated and glittering feathers, had some of a deep black, which could not be seen at a distance. But the children had barely so much time to look at this fair and wonderful bird as it has taken to tell of it, before this bird of Paradise without feet rose and shimmered, often higher and higher, till it seemed only a colored feather floating in the sky, then only a streak of gold, and then it disappeared, but until then they all looked at it with amazement.

But oh, wonderful, when they looked down again how were they astonished anew. In the mother's lap lay a golden egg, which the bird had left there. Oh, how it glittered, so green-gold and golden-blue, like the most precious Labrador stones and Mother of Pearl. The children both exclaimed with one mouth, "Ah, the beautiful Egg!" But the mother smiled delightedly, gratefully surmising that this must be the precious thing yet lacking for her children's happiness; the egg in its shell, glittering with magic colors, must contain the talisman which would assure the children of that contentment which is denied to the old, and would quiet their anxiety and childish trouble.

But the children could not be weary with looking at the beautiful egg, and in that forget the bird who brought it. At first they did not venture to touch it; but at length the girl laid one of the tips of her rosy little fingers upon it, and suddenly called out — while her innocent face flushed with purple — "The egg is warm!" Then the boy also carefully tapped it with his finger, to see if she had spoken the truth. At last, the mother laid her delicate hand on the precious egg, and — what followed? The shell broke in two, and a creature came forth wonderful to behold. It had

wings, but was not a bird, nor a butterfly, nor a bee, nor a dragon-fly, and yet it was something — only not to be described. It was the CHILD'S DELIGHT with vari-colored wings, glittering with many hues — itself a child, — the child of that marvellous Phantasy — the STORY (Märchen).

These children of a king are mankind in their Paradise of Youth, and Nature was the beautiful tender mother. By her wish she had brought down for them that wonderful bird, Phantasy — which has such elegant gold feathers, and also some that are very dark, and in her lap it laid the golden Egg of Story.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

University Sermons. Sermons delivered in the Chapel of Brown University, by Francis Wayland, President of the University. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. VIII. and 328.

The Artist's Married Life, being that of Albert Dürer. Translated from the German of Leopold Schefer, by Mrs. J. K. Stoddart, reprinted from the London edition. Boston and Cambridge. 1849. 12mo. pp. XXIV. and 258.

Essays and Sketches, by Caroline W. Healy Dall.

> "I have besought the stars with tears, to send
> A power unto me." FESTUS.

Boston. 1849. 16mo. pp. VIII. and 116.

Pompeii and Other Poems, by William Gates Dix. Boston. 1848. 12mo. pp. VIII. and 160.

The Woodman and Other Poems, by William Ellery Channing. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. IV. and 92.

The Oriental Bath, a Poem, with a brief outline of the more important parts of Hygiene, and Instructions in the Use of the Bath, with additional Remarks of Combe, Andria, Bell, Slade, Urquhart, Savory, and Willis, by C. B. Peckham, Proprietor of the Oriental Baths, Pelham Street, Newport, R. I. Salutem felicitatemque promovero frustraque non vixero. Providence. 1847. 12mo. pp. 48.

The Vision of Sir Launfal, by James Russell Lowell. Cambridge. 1848. 12mo. pp. 28.

Rational Psychology, or the Subjective Idea and the Objective Law of all Intelligence, by Laurens P. Hickok, D. D., Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary of Auburn. Auburn. 1849. 8vo. pp. 718.

Important Doctrines of the True Christian Religion explained, demonstrated, and vindicated from Vulgar Errors, &c., &c., being a Series of Lectures delivered at the New Jerusalem Church in Cross Street, Hatton Garden, London, by the Rev. S. Noble, &c., &c., with an Introduction by George Bush. New York. 1848. 8vo. pp. XVI. and 486.

Golden Gems for the Christian, selected from the Writings of Rev. John Flavel, with a Memoir of the Author, by Rev. Joseph Banvard. Boston. 24mo. pp. 128.

Man shall not Live by Bread alone. A Thanksgiving Sermon preached in Newburyport, Nov. 30th, 1848, by T. W. Higginson, Minister of the First Religious Society. 2nd Edition. Newburyport. 1848. 12mo. pp. 12.

Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1678–9. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 224.

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By Samuel Brown.

ART. I.—1. *The Zoöist for* 1848. London.
2. *Journal du Magnetisme:* Quatrième Année. Paris. 1848.
3. *Blätter aus Prevorst.* Stuttgart. 1833–39.

IT is by no means the purpose of this article to enter into an extensive and penetrating criticism of the details of Mesmerism. Its object is not nearly so difficult of execution. It simply proposes to consider how far the phenomena of zoömagnetism do really deserve the serious investigation of inductive science; to convey to such readers as may not yet have attended to the subject, even as a literary appearance, some vivid conceptions concerning the sorts of things asserted by mesmeric authors; to pronounce a short, certainly not an uncharitable, and if possible a just, scientific judgment regarding the general character of the statements of the science; and to bring the universally accredited fact of the mere mesmeric sleep or trance into harmony with the system of Nature, so far as that system seems to be understood.

It is well known to the students of modern British literature that Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the "inspired charity-boy" of Charles Lamb, a poet of deep-going insight and most musical expression in youth, a well read and original metaphysician in manhood, an agonizing divine in old age, and altogether one of the most lustrous of modern spirits, bestowed a great deal of study on the subject now approached. It is duly recorded in a note to Southey's Life of Wesley, that, after having considered the question in all the aspects in which it had then been presented, and that during the course of nine years, he could not conscientiously decide either for or against the claims

of Mesmerism. It is worthy of notice, however that the word *Mesmerism* stood in the vocabulary of that time as the sign of nothing more nor less than the apparent transference of one species of sensibility to the organ of another on one hand, and the faculty of farseeing on the other; an equivalent which is far from sufficient for the symbol at this time of day. Furthermore, Coleridge did undeniably study the evidence in favor of such Mesmerism from an unwarrantable point of view. For example, he examined the testimony for the so-called fact of farseeing in inseparable connection with the theory usually advanced in explanation of it; being of the prejudged opinion that "nothing less than such an hypothesis would be adequate to the satisfactory explanation of the facts." This was to investigate the grounds on which an asserted thing was made to rest, but it was to investigate them with an intellect predisposed against the only conceivable idea of the possible fact, and that was to investigate them with an intellect predisposed against the very possibility of the asserted fact itself. Yet the evidences of Mesmerism were able to bear the scrutiny of this searching and not uncolored eye: They were "too strong and consentaneous for a candid mind to be satisfied of its falsehood, or its solvability on the supposition of imposture or coincidence; too fugacious and unfixable to support any theory that supposes the always potential and, under certain conditions and circumstances, occasionally actual existence of a corresponding faculty (of farseeing, inseeing, foreseeing, &c.,) in the human soul." The parenthesis in the last sentence is our own.

Every body must be aware, of course, that the inquiries of so hungering and thirsting a student as Coleridge always was could not consist in attendance upon ever so large a number of stray lectures or *séances*, or the perusal of the half-literary pamphlets and paragraphs that constitute the staple of mesmeric literature in Great Britain and America, or a professional glance through the notorious misreport of the French academicians. "Nine years," says he, "has the subject of Zoö-magnetism been before me. I have traced it historically; have collected a mass of documents in French, German, and Italian, and from the Latinists of the sixteenth century; have never neglected an opportunity of questioning eye-witnesses (as Tieck, Treviranus, De Prati, Meyer, and others of literary or medical celebrity); and I remain where I was, and where the first perusal of Klug's work had left me, without having advanced an inch backward or forward." Thus and after

such a career of bookreading, this "most spacious of modern intellects," to repeat the epithet applied to him by Thomas de Quincey, could neither bring himself to accept, nor suffer himself to reject the statements of the higher order of experimentalists and observers in this dim recess. Yet he was a scholar peculiarly qualified to give a righteous judgment in so complicated a controversy. He had wrestled with almost every science one after the other, like the illustrious Goethe, and not let them go without leaving their blessings behind them. He was a good physiologist, as well as familiar with all the points of view from which the higher phenomena of humanity can be contemplated. His late posthumous work on the Idea of Life, indeed, exemplifies the most singular familiarity with the details of Natural History, Physiology, and Physics; and it is that unspeakable familiarity which consists, not in remembering scientific things by rote, but in knowing them by heart. Above all, he was a truly great master in Methodology, or the science whose laws are the rules of scientific discovery; for one may venture to express the matured opinion, that the dissertation, prefixed to the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana*, approves our present hero the greatest English writer on Method since Francis Bacon published his *Instauration* and his *Organon*. Nor needs any body be ashamed to profess himself afraid to speak with ridicule or indifference of a vast fabric of statements before which a sage so good, so learned, so penetrating, so catholic, and so candid as Coleridge was obliged to pause in anxious doubt, after nine long years of research.

This example, however, contains another and a very different lesson. What a contrast does this long-suffering skepticism present to the easy credulity of the majority of proselytes! Here a divine, there a physician, and here a man of science, are seen eagerly embracing the doctrine and the allegations of the disciples of Mesmer, without any thing worthy of the name of methodical investigation; but because they, the allegations and the doctrine, appear to pass at once into easy consonation with this or that crotchet of their own. The neophyte of the New Jerusalem perceives at a glance that Mesmerism is unconsciously though essentially Swedenborgian, and therefore Mesmerism is true or very easily proved to be so: The homœopathist soon observes that mesmeric cures are all reducible under the rule of Like to Like, and therefore they are undeniable: The disciple of Schelling is delighted to

notice that the trance is an emphatic illustration of the duality of things, and therefore there is no mistake about it! Far be it from us, however, to insinuate that the dualistic scheme of the Universe, Homœopathy, and Swedenborgianism are nothing but the crotchets of the visionary: nay, we revere the mighty spirits, who are represented and perpetuated by these outward embodiments of their potent lives, with a kind and a degree of reverence which can be shared only by the St. Pauls, the Keplers, and the Aristotles of the world. But there are men about the purlieus of the Church and the School, in all ages, in and by whom things the most sacred, the most beautiful, and the most important for their truth are degraded into crotchets and minims: and it is of such characters alone that we have dared to speak with some severity in the present paragraph. Nor is such severity unwarrantable, for the formation of a candid scientific judgment concerning new presentations is one of the most sacred duties of the scholar and the student.

But what shall be said of the levity with which so many of the laity have espoused the cause of Mesmer! We have known such light-hearted inquirers, after having sped their shaftlings of ridicule at some Dupotet or Spencer Hall of a morning, attend a peripatetic lecture in the evening; and no sooner have they seen a fellow solidified in some grotesque attitude upon the platform, or heard his head played upon like an instrument, or wondered at his writhing and wriggling in vain towards a heap of money the audience has laid upon the table for his reward if he can reach it, than they have hastened home with exultation in the character of what they call Believers in Mesmerism. Then there follows a crowd of the most unmeaning experiments, without a plan and without a result, without an initiative and without an aim. Every other chair in a hundred drawing-rooms is occupied by a passive subject, and every other by an operator more passive still in reality, for he is only one of fifty straws in the breath of a paltry popular delirium. The young disciples soon proceed, of course, like Gratiano in the play, to "talk an infinite deal of nothing, more than any man in all Venice"; and the city is not long of swarming with the frivolous convertites of the new science: —

So fools rush in where angels fear to tread!

To rise, however, to things and thoughts more easily asso-

ciated with the venerable name of Coleridge, it is a significant circumstance of Mesmerism that the celebrated Strauss, a man of unquestionable erudition, of the most laborious habits of study, of singular coherence of thought, and the most remarkable system-builder of his age, has not only considered but accepted the science. The people of Christendom are becoming aware that Strauss has shown himself, in his far-famed Life of Jesus, to be incomparably the most formidable opponent that has ever withstood the popular Christianity of Europe and America. That singular work has agitated many of the best intellects in the world to their very foundations, and moved many of the best hearts to their most sacred depths. Now, one may reject the mythological hypothesis of the history and the present phenomena of Christianity in the world, as it is expounded in the wonderful performance at present referred to; but nobody can blind himself to the fact that one of its very strongest points, especially for the Anglo-Saxon mind, resides in the use the ingenious author is able to make of his reception of the higher phenomena of zoö-magnetism. It is, indeed, an incidental and supplemental, rather than a systematic one; but not the less important in a practical point of view on that account. If it be true that the paltry, conscious, intentional Mesmerist of to-day can make water taste like any wine he chooses to his subject guests; and if analogy demands the consequent possibility of making water look, smell, and touch like any such wine, so as to become veritable wine so far as the spell-bound patients are concerned; what is to become of the miracle at the marriage in Cana of Galilee? If the mesmerized do actually heal diseases without material means, or with only such amulets as a little clay lifted from the ground and tempered with spittle; if they can see athwart the earth and look on their antipodes; if they can prophesy the future, in ever so limited a range; if they ever become so intimately coadunated with such as are put in communion with them, that they share the memories of their unbosomed victims, and read off all that they have suffered and done; if they behold visions of the dead and the angelic; if the mesmerizer can become invisible to them at his will; in fine, if they sometimes rise superior to the centred force of gravity itself, and ascend into the bosom of the air: who shall find courage to deny that the supernaturalities of Old and New Testament life may possibly, if not probably, have been a manifold and normal manifesta-

tion of certain noble faculties native to humanity; faculties overlaid by the specific functionalities of every other nation than the peculiar people of God, and among them awakened into full activity only in their highest men and women; faculties, the morbid and impotent struggle of which towards development has been actually going on in almost every age and country, and can be witnessed by the curious in nearly every district of the world to-morrow or the next day; faculties, in a word, which are destined to add a new glory to life with their completed efflorescence, in those happy æons in which the Race shall be drawing near its first or terrestrial goal! It is true that all the things contained in this long sentence cannot be attributed to any one author, either mesmeric or theological; and they are neither to be inculcated nor repudiated at present. They have been brought together, in this instance, solely for the purpose of setting forth the great importance of a thorough investigation of the so-called science of Mesmerism, whether the inquiry is to end in the utter rejection, the unqualified acceptation, or the critical modification of its claims. Nor is this importance not deeply felt in quarters where the impregnability of the popular Christianity is a thing of far greater moment than it is with us; for Tholuck of Halle, perhaps the greatest of the theologians now belonging to the school of orthodox protestantism, has not only become convinced of the general truth of Animal Magnetism, but he has actually proceeded to speculate and write upon it in his own way, in order to confront and do battle with the positions of such as Strauss. On the other hand, there is the case of Professor Bush. That ingenious interpreter, dissatisfied with the common way of conceiving of the resurrection of the dead, and holding by the Bible as the sole and sacred oracle on the subject, proceeded to reinvestigate the scriptural phraseology concerning it. These inquiries into the true meaning of the word put for Resurrection in the New Testament soon became an elaborate examination of all the language held, in Testaments new and old, anent the nature of man. The conclusion at which our philologist arrived, after a careful comparison of instances, was nothing less than the proposition that is implicitly, if not very explicitly, inculcated in the holy scriptures, that a man is composed of body, soul, and spirit; the soul differing in nature from the spirit quite as much as from the body; the difference between the three being a genuine difference in kind. It seems to have been in

this way that Mr. Bush developed for himself the conception that the spirit, or godlike element, is ensouled in or invested with the soul, just as this, the ensouled spirit, is embodied in or invested with the body. He learned to conceive of the soul as being the spiritual body of St. Paul; and then the doctrine of the resurrection was as clear as day. When the body, or earthly house, is dissolved, we have the soul, a house with God, around the indwelling spirit. The body stript off by the serviceable hand of Nature who lent it for awhile, the spirit stands up within the shapely soul. This upstanding or anastasis is the resurrection; and the moment of a man's death is also the moment of his rising again. This is not the place to enter into controversy with either those views or the grounds on which they are presented; it is not the place either to dissent from or agree with their reviewer: but it is very much to the purpose to observe that not only has the Professor found additional conviction in the phenomena of zoö-magnetism, and especially in the hypothesis he adopts for the explanation of these phenomena; but these, the phenomena and his hypothesis of them, have been not a little instrumental in converting the hard-eyed exegete into an enthusiastic though somewhat self-asserting disciple of Swedenborg the Swedish Seer.

The mixing up of the phenomena now referred to, however, with the more momentous interests of theological doctrine, is by no means confined to such high-places of the field; for it is undeniable that the religious opinions of many among the laity in Europe and America have been disturbed and thrown into dissonance, if not seriously modified, by their vague convictions concerning the statements and experiments of the magnetist. Such disturbance, it ought in justice to be added, has neither always nor generally been of an ungenial kind. It is competent to our knowledge, on the contrary, that not a few earnest, if unmethodical inquirers of this great class have been dislodged from the position of materialism by the hints of Mesmerism. There are undoubtedly many of these slight but eager students, whom their notions regarding such amazing things as clearseeing have enabled, for the first time in their lives, to peruse the New Testament with patience, respect, and hope. In a word, Mesmerism, be it what it may, has actually opened the Bible to thousands; the Bible, of which it is enough for our present purpose to observe that the history of Christendom has demonstrated it to be at least the most

potent manifestation the world has yet beheld. Now it appears to us that it were inhumane and disloyal not frankly to accord the rights of an impartial inquisition to a topic, which is working such serious effects in the depths of a multitude of our brethren's spirits. Surely, if Mesmerism can be and literally is brought or forced into connection with the highest question that can engage the attention, the sooner Mesmerism is tried and set in order the better for all concerned; the better for its more crude believers, the better for its few real investigators, and the better for the prudent spectators of the controversy.

It is not only Theology, moreover, but Physics, also, that begins to be entangled with Mesmerism; and this is a circumstance very much to the point. It is now several years since the Baron von Reichenbach, a man of experience, an elaborately trained experimentalist, a chemical analyst of acknowledged excellence, and a discoverer of facts, commenced the indagation of these subtile and escaping phenomena from the side of purely physical science. Nor do the results, obtained by this patient adept in the positive method of inquiry, conflict with the still more startling things asserted by the authors of a less sensuous school. He seems, in fact, to have rediscovered, in his own more cautious and ascendental way, many little phenomena which have long been known and alleged by the followers of Mesmer. He appears to have found that magnets and crystals (or statically polarized matter) on the one hand, as well as light, heat, electricity, galvanism, and chemical action (or dynamically polarizing matter) on the other, exert the most unlooked-for influence over the nervous-systems of four or five out of every twenty human beings. Chemical action going constantly on within every visible point of the animal frame, he has not only found that one person may affect another in a similar manner, but supposed that therein resides the power of the magnetic operator. He has endeavoured to explain the vaunted might of the old mesmeric *baquet* on the same principle; on the principle, namely, of the vast amount of chemical change that is going on within it. Like Mesmer, the careful chemist has been forced to infer the existence of a peculiar fluid or force, resembling but differing from light, heat, and the rest of the so-called Imponderables, in order to render his observations coherent and intelligible. There is no present need of discussing his hypothetical views. It is enough to take cognizance of the signifi-

cant fact that an eminent physicist is now engaged in the study of phenomena, long included in Mesmerism, from the physical point of view. Nor is it less important to remember that his researches were introduced to the world of science under the auspices of Liebig and Wochler, that the late illustrious Berzelius has reported somewhat favorably regarding them, and that his experiments are of such a kind as can be readily repeated by any one who chooses. Suffice it, also, that the effects asserted to be produced by the agents enumerated above consist, for the most part, of peculiar sensations, generally more or less obscure, sometimes very pronounced and even pungent, now pleasurable, now painful, in one case distressing, in another restorative and exhilarating, but always unique and unmistakable. For example, some of his patients see beautiful flames, of some six, eight, or ten inches in height, twisting and turning around points where the common eye sees nothing at all; at the poles of strong magnets and large crystals, at the finger-ends of some human hands as well as about some people's lips, at the free ends of long wires the moment the other ends are immersed in vessels containing substances in the process of chemical reaction, and so forth. It were little short of an insult to the understanding of Reichenbach and his editors to mention that the whole investigation was conducted with the most stringent precautions against imposture or illusion. But it is by no means unbecoming to observe that the Baron's earliest subjects were chiefly patients either laboring under or recovering from deep-rooted diseases of the nervous-system; and it is not easy to escape the suspicion that they were all predisposed to such disorders: a remark which applies with equal force, however, to the most remarkable subjects of mesmeric experimentation. This circumstance is not mentioned for the purpose of derogating from the value of the experiments in question, so much as to render the occurrence of such exceptional and curious things more intelligible, or at least less repugnant to the maxims of ordinary experience. In case, however, any body should draw out of it an argument against Von Reichenbach's procedure, it may be well to qualify it by the statement that we were informed about a year ago, by his English editor, Professor Gregory of Edinburgh, that the Baron had for some time been confining his experiments to patients apparently in a state of perfect health, that is to say, a state of as good health as other people enjoy. At that time he had no fewer than sixty sound minds

in sound bodies testifying to their perception of his new lights, and permitting themselves to be used as dynamometers for the discovery of the properties of his new preponderable!

As for the character of those who have unreservedly advocated the cause of Vital Magnetism, we are distinctly of opinion that the body of mesmeric authors is very far above the contempt of any man now belonging to the commonwealth of letters. In Great Britain, indeed, there has yet been published nothing remarkable; but the genius of Britain has never been the foremost in the newer and more vague departments of science. It holds back till a science has gained a rooting in the earth, then steps forward and plucks its richest fruits. This proceeds partly from the national caution and reserve, and partly from the essentially practical tendency of the national mind. The English intellect cannot go to work until it has something very sensible to work upon. It ignores the embryotic. The merely dynamical cannot awaken its curiosity. It prefers a visible somewhat to all the forces in the world. It swallows sulphuric ether and chloroform with avidity, but it rejects the thought of one nervous-system being struck into insensibility by the reaction of another, with something very like disgust. The stomach is its type, not the lungs. It likes a good mouthful of its subject, for it cannot digest the air. In one word, it might have been predicated that the mind of England would have been the very last to accord any thing like a kindly reception to such chameleon's food as trances and clearseeings. Notwithstanding all this, however, there are really some respectable names among the British authors on Mesmerism. Mr. Colquhoun is a man of good training, a disciple of the Scottish psychology, and not unacquainted with anatomy and physiology. Elliotson and Engledue are capital observers and clear writers, although their point of view is lamentably one-sided, being that of materialism; a circumstance which will certainly vitiate their doctrinal conclusions and consequently embarrass their writings, even while it does not diminish the value of their observations. It must likewise be granted that Chauncey Townshend, Spencer Hall, Harriet Martineau, Atkinson, and Dove, to say nothing of Braid the hypnotist and Esdaile the Indian operator, are all single-hearted and intelligent lovers of truth and man. If they are neither philosophers nor possessed of very rare scientific endowments, they are certainly honest, fearless, and disinterested people. The same sort of things has to be said

of American authorship on the subject; although it is likelier to receive an adequate investigation in the United States than in the mother-country.

It is to France and Germany, in fact, that the inquisitive student must turn in quest of the veritable authors in this strange department of literature. From the Marquis Puysegur and Deleuze down to Dupotet and Teste, there have been hundreds of elaborate productions written and published in Paris. A large proportion of these works have been composed by men engaged in the study and practice of medicine; and all of them by men of education. They consist chiefly of details, they contain innumerable cases, they are deficient in classification, they generally dispense with theoretical generalization altogether, they are worth little as conclusive pieces of inductive research, and they are full of exclamation; but still they argue zeal, probity, philanthropy, intelligence, and some degree of scientific culture. In Germany the disciples of Mesmer are, for the most part, of another order altogether. Passavent, Eschenmayer, Meyer, Ennemoser, and Kerner may be taken as good specimens of them. They are students possessed of such an amount of book-learning that there are few of our men of erudition but would show like dwarfs beside them. They are industrious in historical research beyond our usual conceptions of literary industry: Eschenmayer has now edited and mostly written some fifteen quarto volumes on the subject. They illustrate their cases and their theories with quotations from Plato, Aristotle, Plotinus, and Proclus, to say nothing of Pythagoras; from the ancient literatures of Persia and of India; from the Egyptian remains; and from the Bible. All the mystical library of mediæval Europe seems to be familiar to their indefatigable fingers. The fathers and the Rosicrucians are alike laid under contribution by these relentless inquisitors. They have consecrated their lives to their labors. They are philosophical rather than scientific, descendental in their method rather than inductive; but they are also the faithful and humble narrators of the facts they have observed. They are the opposites of the Frenchmen. They generalize to excess. Their speculations are profound, far-reaching, coherent, and beautiful; but the disciplinarian can descry no sufficient basis of fact, even in their own pages, for such singular superstructures. But let there come what may over the fortunes of Mesmerism, the ingenious student is certainly warranted in

maintaining that it is impossible for any candid mind to refuse an earnest and prolonged scrutiny to a body of evidence that has satisfied and fascinated men of so much philanthropy, so much perspicacity, so much disposition to appeal to nature, talent so rare, and learning so vast as are now to be found among the Mesmerists of Europe. Nay, it appears to be right and dutiful to declare that the claims of zoö-magnetism appeal no longer to the forbearance or the charity of the man of science, but to his sense of duty and right. The sacred obligations, of the critical sort, that lie upon the professed scientific leader, seem to be but ill understood in these boastful days. He should learn that he is a priest in the temple of Nature; and feel that he stands between God's semi-articulate creation and the people. He is the appointed guide of public opinion within one domain of universal interest. It is his implicit duty to be on the watch for every new form of truth, or even important error, that reaches the horizon of the times. He should be so well instructed in the dignity of his calling as to be exalted above the employment of anger and contempt, denunciation, and ridicule, as the weapons of his cause. The world expects him to be as open as the hemisphere to ascending lights; as charitable as the air to every coming shape, especially when appearing in something like a questionable guise; and as cool as the catholic sky itself in judgment. Above all men he professes to know how unfixt and expansive is the growing system of knowledge, and therefore above all men he behoves to be the very soul of chivalry in opinion. The spirit of Christian chivalry is wanted in the schools. Why, if we will take every man who differs from our scientific creed for a foe, shall we not be noble enough to borrow an epithet from Emerson, and call him our "beautiful enemy"? Let us imitate the gentle knights of old, salute him first with courtesy in the lists of honor, cry God and the Right, and then have at him with courage, but not with rancor. Let us fight not for victory, but for truth; and rejoice to be vanquished by the hero who is dearer to truth than we. Would not so gallant and manly a procedure become us better than the obstinacy of a theory of the Universe quite made up and concluded, than the sneer of imbecile discipleship to some narrowminded master, or than the indolent conservation of the little knowledge of this "ignorant present time"? Let us for any sake be generous in the entertainment of one another's sincere convictions. At all events, let us duly pay

the reverence of an undisputatious examination to the cherished opinions of every large number of our fellows. Lies cannot rule them. It is only by so much of truth as exists within error that it lives and is productive. Let the ingenuous critic, then, be affectionately curious to discover what amount of saving truth there resides in every system — theological, philosophical, or scientific — that is quick enough with life to acquire a footing in the world; sure that a multitude of sincere, enthusiastic, intelligent, or even average men, is never wholly in the wrong.

It is evident that the system of statement, denominated Mesmerism in the gross, is in these very circumstances. It has won itself a standing-place in literature. Its disciples increase in numbers, intelligence, and literary power every year. In Europe, in America, in India, its votaries signalize themselves by industry, energy, and beneficent enthusiasm. To bring this plea for a fair hearing to a close, it is surely as manifest as the sun that it will no longer do for sciolists and fribbles, be they collegians or what sort they may, to push aside with a contemptuous word that huge imbroglio of allegation and belief before which a spirit like Coleridge stood nine long years an eager skeptic: which opposing theologues, such as Strauss and Tholuck, discuss as an established, but imperfect science; and which includes philosophers, men of science, physicians, men of letters, and a crowd of intelligent people among its devoted adherents. As for those frivolous creatures, whose nature it is to sneer at every new light that climbs the zenith, careless whether it be a meteor of the moment or a perennial orb, they had best, (to borrow one drop of gall from the keenest sarcast of the day,) "they had best take themselves off at once, for Nature does not acknowledge them."

We shall now enter on the second part of the task before us, namely, the conveyance, to such as need it, of a distinct conception of the kinds of statement advanced by mesmeric authors.

It is necessary to premise a few things. The brain, the spinal chord or marrow, and the nerves that ramify from and to them, to and from the rest of the body, are united under the collective name of the Cerebro-spinal Axis. This axis may be roughly divided into three great elements: the cogitative element, the sensitive one, the voluntative; to say

nothing of the respirative tract, or any thing still more obscure. The first is the brain, considered as the material minister of intellection, emotion, and propensity; these coarsely defined subdivisions being collected under the representative adjective, cogitative. The sensitive element is simply the sum of all the nerves of sensation, specific and general, taken together with the sensitive columns of the spinal chord. The voluntative part of the axis comprises the nerves which subserve the exercise of will, together with the motive columns of the chord. It should also be remembered that the nerves of sensation and voluntary motion are spread so profusely over the body, and they branch so minutely and multifariously into the structure of every tissue, that Beeland makes the striking observation that if it were physically, as it is mentally possible to dissolve away all the bony, muscular, cellular, and vascular substance of the body, and leave the naked brain and spinal chord alone, with all their countless ramifications of nerve, there would still remain the full and shapely figure of a man; like a statue cut out of almost bodiless marble. Now it is this filamentous image which is thus shed throughout the grosser body of a man, that constitutes the cerebro-spinal axis: nay, it is this pure cerebro-spinal axis that is the veritable man himself, physiologically speaking. The bones, the muscles, the skin, the tubular vessels of all sorts, the membranes, the sheaths of the nerves themselves, the glands, the hair, are all so many supports, and riggings, and feeding-tubes, and gas-pipes, and breweries, and roofings, and ornaments of this superexcellent cerebro-spinal axis. The rest of the body is but a manifold investiture of the precious nervous-system within. The axis requires to have the visible images of things brought full and clear upon it, for example; and straightway there is a little portion of its substance spun out into the form of a pearly white sheet or retina; a globe is built round that suspended surface, chambers of liquors and an optical lens are fitted up within the base before the outstretcht curtain of nerve, a hole is left in the forepart of the sphere, and a transparent sort of watchglass is glazed in the place, the back of the retina is bedewed with a dark pigment, cordage and pulleys are fixed to the whole affair, to wheel it one way and another like a telescope, a thousand indescribable delicacies of contrivance are superadded — and there is produced an eye. It is the same with the rest of the organs. The nervous-system is the true body of the soul.

To hasten forward from these preliminary observations, and to say nothing of such minor effects of Vital Magnetism as are included in Reichenbach's researches, the numerous things described by the disciples of Mesmer may be classified under five heads. It is not pretended that the five classes, about to be defined, comprise all the statements of fact that have been adduced by these writers, but they certainly do collect and distribute the scattered heap of matter which constitutes their common creed. Our classification, indeed, is chiefly intended as a means of brevity; but, in addition to its literary convenience, we trust it will be helpful to the uninitiated reader in another way. It must be clearly understood, also, that each definition of a class is by no means closely applicable to every fact coming under that class. Each classific definition is the generic description of a multitude of recorded statements of cases. The word *Rose*, for instance, as defined by the Botanist, does not cover the particularities of any and every rose, but only those properties which it possesses in common with all the roses in the world: it is a generic, not a specific, and still less an individual description.

It is stated and accredited by the Mesmerist: —

I. That when two nervous-systems are suffered to exert their natural influences on one another, in favorable circumstances, one of these nervous-systems occasionally, or rather frequently, becomes non-cogitative, insensitive, and involuntative: or, to state the thing as it more generally happens in fact, one of them falls into a state more or less approximate to such ultra-generic or ideal condition. One of them ceases to be an individual for the time being. One of them is entranced; the mesmeric trance being totally different from common sleep, although it may yet be found to be intimately and importantly related to that kind of death in life. The circumstances most favorable to its production, apart from nervous disease, are the existence of the nervous-lymphatic temperament in the subject of trial; the shutting out of strong light, of noise, and, in a word, of all external forces which are calculated to solicit and keep awake the animal sense of self; the state of interior bodily repose which follows the digestion of a moderate meal; and the use of various manipulations on the part of the experimentalist. In other words, the cue of the operator is to cut off the solicitations of outward and internal sensation as much as possible, and then to proceed with the employment of every means he can devise for

the purpose of bringing his own cerebro-spinal axis to produce its natural effects upon the less forcible axis of the patient. Sometimes, however, one imagines himself capable of subduing his superior in energy of this sort, and the intending fascinator is fascinated by the intended victim! It is supposed that, with sufficient perseverance and consent on both sides, one of every pair would pass into this sort of trance, after exposure to such mutual influences, "with all appliances and means to boot." This brief description is that of the total entrancing of one of a pair; and it will be apparent to the careful reader that the language in which it is expressed is not technical in one sense of the word, while it purports to be very much so in another. It is not couched in the phraseology of the regular Mesmerist, because that phraseology implies a foregone conclusion: but we have endeavoured to put it in words as naked as possible, so far as hypothesis is concerned. In fact, abjuring the dialect of the science of Mesmerism, we have affected that of the science of sciences, or methodology. Renouncing the technicality of the pleader, we have run the risk of an excess of that of the judge. We have accordingly represented the mesmeric trance, a word that might have been dispensed with but for the carefulness of our definition, as nothing more nor less than a state of functional inactivity, into which one cerebro-spinal axis is flung by the neighbourhood and reaction of another one, when the usual impediments in the way of such natural reaction are sufficiently diminished or altogether removed. Suppose some interfering force were to stop the career of a planet round its sun, an interference essential to some higher manifestation of planetary life, it would not be the less true that the natural action of the sun upon the planet is such as is fitted and intended to make it revolve; and no sooner should the interfering force be put in abeyance than the retarded planet would resume its involuntary race. Again, by the superinduction of another, a higher, though a more specific force than that of chemical affinity, the otherwise impossible frames of plants and animals arise out of the dust; but the moment the energies of that vivifying power find themselves neutralized by the circumstances in and through which it works, the inferior but more hardy agent of chemical changes reasserts its freedom, and those fine tissues crumble into dust again. Now this first class of mesmeric statements of fact simply implies that there resides a force in one of every two nervous-systems, of a

purely neurological nature, which is potentially capable of playing the basilisk to the other, of paralyzing the other, to use the phrase in its etymological and not its medical sense, of negativing the other, in a word: potentially, but not actually; or rather, not actually in the ordinary circumstances of animal life; for there is a superinduced somewhat which is generally sufficient to preserve the weaker from the stronger, and to prolong its individuality. The weaker, in fact, is provided with an interfering force, by the aid of which it offers continual resistance to the more powerful cerebro-spinal axis; a resistance which is sometimes altogether vain, as in the case of the poor bird under the eye of the rattlesnake; a resistance, some refining Mesmerists would say, which is never wholly successful, for, even when no sensible approach to the trance is produced, the potent brain and nerve are sure to dominate over the feebler by the mere force of superior nervous energy; a resistance from which the only refuge is in sleep or death. It is the idea of the perfect trance, however, that has to be considered at present. All the so-called higher phenomena of Mesmerism take place when this trance is incomplete; or rather, when it has been complete, but the patient has more or less partially awaked to individuality. So that, in a scientific point of view, they are in reality the lower phenomena, if they be phenomena at all related to Mesmerism, and not accidents troubling and perplexing its legitimate effects. The absolute trance, in which there is no thought, nor any possibility of thinking, so long as it remains entire; no feeling, and no voluntary motion, is the highest phenomenon of the zoö-magnetic force. The other appearances occur in those who are partly disentranced: and this brings us to the description of the second sort of statements made by the Magnetists. It may be conveyed in the proposition:

II. That in the first stage of disentrancement, or, to speak more classically, disenchantment, the patient is in such a condition that a touch will awake one of his phrenological organs, while all the rest continue locked up. This is to be regarded as a stage or degree of disenchantment, notwithstanding the fact that the untouched organs are functionally bound, because the touch of the operator is unable to open even one of them so long as the patient is in the perfect trance. It seems to be a stage, the existence of which is to be inferred from the experimental test alone. The fact, that a phrenological organ answers to the touch, is the sign that the spellbound

nervous-system has come out into it. The consequence of the state and the touch is picturesque. The liberated organ springs into solitary activity, unchecked, unbalanced, and untoned by the natural energy of the remainder of the cerebral organization. When the organ, or, more strictly, the gnomon of Veneration is discharged, the patient instantly falls into the attitude and expression of adoration; and that not only unconsciously, but with a degree of character quite inimitable by the actor, and approaching, as nearly as an everyday organization can do so, to one's ideal of the saintly nature when under the sway of an ecstacy of worship. As soon, however, as Veneration is suffered to elapse into bondage, and the gnomon of Combativeness is set free, the seeming saint is transmuted into the effigies of a ruffian; but, if Time, Tune, and Language are played upon together, the villain is dissolved in song: and so forth. It is of course a condition of the possible truth of this kind of statement that Phrenology be founded in nature; Phrenology, however, not as a doctrine of the constitution of man, but only as a system of physiognomy; Phrenology not as organology, but as organoscopy. It is not necessary to the admissibility of such statements, that is to say, that the gnomon of Veneration, for instance, be the source of all the conditions essential to the manifestation of worship; it were enough that the gnomon in question be a source of some of these essential conditions. To take a major example, it is undeniable that the brain furnishes conditions of the showing forth of human character; but that is a very different proposition from that which describes the brain as the organ of thought. The greater part of the world of thinkers, and that in every sense of the adjective, is of opinion that thought proceeds through the brain, not from it. A Mesmerist, accordingly, who is not a materialist, but who perceives that all his phenomena are connected with the nervous-system, would rationalize on this class of facts somewhat in this way: It is the nervous-system that is paralyzed, the spirit is intact, its activity is unwearied, it is ever ready to burst into any and every kind of action, and the instant an exit is opened in this cerebral gnomon or in that, its energies are displayed; the music it makes being that of the instrument unsealed. Those magnetists, on the other hand, who regard their act as psychical rather than phrenological, reject this class of statements, or rather they resolve them into another one, which will be defined below. The school of Mesmerism is actually divided

into these three sections, so far as phreno-magnetism is concerned. Engledue is a specimen of the thoroughgoing phrenologist, we take Ennemoser to be an illustration of what we would call the gnomonologist, and Colquhoun exemplifies the psychologist in this question. It is no business of ours to enter into the merits of the controversy: suffice it that almost every body has witnessed some of the experiments with which it is connected.

III. The third class of assertions put forth by our enthusiasts is this: That in another degree, or perhaps another kind of disenchantment, there is established a community of sensation between the person mesmerised and the mesmeriser, or between the former and some substitute for the latter. What is perceived as a sensation by the latter is shed over to the former nervous-system. The operator sips a glass of wine, and the other member of this singular pair begins to move his tongue upon his palate, opens and shuts his lips, and looks in every way as if he were tasting the generous liquor. If salt be put upon the tongue of the manipulator, the subject spits it out; and so on. The patient will occasionally even analyze a composite flavor, and put the analysis into words, if properly managed. We remember seeing a case in which the experimentalist took a mouthful of alum-water mixed with sulphuric acid; and forthwith the patient twisted her lips and compressed her nostrils under the distant influence of the compound abomination, muttering "It is sour; It is bitter." The last sentence is by no means contributed even as an infinitesimal moiety of evidence in favor of this kind of thing. We distrust our unaccustomed powers of observation, in this complicated sphere of investigation, too much to attach the smallest fraction of value to any thing we might say, of the experimental sort, under any of these classific heads of ours. It might have been added, that the experiment was made with rigor and scrupulosity, but not that we considered ourselves competent judges of what constitutes sufficient scrupulosity and rigor in such complex and important circumstances; and happily it is of no moment, for the incident has been adduced wholly for the literary purpose of bringing out the distinctive character of this class of so-called facts.

IV. The next kind of phenomenon said to be frequently exhibited by patients in a certain, but as yet quite indeterminate, degree of deliverance from the state of total trance, is like the last. It is the same as the last, indeed, with some-

thing much more astonishing superinduced upon it. In reality there seems to be no sudden transition from grade to grade in this reawaking. The ascent from this Hades is not a stair but an inclined plane. One patient is prone to stop at one point, another at another, of the dim-lit spiral. The numerous cases on record are accordingly found to glide into one another, when considered from a critical point of view; but some classification is necessary. The phenomenon allocated to this fourth class of ours, then, consists in the circumstance that not only the sensations, but also the conceptions and volitions of the operator are transfused into the subject member of the pair. When the former sips some wine, the latter tastes it too, but that is not always the whole scope of this curious communion; for it frequently occurs that when the mesmeriser only conceives of wine with vividness and intensity, the thought of wine is transferred to the patient. In such examples it is alleged that, the operator reproducing a lively image, say it were the image of some deceased or absent friend or foe, a faint but true phrenotype of that person is impressed on the cerebro-spinal axis of the subject in this degree of the mesmeric trance. In a word, were any pair to fall into this particular species of mutual relation in its ideal perfection, then the planetary nervous-system, the patient, namely, would share all the cogitative movements of the solar one. This is called the phenomenon of double consciousness; and the reader will now easily understand how the psychological Mesmerists, as we have designated them for the sake of distinctness, refer the so-called instances of phreno-magnetism to this class. They maintain that either the operator, or some one in the room, is of necessity aware of what phrenological organ is being touched; an act of expectation, if not of volition, accompanies this knowledge; and, in virtue of the (undeniable) fact of common consciousness, the hope or the wish, connected with the very intention of touching this gnomon or that, is not disappointed. It is on the same principle that the staunchest members of this section of the zoö-magnetic school explain the greater portion of what is contained in the revelations of the Poughkeepsie seer. The people about him were medical men, Swedenborgians, new-light Unitarians, Mesmerists, students of such books as are contained in Chapman's catholic series, readers of popular scientific books, and particularly of that unwise work, the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation"; in fine, enthusiasts, but not highly culti-

vated ones, men of progress but not men of substantial habits of study; a company, however, one might say, of the half-educated laity corresponding with what is perhaps the best class of scholars now in the world. The notions of such a band, gathered into a focus within the brain of the poor lad, and, after due commingling with his native rays, reflected on the wondering retinæ of his witnesses, seem to have been the raw-material of light from which these Poughkeepsie illuminations were spun. Such, at least, is the judgment of such Mesmerists as hold by the present class of facts, while they reject phreno-magnetism together with spirit-seeing, inspiration, and the like. In so far as our present purpose is concerned, phreno-magnetism is quite as acceptable as double consciousness; but a double consciousness admitted for the sake of argument, it certainly appears to cover the case of Jackson sufficiently well. The illiterate character of the book, even after the devoted scribe's redaction, the utter absence of either scientific or poetic method from its motley page, and especially its want of simplicity, are all in favor of such an interpretation. But the horrid, half-digested bits of Swedenborg, Fichte's popular works done into English, Davy's incongruous dream in the "Last Days of a Philosopher," Taylor's "Physical Theory of a Future Life," the "Vestiges," and Mesmerism itself, are enough not only to nauseate the curious, but also, one would have thought, to lower the pulse of the enthusiastic. This disgusting figure of speech, however, is justified only by the revolting pretensions with which the book was ushered into public notice. Considered in itself, it is a curious and even an interesting production.

V. The fifth class of those statements of fact which have been reiterated by the continuators of Mesmer, is the most startling of them all. The very supposition that it may be true, is calculated to fill the mind with awe. Even those who laugh at it, as one of the oddest of human mistakes, cannot divest themselves of the sense of its sublimity as a fiction, if it be no more. It is the large and varied set of averments included under the general denomination of clearseeing, or, as we shall call it, farseeing. According to all accounts it seems to be dimseeing, rather than clearseeing, at all events. It is dimseeing to extraordinary distances. It is always seeing to a distance; for, if it be true that a patient ever saw into his own lungs, or into the brain of another man, he may be said to have seen to as unusual a distance as if he had seen

the inside of the moon. We speak of a shrewd fellow seeing as far through a millstone as another, although the thickness of that instrument is not many inches. Opacity is the literary equivalent of space in such an instance. English authors should accordingly write about this asserted fact as the phenomenon of farseeing, if they wish to be at once correct and idiomatic. It is, perhaps, a pity that a figure of speech derived from the eye was ever employed at all. It would certainly have been more scientific to have signalized the phenomenon as that of immediate perception, or some such thing: but farseeing is good enough for the purposes now in hand.

In this kind of partial disenchantment, the patient enters easily into conversation with the person that is put in relation with him. If she is desired by the latter to inspect his liver, she does it; and she reports her findings in infantile, imperfect, but not inexpressive language. If requested to go to a neighbouring city, and discover how some friend of the interlocutor's is engaged, she will do so in a trice. She will look to India as readily as across the street, and report the Mexican war with as much fidelity and facility as the quarrel of a pair of gossips over the way.

> I'll put a girdle round about the earth
> In forty minutes!

There is a society at present in a state of activity on the continent of Europe, in which they are sending their happy patients to Venus and the Moon, as well as the rest of the planets, including Neptune. The strange thing which these voluntary academicians assert and reassert is this: That patient after patient gives substantially the same accounts of the same planets, and that in circumstances where collusion seems to be impossible. Now, if a hundred patients describe the surface of Venus as something very unique, and if all the hundred give the same description, it must certainly "puzzle the will" of the poor experimentalist! Many of our readers have doubtless been gravelled by such vaticinations. Were it our cue, we could amuse them with our own experience of these lucid states, as they are sometimes called, of the artificial ecstatic. Our sole object, however, is to draw a clear outline of this miraculous system of statement as it occurs in books; satisfied that every body who is familiar with the literature of the subject, will allow these definitions to be not only moderate, but even subdued. They are very far, at

all events, from being overcharged. We exclude from the classification a number of things still more unlikely, when considered from the point of common experience, than any of those which have been mentioned; and that upon the just principle that the majority of mesmeric authors themselves do not receive, if they do not reject them. They do not fairly belong to the creed of the body of magnetic authorship. We refer to instances in which patients have been represented as sharing the memories, as well as the sensations and present consciousness of their mesmeric opposites, so as to be able to tell them what manner of life they have led; instances in which the gift of prophecy has been said to be superadded to double memory and farseeing; instances of daily communion with the world of spirits, supposed to be interdiffused through that which we inhabit; instances of patients speaking in unknown tongues, intelligible to other ecstatics; instances, in fine, of every sort of wonder that has yet been recorded in the early literatures of the world. Before dismissing this list with a smile, it should be remembered as very curious in a literary point of view, that Zschokke, the well-known Swiss author, a patriotic politician, and a very worthy man, has duly recorded the fact, in his Autobiography, that he was the subject of double memory several times in the course of his life. Without any preparation or expectation on his part, he several times fell into relations, now with one person, then with another, of such a sort that he seemed to remember bygone years for that person as well as for himself. Never having seen nor heard of them before, he suddenly became the participator of their past experiences, in so far as these were connected with memory; and he often put it to the test by asking them if so-and-so had happened to them, at such-and-such a place, in this-or-that year! For particulars, the reader must have recourse to the pious and excellent story-teller's own delightful pages. It is but fair, in the meantime, to give the ultra-mesmerists the advantage of such support as is to be derived from the wide-spread reputation, the undoubted ability, and the acknowledged probity of the celebrated Swiss.

Such, then, are five kinds of phenomena, affirmed to be very frequently produced by the natural influence of more energetic nervous-systems upon feebler ones; the perfect trance, the phreno-magnetic trance, the trance of double sensation, that of double consciousness, and that of farseeing: to which may one day be added that of double memory, to be put before

the last one; that of prediction to be put after it; that of spirit-seeing after the manner of Swedenborg next; and then that consummated ecstasy, in which the blessed subject of enchantment shall seize the universal speech of heaven!

But now the question is, Will you believe all these five things? The reader is perhaps disposed to ask us if we believe them all ourselves? Nor is the answer far to seek. It is briefly and distinctly as follows.

Let the first of the classes be kept apart from the other four, and we do not believe these four, the higher phenomena as they are called, from phreno-magnetism to farseeing inclusive, in the manner in which we know and believe the received composition of water, the demonstrated distance of the sun, or any of the accredited truths of positive science. It has been shown that the magnetists themselves are by no means agreed about phreno-magnetism, so that a mere scientific spectator is more than warranted in suspending his opinion. As for the remaining three classes, if that of double consciousness be once admitted, not only is that of double sensation explained by it; but also so large a number of the facts recorded under the head of farseeing are rendered conceivable by the admission, as to bring the exceptions under suspicion. The phenomenon of double consciousness itself, however, would remain undisposed of; and still less like other things in the universe of human knowledge than ever. Notwithstanding our inability to accept these four classes of so-called facts, as they at present stand in the literature of science, let it be clearly understood that we do not reject them; we do not disbelieve them; we only do not believe them. We do not pronounce them ridiculous, nor assert them to be the results of imposture combining with coincidence. We only think them not proven, nor even rendered likely.

The degree of evidence necessary to produce conviction regarding allegations so stupendous, is very difficult of access indeed. It must be enormous in quantity, it must be unquestionable in quality, it must be accumulated by the most skilful and patient investigators, and it must be coördinated with infinite precision. Not only are such statements too extraordinary and astonishing to be admitted by the scientific mind without astonishing and extraordinary testimony to their correctness, but the inquiry is so frightfully complicated with physical, physiological, hyperphysical, and psychological per-

plexities that it probably surpasses in complexity every subject that has yet been attempted. With these profound impressions of the momentous and marvellous nature of mesmeric statements of fact, familiar with the well-known difficulty of properly observing and truly recording the simplest new facts even in unmixed physics, and feelingly aware of the peculiar and very numerous fallacies and impediments which waylay the footsteps of investigation in this particular department, we are content to be skeptics in the sense of being considerers. Hanging over all these allegations in a state of suspense, the requirements of our understanding are not satisfied with the acceptation of them; but there is so much coherence among the descriptions of many and widely diverse authors on the questions in which they are involved, the majority of these writers are so sensible and calm, and there is such a world of good faith apparent in the higher literature of the whole subject, that we cannot set all these things aside as either the baseless fabric of a visionary school upon one hand, or as a tissue of cunningly devised fables on the other. As the students of Methodology, however, we think ourselves competent to express the opinion that there does not yet exist, in the published and well-known records of Mesmerism, any thing like a digest or induction of unexceptionable, orderly, and carefully unfolded experiments, such as is demanded by universal consent in the other sciences of nature. We repeat, then, our decision that the whole case is not proven; and the happiest thing that could befall the destinies of Mesmerism would be the appearance of a truly great thinker at the head of the cause; a thinker as simple and ingenuous as Spencer Hall, possessed of experimental skill as remarkable as that of Reichenbach, as good an anatomist as Engledue, a physician of originality like Elliotson, as subtle and pliant a metaphysician as Coleridge, as learned in all things as Echenmayer, as devout as Tholuck, as inventive as Strauss, and as clear in the literary expression of his results as Harriet Martineau. As soon as such a man shall begin to devote a lifetime to these involved and reinvolved inquiries, we shall begin to become sanguine of the palpable solution of them in one way or another. In the meantime, let the present investigators of zoömagnetic phenomena study with diligence the best models of research, and combine with order and steadfastness for the production of purely experimental works, capable of producing scientific conviction.

There is, however, another sort of conviction than that which is scientific in its origin and scope. For example, a student may be powerfully impressed with a sense of the truth of the very four propositions of fact now under discussion, after having gone through a great deal of candid case-reading, or after having witnessed a multitude of apparently searching experiments; and yet feel obliged to confess, to himself and other inquirers, that his conviction is by no means methodical or scientific. Such seems to have been the position of Treviranus, when he assured Coleridge that he had seen such things, at mesmeric sessions, as he could not have believed upon the authority of his English interlocutor; and added that he accordingly did not expect them to be believed on his own testimony. Yet it is this sort of unaccountable conviction that carries the day with the vast majority of people. It is a forefeeling of the truth, not a perception of it; and that forefeeling may, in any given case, be an emotive illusion; just as the demon of the delirious patient is a sensuous one. Science puts no confidence in such forefeelings, such irresistible impressions, such convictions. It demands a clear, copious, and unexceptionable comparison of instances; but it must at the same time be confest that it is only the man who lives and labors under the influence of this very sort of emotive conviction that will ever accomplish the triumph of an inductive demonstration in this case, or any other. All the great discoverers in history have proceeded in that way. There has always been, first, the forefeeling of their new truths shed into them from the surface of evidence most insufficient; then there has followed the life of consecration and toil; and then the attainment of an omnipotent scientific conviction, for themselves and for the world. The mesmeric reader will, accordingly, be pleased to regard us as somewhat hopeful though inexorable inquirers, rather than bigoted skeptics; even while we speak of some fifty years of continued and better-conducted investigation being the condition of the scientific spectator's pronouncing a definitive judgment on the questions at issue. At all events, if they think our demands upon their evidence exorbitant, they must just be reminded that their demands on our belief are altogether exorbitant too. At the same time, we implore the neophyte to be invincibly diffident of coming to a decision in favor of the four classes of factual statement at present referred to, under the suasive force of any thing short of absolute scientific compulsion; for

our whole philosophy of nature and of man will require to be revised, as soon as they are admitted into the canon of accepted truth. Remembering that it were quite as unwise, however, to cover them with ridicule, or to visit them with angry denunciation, let us preserve the awaiting skepticism of just-minded men.

All this, it must be understood, is applicable only to the last four of our five classes of mesmeric statement. There remains the first of them, namely, that which contains the fact of the unbroken trance. We call it the fact of the trance without any hesitation, for it seems to be fairly and forever established as a fact. It is easy of observation. It is not complicated with the possible phenomena of illusion. It is not difficult to put it to the test of crucial experiment. It has been repeated a million times and more. Almost every body has seen it. Nobody questions its occasional occurrence, whether it be called the state of hypnotism, that of magnetic sleep, or that of mesmeric insensibility. People of worldwide reputation have gone into it, such as Agassiz and Harriet Martineau; and they have attested its reality. The mos painful of surgical operations have been performed on patients thrown into this trance, which is at least as profound as the kind of insensibility produced by ether and chloroform. Dr. Esdaile has set the question of its existence and its depth for ever at rest; if his guarded and unexceptionable testimony were necessary. It must be regarded as a settled thing, and now for its explanation; for, whenever a new fact is clearly and irreversibly made out, it behoves the scientific critic to assign it a place in the system of things. For the sake of the intellectual exercise, if for nothing else, let us endeavour to put this one in its niche.

The fact itself is simply this. When two cerebro-spinal axes are brought into circumstances of relation, propitious to the exertion of their natural influences on one another, one of them frequently does, (and, if care enough were used, probably always would,) fall into a trance vastly more profound than the soundest ordinary sleep; in which it is insensitive, involuntative, and non-cogitative. Is there any thing abnormal in this? Is it unlike the rest of nature? Might it not have been anticipated? Why, when two celestial bodies are brought to bear on one another, what transpires? One of them, the feebler in stellar force, becomes astro-negative to the other, passes into the state of motion round the other in

the natural state of rest; and forms a double unity with the other, in which their primary functions are the true opposites of one another, namely, motion and rest. As soon as two chemical atoms are placed in similar circumstances, that is to say in atomic neighbourhood, there takes place a similar induction of opposite states between them, and a third somewhat results from the union of the atomo-positive with the atomo-negative elements of the pair; a somewhat which is neither, and yet both at once. When pieces of zinc and copper are put in contact, the copper is instantly struck into a state in which it is metallo-negative to the zinc. Suppose a slip of copper in the very process of being dissolved in a chemical menstruum, let it be touched with zinc and it ceases to display its susceptibility of solution. The chemical activity of the copper is instantaneously paralyzed. It is in a chemical trance.* Now, suppose it for a moment to be possible that one nerve of sensation should become neuro-negative to another nerve of sensation; suppose it possible that one nerve should be able to induce an opposite state upon another one, and that by simple nervous neighbourhood; suppose it possible that one nerve should fall into the same relation to another one as copper sustains to zinc in the metallic pair, as hydrogen to oxygen in the atomic pair, as the moon to the earth in the stellar pair; what state would be superinduced on it, the negative one of the pair of supposititious nerves, namely? In other words, through what quality in the nature of nerves should one nerve of sensation, for instance, manifest the fact that it were negative to another? Doubtless through its primary quality, its individuating quality: the rest of nature is unanimous in repose. That quality when predicated of a nerve of sensation is sensitivity; of a nerve of voluntary motion, it is voluntativeness; of a nerve of thought, it is cogitativeness; using these awkward words to express the shares contributed by the mere nervous-system towards the showing forth of sensation, volition, and thought. To return, then, to our provisional supposition, and to specialize it, suppose that one optic nerve could, in the nature of things, be suffered or made to fall neuro-negative to another optic nerve,

* We do not by any means wish such words as *metallo-negative*, *atomo-positive*, *astro-negative* to be introduced into the vocabulary of science. We should detest them as much as any body else. They are employed in the present emergency solely to subserve the passing literary purposes of the paragraph.

and it is clear that it would pass into a neurological state, so far as its differentiating quality as a particular part of nature is concerned, the direct opposite of that natural or positive state in which the other would remain. It would instantaneously fall into a state of insensibility to the specific action of visible bodies. It would be struck blind. But let it be supposed, furthermore, that not only the optic nerve, but also the whole of the sensitive, voluntative, and cogitative constituent elements of one cerebro-spinal axis were to fall neuro-negative to the corresponding parts of another nervous-system, it is evident that the former would lapse into a genuine trance or suspension of all its functions as a nervous-system, in other words, into the magnetic sleep; which is the very thing to be explained. It is in this way, in conclusion, that we propose to coördinate the fact of the true mesmeric trance with the rest of the system of nature; by bringing the conception of it, namely, under the idea of polarity, under the law of dualism, under the binary theory of the phenomenal.

This will not appear to be a rationalè of the phenomenon under discussion to such as expect the ultimate reason of a thing in an explanation of it. But there are no ultimate reasons in inductive science. The law of gravitation, as it is generally called, is not the ultimate reason of celestial movements, for example. It is simply the statement of these phenomena, abstracted from all details, unadulterated with any spurious hypothesis; and then presented to the experimentalist, the observer, and the computator for the discovery of its conditions, proportions, and specific manifestations. The same sort of sentence has to be pronounced upon the law of chemical induction and neutralization, as well as upon those of electrical and common magnetic induction, and so forth. The astronomer is not only incompetent to assign the ulterior cause of the approach of a planetary body towards its sun until it come within a certain distance from it, when it proceeds to revolve around it in that elliptical line which is the resultant or resolution of the inexplicable force which draws it towards the solar centre, and of the equally inexplicable force which hinders its going nearer that centre than any one of all those points which make up the ellipse in which it moves; but the inquiry into the essential nature of these coöperative forces is quite out of his sphere as an astronomer. The mind perceives and can find out no last and inevitable reason why oxygen and hydrogen, brought into the requisite atomic neighbourhood of

each other, should unite in order to the production of that similarly inexplicable tertium-quid, a molecule of water, the mesothesis or resulting unity of its two coefficients. Nor can any body declare why or how the simple contact of zinc and copper should induce states in them so opposite that the chemical energy of the former is exalted, while that of the latter is rendered equal to nothing. It is in a manner precisely analogous that the zoö-magnetist is unable to state, and is incapable of ever descrying, how it is that, circumstances being favorable, one nervous-system should precipitate another into a condition of what may be called physio-psychological non-entity. The cases are truly parallel; and all that has been attempted, in the foregoing paragraph, has been to place the phenomenon now considered into methodological connection with those of the physical sciences adduced: and it now behoves the experimental Mesmerist to determine the conditions, the ratios, and so forth, of this new and most important species of induction.

Nor has this view not been intuitively hinted at during the whole course of Mesmerism in history. The magnetist has always been surmising the existence of another kind of imponderable fluid, analogous to magnetism, electricity, and their congeners, in order to explain his phenomena, that is to say, to bring them into coherence with the rest of our physical knowledge: and that from Mesmer down to Reichenbach. The very phrases, animal magnetism, vital magnetism, zoö-magnetism, and so forth, are the indications of the fact. The scientific interest, working obscurely within these adventurous observers, is never done pointing, like another magnetic needle, to the necessity for a new plus and minus, a new positive and negative, a new mode of polarization, in order to the conceivability of their allegations; and they imagine they have found what is wanted in some unheard-of magnetical fluid. From the very birth of languages, the air has been a favorite similitude for spiritual powers; a similitude so cogent as to have frequently become almost identified with that which it has been taken to symbolize. In more recent times, the conception of the air has been refined upon and subtilized into that of an imponderable fluid, for the purpose of explaining certain physical phenomena. Witness caloric, light, electricity, and the other hyperbolical auræ of modern science. The error of the poetic childhood of humanity is repeated in his scientific youth! The latest movement of physics, however,

is towards the rejection of those creatures of the immethodical mind. Sound thinkers begin to see that they are mere idols. Vibrations and vibriatuncles are now taking their place; the new conception emanating from the analogy of sound, the vibrations of which appear to be visible to the eye, as well as potential in the ear. In fine, the physicist is able at last to look at bare facts, without investing them with beggarly shifts. Yet this victory of naked truth is slow as well as sure. The Newtonian mode of stating the fact of gravitation was once abused as mystical, whereas it was precisely the reverse. It was those fluid-mongers who were the mystics then, as they are now. They invent they know not what, in order to escape the dire necessity of confronting pure force face to face. They cannot think that common matter is sufficient for its own energies, and therefore they project a family of matters extraordinary for the purpose. One might well wonder if these ghost-loving schoolmen ever inquire whether a series of subter- or super-fluids be not needful for the sustaining of their favorites from the invisible world. Since the calorific fluid must be devised for the sake of expanding solids, liquids, and gases, it is surely the next necessity of the case to devise something else to produce the expansion of caloric! But super-caloric, as this second creation of the calorician's "heat-oppressed brain" would fall to be denominated, must likewise be provided with an expansor, a super-super-caloric; then this double-superfine imponderable were just as needful of an actuator as the original caloric himself; and so on in an interminable series, as appalling as it were fantastical: —

> What! will the line stretch out to the crack of doom?
> Another yet? — A seventh? — I 'll hear no more.

Nay, but caloric is self-expansive, the lingering disciple of Doctor Black will urge. Well, is it not just as simple, and far more direct to affirm that the gases are self-expansive in all conditions, while liquids and solids are self-expansive under conditions which are very determinable? The fact is, that solids and liquids are potentially self-expansive bodies, in which the self-expansive tendency is overcome by the contractive energies of nature, gravitation, and cohesion; precisely as a plant or an animal is, chemically speaking, a putrefactive body, in which the tendency to fall down into putridity is overcome by the superior force of vitality. The instant a living substance ceases to be the subject of the upholding power of life,

it succumbs to those inferior forces which melt it down again into the rest of nature. And the moment a solid or a liquid body is relieved from the constraint of cohesion and gravity it expands.

This mode of affirming the influence one cerebro-spinal axis possesses over another should, accordingly, by no means repel those Mesmerists who are watchful of the tendency of science towards a dynamical view of all natural phenomena; although, with the exception of the ultra-psychological section of their own school, they have been hitherto hankering after some mysterious fluid, supposed to pass from the operator to the patient, or from the patient to the operator. The gist of the argument, which is now pressed on the attention of these enthusiastic investigators, is simply to the effect that there not only is no necessity, but that it is also bad methodology, to have recourse to the mystical generation of airs, auræ, winds, afflatus, wareens, animal-magnetic fluids, new imponderables, or other nonentities, in order to bring the phenomena of Mesmerism within the range of intelligibility, that it is to say, within the pale of recognized analogy. As to the rational grounds of the zoöpolar force, of vitality proper, of chemical affinity, of common magnetism, of cohesion, and of gravity, they are beyond the reach of science altogether. In a word, the rational grounds of things lie out of the province of a merely scientific methodology. They belong to the possible domain of philosophy, properly so called: but it is a domain not yet begun to be realized in any direction; and probably not realizable until after the discovery of a new philosophical organon, more potent than the syllogism, the process of induction, or the doctrine of antinomies. In the meantime, the man of science must willingly confine himself to the study of phenomena alone, and beware of perplexing the world with impertinent nothings or ludicrous impossibilities.

Returning to the subject more immediately in hand, the inquisitive reader may demand a secondary explanation; a rationalè, namely, of the too indubitable fact that such entrancings as have just been discussed, are not constantly occurring and interrupting the business of the world. How is it that, when one half the world shakes hands with the other, the less fortunate of the halves is not plunged into this deepest of sleeps? Nay, how is it that the whole splanchnic or sympathetic system of nerves in the former does not likewise fall neuro-negative to that of the latter; and the heart, lungs,

stomach, and other vital organs consequently cease to play their all-important parts in the drama of animal life? How is it, in fact, that one half of us do not strike the other dead, like the basilisk of ancient fable; and the residuary demi-humanity divide itself again and again in fatal fascination, until the last man be prematurely left alone? The question is hardly fair, yet the reply seems to be obvious. It lies in the peculiar characteristic of a nervous-system, as contrasted with any other thing in nature. A nervous-system is reactive upon, or sensitive of the movements of all the rest of creation. So is a sun, so is a planet, so is an atom: the disturbance of the smallest mote disturbs the universe. But a nervous-system is more: it is sensible that it is sensitive of the motions of things. It is sensitive of itself. Were it not so, the query might well arise, Where does the body of a man end, and the rest of nature begin? Are the bones, are the nails, is the cuticle, is the hair the body? Is the whole of nature not the body of the soul? No, because the sensation of his sensations sculptures a man out from the rest of nature: and he walks abroad the paragon of animals, as well as a denizen of the supernatural world. Nor is his (merely animal) individuality left at the sport of polarity. It is protected from that otherwise inexorable law by the myriad of sensations which shower down on the periphery of his cerebro-spinal axis from external nature, as well as by its own innumerable movements of volition and thought; while the respiratory and sympathetic nerves are solicited day and night by the pressure of the blood at the heart, the touch of venous blood at the lungs, and so forth. The nervous-system is kept awake by the inpouring and outpouring tides of ceaseless sensation. Hence it is, perhaps, that the negative-polarization of the sympathetic and respiratory is impossible, and that of even the axis difficult and infrequent. These are possibly the reasons why the nervous-lymphatic temperament on one hand, and a powerful well-balanced nervous-system on the other; freedom from the digestive process; every thing that is monotonous, in the figurative as well as in the literal sense of the adjective; and the cutting away of as many as possible of the individualizing agencies that act upon the expected subject, are propitious, and even more or less necessary to the production of the phenomenon now criticized. Such, then, is our theory of the trance. It is the conception of the two cerebro-spinal axes, of different degrees of energy, brought into the relation of dual unity; the one-

being conceived of as neuro-positive or solar, the other neuro-negative or planetary; the former corresponding with zinc, the latter with copper.

If these observations had not already extended to so great a length, we should have been glad to assail the other theories of the trance that have been laid before the world, and to defend this one with more particularity and detail. Suffice it at present that, if any body were to bring forward the self-induced hypnotism of Mr. Braid's subjects, nothing is yet known of the distances at which one nervous-system can become negative to another; and that the steady contemplation of a bright or particular point may only concentrate the circumstances favorable to a person's being unconsciously entranced by another in the same room or house. The objector must also remember that every man is possessed of two brains, two spinal chords, two systems of nerves for sensation, and two for voluntary motions, although only one splanchnic or visceral system. Each of us is composed, in fact, of a pair of cerebro-spinal axes, and one of them is always a little different from the other. The more alike they are, the more regular the features, and the more insipid the character in general. In the dreamer, the seer, the poet, the philosopher, the man of prowess, there is always a visible inequality between the two brains and nervous-systems, which are thus sheathed in the skin and outer body of what is called a man. The Greek sculptors never pretermit this fact: they knew it probably without reflection; and they expressed it without hesitation. An excessive difference, on the other hand, seems always to be the gnomon of a violent and eccentric nature. Be the meaning of these hints what it may, however, each of us is, speaking physiologically and in sober reality, what one of the classical characters in British poetry is said to have been in an ideal sense of the words. Each of us is "two single gentlemen rolled into one"; and we venture to surmise, if not to suspect, that not only the hypnotism of the Manchester patients, but the common blessed sleep of every body else, is in reality connected with this sort of polarity: but from these fascinating subjects we must now refrain.

But what if all the four classes of allegation, which have been dismissed above without very much ceremony, turn out to be true! What if they only await the slow-sure revolution of the scientific year! The simple trance was long disputed, and even scouted, but it is now an indubitable fact! Is it not

at least possible that clearseeing, and all that sort of thing, may also become established on the accumulated experience of the ingenuous? The Hours alone can bring the answer to such eager questionings as these. As soon, however, as the observers shall have done their part of the work, and set the factual department of the subject beyond contention, we are ready to essay our own as critics; for it is our conviction that the theory of polarity is competent to the explanation of all the higher phenomena of Mesmerism, supposing them to be true. It was our original intention, indeed, to have dealt with these phenomena under such a temporary supposition as is indicated at the close of the last sentence. We should have done so, not as a scientific duty, certainly, but as a piece of high and exhilarating scientific sport. It would have been undertaken and executed in the spirit in which the hardest-working men will hasten of an evening, after the substantial and necessary labors of the day, to the cricket-ground or the wrestling-green. In the event of our readers caring enough about the matter, we shall perhaps summon them ere long to be the spectators of such a game. In the meantime, it is necessary and sufficient to point out, with forefinger as firm as iron, the most important consideration, that, whether the phenomena in question ever be made out or not, the circumstance can have no earthly relation with the majority of the wonders of the New Testament: and that for this one overwhelming and conclusive reason;—That the seers, healers, and wonder-workers of the Gospels and the Book of Acts are not the negatives, but the positives in their respective pairs, if they be any thing. It is not the patient that shows forth the marvellous latencies of the nature of man in the most significant of these sacred instances, but the operator; whereas it is the very reverse in the mesmeric couples. This single circumstance, in fact, differentiates those particular cases once for all from the mesmeric phenomena; and announces their belonging to another sphere of the hyper-physical altogether.

Art. II.—THE OCEAN AND ITS MEANING IN NATURE.

It is one of the peculiarities of the Ocean, that from whatever side we look at it, it makes a strong impression upon our mind. We may contemplate it merely with the physical eye, as it extends uninterrupted and restless beyond the limits of our perception; or we may consider it in a scientific point of view, with the eye of our intellect, as an agent of natural power, and ascertain the part which it has played in the history of our planet; or in its relation to natural history, as the principal seat of animal life; or in an economical and historical point of view, pointing out its bearing upon civilization and human development in general.

We intend to consider the Ocean in these different points of view, but, before entering upon the subject, we think it proper to say a few words about its relation to human nature, and the light in which it has been considered by the different nations from the beginning of history.

Let us first speak of the Ocean in its relation to human nature.

It may be said that there is between the liquid element and our inmost nature a deep affinity which is independent of external condition, since it is found among men in a savage state as well as among the cultivated. It is anterior to education, and is even witnessed in the child before he is able to understand its meaning.*

The impression which water naturally produces upon us becomes still more profound when we combine with it the idea of extent. Water under the form of the Ocean becomes then the emblem of all that is vast, illimitable, immeasurable. We adopt it immediately as the truest image of the Infinite. It is, as a poet said, "l'infini visible qui fait sentir aux yeux les bornes du temps et entrevoir l'existence sans bornes."

In a philosophical point of view, it would no doubt be an object of interesting study, to ascertain why this image is so natural and so generally received. It is obvious that it is

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* Those who live on the border of a sheet of water, the sea, a lake, or a large river, have often observed children, even of a lively and restless temperament, spend whole hours in looking at the water.

not extent alone which suggests it, since there are other phenomena — such as a desert, a prairie — whose dimensions, though not equalling the Ocean, nevertheless far exceed the limits of our vision, without impressing us in the same manner. Neither is it the vividness of oceanic impressions which constitute their striking character. Other phenomena of nature — such as high mountains, glaciers, great cascades — sometimes produce upon our mind an impression not less strong and perhaps more exciting. But this emotion is of a very different nature. That which strikes and moves us in them is, besides their dimensions, their definite form, their distinct outlines, their contrast with the surrounding objects, their individuality, in one word.

The Ocean has no definite form, no individuality, and this is the reason why it cannot be described. It is precisely in this absence of form that we have to look for the secret of its power. Indeed, if it be true that the solid form with its sharp outlines, — a crystal, for example, — is the most perfect expression of matter, the liquid form, on the other hand, wanting as it does a fixed outline, ever changing and impressible in all its parts, does it not remind us, in some degree, of this pervading essence that we feel existing within us, which is the foundation of our organization, and which has also neither form nor limit?

"To try to paint the Ocean is like trying to paint a soul," said an eminent critic.* And yet there is in the Ocean a real beauty, a real poetry, which in a measure is felt by every body, but which he alone can fully understand who from a high cliff has some time contemplated, at the edge of the horizon, the brilliant and warm colors of the sky melting into the soft and quiet tone of the surface of the waters, or he who has watched the waves in a storm, in their well-defined but transient forms, as they chase each other in endless succession. He also who, upon a still summer night in the tropical Ocean, has seen the stars glistening with equal lustre on the bosom of the deep or in the celestial vault, can understand why it was that the ancients made the Goddess of Beauty rise out of the Ocean.

This natural charm of the Sea is a sufficient explanation of the universal interest in all events which belong to the Ocean, which is felt even by those who have but a vague idea of it,

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* The author of "*The Modern Painters.*"

which causes, for example, the chamois-hunter to forget the dangers and attractions of his mountains, and the backwoodsman the panther of his wild forest, while listening to the narrative of the sailor, who tells him of the wonders of the Ocean. Even the adventures of Ulysses — would they have the same charm without his struggles against the waves and the tempest?

Admitting thus an intimate relation between the Sea and our inmost nature, we do not wonder at the beneficent influence which the Ocean has upon us, and which we find even in the generous dispositions and the open although rude character of the simple sailor. The Ocean is truly the friend of man. It not only affords pleasure for him upon whom life smiles, it has also consolation for him who has sorrow for his portion. The soul that suffers finds in it an almost instinctive assurance that there must be somewhere similar spaces, where his powers of expansion may be freely unfolded.

It is in this affinity between human nature and the Ocean that we have to look for the explanation not only of the importance which is given to the Ocean in the different cosmogonies, but also for this other fact — that most of them agree in considering the Ocean as the origin of all things. According to the Hindoo mythology, Brahma caused the earth to rise by stirring the Ocean with the mountain Menu. Homer represents the Ocean as the source of all that exists, —

'Ωκεανοῦ, ὅςπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, (*Iliad*, XIV., 246,) —

and even of the gods themselves. He calls it the father of all the gods:

'Ωκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν. (*Iliad*, XIV., 201.)

It is the same idea which we find, at a later epoch, at the foundation of several philosophical schools, especially of those of the Ionians and Eleatics, who considered water as the original element of all beings; and we know that the Stoics represented Neptune as the spirit of the universe manifested in the liquid element.

Κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ ὑγρὸν διατασιν. (*Diog. Laert.*, VII., 147.)

Even among the Indian tribes of the West we find the same idea. According to their tradition, the Great Spirit, in the form of a beaver, brought from the depth of the Ocean a mouthful of earth, with which he builded an island, which became afterwards the American continent.

When the nations of antiquity had reached a certain degree of civilization and attempted to personify the forces of nature, it was natural that they should assign an eminent rank to the Ocean. According to the condition in which the different people were placed, and the advantages or inconveniences they derived from the sea, they considered it sometimes as a propitious divinity and sometimes as a hostile power. For the Egyptian who derived his prosperity from the Nile and its periodical inundations, Osiris, or the Nile, was the beneficent god, the source of good, whilst Typho (including both the sea and the desert,) was the hostile divinity, the destructive element, whose incursions were dreaded as the greatest calamity.

To the Phœnician, who looked for his fortune on the floods, the Ocean was a tutelary divinity, and history teaches us that these bold navigators used to offer numerous sacrifices to the god of the Sea, before they embarked upon their adventurous expeditions.

With the Greeks, we find Poseidon (the god of the Sea) among the protecting deities of Hellas, and we know, also, that among the Romans Neptune numbered a great many temples, where sacrifices of all kinds were offered to him.

In the Scandinavian mythology the oceanic deities do not hold, as it appears, so eminent a rank. Ran or Rana, the goddess of the Sea, is represented under the form of a frightful old woman; she lives at the bottom of the Ocean and takes possession of all those who are shipwrecked. Her husband is the god Æger, who more particularly represents the sea in tumult. It appears that he was also feared by the old Britons, and, according to Carlyle, there still exist traces of this old tradition in some parts of England. In Nottinghamshire, the fishermen say, when a strong wind drives the sea up into the river Trent, that "*the Æger is coming.*"

The fact that the principal mythologies — those of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Greeks, and the Romans — took their rise on the border of an inland sea, (the Mediterranean,) early led these people to make a distinction between the Ocean (Ὠκεανός) and the Sea, (Πόντος,) that is to say, the Mediterranean. They represent the Ocean as an immense river surrounding both the land and the sea, but without mingling his waters with the latter. It is thus, also, that it is represented on the shield of Achilles; the same idea is met with in the Greek poetry at a much later epoch. We find

it even in the Prometheus of Æschylus, at a time when geographical knowledge had long proved it absurd.*

It was natural that the Ocean, considered as distinct from the Sea, should appear to the ancients in a more vague although not less imposing character. According to Homer, it is the primitive river, from which all the waters, the Sea as well as the springs and rivers, proceed. (*Iliad*, XXI., 196.) This same idea is set forth in the myth, in which we find Okeanos leaving his palace on the border of the great river at the extremity of the earth, and marrying his sister Thetys, from which union sprang the principal rivers of Europe and Asia. It is from the palace of Okeanos that the sun comes in the morning, and thither he returns at night. (*Iliad*, VIII., 485; XVIII., 240.) The twilight also dwells in its waves. (*Iliad*, XIX., 1. *Odyssey*, XXII., 197.) The stars bathe in his bosom, (*Iliad*, V., 6,) with the exception of one, the Polar Star. (*Iliad*, XVIII., 489. *Odyssey*, V., 275.)

Let us now speak of the Ocean in its relation to animated nature.

It would be a great mistake to consider the Ocean as barren and desert. Naturalists have long ago demonstrated that the sea and not the land is the principal seat of life. The land, to be sure, is the habitation of the most perfect animals, and as it constitutes, besides, the habitation of our own species, we feel naturally inclined to connect the idea of life more closely with it than with the Ocean. Besides, the land being less uniform, it affords more favorable conditions for the development of a greater variety of functions, among which there are several which we consider as characteristic of animal life, as, for instance, the faculty of uttering sounds and of expressing in this way feelings of pleasure and of pain, whilst almost all marine animals are dumb. Their senses in general are less sharp, and their power of locomotion not so perfect as in those animals that live on land.

But, on the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten that in the number of species, as well as of individuals, the Ocean, or at least the water, far excels the land; so that the total amount of life is far more considerable in the water than on

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* It was Herodotus who first opposed this idea of considering the Ocean as a river, since, says he, there are vast seas at the South and West, and nothing is known of the North.

the land. Among the thirteen classes into which zoölogists generally divide the animal kingdom,* there are six which are exclusively aquatic; namely, the three classes of the department of Radiata, the Jellyfishes, Echinoderms, and Polypes, which, with the exception of some few fresh-water Polypes, are, moreover, all marine. In the department of Mollusks, we find two classes exclusively aquatic, the Cuttlefishes and Clams. Finally, there is the great class of Fishes among the Vertebrates, which is entirely composed of aquatic animals. Among the seven other classes there is none, with the exception of the Birds,† which does not contain aquatic animals. Thus we have, among the Mammifers, the important order of Whales, which are all marine; among the Reptiles, the Tritons and many frog-like animals; among the Insects, a number of water insects. As to the Crustacea, or Crabs, they are almost exclusively aquatic, since they number but a few small land species; the Worms, also, are mostly aquatic, as are likewise the Snails. In the present state of our knowledge, it may be safely stated that two-thirds of the animal kingdom are aquatic. But as the marine animals are much less known than the terrestrial, it is to be expected that their proportion will be increased very much, especially if we include in our survey the extinct or fossil species, which are for the most part marine.

Whoever has looked down in a shallow, quiet sea, and has beheld the variety of creatures of all sorts — crabs, snails, worms, star-fishes, polypes — which live among the sea-weeds, may have some idea of the amount of life which is concealed in these submarine abodes. It has been observed by an eminent traveller, (Darwin,) that our most thickly inhabited forests appear almost as deserts, when we come to compare them with the corresponding regions of the Ocean. And yet those animals which we are able to follow in their abodes, as they jump, run, swim, spin round, creep, or balance themselves among the sea-weeds, are nothing in comparison to that host of smaller creatures, imperceptible to our eyes, — the *infuso-*

* Mammifers, Birds, Reptiles, Fishes, Crustacea or Crabs, Insects, Worms, Cephalopods or Cuttlefishes, Gastropods or Snails, Acephals or Clams, Medusæ or Jellyfishes, Echinoderms, (Sea Eggs and Five Fingers,) and Polypes.

† The fact of an animal being aquatic or terrestrial is best ascertained by the element in which it is born. Birds do not lay their eggs in the water, and therefore may safely be considered as land animals, although some species live almost exclusively *on* the water.

ria and *foraminifera*, — the number of which is daily increased by means of microscopic investigation, and which are all, without exception, aquatic. A single tuft of a small alga, or a bunch of polypes, is thus transformed into a forest quite as thickly inhabited as the shoal with its sea-weeds is to our naked eye. Besides, these minute animals are not, like most of the higher ones, limited to the shores and shoals; they are found even at the greatest depths of the Ocean, where no other animals seem to thrive. Mud from a depth of six thousand feet, on the coast of the United States, has been found by Professor Bailey to contain several new species of infusoria, and according to Ehrenberg, not only every sea, but to a certain degree the different depths of the Ocean, each contains species peculiar to it and not to be found elsewhere.

The number of individuals in the marine species is not less remarkable. We have only to reflect a moment on the quantity of fishes of different kinds, — mackerel, cod, haddock, eels, &c., — and also the number of lobsters, crabs, and clams, which are annually caught on the coast of the United States. Yet, in spite of these periodical destructions, they are found every year equally numerous. The phosphorescence of the sea affords us another striking evidence of the innumerable amount of individuals in certain marine species. In order to have an idea of it, one must have seen in a fine summer night the sea sparkling like a furnace at every stroke of the paddle-wheels, and have ascertained by direct examination that each sparkle is a little animal. Or one must have seen in the daytime the surface of the water teeming with those beautiful, little, transparent creatures of the class of Medusæ, (Beroe, for example,) and remember that these animals constitute the only food of the largest whales. Lastly, we may call to mind those coral islands of the southern seas, those whole archipelagoes, constructed by little animals of the class of Polypes, some of which are almost microscopic.

The sea along the coast of the United States is not inferior to any other, either in number of species or of individuals. Concerning the species that live near the shores, we have only to refer to the catalogues and surveys published by the different States, and as to those that are found in deep water, we may state, as an instance of their variety, that in an excursion on board of one of the vessels of the United States navy, among the shoals of Nantucket, it was only necessary to cast the dredge in order to get a rich collection of sea animals, for

the most part new species, or such as had not been noticed before on this side of the Atlantic. Among the species thus obtained, there is one which deserves a particular attention, in as far as it may be cited as an instance of the great amount of animal life existing unnoticed in the depths of the sea. The species in question belongs to a genus known to naturalists under the name of *Salpa*. They are little animals of the size of a small bean, gelatinous and transparent like crystals, and, what constitutes their most striking peculiarity, they are attached to each other in double rows, so as to form long strings like necklaces of crystals, which are called *colonies*. These curious animals had never before been noticed on this coast. The first specimens were dredged in an isolated state in the Vineyard Sound. Some weeks later, during the month of September, the vessel being at anchor in the bay of Nantucket, the surface of the water, immediately after a heavy shower, was suddenly seen teeming with elongated bodies like long transparent worms. The pilot, having been asked what these strange bodies could be, answered that it was the spawn of the Bluefish (*Temnudon Saltator*, Cuv.,) that came thus to the surface after a warm rain, as he had noticed it many times. Natural as this explanation appeared in consequence of the great numbers of those fishes which at that season of the year came to spawn in the bay, it could not entirely satisfy the naturalist who happened to be on board. He wanted to examine more closely the supposed spawn, and secured several strings. What was his surprise on finding, that instead of fish eggs he had before his eyes perfect animals, which not only moved by successive contractions, but in consequence of their great transparency allowed him even to examine in the most distinct manner the circulation within the body. They were seen that day only during a few hours, and disappeared suddenly towards sunset. Some days later, they came again still more numerous, and could be seen at the depth of at least five feet. It was thought that there were, on a moderate computation, fifty strings in sight, and as there were at least thirty individuals in a string, it was calculated that the total amount of individuals was not less than 500,000,000,000 for a square mile, without counting the free individuals.*

* The Salpas are among those animals in which that singular mode of reproduction, known under the name of *alternate generation*, is to be observed —the offspring never resembling the parents, but the grandparents. In the Salpas, the aggregated individuals produce isolated young quite different in shape, and these, in their turn, produce again the strings.

This fact, whilst affording us an instance of the prodigious quantity of animals that may live unnoticed in the depths of the sea, makes it at the same time conceivable that so many whales as are known to have existed previously along these coasts, could find there are an abundant supply of food, in the absence of other similar gelatinous animals, (Beroe and Pteropods,) upon which they feed in the more northern regions.

If we consider that each marine species is circumscribed in limits which it does not pass, or, in other words, that they are subject to laws of distribution and association, as precise if not more so than those that preside over the distribution of terrestrial species, we must allow that to the zoölogist, as well as to the philosopher, the conditions of aquatic life, and the peculiarities of the Ocean-bed by which these conditions are modified, are not less important to know than those which refer to the dry land.

Another consideration still increases the interest in these investigations; namely, the fact that it is chiefly by the study of the marine animals, and of the manifold conditions of soil, temperature, depth, and climate in which they live, that we are enabled to judge of the conditions of the earth in earlier geological periods, in as far as we may compare the remains of fossil species, their association, and distribution through the strata of the earth, with the condition of the analogous species now living on our shores.

The Ocean has also a great importance in a botanical point of view; for, although it be true that the marine plants are less numerous and diversified than the land plants, (the dry land being the chief seat of vegetable life,) there are, nevertheless, whole groups which grow in water, as, for example, the Algæ and the Fuci. As in the animal kindgom, we find also among plants that the aquatic species hold an inferior rank, and in the same manner as the lowest animals, the Polypes, are exclusively aquatic, so we find the lowest plants, the Algæ, only in the water. It is thus in the liquid element that the two kingdoms meet. There we find those seeds of Confervæ that spin round like Infusoria, and there again grow those animals which have all the appearances of a plant, a root, a stem, branches, and whose flowers are living animals. It is therefore by a comparative study of these oceanic forms that we can arrive at a true understanding of the relations that exist between the two kingdoms, and perhaps finally solve the important question which has so long puzzled naturalists; namely,

where the limit is between plants and animals, if there be any at all.

As to the inferiority of the marine and aquatic species, we ought further to observe that it is not merely a general rule, applicable to the great divisions, but that it can also be traced in the details. Not only are the marine animals and plants as a whole lower than the land animals and land plants; but moreover, if we direct our attention to those groups (classes or orders) which contain both land and marine species, we shall generally find that the latter are the lowest. Thus, among the Mammifers, the aquatic tribes, the Whales, are undoubtedly the lowest; among the Reptiles, the Tritons and Frog; among the Insects, the aquatic kinds hold evidently a very low rank; and there can be no doubt that among the Snails, the few species that live on land are superior to the multitude of marine tribes. Neither is it to be overlooked that among those animals which, in consequence of a metamorphosis, change their condition of existence and pass from one element into another, the progress is constantly from the aquatic element to the dry land. Thus the tadpole, which is exclusively aquatic, respiring by means of gills, becomes an air-breathing animal when transformed into a frog. The mosquitoes are at first small and dull worms living in water, and become afterwards the restless creatures that fill the air. But there is no instance known of an animal becoming aquatic in its perfect state, after having lived in its lower stage on dry land. The progress invariably points towards the dry land. This fact becomes still more important, if we remember that the first animals and plants which appeared on earth in the primary or palæozoic epoch were aquatic, and that it is not until a later epoch, (the epoch of the coal formation,) that we find, for the first time, land animals and land plants.

From whatever side we may consider the laws of the organic creation, — in its actual distribution over land and water, or in its distribution in time through the geological ages, or in the physiological evolutions of some of the animal species, — we are invariably brought back to the liquid element as the starting point of all progress. We may then say that the modern investigations merely go to confirm this great idea, which was vaguely anticipated by the ancient poets and philosophers, when they tell us that the Ocean is the origin of all things.

We will next consider the Ocean in a physical and geographical point of view.

The sea, as a whole, occupies more than two thirds of the surface of our globe. The distribution of the waters is another still more important point to consider. We know that, far from being equally distributed over the earth's surface, there is, on the contrary, the greatest diversity in this respect. It seems as if the land had been concentrated around the North Pole, whilst the opposite part of the spheroid is almost exclusively covered with water, so that if the northern hemisphere be designated as the continental hemisphere, the southern hemisphere deserves with still more reason the name of the aquatic hemisphere.

The relation of the sea to the land, and the manner in which this great body of salt water is separated by the continents, has caused it to be divided into several basins which we designate under the name of oceans. Thus we distinguish the Atlantic Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean. In certain respects these basins may be considered as mere gulfs of the great reservoir around the South Pole.

Each of these oceans has a character of its own, independent of those peculiarities which arise merely from the climate or the animals that live in it. Thus the leading feature of the Pacific Ocean consists evidently in the endless number of islands and archipelagoes which are scattered all over its surface. The Atlantic Ocean, on the contrary, has very few islands; but its shores are more varied. There is no other ocean which combines itself in so many ways with the land; where we find, for example, so many promontories projecting into the sea, and so many gulfs and sounds penetrating into the land. The consequence of this is a great amount of coast in a small space, as we see it exemplified in the coast of the United States, and in a still higher degree in the coast of Europe, where it has had a paramount influence upon civilization. The Atlantic is besides remarkable for having the greatest number of inland seas, which, although connected with the Ocean, are nevertheless so completely surrounded by the land as to be in some degree independent of its influence, and thus to have a character of their own; as, for example, the Baltic, and, above all, the Mediterranean. We may likewise cite as belonging here Hudson's Bay, and in some degree the Gulf of Mexico, all of which are connected with the Atlantic. The Indian Ocean, although less strongly

characterized than the two preceding, nevertheless, from the peculiarity of its long peninsulas derives a character of its own, which is not without importance, especially when considered with reference to navigation.

A thorough investigation of the Ocean ought not to be limited merely to its form and extent. The depth of the sea must likewise be taken into consideration. As a general rule, it may be stated that the sea is less deep near the coast than at a distance from it. Thus the coast of the United States is bordered in its whole length by a zone of shallow ground, which, according to its peculiar shape, has been designated under the names of shoals, flats, and banks, the knowledge of which is of the highest importance for navigation. A similar zone is to be traced along the coast of Europe and especially around the British islands. The average depth of the North Sea is less than two hundred feet, so that an upheaval of some hundred feet would suffice not only to connect the British islands with the continent of Europe, but also to double its area. There are geological reasons to suppose that at a previous geological epoch, a direct connection existed between England and France, and also between England and Ireland. Some eminent naturalists have even tried to explain in this way the fact that the animals and plants of the British islands are the same as those of the continent, supposing that they have migrated into the British islands at the time when this connection existed.

We do not yet possess a sufficient amount of soundings to enable us to draw a comparison between the depths of the different oceans, although there is every reason to suppose that they are also in this particular different from each other. Laplace had tried to demonstrate by astronomical considerations, that the depth of the Ocean ought to be proportionate to the elevation of the continents. But recent investigations of the average elevation of the continents do not seem to support this view. Indeed, according to the calculation of Humboldt, (which of course can be but approximate,) the heights of the continents, supposing the inequalities of their surface reduced to the same level, would be, for Europe, 600 feet; for America, 1,050 feet; and for Asia, nearly 1,100 feet. Now the soundings we possess, although not very numerous, nevertheless authorize the assumption that the average depth of the Ocean far exceeds this amount. There is no ocean in which there has not been found a depth of

several thousand feet. Thus we know that in the Arctic Ocean, whose bottom is very uneven, in latitude 76° N., Scoresby did not find ground at 7,200 feet. Captain Ross found as much as 6,000 feet in Baffin's Bay. The Atlantic, opposite the coast of the United States, has been sounded in several places by the officers of the United States Coast Survey, who have found from 6,000 to 8,000 feet. But the great basins of the southern seas are above all remarkable for their great depth. We know that Captain Ross, at the west of the Cape of Good Hope, sounded 15,000 feet, and the same navigator did not reach the bottom with a line of 27,600 feet, west of St. Helena; a depth which is almost equal to the height of the loftiest peak of the Himalaya chain. By combining these facts with other considerations connected with the form of the surrounding continents, some recent geographers have come to the conclusion that the average depth of the Atlantic must be at least two miles and a half, and that of the Pacific at least three miles.

As to the inequalities of the bottom of the Ocean, it is stated by some navigators that they are even much more considerable than those of the land. According to Captain Wilkes, the great depressions, or submarine valleys, run nearly at right angles to the great mountain chains of this continent; there is, at the equator, a depression to nearly the 5th parallel of south latitude, where a ridge occurs; at the 15th parallel, there is another depression to be found; 10 degrees further south we have another ridge; and it again increases and then lessens in depth twice towards the polar circle.

It remains to consider the Ocean as one of the productive agents in the economy of Nature. Howsoever important the Ocean may appear when examined from the points of view already considered, they do not constitute its only or even its chief claim to our attention. To consider the phenomena of Nature merely in their connections with one another, to look only at their useful or agreeable side, is to judge the works of God from a narrow point of view, and to mistake their true signification. Every object in Nature exists in itself and for itself, before it forms a part of any whole; in other words, it bears in itself the reason of its existence. It is true, the oak in the forest combines with other trees to furnish food for the beasts of the field and a shelter for the birds of the air; it is true, a shady bower gladdens and refreshes us with its

greenness and its shade; but shall we judge from this that these things have no other part to play in Nature? Shall we rest contented here that we have learned all the meaning of the Pole-star, because it renders such signal services to the sailor struggling against the storm, or because it serves as a faithful guide to the slave in his nocturnal pilgrimage journeying towards the land of freedom? No more does the Ocean exist solely to serve a useful purpose, and for the sake of its connection with the rest of the universe. Before the first canoe ventured on its waves, it washed the continents as now; and before animals dwelt in its bosom, it covered with its waters the face of this youthful sphere. Then as now it had a signification independent of its form and of its relation with the rest of the material world: it was the Ocean majestic and powerful as at this day. To comprehend it in all its grandeur, in all the extent of its influence, it is not enough to study it in its present form and its actual condition; we must study the Ocean in its history and in its development.

The doctrine that the Ocean is the germ or point of departure of all things, a doctrine announced in the old cosmogonies and laid down as a principle in the philosophical schools of the Greeks, is now demonstrated by the results of geological research. In short, geology teaches us not only that the relations of the continents with the Ocean have been different at different geological epochs, but in going back through the geological ages we come to an epoch when, according to all appearances, the solid earth did not exist, and when the surface of our globe was entirely covered with water. This was the period of "chaos"—a term which does not by any means imply confusion, but merely the absence of separation, a general homogeneousness containing the principles of all the elements which were thenceforth to be developed; and in this sense an egg is a chaos—though it contains the elements of the young chicken hereafter to be developed.

The materials which form the greater part of the solid land were prepared in the bosom of the waters. As we trace on a geological chart the successive formations which we know are of aquatic origin, we commonly arrive at a point where what are now entire countries are represented by only a few islands. Little by little these islands become enlarged, the spaces which separate them become filled up, and vast tracts of firm land appear to-day where once the Ocean reigned as absolute master. This is not the place to inquire what part has been

performed by the different physical agents in the history of the formation of the continents: to do this it would be necessary to enter the department of Geology, and to discuss anew the old questions so often agitated by the geologists, and which at the beginning of this century gave rise to the celebrated controversy between the Vulcanists and the Neptunists.

Leaving out of sight for a moment the agents which have built up the continents, we assume as a fact, that from the time when the solid earth first existed, it must enter into opposition with the liquid element and occasion a series of actions and reactions, which not only constitute the peculiar characteristic of various portions of the earth, but are the conditions of all terrestrial life. It is enough for us to remind the reader that by means of evaporation, which continually takes place at the surface, the Ocean constantly imparts a portion of its waters to the atmosphere, which is again precipitated on the firm land in the form of rain and dew, thus facilitating the development of animal and vegetable life, which could not subsist without this supply. Consequently, to remove the Ocean from the face of the globe would be not only to put to death all the inhabitants of the sea; it would be to extinguish all life on the surface of the firm land, and consequently to destroy its signification.

It is thus that the continents, which, geologically speaking, are the descendants of the Ocean, after their birth are dependent thereon, and are never entirely emancipated from its control. Even the desert, which never receives a drop of rain, is not independent of the Ocean; arid as its soil may be and burning as is its air, nevertheless it receives a certain quantity of moisture from the sea, and without this it would be completely impenetrable.

But this is not the only action of the Ocean upon the land: it acts directly thereon by modifying the form of its shores. We need only cast our eyes on any portion of the sea-coast, to discover more or less striking marks of oceanic action. Sometimes promontories are washed away by the violence of the waves, bays are filled up; here islands disappear, there new islands rise up. In one word, there is a continual change going forward in the form of the shore or in the depth of the water.

In general, the attention of man is chiefly directed to the destructive power of the Ocean. The invasions of the Ocean, the ravages of every sort which it commits, are mentioned in

many documents. These effects are certainly the most striking. Sometimes, in the course of years, we see the shore give way, and the sea sweep off tracts of land which formerly were cultivated and dwelt upon. A man who has seen his field vanish before his eyes, and even his habitation disappear, long remembers this disaster, which he cannot separate from the idea of the Ocean. Even men of science, geologists and geographers, when treating of the Ocean, have preferred to speak of its destructive power. There is no work of Geology in which mention is not made of the destructive action of the sea, as one of the causes which sensibly modify the form of the land. The history of certain countries — of Holland, for example — is a struggle between man and the Ocean; it is probable that without this struggle, which has stimulated the national activity, this people, now placed under such unfavorable conditions, would never have attained their present power and well-being.

But in addition to these hostile and destructive influences of the Ocean, there are others, which, though less striking because slow and gradual in their action, are not less but much more important. We wish to speak of those accumulations of materials on certain parts of the shore, which form flats, fill up bays, obstruct the coast, and thus render the navigation difficult. This slow but powerful action of the sea, which has been called its constructive action, in opposition to its destructive force, may be observed on the shores of all the continents, but especially where the coast is composed of movable materials. The influence of this constructive action is not limited to the shores, where the sea and land come in contact, but makes itself felt to a considerable distance from the land, in the basins and shoals whose existence has been verified by the maritime surveys. A similar action is going on throughout the whole length of the coast of the United States, and if its effects are not well known, it is because the phenomenon is on so grand a scale, and, having the whole Ocean for its stage of action, its time must be proportionate to the extent of its field of operation.

In a country composed of movable materials, — like the coast of the United States, or of the north of Europe, — if any one were to compare the form and structure of the coast with the form and contour of the bottom of the adjacent sea as it appears from the surface when the sea is calm, and as it appears, on a larger scale, from the soundings, he cannot fail

to be struck with the remarkable similarity. There are the same peculiarities, the same contrasts, the same undulations, with the ridges, the valleys, the table-lands, and the plains; so that the observer is naturally led to the conclusion that the land has formerly been covered with water. This conclusion nowhere presents itself more forcibly than in the vicinity of low lands like Long Island and the Keys of Florida, and it is generally, and, as it were, instinctively admitted.

The means which Nature puts in action in her submarine constructions are of a various character, and deserve a particular and special attention. In the tropical seas, where life is so intense, it is the Polypes, that is to say, small and often microscopic beings, who take charge of these gigantic constructions. The Keys of Florida have, for the most part, been formed by their agency. In the temperate or cold regions where animals do not exist, the arrangement of the submarine constructions is more particularly the work of physical agents, of currents and tides. This is a subject of the highest importance, which has not received all the attention it deserves. It is quite recently that it has, for the first time, been made the subject of some investigations on our own shores. We hope to return to this matter on some other occasion; at present, we go no further than merely to mention, as a general fact, the striking resemblance which exists between the form and direction of the tides and the distribution of those oceanic constructions which we designate by the terms banks and shallow basins.

We shall form an idea of the importance of those oceanic agencies if we consider that the submarine structures attributed to their influence are not confined merely to the vicinity of the shore, but extend to a considerable distance from it. A proof of this is furnished by the vast banks which are found at the northeastern extremity of the American continent, by the basins of Newfoundland, by Green Bank, by Sable Bank, etc., etc. If all parts of these great banks, as we must believe, are formed of movable materials, like the sand-banks nearer the shore, it is evident that their structure and their mode of formation are of the highest importance in the study of similar deposits which at the present time are above water, and which, at an earlier period, have been formed and elevated in the same manner by the agency of the Ocean. One day, perhaps, the mass of movable materials which we are acquainted with under the name of submarine basins, will rise

from the bosom of the Ocean, after having long been the abode of a marine population, to serve as a dwelling place for the tribes of earth; then the geologist of those future ages, going about with his hammer and pick-axe in hand to explore the bosom of this new land, will perhaps be a prey to the same doubts and the same uncertainties as ourselves, and experience the same delights, while they find in those new domains, in a soil at present in the process of construction, some new fact, some relations hitherto unperceived, which permit them to connect their epoch with former ages, and in those new realms to discover the same infinite Providence which in our time and all preceding ages has presided over the destinies of our globe.

Thus, to comprehend the structure and the form of the soil we inhabit, we are obliged to go back to the Ocean. There in the great deep, which is the laboratory of continents, unhappily our knowledge of the form and the connection of the different submarine elevations, is exceedingly imperfect. Hitherto the minds of men have been preoccupied to such a degree with the idea that they are dangerous to navigation, that we may say of them what the old poets were wont to say of the infernal regions, that they were more dreaded than known. However, we have reason to hope that the pilgrims of the sea, who follow one another with so laudable a zeal along the shores of the two continents, — thanks to the liberal and enlightened ideas which begin to prevail with governments, — will not fail to initiate us more and more into the mystery of those grand operations which take place in silence at the bottom of the sea.

In another article, we will make a more detailed investigation into the agencies of Nature in these oceanic constructions, and applying these principles to the configuration of the soil, we will show what has been done by the Ocean in the formation of the continents, and what is due to mere telluric causes.

ART. III. — *The History of England, from the Accession of James II.* By T. B. MACAULAY, ESQ. London. 1848–9. 2 vols. 8vo.

PERHAPS there is no period in the annals of mankind of more interest to Englishmen and Americans than the one comprised in the plan of Macaulay's history, from the accession of James the Second till near the present time, and certainly no one standing in so much need of a good historian. We know of no good history of England for the last one hundred and sixty years, since the termination of Hume's. When it was understood that Macaulay had undertaken his work, it was a subject of general congratulation. All were pleased that so important and difficult a work had fallen to the lot of perhaps the only man of the age who was supposed to have the learning and genius required for the task.

Mr. Macaulay is well known as the most popular and able reviewer of the present or perhaps of any past time. Many of his articles in the *Edinburgh Review* are of permanent value, and have been republished here in a separate work. There may be articles in that Review that display more profound and exact knowledge in some departments, but there are none so eagerly sought for, none that combine so much varied and extensive information on subjects of general interest, presented in so popular and captivating a style.

It is rare that any man combines so many essential qualifications and so many accidental advantages for writing a history of England. In addition to great learning and talent as an author, he is eminently a practical man, well acquainted with the world and its affairs. His public life for many years as a member of Parliament and a part of the time one of the Ministry and of the Cabinet, has made him intimately acquainted with politicians and statesmen, and given him an opportunity of knowing from his own experience how the business of government is carried on. We believe, too, that he had the reputation of being one of the best speakers in the House of Commons, and combines the powers of speaking well and writing well, so rarely found united since the days of Cicero.

This work is more entertaining, and contains more of what we wish to know, than any other history of the times; though it appears to us that the author is sometimes liable to the charge of prolixity, and dwells too long in illustrating a propo-

sition and in narration and description. The characters of eminent men are delineated with great skill and much life, but are sometimes drawn out to an immoderate length. He seems desirous to give a view so full and complete of every part of his subject, as not only to prevent the possibility of being misunderstood, but also to save the reader all the trouble of thinking or making any conclusions for himself. Nothing can be more opposite to the manner of Tacitus, though they agree in one respect — in fondness for point and antithesis.

His style is clear and pointed, as well as beautiful and brilliant. Perhaps the splendor is not always genuine, and sometimes, contrary to the rhetorical maxim, resembles that of tinsel rather than the brightness of polished steel.

The extent and minuteness of his knowledge of facts are indeed wonderful, and we know not where to find any thing like it in any readable English history. His impartiality, a quality so essential to the historian, in his account of the different religious sects and political parties, is very conspicuous. The Church of Rome and the Church of England, Presbyterians, Independents, and Quakers, are brought in review before him, and their errors and faults exposed with a bold and unsparing hand. We think he endeavours to preserve the same impartiality between the Cavaliers and Roundheads, and the Whigs and Tories. But we imagine that the zealous partisans of all the religious sects will be dissatisfied with his account of their conduct and principles, and that no political party will be entirely satisfied, unless it be the moderate, aristocratic Whigs.

If we were to object at all to his views of parties and sects, it would be that he may not have done full justice to the religious or political principles of the Independents, the only sect of that day that seems to have had any just notions of religious freedom or toleration. It was the Independents alone who prevented the Presbyterians, at the termination of the Civil War, from establishing a system of religious intolerance and persecution as odious as that from which they had just been delivered. Cromwell, Vane, Selden, and Milton were for liberty of conscience and toleration in religious worship. The Presbyterians wished to succeed the ecclesiastical tyrants whom the joint arms of the Independents and Presbyterians had recently overthrown. Milton had just reason to complain that

"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large."

The first three chapters, including the greater part of the first volume, are introductory, intended to prepare the reader for beginning the history with the reign of James the Second. The first chapter contains a rapid sketch of English history from the earliest times to the Restoration, or accession of Charles the Second. He dwells a little more at length on the contest between Charles and the parliament, the Civil War, the administration of Cromwell, and the Restoration.

The second chapter is devoted to the reign of Charles the Second, a knowledge of which is indispensable to a good understanding of the reign of James, and of the revolution which hurled the Stuarts from the throne of England, and condemned them to perpetual exile.

The third chapter contains a description at length of the times when the crown passed from Charles the Second to James, and a comparison between that and its present condition. It contains a view of the very great advance which has been made in almost all the particulars thought most desirable in national prosperity and the well-being of individuals, including a high degree of physical, moral, and intellectual improvement.

This description has been mentioned as being out of place in a history, but we think it the most important as well as entertaining in the whole work, the one we should be most unwilling to spare. Voltaire justly complains that "the history of Europe in his time was grown to an endless register of marriages, genealogies, and disputed titles, which render the narrative obscure and unentertaining, at the same time that they stifle the memory of great events, together with the knowledge of laws and manners, objects more worthy of attention." Whatever may be the defects of his historical productions, Voltaire has the great merit of leading the way in the attention now commonly paid by historical writers to laws, manners, and customs, to the progress of the liberal and useful arts, and especially to the condition of the people. The attention of the reader is no longer exclusively directed to kings and princes, ministers, ambassadors, and generals, as if all the rest of the world were of no consequence to the historian or reader.

Mr. Macaulay has on the whole, we think, been very successful in this account, and has given a very picturesque description of the condition of England one hundred and sixty years ago, and a very favorable one of England at present. We are not disposed to call in question the general fidelity of

these pictures, but we think the former is somewhat overcharged, and the latter may, perhaps, be deemed a little flattering. Indeed, we think it must be apparent to most readers, that some exaggeration in description is not very uncommon with Macaulay. We do not mention this as detracting from the general merit of the work, and if there is occasionally any exaggeration in his descriptions, or error in his conclusions, we think that the author, by a full and accurate statement of all the facts that can be ascertained, generally affords the intelligent reader the means of forming a correct opinion for himself. Some traces are occasionally visible of the rhetorician and of the eloquent debater in the House of Commons; sometimes he discusses questions in the style of an advocate for one party, but in these the decision is commonly that of the calm and impartial historian.

The following is the character of Cranmer, the principal founder of the English church and one of its chief martyrs, and considered the leader of the Protestant party.

"The man who took the chief part in settling the conditions of the alliance which produced the Anglican Church was Thomas Cranmer. He was the representative of both the parties, which, at that time, needed each other's assistance. He was at once a divine and a statesman. In his character of divine he was perfectly ready to go as far in the way of change as any Swiss or Scottish reformer. In his character of statesman he was desirous to preserve that organization which had, during many ages, admirably served the purposes of the bishops of Rome, and might be expected now to serve equally well the purposes of the English kings and of their ministers. His temper and his understanding eminently fitted him to act as mediator. Saintly in his professions, unscrupulous in his dealings, zealous for nothing, bold in speculation, a coward and a time-server in action, a placable enemy and a lukewarm friend, he was in every way qualified to arrange the terms of the coalition between the religious and the worldly enemies of popery.

"To this day, the constitution, the doctrines, and the services of the Church retain the visible marks of the compromise from which she sprang. She occupies a middle position between the churches of Rome and Geneva. Her doctrinal confessions and discourses, composed by Protestants, set forth principles of theology in which Calvin or Knox would have found scarcely a word to disapprove. Her prayers and thanksgivings, derived from the ancient Liturgies, are very generally such that Bishop Fisher or Cardinal Pole might have heartily joined in them. A controversialist who puts

an Arminian sense on her articles and homilies will be pronounced by candid men to be as unreasonable as a controversialist who denies that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration can be discovered in her Liturgy.

"The Church of Rome held that episcopacy was of divine institution, and that certain supernatural graces of a high order had been transmitted by the imposition of hands through fifty generations, from the eleven who received their commission on the Galilean Mount to the bishops who met at Trent. A large body of Protestants, on the other hand, regarded prelacy as positively unlawful, and persuaded themselves that they found a very different form of ecclesiastical government prescribed in Scripture. The founders of the Anglican Church took a middle course. They retained episcopacy, but they did not declare it to be an institution essential to the welfare of a Christian society, or to the efficacy of the sacraments. Cranmer, indeed, plainly avowed his conviction that, in the primitive times, there was no distinction between bishops and priests, and that the laying on of hands was altogether unnecessary."

This view of the doctrines and services of the church reminds one of the saying of Lord Chatham, that "the Church of England has a Calvinistic creed, an Arminian clergy, and a Popish Liturgy." According to Bishop Hare, the principal difference between the Church of Rome and the Church of England is, that "the one is infallible, and the other never in the wrong." In respect to the divine origin of Episcopacy and the apostolic succession, the English church now approaches nearer to that of Rome than in the days of Cranmer.

The present orthodox belief of the high churchmen we believe to be, that the Church of England, with its hierarchy, its Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and inferior clergy, affords the nearest resemblance to the primitive church in the time of the apostles.

The Church of England has been always strongly attached to the sovereign, its supreme head. The extravagance of this attachment and the slavish doctrines taught by the clergy are thus stated by Macaulay.

"The Church of England was not ungrateful for the protection which she received from the government. From the first day of her existence she had been attached to monarchy; but, during the quarter of a century which followed the Restoration, her zeal for royal authority and hereditary right passed all bounds. She had suffered with the house of Stuart. She had been restored with that house. She was connected with it by common interests,

friendships, and enmities. It seemed impossible that a day could ever come when the ties which bound her to the children of her august martyr would be sundered, and when the loyalty in which she gloried would cease to be a pleasing and profitable duty. She accordingly magnified in fulsome praise that prerogative which was constantly employed to defend and to aggrandize her, and reprobated, much at her ease, the depravity of those whom oppression, from which she was exempt, had goaded to rebellion. Her favorite theme was the doctrine of non-resistance. That doctrine she taught without any qualification, and followed out to all its extreme consequences. Her disciples were never weary of repeating that in no conceivable case, not even if England were cursed with a king resembling Busiris or Phalaris, who, in defiance of law, and without the pretence of justice, should daily doom hundreds of innocent victims to torture and death, would all the estates of the realm united be justified in withstanding his tyranny by physical force. Happily, the principles of human nature afford abundant security that such theories will never be more than theories. The day of trial came, and the very men who had most loudly and most sincerely professed this extravagant loyalty were, in almost every county of England, arrayed in arms against the throne."

"The restored church contended against the prevailing immorality, but contended feebly, and with half a heart. It was necessary to the decorum of her character that she should admonish her erring children. But her admonitions were given in a somewhat perfunctory manner. Her attention was elsewhere engaged. Her whole soul was in the work of crushing the Puritans, and of teaching her disciples to render unto Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's. She had been pillaged and oppressed by the party which preached an austere morality. She had been restored to opulence and honor by libertines. Little as the men of mirth and fashion were disposed to shape their lives according to her precepts, they were yet ready to fight kneedeep in blood for her cathedrals and palaces, for every line of her rubric, and every thread of her vestments. . . . It is an unquestionable and most instructive fact, that the years during which the political power of the Anglican hierarchy was in the zenith, were precisely the years during which national virtue was at the lowest point."

The immorality, profligacy, and total want of principle among the higher classes, in the reign of Charles the Second, and especially of the most active and leading politicians, seem almost incredible. We have a striking, and, we suppose, a pretty correct description of the general character of the public men in England at the Restoration, which, to a great extent, was applicable for more than half a century afterwards.

"Scarcely any rank or profession escaped the infection of the prevailing immorality: but those persons who made politics their business, were perhaps the most corrupt part of the corrupt society; for they were exposed not only to the same noxious influences which affected the nation generally, but also to a taint of a peculiar and most malignant kind. Their character had been formed amid frequent and violent revolutions and counter-revolutions. In the course of a few years they had seen the ecclesiastical and civil polity of their country repeatedly changed. They had seen an Episcopal church persecuting Puritans, a Puritan church persecuting Episcopalians, and an Episcopal church persecuting Puritans again. They had seen hereditary monarchy abolished and restored. They had seen the Long Parliament thrice supreme in the state and thrice dissolved amid the curses and laughter of millions. They had seen a new dynasty rapidly rising to the height of power and glory, and then, on a sudden, hurled down from the chair of state without a struggle. They had seen a new representative system devised, tried, and abandoned. They had seen a new House of Lords created and scattered. They had seen great masses of property violently transferred from Cavaliers to Roundheads, and from Roundheads back to Cavaliers. During these events, no man could be a stirring and thriving politician who was not prepared to change with every change of fortune. It was only in retirement that any person could long keep the character either of a steady Royalist or of a steady Republican. One who, in such an age, is determined to attain civil greatness, must renounce all thoughts of consistency. Instead of affecting immutability in the midst of endless mutation, he must always be on the watch for the indications of a coming reaction. He must seize the exact moment for deserting a falling cause. Having gone all lengths with a faction while it was uppermost, he must extricate himself from it when its difficulties begin; must assail it, must persecute it, must enter on a new career of power and prosperity in company with new associates. His situation naturally develops in him to the highest degree a peculiar class of abilities and a peculiar class of vices. He becomes quick of observation and fertile of resource. He catches without effort the tone of any sect or party with which he chances to mingle. He discerns the signs of the times with a sagacity which to the multitude appears miraculous; with a sagacity resembling that with which a veteran police officer pursues the faintest indications of crime, or with which a Mohawk warrior follows a track through the woods. But we shall seldom find, in a statesman so trained, integrity, constancy, or any of the virtues of the noble family of Truth. He has no faith in any doctrine, no zeal for any cause. He has seen so many old institutions swept away, that he has no reverence for prescription. He has

seen so many new institutions from which much had been expected produce mere disappointment, that he has no hope of improvement. He sneers alike at those who are anxious to preserve and those who are eager to reform. There is nothing in the state which he could not, without a scruple or a blush, join in defending or in destroying. Fidelity to opinions and to friends seems to him mere dulness and wrong-headedness. Politics he regards, not as a science of which the object is the happiness of mankind, but as an exciting game of mixed chance and skill, at which a dextrous and lucky player may win an estate, a coronet, perhaps a crown, and at which one rash move may lead to the loss of fortune and of life. Ambition, which in good times and in good minds is half a virtue, now, disjoined from every elevated and philanthropic sentiment, becomes a selfish cupidity scarcely less ignoble than avarice. Among those politicians who, from the Restoration to the accession of the House of Hanover were at the head of the great parties in the state, very few can be named whose reputation is not stained by what in our age would be called gross perfidy and corruption. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the most unprincipled public men who have taken part in affairs within our memory, would, if tried by the standard which was in fashion during the latter part of the seventeenth century, deserve to be regarded as scrupulous and disinterested."

Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland and ancestor of the present Duke of Marlborough and of Earl Spencer, was one of the most thorough-going politicians of this class. He twice changed his religion to please the court, was concerned in many of the worst measures of Charles and James, and was a successful courtier and favorite minister of William.

"Sunderland was Secretary of State. In this man the political immorality of his age was personified in the most lively manner. Nature had given him a keen understanding, a restless and mischievous temper, a cold heart, and an abject spirit. His mind had undergone a training by which all his vices had been nursed up to the rankest maturity. At his entrance into public life, he had passed several years in diplomatic posts abroad, and had been, during some time, minister in France. Every calling has its peculiar temptations. There is no injustice in saying that diplomatists, as a class, have always been more distinguished by their address, by the art with which they win the confidence of those with whom they have to deal, and by the ease with which they catch the tone of every society into which they are admitted, than by generous enthusiasm or austere rectitude; and the relations between Charles and Louis were such that no English no-

bleman could long reside in France as envoy, and retain any patriotic or honorable sentiment. Sunderland came forth from the bad school in which he had been brought up, cunning, supple, shameless, free from all prejudices, and destitute of all principles. He was, by hereditary connection, a Cavalier; but with the Cavaliers he had nothing in common. They were zealous for monarchy, and condemned in theory all resistance; yet they had sturdy English hearts, which would never have endured real despotism. He, on the contrary, had a languid, speculative liking for Republican institutions, which was compatible with perfect readiness to be in practice the most servile instrument of arbitrary power. Like many other accomplished flatterers and negotiators, he was far more skilful in the art of reading the characters and practising on the weaknesses of individuals, than in the art of discerning the feelings of great masses and of foreseeing the approach of great revolutions. He was adroit in intrigue; and it was difficult even for shrewd and experienced men, who had been amply forewarned of his perfidy, to withstand the fascination of his manner, and to refuse credit to his professions of attachment; but he was so intent on observing and courting particular persons, that he forgot to study the temper of the nation. He therefore miscalculated grossly with respect to all the most momentous events of his time. Every important movement and rebound of the public mind took him by surprise; and the world, unable to understand how so clever a man could be blind to what was clearly discerned by the politicians of the coffee-houses, sometimes attributed to deep design what were, in truth, mere blunders."

The causes assigned by Macaulay had no doubt much influence in producing the decline of public and private virtue, but yet seem hardly sufficient to account for the great immorality said to be so generally prevalent. Hume says, that "never was a people less corrupted by vice and more actuated by principle than the English at the beginning of the Civil War. At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, it would seem that the proposition might be almost reversed." There is probably some exaggeration in both cases; but there can be no doubt of a great decline in public and private morals, and a great prevalence of immorality and corruption at the latter period.

We suppose it to be true that there has been a very great change for the better in the moral and political character of public men in England since the reign of Charles the Second. The improved morals in private life, on which Macaulay dwells with some complacency, the diffusion of intelligence, and the

much greater force of public opinion, have had a very beneficial influence on the conduct of the English politicians and statesmen. This improvement may be considered as one of the most favorable symptoms of the times in England.

The kings of the house of Stuart seem to have been an incorrigible race, incapable of discerning the signs of the times or of improving by prosperity or adversity. Called by the English law of succession to the noblest inheritance in the world, they supposed their right to the throne was derived from Heaven, not from the consent of the people; that they were invested by God with absolute power, for the exercise of which they were accountable to Him alone. In a word, that they had

"The right divine of kings to govern wrong;"

a right which they strenuously attempted to put in practice so long as they had the power.

James the First had some learning, with much pedantry, and endeavoured to prove, from reason and Scripture, the divine and absolute power of the throne. The Duke of Sully pronounced him to be the wisest fool in Europe.

Charles the First had more capacity, firmness, and perseverance than his father, and was more bent upon the establishment of arbitrary power. His design included the American colonies as well as his dominions in Europe. Only six years after he had granted the charter of Massachusetts, he determined to revoke it, and established a commission, at the head of which was Archbishop Laud, with absolute authority over the colonies in all cases, civil and religious. This board or commission were authorized to make laws and ordinances in all cases, especially for the support of the Episcopal clergy, by tythes, oblations, and other profits accruing, to make and unmake governors, to constitute such civil and ecclesiastical tribunals and courts of justice, with such powers as they should judge proper, and to revoke any charters or letters patent, prejudicial to the crown.

Had Charles been able to carry this plan into execution, we should have had our High Commission and Star Chamber in America, and not a vestige of civil or religious liberty would have been suffered to remain. The controversy between the king and parliament, which broke out soon after, gave the king and archbishop sufficient occupation at home, and saved the liberties of New England. If England, as most of her

writers say, owes her freedom to the Puritans and Long Parliament, it is not less true as to her American colonies.

The character of Charles the Second is drawn with much force and vivacity, and we suppose in its true colors. This most worthless and profligate prince was for a time more popular than any of his predecessors. There is one trait in his character, however, not mentioned by Macaulay; we mean his special regard for daring and atrocious villains.

The case of Blood, who attempted to assassinate the Duke of Ormond, the first nobleman in the kingdom, and most zealous friend and supporter of the Stuart family, is a signal instance. In his attempt Blood almost succeeded. He had committed other capital crimes, besides the robbery of the crown and regalia from the Tower. Yet this audacious criminal was not only pardoned by Charles, but became a favorite companion of the king and an influential courtier, whose interest was solicited by applicants for court favors, and was rewarded by Charles with the grant of a considerable estate in Ireland.

Morgan, the most noted of all the pirates or buccaneers in the West Indies, was distinguished by Charles with the honor of knighthood.

The infamous and savage Colonel Kirke affords another instance. Charles, near the close of his reign, appointed Kirke, who had been notorious for his tyranny and cruelties at Tangier, to be governor of New England, with absolute authority. This was soon after Massachusetts had been illegally deprived of her charter, so that there would have been no security against the barbarity of Kirke. But James, when he came to the crown, did not wish to part with one whose disposition was so congenial with his own, and who was so well fitted for his arbitrary and cruel designs. Instead of Kirke, Sir Edmund Andros was sent as governor to New England, a tyrant indeed, but not quite so atrocious as Kirke.

As to James the Second, his conduct in Scotland and in England showed a love of arbitrary power and a delight in persecution and cruelty. A bigoted papist himself, he instituted a savage persecution against the Scottish Presbyterians and Puritans for not conforming to the church of England. In this persecution thousands perished by the sword, famine, or imprisonment, and many thousand families were utterly ruined. And what was the object of this persecution? Not to convert them to what he believed to be the true religion, but

to make them change from one false religion to another, that he believed to be equally false. The same remark applies, in some degree, to his brother Charles, in the persecutions of the dissenters in England, as he was secretly a Roman Catholic. Perhaps, however, it may be doing them some injustice to suppose that they were actuated by any worse motives than other persecutors, though a little more inconsistent. As we believe all persecution arises from bad motives, we do not feel certain that Charles and James were any worse in this respect than their contemporaries of the established church, who instigated and were actively engaged in carrying on these persecutions.

But for their conduct in church and state both Charles and James may have some excuse in the doctrines of divine right, passive obedience, and non-resistance, so diligently inculcated by the Church, as we have just seen, and also by the Parliament and the University of Oxford. To a sovereign inclined to tyranny and persecution, there can be no stronger temptation than the assurance that he can indulge his bad passions with impunity. This assurance the Church, the Parliament, and the University of Oxford zealously endeavoured to furnish.

The first parliament chosen after the Restoration passed an act, that the power of the sword was solely in the king, and declared that in no extremity whatever could the Parliament be justified in resisting him by force.

By another act all magistrates and officers of corporations were required to declare on oath their belief that it was not lawful, upon any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king, and their abhorrence of the traitorous position of taking arms by the king's authority against his person, or against those *commissioned* by him. A motion to insert the word *lawfully* before "commissioned" was rejected.

The University of Oxford in full convocation passed a decree "against certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, destructive to the sacred persons of princes, their state and government, and all human society."

The doctrines condemned consist of twenty-seven propositions taken from the works of Milton, Buchanan, Owen, Baxter, and several others. One of these damnable propositions is, "That when kings subvert the constitution of their country, and become absolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be resisted." This and other sim-

ilar propositions, they declare to be "impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous to the Christian religion." They forbid the students to read the writings of those authors, and order their books to be burnt.

One would suppose that the Parliament, the Church, and University of Oxford were rife for slavery. Charles and James had some excuse for taking them at their word.

The history of this period has a peculiar interest for Americans, as being essentially connected with their own. The revolution of 1688 was not less a deliverance from arbitrary power for New England than for Old. The tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros had become so insupportable that he was deposed and imprisoned, before the success of the revolution was known here.

But though the Revolution was a great blessing to the colonies, yet some of them had much reason to complain of the government under the new settlement. Massachusetts could not obtain a restoration of her charter, though deprived of it by a judgment acknowledged to be illegal and unjust. Sir Edmund Andros, so noted as a tyrant in Massachusetts, was rewarded by being sent out as governor of Virginia. The Habeas Corpus Act, so essential to freedom, was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts, but was disallowed and repealed by the committee of plantations, at the head of which was the famous Lord Somers. It seems to have been the opinion of this great constitutional lawyer that the English act of Habeas Corpus did not extend to the colonies, and that they could not have this security of freedom except from the bounty of the crown.

The character of William of Orange, the great hero of the Revolution, the idol of the Whigs, and, in former times, the detestation of the Tories, is drawn at great length, and in the most favorable colors. He seems, indeed, with some faults and disagreeable qualities, to have been on the whole the best and most able of the great public men of the age. He was tolerant and liberal in his views of religion and church establishments — a great merit in that age. A wise and far-sighted statesman, with an invincible courage and perseverance in a contest which was the cause not only of England and Holland, but of the greater part of Europe, against the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth. Macaulay in this case, as well as some others, has availed himself of important sources of infor-

mation which do not seem to have been known to any other historian, and attributes to him more amiable qualities than William was supposed to possess.

A very different picture is given of him by the Tories, which we quote merely as showing the extravagance of party zeal. Dr. Johnson, according to Boswell, pronounced William to be the most worthless of all scoundrels. But then it is to be recollected that the Doctor had an extraordinary veneration for Charles the Second. Smollett's character of William contains more point and vivacity than is often found in his history, and probably shows the sentiments of the ultra Tories of that age. The following is Smollett's view of the government of William :

"Certain it is, he involved these kingdoms in foreign connections which, in all probability, will be productive of their ruin. In order to establish this favorite point, he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were totally debauched. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which now seems to be interwoven in the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds ; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers, to prey upon the vitals of their country. He entailed upon the nation a growing debt, and a system of politics big with misery, despair, and destruction. To sum up his character in a few words — William was a fatalist in religion, indefatigable in war, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign."

The account of William Penn's intimacy with James, and his concern in some acts of oppression by the king, his courtiers, and court-ladies, will excite much surprise, and probably resentment in some quarters. If the charges are true, it is proper they should be made known. If they are unfounded, the Quakers and Pennsylvanians are abundantly able to vindicate his character. His reputation would bear a considerable reduction, and yet leave him one of the best among the distinguished politicians of his age.

Macaulay says that it had been the practice of every English government to contract debts. What the Revolution introduced was the practice of honestly paying them.

This process of honestly paying the national debts has been extremely slow in its operation. At the Revolution the national

debt was but little more than one million sterling, it is now about eight hundred millions. It is true that the interest has been punctually paid, the public credit is good, and any creditor who chooses may receive payment by transferring his claim to another. The debt, however, still remains a burden on the property and industry of the nation. Hume, in his essay on Public Credit says, that it would scarcely be more imprudent to give a prodigal son a credit in every banker's shop in London, than to empower a statesman to draw bills in this manner upon posterity.

"The establishment of a public credit fruitful of marvels, which would have seemed incredible to the statesmen of any former age," is enumerated among the blessings of the new settlement. This is rather a delicate way of treating the national debt. To the statesmen of any former age, the ability to contract such a debt, and the folly of doing it, might have seemed equally incredible. If nations contract debts they should honestly pay them. But we can hardly deem it a cause for congratulation, that the government have been able to incur this enormous debt, with an annual interest of thirty millions, "so burdensome, still paying, still to owe," and to mortgage it upon the lands, property, and industry of the nation for ever; if not for ever, at least for a duration to which the eye of man can see no limit.

The national debt has been mentioned as one of the great evils produced by the Revolution, as a part of the price the nation had to pay for the new settlement made by discarding the Stuarts and calling in William, and to defray the expense of the wars necessary to support him on the throne.

Unfortunately, the ministry and moneyed class found their own private interests promoted by thus anticipating the incomes of future generations. The ministry, to avoid the odium of imposing the taxes really necessary, or because they wanted a fund for influence and corruption, were willing to borrow money on terms profitable to the lenders, and leave it to their successors to provide for the payment. Washington, in his farewell address, with his characteristic wisdom and justice, cautions the people of the United States against "ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear."

As our author, in stating the purpose and objects of his work, must be supposed to express his meaning with some accuracy, we will, at the risk of being thought hypercritical, make a remark on the expression applied to the British navy.

"A maritime power, before which every other maritime power, ancient or modern, sinks into insignificance." This is another of the glories of England, the boast of every Englishman. Comparisons are apt to be odious, and some discretion is required to manage them without giving offence. It would be idle to deny the great power of the British navy, and that its strength is superior to every other; but we doubt the propriety or prudence of this boast; nations, like individuals, do not like to be reminded of their *insignificance*, and neither France, Russia, nor America will admit the correctness of the estimate here made by Macaulay of their naval power.

A short time prior to the last war with England, it was said in parliament, that a single English sloop of war, or frigate, (we forget which) was able to cope with the whole American navy. This was soon found to be an error. In case of any future war between the two countries (which may Heaven avert,) the American navy would be found not entirely insignificant. De Tocqueville, the distinguished author and statesman, who, of all foreign writers, has given on the whole the best account of our country, its institutions and prospects, devotes a chapter to what he calls the commercial greatness of America, and closes with this paragraph:

"I think that the principal features in the destiny of a nation, as of an individual, are generally indicated by their early youth. When I see with what spirit the Americans carry on commerce, the facilities they enjoy, and the success they have met with, I cannot avoid believing that they will one day become the first maritime power on the globe. They are destined to acquire the dominion of the seas, as the Romans were to conquer the world."

Now we confess that we do not entirely like this, and do not wish that our own country, or any other, should be any stronger at sea than is necessary for its own security and the defence of its just rights at home and abroad.

Macaulay seems much of an optimist in politics. Whatever happens is for the best, if not for the present, at least in the long run. The reign of the sovereigns commonly deemed the worst proved to be the greatest blessings. The talents and virtues of the first Norman kings had nearly proved fatal to England, but the follies and vices of John were her salvation. Again, if the administration of James the First had been able and splendid, it would probably have been fatal to the country.

Under the reign of his successor, Charles the First, there was another narrow escape. The laws and liberties of England, on the brink of destruction, were happily saved by the wanton and criminal attempt of Charles to force upon the Scots the English liturgy and established church. Another and final deliverance from tyranny by the folly and madness of James the Second. If the king had not attacked the Church, the institution most venerated by Englishmen, he would probably have been quietly permitted to prosecute his plan of establishing arbitrary power in the state.

This seeming propensity for paradox reminds one of Gibbon's remark upon the clergy, that to a philosophic mind their vices are far less dangerous than their virtues. A proposition which, by the way, we think is contradicted by all ecclesiastical history.

There is, however, some plausibility in these views of Macaulay, and in the instances mentioned and perhaps many others, they may be substantially just. How happy for a nation that, when brought to the brink of ruin, it has a perennial inexhaustible fountain of salvation in the follies, vices, and crimes of its rulers!

This disposition to look on the favorable side of things appears often throughout the work. Whether the Church or the laity have the ascendency, it is all for the good of the nation, and she owes a great debt of gratitude both to Popery and Protestantism.

> "It is difficult to say whether England owes more to the Roman Catholic religion or to the Reformation. For the amalgamation of races and for the abolition of villanage, she is chiefly indebted to the influence which the priesthood in the middle ages exercised over the laity. For political and intellectual freedom, and for all the blessings which political and intellectual freedom have brought in their train, she is chiefly indebted to the great rebellion of the laity against the priesthood."

The Long Parliament merits the lasting gratitude of Englishmen for their resistance to Charles the First, and thus saving the liberties of the country. The parliament that restored Charles the Second, without any conditions to limit his power, seized the golden opportunity, which, if lost, would have long been regretted by the friends of liberty, of placing on the throne this profligate monarch. After the two reigns of Charles and James, comprising nearly thirty years of oppression, persecu-

tion, and almost every kind of misgovernment, at home, besides a vassalage to France the most disgraceful in the annals of England, another parliament rescued the nation from Popery and tyranny by the total and final expulsion of the Stuarts.

There seems much reason to doubt the correctness of this view of the Restoration. Macaulay says that "It has been too much the practice of writers zealous for freedom, to represent the Restoration as a disastrous event, and to condemn the folly or baseness of that Convention which recalled the royal family without exacting new securities against mal-administration."

Mr. Fox, in his fragment of the History of the Reign of James the Second, severely condemns the conduct of those who, at the Restoration, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch, without a single provision in favor of the cause of liberty. Charles would have been glad to accept the crown on any terms. It must have been a strange crisis, indeed, that rendered it necessary for the salvation of the people, to place such a man as Charles upon the throne without a moment's delay, and without imposing any limitation on the royal prerogative.

Our author gives a description at considerable length of the state of England at the accession of James the Second, and compares it with the condition of England at present. The comparison, of course, is very much in favor of its present state, and the contrast is probably much greater in almost every respect than most readers could have supposed. The great physical, moral, and intellectual improvement, in every department, if truly represented, as we must presume was intended, is indeed a just cause of congratulation and thankfulness.

The political, social, and industrial system of England, since the Revolution, is probably better fitted than any system that has been tried, in the old world at least, for very many of the objects thought most desirable in national prosperity. It has been especially favorable to the acquisition of great wealth and rapid progress in the great departments of industry, in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, and in working the various mines, a very important branch in England.

The wealth of the great landholders, merchants, manufacturers, and the moneyed interest, is adequate to any interest or enterprise on the largest scale. With abundant capital, with

labor at a low rate to any extent wanted, and often in excess, skilfully organized and directed, the advance in every department of business and the increase of wealth are, we believe, altogether without example.

The population of England and Wales at that time is supposed to have been somewhat more than five millions, and less than one third of its present amount. The inhabitants of London, who are now at least nineteen hundred thousand, were then probably a little more than half a million.

In the reign of Charles the Second, after London no town in the kingdom contained thirty thousand inhabitants, and only four provincial towns contained so many as ten thousand. This statement we suppose may be true, but it is very surprising, especially when we consider the number of cities in the United States containing thirty thousand and upwards, and the great number containing more than ten thousand. Massachusetts alone has twice the number of towns containing ten thousand inhabitants.

The army and navy of Charles the Second were small compared with military and naval establishments in England at present. The whole annual expense of the army, navy, ordnance, effective and non-effective service, was then about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Now it is more than twenty times that amount.

It must be acknowledged that the government of the Stuarts was a very cheap one in a pecuniary view, compared with any the English have had since. Of all the advances made in the rapid march of improvement in England since the Revolution, the greatest advance has been in taxation and public expenditure!

If the well-being of a nation depended on the amount of its wealth, however unequally distributed, then England would be the happiest country in the world. But we believe the happiness of a people depends less on the amount, than on the general diffusion of property, so as to afford a comfortable livelihood, and the means of education and improvement to the laboring classes. If this be so, there is much cause for regret as well as congratulation in the present condition of Great Britain.

There are some principles in the English political and social system that are passed over in the work before us without much notice, which seem to us to merit consideration both as to their present effects and future tendency.

The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in his admirable chapter on the Roman or Civil Law, says, that "the insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown to the Romans. The two sexes were placed on a just level, and all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal portion of the patrimonial estate."

Among the Athenians, the sons all shared equally the paternal inheritance. The daughters seem to have been left in a great measure, if not altogether, to the mercy or discretion of their brothers. In case there were no sons, the daughters inherited equally.

The law of primogeniture was not known to the Anglo-Saxons, but was introduced into England with the feudal system, by the Norman conquest. This principle, by which the oldest son alone inherits all the landed or real property, has been in force in England ever since, and has contributed more than any thing else to form the government and social system as they exist at the present day. It is the foundation and security of the aristocracy, of their power and influence in the state, and the advantages of their social position.

Primogeniture not only prevents the division of great estates, but, in connection with other causes, is continually diminishing the number of landed proprietors. It often happens that by the failure of heirs in great families, or the course of descent, or by purchase, that two or three great estates are united, and once united are never again divided.

This process is remarkably illustrated in the case of the present Duke of Sutherland. As this example shows better than any mere description could do, how a considerable number of even great estates may be united in one, we quote from the *London Quarterly Review* the following account of the Sutherland Estate and Improvements. The complacency with which the reviewer dwells on this accumulation, and his aristocratic tone and style, are somewhat amusing.

"The estate attached to the earldom of Sutherland (one of the oldest dignities in this empire) was supposed at the time when the late countess married Lord Gower, afterwards Marquis of Stafford, and finally created Duke of Sutherland, to comprise no less than 800,000 acres — a vast possession, but from which its owners had never derived more than a very small revenue. The Countess, a woman of remarkable talents, was enthusiastically attached to her ancestral district; and felt for its inhabitants of all orders, as was natural after a connection lost in the night of

ages, during which her house had enjoyed the support of their clansmen and vassals in many a struggle and danger. She had the spirit and heart of a genuine chieftainess; and the name of the Ban Mhoir-fhear Chattaibh — the Great Lady of the Country of the Clan Chattan — will be proudly and affectionately remembered in the Highlands of Scotland, many a year after the graceful Countess and Duchess is forgotten in the courts and palaces of which she was for a long period one of the most brilliant ornaments. To her English alliance, however, her lasting fame in her own district will be mainly due. Her lord inherited one very great fortune in this part of the kingdom, and ultimately wielded the resources of another not less productive; and though, as Mr. Loch's book records, no English nobleman ever did more for the improvement of his English estates, he also entered with the warmest zeal into his lady's feelings as to her ancient heritage: he added to it by purchase, various considerable adjoining estates, which fell from time to time into the market, and finally, in 1829, one neighbouring mass of land, the whole estate or *country* of Lord Reay, which alone comprised not much less than 500,000 acres. It appears that from 1829 the whole northern territory of the Duke must have amounted to nearly, if not quite 1,500,000 acres — a single estate certainly not in these days equalled in the British empire, and this in the hands of the same peer who enjoyed also the English estates of the Gowers and Levesons, with the canal property of the Bridgewaters."

Here is the process on a great scale of extinguishing both large and small estates. This shows how landed proprietors are rapidly diminished in number, and enormous estates or principalities formed. In two generations, by marriage, by purchase, by inheritance and bequest, five very large and several considerable estates are united in one. In Scotland, to one great estate of 800,000 acres, is added another of 500,000, besides several others very considerable in extent. All this comes into the hands of the same peer who has three very great estates in England. The estate in Scotland alone is more than twice as large as the state of Rhode Island, and comprises in extent, though not in value, between a thirtieth and fortieth part of the territory of the island of Great Britain.

According to our author, at the accession of James the Second the number of small landed proprietors who cultivated their own estates, was, so far as can be ascertained from the best statistical writers of that age, not less than one hundred and sixty thousand, who with their families made up more

than a seventh part of the whole population. These small estates are now nearly all extinct. At that time the number who cultivated their own land was greater than the number of those who farmed the land of others. Now it is estimated that not one hundredth part of the land in England is cultivated by the owner.

The enormous wealth produced by commerce and manufactures, instead of occasioning any division of the great landed estates, has had a directly opposite tendency. The rich merchant, manufacturer, banker, or fortunate speculator invests a part of his wealth in land, and as the very large estates are rarely for sale, he buys the smaller ones wherever they can be obtained, perhaps in several different counties. When a number of small, or moderate, or even large estates are thus formed into one, they are seldom or never separated.

This seems to be a melancholy, disastrous change in the social system of England, but we believe most of the British political economists not only see no cause of alarm in this extinction of the smaller landed properties, but consider it as one cause of the great agricultural improvements, and the great increase of national wealth. A few, however, among whom is John Stuart Mill, the author of the work on Political Economy, consider the English system as affording ground for apprehension, and view with some complacency the condition of the French agricultural population, four fifths of whom are said to cultivate their own land. But whether for good or evil, we suppose there can be no doubt of the fact, that by the operation of the causes mentioned, and perhaps of others, the number of landed proprietors has been for the last one hundred and sixty years continually diminishing, that nearly all the land is held by a comparatively small number of owners, and that the diminution is still going on as rapidly as ever. Indeed, according to all accounts, the process of the accumulation of large landed properties and the extinction of small ones is proceeding with a continually increasing velocity.

Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.

During the last few years we have heard much of the reforms in the English government, the progress of liberal principles, and the increasing power of popular opinion. It is supposed by many that the influence of the aristocracy is on the decline, that the common people have gained as the nobility and privileged orders have lost, so that the advantages

of English institutions are shared less unequally than formerly among the different classes of the community.

Popular opinion has no doubt much greater influence on the measures of government and the conduct of men in office, than during the last century. Whatever changes have been made to enlarge the political power of the people, and to relieve them from unnecessary and oppressive burdens, is to be ascribed chiefly to this cause. The privileged orders have parted with no portion of their power until they were convinced it was no longer possible to keep it. Notwithstanding these concessions to the popular demands, we think there is reason to doubt whether the aristocratic principle pervading the political and social institutions of England has been much, if at all, weakened. On the other hand, in several important respects the aristocracy appears stronger than ever.

The English government, at least ever since the revolution in 1688, has been practically an aristocracy of which the sovereign is the nominal head. Lord Brougham remarks that England is the most aristocratic nation in Europe, and a glance at English institutions will show how the aristocratic principle runs through them all.

The Reform Bill has enlarged the number of voters, and some changes have been made in favor of the popular principle in municipal corporations. But the aristocracy have the entire control of all the offices of honor and emolument in church and state, in the army and navy, at home and abroad.

The following extract from a late number of the *Edinburgh Review* presents a striking, and probably, so far as it goes, a just view of the political and social state of England.

"To a superficial glance at the condition of our own country, nothing can seem more unlike any tendency to equality of condition. The inequalities of property are apparently greater than in any former period of history. Nearly all the land is parcelled out in great estates among comparatively few families; and it is not the large but the small properties which are in process of extinction. An hereditary and titled nobility, more potent by their vast possessions than by their social precedency, are constitutionally and really one of the great powers in the state. To form part of their order is what every ambitious man aspires to as the crowning glory of a successful career. The passion for equality, of which M. de Tocqueville speaks almost as if it were the great fever of modern times, is hardly known in this country, even by name. On the contrary, all ranks seem to have a passion for

inequality. The hopes of every person are directed to rising in the world, not to pulling the world down to him. The greatest enemy of the political conduct of the House of Lords submits to their superiority of rank as he would to the ordinances of nature, and often thinks any amount of toil and watching repaid by a nod of recognition from one of their number." *

In the army, the officers are taken from the nobility and gentry with hardly an exception. Commissions are generally obtained by purchase, and sometimes by the gift of the commander-in-chief. The price is beyond the ability of any but the rich, and rarely has any officer risen from the ranks. Should a rich parvenu take a fancy to a military life and buy a commission, woe to the unlucky wight. His treatment from the other officers would soon make him glad to sell or to resign a place where he is considered an intruder. The officers of the navy are generally taken from the same class.

The pay and prize-money in the army and navy are graduated on the same aristocratic scale. At the capture of Havana, in 1762, the distribution of the prize-money was as follows. Admiral Pococke commanding the naval forces had for his share upwards of £122,000; the captains, £1,600; lieutenants, £234; petty officers, £17; sailors and marines between three and four pounds. Lord Albemarle, commander of the land forces, had the same as the Admiral; the field officers, £564; captains, £164; private soldiers, £4, 1*s*, 8*d*. There was, however, much complaint that this distribution was not exactly conformable to the former practice. The distribution of the prize money to the English army at the capture of Paris after the battle of Waterloo was made by proclamation at London, and was probably agreeable to the established rules of the service.

To the Duke of Wellington,	£61,000		
General Officers, . . .	1,274	10*s*.	10*d*.
Field Officers, ...	433	4	4
Captains, ...	90	7	3
Subalterns, ...	34	14	9
Sergeants, Corporals, &c. .	14	4	4
Private Soldiers, . . .	2	11	4

This is the partnership of the giant and the dwarf. The

* *Edinburgh Review*, No. CXLV.

commander gets all the honor and profits, the soldier the losses and blows. This is apt to be the case in all wars; and party contests are too often the "madness of many for the gain of a few."

The proportion between the pay of the officers and soldiers in the armies of the ancient republics, compared with the practice in all modern nations, is very curious.

When Xenophon, after the retreat of the ten thousand, engaged himself and six thousand of the Greek army in the service of a Thracian prince, the terms of pay were, to each soldier, one daric a month; each captain, two darics; and to Zenophon, the general and commander, four darics.

Among the Romans, Polybius says the pay of a centurion was only double that of a private soldier.

It appears from Demosthenes, that the pay of an Athenian ambassador in his time was not more than that of a common soldier.

The annual income of the Lord Chancellor of England was formerly as much as £20,000, and besides he had many lucrative offices at his disposal. We believe it has been reduced by the Whig government to £14,000, with a retiring pension of £5,000. The salaries of the Judges are from £5,500 to £10,000 a-year. We do not mention these instances of salaries as extravagant, under the existing circumstances. They are probably not higher than is required by the nature of the government, and the state of English society.

In the church the bishops, archbishops, and other dignitaries, enjoy very ample revenues, from one or two thousand to twenty thousand pounds a-year. These, with some exceptions, are given to the relatives of the nobility and gentry, younger brothers and cousins. The majority of the clergy seem sufficiently removed from the temptations of wealth. In about five thousand parishes, a few years since, there was no resident clergyman, and the religious services were performed, as far as they were performed at all, by curates. Of this portion of the clergy the compensation varies from ten to a hundred pounds annually, in few instances exceeding the latter sum.

The bishops often amass large fortunes. Bishop Tomline, the private tutor of the late William Pitt, was said to have left an estate of £700,000, and we not unfrequently hear of a dignitary of the church in England, and especially in Ireland, leaving at his decease from one to several hundred thou-

sand pounds. The late reform of the church has introduced a greater equality in the salaries of the bishops and archbishops, varying from £4,500 to £20,000.

In respect to the church, however, we have no idea that any attempt to abolish or diminish tithes would be of any service to the tenants, or afford any relief to the people in general. The whole benefit would go to the landlords. There is much reason in the sentiment of Burke, that a Bishop of Durham or Winchester may as well have £10,000 a-year as an earl or a squire, although it may be true that so many dogs and horses are not kept by the former, and fed with the victuals which ought to nourish the children of the poor people. In the reformation of the church by Henry the Eighth, the confiscation of a greater part of the church property served only to enrich the crown and a few greedy courtiers. The estates of several among the most wealthy of the nobility and gentry in England, it is well known, were derived from the plunder of the abbeys, monasteries, and convents. Such an origin of a great estate as the Duke of Bedford's, so eloquently described by Burke, in his "Letter to a noble Lord," is not peculiar to the Russell family.

The rich plunder expected from the great wealth of the church was no doubt one of the main causes of the reformation in England, so far as relates to Henry the Eighth and his courtiers, especially the latter. The motive assigned by the poet Gray, with much wit as well as gallantry, for the conduct of the great reformer of the church, was the primary, but not the only one.

> "'T was love that taught this monarch to be wise,
> And gospel light first beamed from Bullen's eyes."

Henry's love for the property of the rich abbeys and monasteries proved far more lasting than his affection for Anne Bullen, and his reforms were continued long after the unfortunate queen ceased to influence her imperious husband.

The lucrative civil offices are shared by the aristocracy and their dependents, except in a few instances where extraordinary skill or industry is required, and which must be had wherever they can be found.

The mercantile, manufacturing, and moneyed interests have long had great influence in the policy and measures of the British government. Though the representatives of these classes have always been in number a minority in parliament, yet

from their superior activity and sagacity with regard to their own interest, they have frequently obtained undue advantages from the government, and are, on the whole, much more favored in the public burdens than the agriculturists. The rich merchants, manufacturers, and bankers may be considered either as members, or as allies and supporters of the aristocracy.

The House of Lords is now far superior to that assembly, when, about eighty years ago, it was called by Lord Chesterfield the Hospital of Incurables. This is owing chiefly to continual recruits of the most distinguished commoners, who have, since the accession of George the Third, tripled the number of the Upper House. In point of talent, wealth, personal influence, and weight of character, it probably stands much higher than at any former period. Take from the House of Lords the families that have been ennobled during the last sixty years, and though its legal and constitutional power would be the same, its real power and influence would be comparatively insignificant.

These continual accessions from the ranks of the commons are the vivifying principle of the nobility, giving it health, strength, wealth, talent, and influence. The leading commoners, the most distinguished men in political life, in the law, army, navy, and church, and in the landed, moneyed, commercial, and manufacturing interests, do not wish to diminish the power or privileges of an assembly of which they may hope to be one day members, and which, at any rate, they consider as indispensable to the continuance of the present political system.

One of the best founded complaints against the English government is the neglect to provide for the education of the common people. No public provision is made for this object, at least none worth mentioning, except so far as it may be supposed to come within the duties required by law, or custom from the clergy of the established church. While so much is doing in Prussia and several other countries on the continent at the public expense, though much has been said and written in England in favor of a general system of education, we hardly recollect any measure of the government for this purpose except the grant a few years since of £30,000 for the education of teachers.

It may be supposed of course that the same neglect would extend to the English colonies and dependencies, or whatever

territories were added by conquest or otherwise to the British empire. In Ireland and Wales, their old institutions for education were broken up by the English at the Conquest, and no new system established, and the mass of the people left in ignorance to this day. For the public school system in New England we are not indebted to the English government or institutions, but to the piety and wisdom of our Puritan ancestors.

We are much inclined to doubt whether, in any country where a privileged order of men have in fact the control of the government, any public system for the education of the people ever has been, or is likely to be, carried into practice. In a republic without any privileged class, enlightened men feel a common interest in educating the people so far as to make them good citizens and qualify them for the duties which ordinary men may be called on to perform in such a community. The general diffusion of knowledge is considered one of the best securities for the peace and prosperity of the country. In a monarchy where the sovereign has the entire power, such a system of general education may be formed and carried into execution, as in Prussia and several of the states of Germany. Where the monarchical or the democratic leement has the real ascendency, the government may feel an interest in educating the people.

Perhaps the case of Scotland may be thought an exception: but in Scotland the system of general education was established by the Presbyterians in the time of the Solemn League and Covenant, from the influence of popular freedom and religious enthusiasm. It was repealed at the Restoration, but the Scots obtained the reëstablishment of it at the revolution of 1688.

We believe education one of the most essential duties which society owes to its members. But what is a good education, and what will best fit them for the duties they may be called on to discharge, and the place they may probably fill, is a very important question. The governing powers in England have not yet determined that any system is to be adopted, or that any general one is expedient; and looking at the continuance and stability of their present political institutions, it may not be so easy a question as we imagine. For instance, what education is best for an English sailor who may be impressed and compelled to serve many years under the discipline of a British man of war, with little or no chance of promotion; or for the common soldier, who in an army officered by gentlemen

can very rarely rise above the ranks; or for the laboring classes in their present condition? No education can remedy most of the evils which are felt by the laboring classes. Education cannot give them employment, food, or clothing, and perhaps would only make them discontented with the inevitable hardships of their condition. There is very little reason to suppose that the government have any such object in view as educating the common people at the public expense.

According to M. De Tocqueville an aristocratic government has a great superiority over all others in the ability with which its foreign relations are managed. He adduces the example of the Romans and the English in support of this opinion. An aristocracy, he says, is a steadfast and enlightened man who never dies.

There may be much truth in this, but we think in respect to England, as much of her success is to be ascribed to national character and fortunate situation, as to the wisdom of the aristocracy. England in her foreign relations and in all controversies with other powers has unrivalled advantages. Her insular situation and naval strength give her means of defence and annoyance possessed by no other country. Every other great nation of Europe has seen a foreign army in its territory and in possession of its capital. But since the Norman conquest no attempt to invade England has succeeded, except in case of a cival war or disputed succession to the crown, where a great portion of the people favored the enterprise.

This security has rendered Englishmen in a great degree strangers to the calamities of war except as they appear in the shape of taxes. To their minds war has been associated with the trophies of victory, the display of British power and valor, the firing of the Park and Tower guns, the thanks of both houses of parliament, with honors and rewards to the successful naval or military commanders. The slaughter of the battle field, the sufferings of the wounded, the groans of the dying, the burning of towns, the multitudes driven from their sweet and cheerful homes to perish by cold, hunger, or disease, have in times past made little impression on their imagination. With the English as with all other nations success will for a time render any war popular however unjustifiable. It is not till they begin to feel the losses and burdens of a war that they are sensible of its impolicy or injustice, and wish for peace.

This geographical position so happy for the English, we have thought has sometimes been unfortunate for other na-

tions, as it has enabled and disposed England to inflict on them the calamities of war, without any serious danger of their being brought home to her own island. In the American Revolutionary War it is not probable that so many towns would have been wantonly burnt, and so much private property destroyed, if these evils could have been retaliated upon their authors.

Government is constituted for the good of the whole society and of every member. The English government like all other governments and social systems must be estimated not by any theory or imaginary standard of perfection, but by its effects on the well-being of the people. We must judge of the tree by its fruits. Mr. Fox said his defence of the British constitution was, not that it was perfect or tallied with the theories of this man, or that man, but that it produced substantial happiness to the people, and if this ground were taken away he knew not what defence to make. We suppose this to be the true and only satisfactory ground on which any political institution or form of society can be defended.

Macaulay looks on the favorable side of things, and sees nothing but progress and improvement, though he hears much complaint of decline and ruin. The nation in his view is sound at heart, has nothing of age but its dignity, combined with the vigor of youth. He thinks the nation is going on in a course of improvement, preserving what is good in its institutions, and reforming what is bad in a peaceable constitutional way. This is undoubtedly the true mode of reform.

But the changes in civil society are not confined to acts of parliament, or measures of government. Time, says Bacon, is the greatest of innovators. Time and the course of events have made the English government and social system what they now are, and may be silently working greater changes than any ministry or political agitators.

We look with much interest for the subsequent volumes of the work. So far the author has occupied the same ground with Hume; the second volume closing exactly at the termination of Hume's history. As our author has already devoted two fifths of the first volume and the whole of the second to the four years reign of James II., we presume he intends to pass over many of the following years with more rapid wheels. The task before him is a great and glorious one, and we know of no author of whom there is so much reason to expect its successful accomplishment.

Art. IV.—SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1.—*Madonna Pia, and Other Poems.* By James Gregor Grant. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co., Cornhill. 1848. pp. x. 320, xiv. 350.

These volumes indicate a strong and genuine tendency to the poetic form, rather than the possession of any very rich or rare vein of the native ore of poetry, on the part of the author. A large part of a life seems to have gone to rhyme here. Whether all the honey was worth hiving, (except as every literary working bee must find a comfort in saving up all whatsoever vouchers of its own existence, to prove that it has been productive in some sense, that it has at least graced the world, if not made very deep marks on it,) is more than we would dare affirm. But there is certainly good poetry, and not a little, stored up with the rest. Every piece is rhythmical, and pleasing, and artistically wrought. Some are bewitchingly beautiful.

Mr. Grant seems to have been early penetrated with a profound reverence for the character of poet; his whole collection has a little of the air of a continued series of attempts at another vindication or "Defence of Poesy." In the upward pathway of his aspirations, he at last met with a type of the character, which his soul at once accepted as a model, in the poet Wordsworth, to whom his volumes are inscribed, while they are filled with traces of his influence. Thus, in his lover's rhapsodies, he is very careful to mention that the object of his adoration is a thing of "flesh and blood," not destitute of every-day qualities, not a nymph, nor a dryad,

> "Nor aught else of superhuman,
> But a very, very woman!"

And he has been and gathered sonnets among the "Lakes," singing the praises of "Winandermere," and "Derwent Water," and "the river Duddon." Doubtless, the Wordsworthian example and philosophy have been a good, strengthening thing for him. Temperament had inclined him, we should fancy, quite another way; for there is an undertone of sadness, a habit of the minor mode, and a slight addiction to the Leigh Hunt sentimentality, spontaneously reappearing ever and anon in these poems. His sentiment is always pure, his aspiration brave and constant; yet we cannot call him spiritual; his inspiration is not of the "third heaven;" neither in invention nor in tone does his muse ever transcend the higher strata of very current and approved, though very good and just and liberal thoughts. The inward material is not equal to the ambition or the power of shaping. His dazzling aims and

models, therefore, cast him back upon himself; he grows very conscious, and writes sonnets "On glancing over some of my own poems," lines "On being asked for my autograph," &c. It is not an offensive egotism; it is only not the consciousness of genius.

The longest and, as we judge, the best piece in these volumes is "Madonna Pia." The subject is from Dante's *Purgatorio.* In four lines, under the lightning flash of his intense imagination, it gleams through the night of ages:

> "Ricorditi di me, chi son la PIA:
> Sienna mi fe'; disfecemi Maremma:
> Salsi colui, che 'nnanellata pria,
> Disposando m'avea con la sua gemma."

Grant time to bring it nearer and fill out the living detail of its beauty and its tragedy, as Leigh Hunt has done with the tale of "Rimini"; and he is hardly less an adept in the rose-color art. He begins thus musically:

> "MADONNA PIA! thou whose gentle shade
> In the sad Tuscan's awful path arose,
> When in the milder penal realm he strayed,—
> Yet breathed no murmur of thy mortal woes,
> Nor creature, dead or living, didst upbraid
> With bringing thy sweet life to bitter close,—
> Sighing but this—"that the Maremma slew,
> And he, the loved one, thy PIETRA, *knew*—"
>
> "Madonna Pia! beautiful wert thou
> Above all beauty then upon the earth!
> And Hope and Joy upon thy Heavenly brow
> Laughed evermore with their divinest mirth!
> Well unto thee all living things might bow;
> Thee, in the pride of beauty, and of birth,
> And youth, and boundless wealth,—which, even then,
> Drew sordid worship from the souls of men:
>
> "Yet not for wealth did young Pietra seek
> This dazzling Phœnix of Sienna's sky—
> He saw an empire on her lip and cheek,
> An El-Dorado in her glorious eye!
> He heard sweet music when he heard her speak;
> Wings sprang within him when her step drew nigh;
> And the least glance or smile she threw on *him*
> Made all of brightness else look cold and dim.

He then goes on to describe the growing passion and mutual confession of the lovers, the rapture and the foreboding, in a style which shall testify for itself by the production of a stanza or two:

> "Madonna Pia told her virgin love
> To her young lover with sweet virgin pride,
> And blessed the poplar-shadows from above
> That fell her blushes and her joy to hide—
> And panted with her joy as a young dove
> Feels its heart pant against its trembling side,
> When some quick hand hath stolen on its rest,
> And gently clutched it in the quiet nest."

. . . .

"A little ebb, within a little hour,
Came to these lovers: on Pietra's breast
Madonna Pia wept the sweetest shower
That ever calmed a stormy joy's unrest.
And then the voice of each, in that calm bower,
Came back, like happy birds, to their loved nest;
And each to each could breathe sweet words anew,
And talk of love as happy lovers do."

And now for the turning point of the story, which is rendered thus: (We quote at length, as a fair specimen of the whole.)

"I pass these raptures — for these raptures passed:
Oh! then the change! — and now the change I tell.
Not vainly was the cypress-shadow cast,
Not without import on the stream it fell:
The debt to vengeful Nemesis amassed
Will have its hour — and she exacts it well:
Though human hearts (let but the goddess wait)
Are *their own* Nemesis, or soon or late.

"Suns rose and set: — The Sire, the Dame, the Priest,
Had smiled, and prayed, and blessed the nuptial tie.
Moons waxed and waned: The bridal joy and feast
Were numbered with the thousand things gone by:
And in Sienna's marts and squares had ceased
The gaze, the murmur, and the whisper sly;
And fluttering gallants sought no more to please
The wedded wonder of the Siennese.

"Returning from a revel — the most bright
And joyous that Sienna since had known,
Madonna Pia, with a heart more light
Than lightest rose-leaves by the zephyr blown,
As down a terrace stair-way's marble flight
(By many a torch and many a cresset shown)
Lightly she stepped, chanced lightly there to smile,
At some fair thought that crossed her mind the while.

"Perchance some flash of light and reckless mirth
Heard where young careless hearts were flowing o'er;
Some freak of playful Fancy, taking birth
From this or that that others said or wore;
Some transient jest of little blame or worth,
Some pleasant nothing, smiled at just before:
When all is cloudless in the heart's glad sky,
Smiles wander to the lip we scarce know why.

"But hast thou never, gentle listener, read
How, in those olden days, with passion rife,
E'en for a look — or word at random said,
There was the secret cell, the secret knife —
Or poison mixed so subtly, strangely dread,
That the least touch was deadly bane to life?
Look! e'en such venom's concentrated might
Was in Madonna's smile that fatal night!

"For at the moment when Pietra's glance
Fell on that smile (oh! smile so peerless then!)
And for the *cause* shot round, by evil chance
It fell on one who *seemed* to smile again.

. . . .

Better had he who smiled, with pointless lance
Have rushed into a hungry lion's den!
Better for that sweet Lady undefiled
If he had stabbed her, even as she smiled!

"Lo! the first taint of canker in the rose—
Lo! the first gall and wormwood in the draught!
First rankling of a wound no more to close—
First random piercing of an aimless shaft!—
What thoughts within Pietra's breast arose!
His Angel shuddered, and his Demon laughed—
Laughed to behold the busy hand of sin
Already shaping its own hell within!

"Sternly he sullened on their homeward way—
Sternly he sullened to their chamber-door—
Sternly he left Madonna there—a prey
To many a bitter pang unfelt before:
Alone he left her—and alone she lay,
Wondering and weeping all this strangeness o'er—
Wondering and weeping—pouring sigh on sigh,
And asking her deaf pillow 'Why, oh why?'

"Wrong and Remorse her prescient heart foresaw,
For well her country's "yellow plague" she knew;
Though, as a gem without a speck or flaw,
She knew her own clear innocent spirit too:
Sudden—a hand her curtain strove to draw—
And, as she sprang to gaze on him who drew,
A stern voice bade her 'rise! and quick prepare
To journey with her Lord—he knew not where.'

"Stern was the bidding—stern the bidder's look:
She gazed upon his face, and read therein
All cruel thoughts and deeds, as in a book;
Little of mercy—much of wrath and sin:
And while his parting steps the chamber shook,
All deadly white she grew, from brow to chin;
And rose, the fearful mystery to learn,
And with dread haste obeyed the bidding stern.

"As down some dusky stream a dying swan
Creeps slow, slow down the marble stairs she crept,
Shivering with icy terror,—and, anon,
From out the portal's gloomy arch-way stept:
There sat Pietra, staring spectral-wan,
And ghastly motionless, as if he slept
On his dark steed: another neighed before her,
And to its saddle menial hands upbore her.

"Why spake he not? this dreadful silence why?
This timeless ride into the starless dark?
Vain questions all, that with imploring eye
Vainly she asked—for there was none to mark;—
And like to one who under stormiest sky
Puts forth on ocean in a crazy bark,
She felt, when, almost ere her lips could say
'O God!' the dark steeds sprang away—away!"

This is but prelude to a mournful journal of the transfer to the tower in the middle of the fatal marsh of Maremma, and the

slow wasting of the innocent and lovely victim under the insidious poison of malaria, and the stony silence of the preternatural, inhuman vengeance of the husband, who came every day to *see* her waste,

"And, while the suppliant wept and prayed apart,
Held him inexorably silent still:
Raising her hot and streaming eyes anon,
The silently-implacable was gone.

"Gone — and no word: and thus, all sternly dumb,
Daily, for months, her prison to and fro
Implacable in silence did he come,
Implacable in silence did he go:
Oh! list, poor victim! list the bittern's hum,
List to the sullen winds without that blow,
List to whate'er drear voice comes o'er the fen —
Pietra's voice thoul't never list again!"

. . . .

"Oh sternest gaoler that did ever yet
Gaze upon martyred sweetness, vulture-eyed! —
Daily her miserable food he set —
With his own hand, and trusted none beside: —
And daily thus, all wretchedness, they met,
And daily thus they withered and they died; —
For soon, on both, the pestilential air
Of the Maremma worked like poison there.

"Chiefly on *her*: the oil of her sweet lamp
With speedier ruin wasted: lip and cheek
Hollowed and thinned, — and the eternal damp
Breathed from that fenny ocean wide and bleak
Filled her with palsying rheum, and ache and cramp;
Gave to her pallid brow a deathlier streak,
And to her eye that drear and ominous light
Which dimly beacons the long ceaseless night!

"Oh! *then*, the banquet of avenging ill
The avenger saw and felt was spreading fast!
And Retribution's fiery hand should fill
Her 'cup of trembling' to the brim at last! —
He saw her drooping — withering — sickening still,
And ghostlier looking every day that passed;
And, with a stern vindictive patience, bore
Himself, disease unfeared, unfelt before."

All this is very powerfully told, and there is not wanting a halo of high spiritual beauty about the portrait of the sufferer, to relieve the natural horrors of the sacrifice. The poet employs one little trick of euphony a great deal, and not without a musical effect. It is what would be called, in musical composition, the *imitation* of passages or phrases. That is, the echoing in the next line of a form of words from the line preceding, or from the first to the last half of the same line; and this sometimes in the direct, sometimes in the inverted or reflected order; which gives a unity and compactness to the stanza, rhythmically considered, like the continual repetition of the same little *motive* in a good piece of

music. Perhaps he carries it too far for poetry. Here are instances:

> "I *pass these raptures* — for *these raptures passed*:
> Oh! then the *change!* — and now the *change* I tell."

> "But, midway, on the right, like some *lone* isle
> In a *lone* lake, a *lonely* tower she saw —
> *Lonely* and dark," &c.

> "Their *gloomy* pathway *gloomier* shadows cast."

> "And from the *bleak* sky to the *bleaker* shore."

And so repeatedly. Sometimes the imitation runs all through a stanza, as in the following, which is very graphic:

> "Thither she dragged — and saw the fenny grass
> *Sullenly* wave o'er all that *sullen* lea;
> And heard the bittern boon in the morass,
> And saw the wild-swan hurrying to the sea;
> And *dreary* gleams, and *drearier* shadows, pass
> O'er *lonely* wilds that *lonelier* could not be:
> And then she turned, all *hopelessness*, within,
> And felt that all was *hopelessly* akin."

This is like Spenser:

> "The wretched porter of those wretched stones,
> He who thus opened, was a sight to see!
> The flesh had pined so from his starting bones
> That like a living skeleton was he:
> His breath was a mixed thing of gasps and moans,
> And old ere middle age he seemed to be:
> Blear-eyed he was, and vext with ache and cramp,
> Fed evermore by that pernicious swamp."

We have not room to go into any critical invoice of the minor poems which fill out the volumes. They are of every variety, in form and subject, though mostly of the kind called "occasional poems." Among the best are the "Epithalamium," the "Lover's Rhapsody," (so *à la* Wordsworth,) and "Pale Student." Many are written for music, but they are not simple enough for that; the words should simply hint the theme, if music is to develop it. A tendency to too great copiousness of words is frequently apparent, as, for instance, in the version of Goethe's "*Das Blumlein Wunderschön.*" The sonnets are beautifully moulded, and have the poetic tone; but there is not always meaning enough in them. He justifies the form by prefixing to two separate batches of them Wordsworth's two sonnets, one quoting authorities from Shakspeare to Milton, and the other likening the sonnet to "the prison, unto which we doom ourselves," and which, therefore, "no prison is." There is a disposition to support the right side in some humanitary questions, here and there, as in the condemnation of war in the "Stanzas on Waterloo." We are sorry, however, that the author should have deemed it necessary to add an

apologetic note to prove his patriotic reverence for the "GREAT VICTOR," the Duke of Wellington!

We will end with a specimen of one style of poem, in which our author is perhaps as successful as in any other.

THE SHORTEST DAY.

"Pile ye the faggot-heap—
Autumn is dead!
Winter, the icicled,
Reigns in his stead:
Faster and faster
Come, Ravage and Dearth!
Winter, your master,
Is lord of the earth!

"Spread we the feast—
Bid the curtains be drawn—
Twilight hath ceased,
And 't is long to the dawn—
Hark to the rising gust!
Hark to the rain!
Hark to the sleety shower
Hurled on the pane!

"Heap the hearth's splendour up—
Hail to the blaze!
If we *must* render up
Homage and praise
To the cold frozen one
Nature obeys,
Be *thou* our comforter,
SHORTEST OF DAYS!

"With a halo of glory,
(As though 't were in scorn
Of Winter the hoary,)
Up-springeth thy morn!
Briefest of brief ones!
Thou yieldest a token
One rod of the Tyrant
Already is broken!

"The team to the shed,
And the flock to the pen—
They know not the night-wave
Is ebbing again;
But joy, joy, to *your* pillows,
O children of men!
LIGHT's glorious billows
Are *flowing* again!

"Dash the torch, and the taper,
And the dim lamp, away—
Through storm and through vapour
Come, life-giving DAY!
Joy's glance, with thy morrow,
More joyous shall be,
And the pale cheek of Sorrow
Grow brighter for thee!

"O Day! lovely Day!
What a joy to perceive
Thy earlier dawn,
And thy lingering eve!
O Light! lovely Light!
With thy heavenly ray
Thou shalt scatter the might
Of bleak Winter away!"

2.—*Die Gegenwart.* 18tes Heft. Leipzig. 1849. (Graf Pellegrino Rossi.)

"*Nemo contra Deum nisi Deus ipse.*" These are words which none should more take to heart than those who undertake to rule the destinies of nations. The past year evinced their truth to nearly all the rulers of Europe, and foremost of all to that class of politicians and diplomatists, styled *Doctrinaires.* The man whose name we have placed at the head of these words, was the protégé and adopted representative of the founders of this theory, and has fallen as its victim with the rest. Theories and systems, invented by men, if they do not go hand in hand with the supreme law and system, may apparently stand for a time, but it is only to fall the deeper.

The idea of the "historical development" of nations is certainly beautiful to contemplate in the present and to trace in the past; it inspires the beholder with a reverence and admiration proportionately greater than watching the development of the majestic oak from its living germ in the acorn to the extended branches of the full-grown tree aspiring to heaven. But if a man would undertake to guide and regulate the historical or progressive development of the tree, according to his own notion of the propriety of growth, he would soon see that his efforts were as ridiculous as that of the child we see trying to stop up a current with its tiny hands. The doctrinaire party in France and all the rest of Europe, under whatever name they may parade their wisdom, were no wiser than such a man or such a child would be.

To trace the life of one of these men who took an important part in the affairs of Europe, is of interest in more than one respect. It must be allowed that men of the greatest talent and learning belonged to this school of doctrinaires, and, more than this, they behaved with energy, perseverance and sagacity to uphold and carry out their system. For this purpose they enlisted able men, without distinction of country or nation, to work for their cause. Whilst we must admire and laud their zeal and exertions, we cannot but infer from this very fact that their system was a

false one, since it has failed and brought ruin upon all its supporters, in spite of the talent, the energy and sagacity enlisted in its behalf.

The sketch of the life of Rossi which we give below, translated from the German, shows him to have been a man of transcendent talents, of firmness of purpose, and intelligent perseverance. Although we will not question his honesty in taking up the cause for which he labored, still his uprightness of character is made questionable by the latter part of his career; even if we make allowance for the helpless position in which he was placed through the overthrow of the throne of his patron Louis Philippe. To expect uprightness of character from a diplomatist and politician seems almost to be a paradox, but there is yet a difference between shrewd management in public negotiations and double dealing to suit the personal interest of a man. It is this last mentioned feature which we condemn in Rossi, and which, we think, brought his life to a violent end; and while we execrate the assassin's hand that committed the bloody deed, we cannot but be reminded of the words of the poet:

> "Ill for ill waits ever ready:
> On the guilt-polluted race
> Retribution steals apace;—
> Jove weighs all with balance steady."

Among the statesmen, diplomatists and political adventurers whom the finger of 1848 has struck from the list of actors, we behold the figure of an Italian whose fate deserves our interest so much the more because talents and knowledge, strength of character and good will indeed qualified this man to enter in these new times upon a new and fruitful career. After having been an advocate and professor of law under the dominion of Napoleon, a respected professor and statesman in the Calvinist republic of Geneva, after the July revolution a protégé of the French Doctrinaires, councillor and ambassador of Louis Philippe with the prospect of taking the part of a Mazarin, and finally an Italian patriot, this Proteus-like character was on the point of recovering for the Pope his secular power, and through the ambiguous art of diplomacy of restoring to order the fates of Italy, when in the midst of anarchy and political fanaticism, the hired blow of a bandit laid him low. What vicissitudes of life! What a strength and versatility of character which came forth out of these phases, unimpaired in mind and body and with the capacity to undertake a new task!

Pellegrino Lodovico Eduardo Rossi, afterwards Count and Peer of France, was born on the 13th of July, 1787, at Carrara in Modena, of bourgeois parents. He educated himself with extraordinary success to the learned studies, and in the University at Bo-

logna, at the age of nineteen, took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and at the same time received the office of secretary to the Procurator General of the court at that place. When a few years afterwards he was established as a practising lawyer, he proved a very adroit and successful advocate. His knowledge and his love of the French law, which at that time prevailed in the Italian peninsula, procured for him the professorship of criminal law and penal procedure at Bologna. At the Restoration in 1814, the new government gave him an office in the Commission of the Reorganization of Romagna. However, in his political sentiments Rossi still adhered entirely to the former enlightened French regime, and when in the following year Joachim Murat took possession of the Papal state, he accepted from him the office of a civil commissary in the conquered provinces. This step was of course considered by the party of the Restoration as a political apostasy, so that Rossi, upon the expulsion of Murat, abandoned his professor's chair, and with many others of his countrymen sought for an asylum in Switzerland, — Geneva. Without property and solely dependent upon himself, he went from there to England to seek for a proper sphere of action, but in 1816 he returned to Geneva, where he gave private lectures on history, law, and political economy. He wrote at the same time for the "Bibliothèque Universelle," and uniting with Sismondi and the learned jurist Bello he edited the "Annales de législation, de jurisprudence et d'économie politique," a work which was discontinued in 1821, because its editors would not submit to the censorship of the Holy Alliance. Rossi very soon gained the confidence and respect of the Geneva aristocracy. His enemies have alleged this as a proof of his chameleon-like character; but Rossi's nature was quite suited to acquire influence in this circle without constraint or hypocrisy on his part. His grave, simple, but yet adroit deportment, his enlightened rationalism in politics, law, administration and religion, suited the Geneva bourgeoisie quite well, on whom the French Doctrinaireism of Guizot and Royer-Collard exercised great influence.

In the year 1819, Rossi obtained the professor's chair of the Roman and criminal law at the Geneva Academy, which gave him a much more elevated position, although his pecuniary circumstances were but slightly improved. He married, at the same time, into a distinguished family of the city. It was also at this time that he wrote his "Traité de droit pénal," which was published at Paris in 1829, (3 vols.) and dedicated to the Duke de Broglie, who had various communications with Geneva, and had in this way become acquainted with Rossi, and learned to esteem him. This work, which was intended to be only the introduction to a comprehensive work, explains with great clearness the general principles of penal law, according to an enlightened and humane system of ethics; it insists on securing the interest of society

as well as that of the individual; it rejects confiscation (as it still existed at that time in England) and severe incarceration, (such as was practised in Austria,) but vindicates the right of capital punishment in a chapter which is instructive even now. However, Rossi confines the right of capital punishment to a few cases, and hopes, that with the improved state of morals it may be entirely stricken from the penal code. About the year 1820, the respected Professor received the right of citizenship of Geneva, and was chosen into the Great Council of the Republic, where he soon gained predominant influence, through his extensive knowledge and his practical schemes of statesmanship. He pointed out, although with great moderation, the necessary reforms both of the separate Cantonal governments of the Swiss confederation, and of the federal compact itself. It was also through his instrumentality that Geneva made some concessions to the democratic constitutional principle, at the time when the constitutions were revised before 1830. After the French Revolution of 1830, when the political movements began to break out more violently also in Switzerland, and the liberals insisted upon a thorough reform of the federal compact in favor of a greater federal union, Rossi was sent by Geneva as her envoy to the Diet which was to attend to the revision of the confederation. Here, through his extensive knowledge, as well as through the moderation with which he represented the policy of liberalism, and the idea of centralization, he soon gained an extraordinary influence, so that he was entrusted with making the report on the projected revision. In the scheme which Rossi hereupon laid before the Diet in the year 1832, and which is known in the political annals of Switzerland by the name of "pacte-Rossi," with great forbearance he endeavoured to strengthen the Swiss confederation. His plan was adopted by the Diet in December of 1832. Rossi had, in his plan of centralization, proceeded from the existing relations of things, and purposely avoided all radical interference with the individual interests of the separate cantons; the progressive modulation of the federal constitution, upon the basis of this first step, was to be left to the future. Notwithstanding this, the law of revision met with the greatest opposition on the part of the small cantons where the ultramontane party exerted itself to the utmost to retain the old cantonal state of things. The radical liberals were likewise dissatisfied with the work of Rossi. Under these auspices the revisionary law was submitted to the separate communes for ratification, and rejected by a majority of the Swiss people, in consequence of the combined exertions of the ultramontanes, the old aristocracy and the radical reformers.

Rossi had, through his labors at the Diet, learned to know his strength; but, at the same time, contracted a decided aversion to the petty party intrigues which pervaded the political life in

Switzerland, particularly at that time. This, and the circumstance that his salary as Professor at Geneva was hardly sufficient to secure a support for his young family, induced him to think of obtaining another sphere of action. Being sent by the Diet to Paris to regulate the affairs of the Polish emigrants, he came into intimate relations with the doctrinaire-ministers, Broglie and Guizot, and he made use of this acquaintance to enter into the service of the French state. Both parties originally intended to secure for the Geneva professor only a French office of instruction, as his views and education coincided with the political doctrinaire principles of those men. Rossi accordingly emigrated to France in the year 1833, and established himself at Paris. The ministry intended to establish for its protégé a professorship of French constitutional law, which was then not taught in the law school; but Rossi saw more clearly than his patrons, what powerful obstacles a foreigner must meet with in this field, and how much his success and the support of his family in general would be endangered, if the chamber, in view of the intentions of the government, should reject the establishment of this professorship. He, therefore, did not enter for the time, upon this project; he received, however, in August, 1834, through ministerial intercession, the chair of the Professor of Political Economy at the Collège de France, which had become vacant through the death of Say. He was naturalized at the same time, (August 23.) Although Rossi was perfectly able to do justice to his science and the office, still there were also obstacles in his way, which, however, he succeeded in overcoming, by extraordinary perseverance and skill. The name of his distinguished predecessor, and his manner of lecturing, which had been rather attractive through its brilliancy, than scientifically instructive, had rendered the lecture room of political economy in the College de France, the rendezvous of a host of scientific dillettanti, who belonged but in part to the studious youth, and derived nothing therefrom but a brilliant entertainment. Rossi, on the contrary, who, moreover, had no creative talent for the science, had to confine himself—and this was to the great advantage of the object of instruction—to the strict explanation of the scientific principles of his system; nor was he able, being a foreigner, to lend charms to his subject through a vivid and brilliant style. He explained the problems of political economy with great clearness and consistency; but he spoke after the Italian fashion, methodically, slowly, and with a foreign accent. After the very first lectures, the crowd of hearers had for ever vanished; only about one hundred zealous students remained, who were willing to be thoroughly instructed in this science by the able teacher. Among them there were some men who have since distinguished themselves as practical and theoretical economists, and who openly declare, that Rossi's labors at the Collège de France have put this science upon a decidedly firm basis in France.

After Rossi had entered upon his office as teacher, the university appointed him, a few months afterwards, temporary professor of Constitutional Law in the law school of Paris. If his appointment in the Collège de France had excited the indignation of the opponents of the government, the opposition press now protested in full chorus against this second nomination, and the students were also drawn into this party strife. Nobody could dispute the capacity of Rossi for this new professorship; he was disliked only because he was a foreigner, and the special protégé of the domineering doctrinaires. The students alleged as a special reason — his not having taken the academic degree in the University of Paris. Numbers of students and others forced their way, several times, into the hall of the law school, where the persecuted man lectured, and made such a tumult, that the public authority had to interfere, and the government was obliged, in December, 1834, to discontinue the lectures for some time. It was only after several months that the patience and firmness of Rossi succeeded in obtaining an undisturbed hearing before the students, and in course of time in securing, at least in part, even their attachment. However, it was not till the 30th of November, 1837, that an ordinance made his temporary appointment in the law school permanent. A portion of his lectures on political economy in the Collège de France was published from the notes taken by one of his hearers, Torrée, under the title of "Cours d'économie politique," (Paris, 1840; 2d ed., 1846.) Rossi proves himself by this work to be a lucid expounder and clever eclectic in the department of Political Economy. He demands a free course for labor, capital, and trade. Respecting his views on the land rent, he inclines to Ricardo; but in his theory of population to Malthus. This latter view is still more apparent in his other work, elucidating the principles of the British economist: "Introduction à l'essai sur le principe de population de Malthus," which is contained in the seventh part of the "Collection des principaux économistes." In the year 1838, Rossi, who had now gradually gained considerable respect among the scholars at Paris, was chosen member of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and he received at the same time, the "grandes lettres de naturalization." Of his works in the Academy, a memoir on the relations of political economy to the institutes of the civil law is well known.

The warm recommendations of Guizot and Broglie, as well as the writings which he had from time to time published in the "Revue des deux mondes," and other government organs, had already procured for him the decided favor of the court. Louis Philippe saw in the adroit and talented Italian a man whom he might use for something greater than a teacher of the ministerial doctrine. Therefore, in 1839, when many peers were created, Rossi was also put upon the list, and this elevation was to be only the prelude to

the new career which the king himself intended to open for his favorite. The active influence of Rossi in the chamber of Peers was, probably intentionally, very limited; he spoke but a few times, namely, during the debates on the banking privilege, and afterwards during the dispute regarding public instruction. In short, after having been created Peer, Rossi resigned the offices of instructor in the law school, and the Collège de France, (where Chevalier succeeded him); and instead of it, he was at once admitted (in 1840) into the council of state, where he was at first assigned to the department of instruction, and some time after to that of foreign affairs. It is indeed remarkable how soon Rossi, in this position, stood in the most confidential relation to the king, and how he must have penetrated into all the plans and designs of the court, and have been consulted regarding them. His frequent and personal intercourse with Louis Philippe displeased even the faithful and indefatigable Guizot, who began to fear, and not without reason, that the Italian might, sooner or later, overshadow and displace him. Notwithstanding his relations to the court and to the Doctrinaires, notwithstanding his stiff and uninteresting external deportment, which still reminded one of Geneva puritanism, and denoted the party-type of the men who had elevated him, Rossi succeeded in putting himself in a tolerably good understanding with the other public parties and their tendencies. The legitimists alone reviled and rejected him, called him a renegade and similar names, because he did not care to trouble himself about "these people without a future." But with the republicans and radicals he was not out of favor, and was even praised several times in the "National." The opposition entertained the conviction, that the adroitness and perseverance of the Italian might perhaps lead to the undermining and overthrow of the hated Doctrinaire party, and that according to several expressions, apparently unguardedly made, he concealed an opinion, the development of which might, one day, undeceive his protectors. The clergy did not look upon Rossi with unfavorable eyes. As citizen of Geneva, and husband to a Protestant wife, he had had his children educated in Calvinism; but in France the shrewd man caused his family to go over to Catholicism. During the dispute on the educational question, between the university and clergy, Rossi had spoken in the chamber of Peers in such a manner that he did not offend, in fact, any party, but to a certain degree satisfied them both. The ultramontane party already fancied that they saw in him a possible ally.

This extreme adroitness which Rossi displayed in the debates on ecclesiastical and religious affairs, determined Louis Philippe, at last, to make a decided use of the virtuoso powers of his confidant, intending through his agency to make a final settlement of the ecclesiastical questions then pending between France and the

Papal See, and thus to restore peace between the two parties. In the beginning of the year 1845, when the breach between the Church and State showed itself more dangerous than ever, Rossi was appointed Minister Extraordinary to Rome; it was given out that he was to conduct the embassy at Rome *ad interim*, in place of the sick Count Latour Maubourg. The French legitimists at Rome protested against it in vain. Guizot likewise found himself quite severely treated by the appointment of Rossi, which had been made without his wishes and knowledge. Guizot had selected for the post at Rome Count Bois-le-Comte, who was acceptable to both the party of legitimists and that of the priests, and he was already on his journey to Paris, from Switzerland, where he represented the French interest, when Rossi informed the minister that he himself should go to Rome, according to the will of the king. Rossi actually entered upon his mission at the end of February, 1845; he received an open commission to bring to a definite settlement with Gregory XVI. the dispute about the liberty of instruction, and the relation of French prelates to the power of the state. The latter point had reference to the mandate of Bishop Bonald, which encroached dangerously upon the province of the state. At Rome Rossi showed his Italian character to its full extent; he spoke like a native, and succeeded in gaining confidence for himself. It was, however, asserted that he would have effected nothing, in spite of all this, if he had not been aided by the storm, (and this was, perhaps, purposely excited,) which Thiers called forth in France by his speech in the Chamber against the extension of the order of Jesuits on French soil. Rossi shrewdly made a handle of it, and succeeded in obtaining in this affair a concession, although it was doubtful and disputed. At the beginning of July the French papers stated that the intelligence, calmness, and perseverance of Rossi had succeeded in concluding the preliminaries of a treaty with the Papal See, according to which the society of Jesuits was abolished in France, the houses of the order must be closed, and the novices absolved. This pretended victory occurred at the same time with the negotiations now happily finished, regarding the right of search, with the cabinet at London, and were made the most of by the court and government, to gain favor with the public. The "Constitutionnel," "National," and the press of the government united in extolling the talent of Rossi.

The ultramontane and legitimist papers only, from revenge, pointed at the utter insignificance and even the disgrace of such a victory; they declared that the government, according to existing laws, had already not only the right but also that it was their duty to expel the Jesuits, and that the applications made to Rome for the abolition of the order proved the weakness and want of conscience of the government. These papers also maintained that

Rossi himself had not been able to obtain anything from the Pope; and only the General of the Jesuits had, from a consideration of the circumstances, consented to dissolve the order in France for the time.

Notwithstanding the dispute which at the same time took place about the talents and merits of Rossi, his influence was more firmly established in France, and in the diplomatic world, and every body was convinced that a portefeuille as minister awaited the adroit and firm Italian at the hands of Louis Philippe. Guizot seemed to have broken with him; but still he enjoyed the sincere favor of the Duc de Broglie. In spite of the objections of the legitimists, Rossi received, in May, 1846, a definite appointment, being raised to the rank of ambassador at the Vatican and to that of a French count. The death of Gregory XVI., (1st of June,) the election of Pius IX., towards which he had contributed a great deal, according to his own statement, the reform movements and the new political constellation which began with this election — all these increased the importance of Rossi's position, and the value which his adroit mind had in the eyes of the king of the French. And certainly none of the ministers of Louis Philippe was so well fitted as he, through the virtuoso skill of diplomatic intrigue, to manage the so-called "juste milieu" of the master, now at the right time to go onward, and now at the decisive turning point to stop, and, without being noticed, to take a new direction; Rossi, who at first boasted of having led the papal state upon the path of reform, understood how to interfere with skill when the consequences of these first steps of Pius IX. were developed, and to bring France nearer to the policy of Austria. This ambiguous deportment, adapted to the plan of Louis Philippe, brought upon him, even then, the hatred of the Italian patriots. But besides this, he gave the Vatican moderate counsels and succeeded in inducing a court to delay its action in the Swiss disturbances. This was indeed well adapted to the policy of peace and compromise, but it did not at all satisfy the ultramontane party. Although in these extremely intricate relations Rossi sustained his reputation as a subtle and extremely clever diplomatist, yet neither his art nor the general policy of Louis Philippe could arrest the natural course of things in Italy and in Switzerland. It has been said that Rossi had been selected by Louis Philippe to take the part of a Mazarin in France after the death of the king, and at the head of the regency to guide his grandson and the Orleans dynasty through the storm of internal insurrection. Rossi was no doubt possessed of the pliability, subtleness, and perseverance of that Italian. However, it may be doubted whether these qualities would have been sufficient to allay the political fermentation of France at the present day. The very fact that Rossi was a foreigner would have prevented him from being put at the head of

a French regency. That Rossi had no firm hold either on the public opinion of France or on that of Rome, is shown by his total downfall as soon as the Orleans dynasty in France was overthrown. Immediately after the events of February, 1848, he found himself deserted and unnoticed, and was obliged to give way at once to D'Acourt, the ambassador of the Republic.

What was now to be done; whither was Rossi to go, to undertake a new stage-part, that he might secure subsistence for a large family? At Rome, the parties despised him; there was no prospect of a career for him there. He went to Carrara, and came out of his chrysalis an Italian patriot. His countrymen received him gladly, naturalized him, elected him, and we may, perhaps, believe it is true that the adventurer embraced with sincerity the cause of his native country. However, the victories of Radetzky, and the return of the Duke of Modena, soon drove him from his popular position. He was obliged to flee back to Rome, where the parties derided his downfall and his fate. Rossi encountered his misfortune with all the perseverance and tenacity of his natural disposition. He succeeded in winning the ear of the Pope — to whom he had so often given wise counsel — and, through the press, in presenting himself to the people as the unavoidable future minister, as often as the helpless rulers of the papal state changed or were about to change; one might read in the papers, that Rossi was the man who could save the state out of the breakers. This was said when Mamiani was put at the head of affairs, and the same was repeated when the ministry of Fabbri was formed. But nobody believed that Rossi had been selected for that work; on the contrary, his exertions were ridiculed in caricatures and pamphlets. In the mean time, the embarrassments of Pius IX. and the general distraction of affairs increased from day to day in the papal state. Fabbri had dissolved the chamber, which was to be called together again; the financial distress was great; entire anarchy prevailed in the northern provinces (Legations); Cavaignac refused to interfere and restore order in the Papal state; the so-called patriots cried Treachery, openly threatened the overthrow of the government, and demanded war with Austria. In this distress, the Pope sought help from Rossi. The clergy and reactionary party acknowledged the great talent of the man, and recollected that as minister of Louis Philippe, he had acted with success and moderation; but the daily press attacked him with revilings and execrations; the so-called patriots declared that the ministry of Rossi would be fatal to the cause of liberty. Rossi promised the Pope to restore order in the Papal state, without force or foreign assistance, and to bring even Italy out of the crisis, by way of diplomacy. He declared openly, that the independence and greatness of Italy should be the only aim in his negotiations.

On the 18th of September, 1848, the ministry of Rossi came

into being. Rossi himself took the department of the Interior, and then, provisionally, that of the Police and Finance, — a great power in the Papal state; but, at the same time, a still greater responsibility. Cardinal Soglia took the Presidency and Foreign Affairs; Cardinal Vizzardelli, Instruction; Advocate Cicognani, Justice; Professor Montanari, the Public Works; and the Duke de Rignano, *ad interim*, the war department. Again the radicals raised a cry about reaction, because the clergy was again taking part in the administration. Rossi, however, did not suffer himself to be disturbed; he began in connection with his colleagues to tighten the reins in all the branches of government, and showed that the question was not about one-sided reaction, but about restoring order. In order to reanimate trade, the first measure was to repeal the prohibition of the exportation of money. Shortly after he enforced an old law respecting the freedom of exhibiting pictures, by which he suppressed the great nuisance of caricatures. Towards the end of September, he summoned the Prince Canino before him, reproved his anarchical conduct, produced before him written proofs, and dismissed him with menacing admonitions. No doubt he had made thereby a mortal enemy. An ordinance announced the establishment of telegraphic lines as the forerunner of railroads, but it was supposed the principal object of it was to accomplish the purposes of the police. Other decrees founded professorships of political economy and agriculture in the universities at Bologna and Rome. The anarchical little bands of volunteers who had returned to Rome after the capitulation at Vicenza, were sent to the north and east, and the capital was provided with a garrison of troops of the line. However, Rossi induced the Pope to ratify the pensions which had before been promised to the wounded and disabled volunteers, and to the families of the killed. Although the Pope had given his declaration that the war against Austria had been undertaken without his consent, Rossi, in order to gain confidence with the radicals, called upon the clerical and church prebendaries to pay the sum of 200,000 scudi, to liquidate the debts made by the liberal ministers for the cause of independence. However, Rossi could not deceive the radicals, who loudly demanded war against Austria, by this step, nor by sending money to Venice, and calling upon the trading classes to furnish the government with articles of equipment, drums, etc. On the contrary, the clergy became alarmed through this demand of money. As they generally feared an attack on the part of the minister, upon the extensive church property, they voluntarily offered the payment of 4,000,000 of scudi, in fifteen yearly instalments, but on condition that the property of the church should remain untouched. But Rossi was too good an arithmetician; he knew that the property of the church amounted to 60,000,000 of scudi, whilst the State debt was 37,000,000. He received the proposition coldly, and thereby confirming his intentions against

the church property, he brought upon himself the hatred and enmity of the only party that had entertained hopes from his rule. Rossi acted with great energy in clearing the provinces of the many vagabonds and bands of thieves and murderers, who, in the midst of anarchy, had increased to an incredible extent, and who did not suffer the people to rest. One province after another was cleared by the gensd'armes.

About the end of October General Zuchi took the department of War, and he likewise tried to introduce strictness and order into the army and military administration. In the mean time bands of volunteers had collected on the northern boundary and on their own account threatened to commence war with Austria. At Bologna the disorganization of all public authority continually became more and more complete; Zuchi hastened to the scene of anarchy, disarmed the volunteers, in the night of the sixth of November made search for the arms hidden in the houses at Bologna, and threatened the refractory people with military law. These measures called forth the bitterest feelings among the radicals and patriots who had been excited by the tidings of the events at Vienna; they believed that Rossi, who himself was earnestly engaged in reorganizing the body of gensd'armes, intended to disarm the people in order to deliver them defenceless into slavery. The supposition that the minister was treating with Austria and Naples, gave reason for the supposition that he had engaged through a plot of the cabinet to betray and stifle the general exertions of Italy for freedom. The *ne plus ultra* press at Rome pretended that it knew of an alliance even with Russia, and in the "Circolo populare," the most violent and numerous club of the people at Rome, they spoke of the *denaturalized son* of Italy. In this state of feeling the chamber was to be reopened on the 13th of November. Rossi was indifferent to what was going on, because through his 1,000 gensd'armes and 6,000 regular troops he felt himself strong against the radicals, and knew full well that the credulous and excitable multitude were only wrought up by a few fanatics. A few days before the opening of the chamber, the representative Sterbini abused him in the "Circolo populare" and in the journal "Contemporaneo" in a manner which had heretofore been unheard of in Rome. According to his statement, Rossi was said to be still in communication with Guizot and Metternich, and upon the expulsion of the Austrian minister from Rome, to have taken this mission upon himself and faithfully discharged the same. He was furthermore charged with arbitrarily reducing the number of seats in the public gallery of the chamber of deputies from one thousand to a hundred, and this was certainly the fact. He was accused of provoking disturbances for the purpose of putting Rome and the country in a state of siege. On the 13th of November four hundred *carabinieri* marched from the country into Rome, and the minister passed them in review

on the following day in the closed court of Belvedere, exhorting the troops to remain faithful to the Pope; this was likewise done with the police soldiers. On the same day there appeared an article in the official "Gazetta de Roma," in which the public at least thought that the chamber of deputies and the national exertions were laughed at. No doubt any attack of the government upon the chamber of deputies was very unwise. The article, together with the charges made by Sterbini and the appearance of the carabinieri increased the exasperation of the fanatics and astounded even the more intelligent. The "Civica" assembled and protested against the troops being drawn together. A general distrust of Rossi took possession of the public mind; those deputies, also, who had heretofore been on the side of the ministers, resolved, in consequence of that article, to strengthen the ranks of the opposition. It was intended to compel Rossi to retire by withdrawing the support of the chambers from the government, which was now feared, hated, or at least suspected by all parties.

However, the minister retained his self-confidence; he had the conviction that he should overcome the distrust of the chamber through the development of his policy, and through his personal deportment obtain a majority. The opening of the chamber was looked forward to with the greatest anxiety. On the 14th of November, Rossi was informed of a plot; he paid no attention to it. The chamber assembled at the appointed hour, about one o'clock, on the 15th of November, in the palace of the Cancellaria, in a part of the upper story to which a staircase led from the court. At this same hour Rossi left the Pope, and drove a few minutes afterwards into the court of the Cancellaria, where the people received him with howlings and hisses. He alighted, smiled sardonically at this demonstration, and went, swinging his gloves, towards the staircase, which was filled with about thirty young men belonging to the volunteer corps of the "*bersaglieri*" (tirailleurs). When Rossi reached the stairs, a passage was opened for him, but already on the first steps he was pushed one side. One of those that pushed gave him a violent blow upon the shoulder. Rossi raised his hand; by this movement his neck was laid bare and extended. At this moment he received two thrusts with a dagger in his neck. He covered the wounds with his pocket handkerchief, ascended quietly a few more steps, and said to his companion, Righetti, the substitute of the finance department, "It is nothing." Suddenly, however, he sat down, powerless. His servant carried him into the upper story, and placed him in an ante-chamber of the Cardinal Guzzoli, where, after breathing for a few minutes longer, he expired. Several civic guards who were on duty before the chamber, were witnesses of the proceeding from the top of the stairs, but did not interfere. The murderers withdrew slowly, without any hindrance. The people received

the news of this event coldly and indifferently. The chamber of deputies, in which the places on the right were vacant with a few exceptions, did not suffer itself to be disturbed by the news of the assassination of the minister, in the reading of the record of the last session in August. The roll having been called, the president declared that no quorum was present for the transaction of business, and all withdrew in silence.

The bandit who struck the blow, at the instigation of a conspiracy formed a few days before, was named Jergo. It was said that he was paid 12,000 scudi for the bloody deed. Great suspicion fell upon the deputy Pietro Sterbini; nobody troubled himself, however, to pursue the murderers. The ministry was dissolved, and the director of the police of the city withdrew. At first it appeared as if the fanatics would content themselves with the assassination of Rossi; a revolution had not been prepared. Hand-bills, quickly spread by the radicals, called for a demonstration in the evening against the retrograde party; and then the tumult followed which led, on the following day, to the attack upon the Quirinal, and to the popular ministry of Galetti. On the evening of the 24th, Pius IX. fled from Rome to Civita Vecchia, and from thence to Gaeta. The French ambassador took care of the family of Rossi, his wife, children, and brothers, who had lost their supporter. Only a portion of the Italian press expressed any horror at the crime, or lamented the loss of the man to the national cause; the other papers palliated this murderous deed with religious and theatrical phrases, and praised it as a victory of the good cause of the nation. "The deed was done exactly upon the spot where Cæsar was slain," said the Tuscan "Alba." Within a few months after this deed the rumor was spread abroad that the murderer of Rossi had fallen by the same hand which paid him the price of blood, because it was feared he would disclose his accomplices.

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3 — 1. *Hin Forna lögbók Islendinga, sem nefnist Járnsida edr Hákonarbók. Codex Juris Islandorum antiquus, qui nominatur Jarnsida seu Liber Haconis. Cum interpretatione Latina, etc.* HAVNIÆ, Sumptibus Legati Arnæ Magnæani. 1847. 4to. pp. XLIV. and 291.

2. *Islenzkir Annálar, sive Annales Islandici ab anno Christi* 803 *ad annum* 1403. *Cum interpretatione Latina, etc.* HAVNIÆ, Sumptibus Legati Arnæ Magnæani. 1847. 4to. pp. L. and 478.

Two new donations from the trustees of Arnas Magnusen's fund for the publication of documents relative to ancient Scandinavian history. The first, the *Járnsida*, or "Ironside," is an old

Icelandic code of laws, published there about 1271; not the oldest, however, for the "Gray-goose," which it succeeded, had been in force in the shape in which we now have it, for about a century and a half. The publication of the *Jarnsida* marks an important epoch in the history of Iceland, the epoch, namely, when the country, exhausted by the everlasting feuds of the petty chieftains among whom the island was parcelled out, fell into the power of Hacon the Old, of Norway. The ancient democracy which had flourished for 400 years, had become no longer democratic. Theoretically, indeed, the freeholders were still all equal before the law, but there had grown up around each of the larger proprietors a crew of retainers whose unquestioning adherence enabled him to set the laws at defiance. The ancient code, tender of personal liberty, could do nothing in the last extremity but withdraw its protection from the offender. But if strong in the protection of his clan, and secure in his own district, he laughed at the outlawry of the tribunals. In this state of things, the stern Norse individualism, unrestrained by the ties of commerce, or of a common danger from without, which in modern times, and in other countries, have bound men together; secure in its remote and icy home, and encouraged still farther by the isolating tendency of a pastoral life, received an extreme development, inconsistent with civil order. Every principle of cohesion being destroyed, the body politic fell to pieces, not from an overwhelming force from without, but from an internal, organic disease.

The name "Ironside," accordingly, (if not derived, as we might conjecture, from the binding of the book, as has been supposed in the case of the "Gray-goose,") probably betokens not any particular severity (for nothing of the kind appears) of the code, but only the wincing of the haughty islanders at the first taste of a strong central government. Their old laws only regulated the practice of private revenge; thus a murderer was prosecuted to outlawry, by the nearest relation of the slain. The inevitable law, that whatsoever does not govern itself, must be ruled from without, — that within or without, a central principle must exist and govern; this law, universal in the material and in the spiritual world, did not admit of an exception here. "Life for life," says Strinnholm; "the law could not as yet give, for only the serf could be punished in life or limb; every judgment between free men was only a compromise — the law could do nothing except to fix legal forms for this."

But now they heard for the first time, that "God has ordained two visible ministers of his divine religion and sacred law, that they should cause the good to enjoy justice, but should correct and punish the evil. Of these, one is the king, the other the bishop. The king is by God appointed to the civil command, to manage civil affairs; the bishop to the spiritual, to oversee things spiritual."

Henceforth the transgressor was to be prosecuted by the king's attorney, who was to have the sentence executed, and receive part of the fines. Moreover, although some of the provisions of this code were taken from the "Gray-goose," yet by far the larger part is a mere transcript of the Norwegian laws, and thus doubtless appeared more oppressive, merely from being new and foreign.

The Icelanders, from the first, made a great deal of complaint about it, and it was in fact abolished in about ten years, though probably rather on account of insufficiency, (for it is very short, and evidently a hasty production,) than for any change of policy in the Norwegian government, since the *Jónsbók*, which took its place, and which is still mostly in force, is, we believe, not more favorable to popular rights.

Noticeable features, on a hasty perusal, are, the development of the jury of twelve sworn men, peers of the defendant, (*Tyltar eidr,*) which is here used more frequently and for causes of less moment, and moreover for the assessment of damages in civil actions, as well as for criminal cases: — a provision for recovering costs in an action of debt; "he shall have six ounces for the trouble of getting his due;" — a prohibition to give credit to a married woman for goods, "unless her husband have sent her to the ship or into the market to buy for the need of both,"—it being the custom of the country for the merchants to put up booths on the beach, and sell from their ships. Stringent provisions are made against theft, thus, "one who crawleth under people's cows, to drink their milk, is out of the protection of the law, and so if one shall go into a man's leek garden, or his angelica-garden; though he be beaten, or the clothes taken off from him." Nevertheléss, an exception is made in the case of extreme want. "None of us shall steal from another. But this is to be observed, that if a man steal meat, being unable to earn his livelihood, and thus help out his life, for hunger's sake, this is a theft which should by no means be punished." It is remarkable, by the bye, that the Icelanders long before this had provisions for the support of the helplessly poor. "Those men who persist in coming into companies of men unbidden of him who gives the feast, and obstinately sit there, although they be roughly cast out, or in anywise mishandled, are half-right men, (can recover but half damages,) and shall pay three marks to the King. This is so provided, since many good men have taken harm and danger from their insolence."

From a clause in the law of wrecks, &c., it would seem that the Icelanders were the first whale-fishers: "If a dart be found in a whale, he shall keep the iron who dwells nearest."

Although by no means so ancient as many of the northern codes, the *Járnsida* contains many of those terse alliterative sentences, which always attest a high antiquity, for instance, this in a

provision against obstructing fish in their ascent of rivers: "Free gate to God's gifts to the fells or to the fiord;" and this, in an exception to a statute of limitation: "For in salt lieth a suit when the suitors are competent." Elsewhere, "the fence is a peace-maker among neighbours."

The second in the annals of Iceland, from A. D. 803 to 1430. It is very much like the Anglo-Saxon chronicle; a terse matter-of-fact record, kept probably at some monastery, or at all events by monks; as is shown by the scraps of Latin interspersed, and the attention to news in the church. Its contents are thus summed up by the editor in the preface: "the births, deaths, journeys, and changes in office of bishops, judges, and other public functionaries; natural events, some common to many lands, such as comets, eclipses of the sun and moon; others peculiar to this land, as earthquakes, volcanoes, severe or mild winters, scarcity of grain, pestilences among men and animals; matters concerning foreign commerce, as shipwrecks, the departure and arrival of vessels; and events in life, or of the common religion, as crimes and misdeeds, dreams, fables of ghosts, and such like."

On the first pages, mention is made of Ragnar Lodbrok, (Hairy-breeches,*) a Scandinavian King Arthur, to whom (as well as to Odin,) the origin of the jury of twelve men is ascribed, and many other miscellaneous exploits, some historical, some fabulous. Here is related the story of his unsuccessful expedition against King Helli or Halli of Scotland, in the year 715, in which he was taken prisoner, and thrown into a dungeon, where he was destroyed by snakes, bearing his fate with invincible stoicism, saying only in allusion to his sons at home, "the young pigs would squeal if they knew the fate of the boar." The news being brought to the sons, Ivar the Boneless did not stop playing; Sigurd Snake-eye, who was carving his spear-handle, drove the spear-head through his foot without observing it. Biorn was playing at dice; he grasped the die with such force, that the blood burst from his hand. Then collecting their forces, they took signal revenge for the death of their father.

Another theme is the gradual introduction of Christianity, about A. D. 1000. How Poppo the Bishop put on hot iron gauntlets without injury, whereupon multitudes were baptized, and the fiery ordeal substituted for the duel in judicial decisions. The old faith, however, still lingered for a long time in corners of the land; in particular, the Icelanders were hard to wean from secret sacrifices, and the eating of horse-flesh, and both continued to be practised hiddenly, (as the laws also attest) though for-

* The *Lotroc* of the Romance de Rou, and *Lothbroc* of the English chronicles.

bidden. Homicide is a frequently recurring item; not many pages are without cases of it. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century, we observe the advances of Norway. Gissur Thorvaldson (afterwards the King's lieutenant) comes over and receives a command in the northern parts. What he did to make himself obnoxious, unless his being in the Norwegian interest was known or suspected, is not discoverable; but at all events, after the genuine Norse mode of redressing grievances, his house is surrounded and set on fire, and his wife, his three sons, and twenty-five other persons burned, he himself narrowly escaping into a butt of sour whey in the dairy. Thereupon he goes to Norway again, but soon returns with the title of Jarl, doubtless a recompense for losses in the royal service. Soon afterwards, the Norwegian rule is acknowledged in the assemblies of one district after another.

Great numbers of men and of cattle die of pestilences, particularly after hard winters, when the snows are deep, (for the cattle are kept out all winter,) or in cold summers when the hay crop fails. The small-pox appears several times; first in 1240. In 1289, King Eric sends one Rolf to Iceland, "to seek the *new land*" (*leita Nyjalands*). In 1379, it is recorded that "the Skrælings attacked the Greenlanders, and slew eighteen, and took two boys as slaves."

Several outbursts of Hecla; as in 1300, when the roofs of houses were broken by the falling pumice stones, and ashes fell so thick that it was never darker of a winter's night, and this for two days. In 1314, Audfin the Bishop put up the first *stove* that had been seen in Iceland, and which is mentioned afterwards with respect in the annals. The bishops in general, were good to the poor, and in all things upright and useful men. Bishop Orm, however, was an exception; he excited the ire of the people by heavy and unusual exactions, till they could bear it no longer, and so drove him off to Norway; and the other bishop going off too, Iceland was for a while without any bishop. Towards the beginning of the fifteenth century, we find numbers of English fishermen on the Iceland coast. In 1417, twenty-five of their vessels were wrecked in one storm. On one occasion some of them, being in want of provisions, went ashore somewhere in the northern part of the island, and the people not being at home, they helped themselves to what they needed, but the chronicle remembers to add, they left the money for it.

4.— *The Nemesis of Faith.* By J. A. FROUDE, M. A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

> "Καὶ μὴν ἔργῳ γ' οὐκ ἔτι μύθῳ
> Χθὼν σεσάλευται·
> . . . . σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων
> Πνεύματα πάντων, εἰς ἄλληλα
> Στάσιν ἀντίπνουν ἀποδεικνύμενα."
>
> PROMETHEUS.

London. 1849. 12mo. pp. 228.

THE author of this work is the son of Archdeacon Froude, now living at Devonshire, and brother of the late Mr. Froude one of the early followers of Dr. Pusey, whose "Remains" became so distinguished a few years ago. The present is quite a remarkable work — especially when we consider the parentage and position of the author. We knew the sons of archdeacons were not insured against heresy, or even insurable at any office in the Church. But we had thought that there was one spot yet dry and untouched by the flood of neology which in this country spreads so wide; that spot we thought was at Oxford, and the dryest and most tenable part thereof was occupied by the "scholarships" of Oxford. But alas, the Dove sent forth from the mediæval ark of the catholic church will find no resting place for the sole of her foot, we fear, and must return to the patriarchal hand. If the Tory scholarships of Oxford, becoming nests for heresy, hardly be saved, where shall the ungodly theological schools and dissenting pulpits of New England appear? Well may each dissenting sect exclaim: —

> *Quid sum miser tunc dicturus,*
> *Quem Patronum rogaturus,*
> *Quum vix* OXON *sit securus!* "

Such is the frailty of men; so powerful is still the old Adam in young blood, that not even the luxurious scholarships at Oxford keep men from heresy. There was the rich clover of the church, green and blooming in the close of Oriel college, defended by a venerable gate with thirty-nine bars. Yet this was not enough! Such is the depravity of human nature! The Fellow of Oriel has "broken college" and overleaped the venerable gate — thirty-nine bars though it counted. Alas, there is no more clover for him, at least none in the ecclesiastical meadows of Oxford. So offensive is this unlucky work that the author has been deprived of his scholarship. Nay, he had been appointed professor — we know not of what, in a college at Hobartstown, but the appointment is revoked "by order of the queen," as we are told; the newspapers announce that the work has been academically and "publicly burned" with judicial fire at Oxford. This we hold to be apoc-

ryphal, for we think the grave men at Oxford know that in burning a book nowadays other things are likely to take fire. To buy a book that is printed at Paternoster Row, and burn it at Oxford, in these days is a piece of wit no more alarming to authors and publishers than it would be to buy calicoes printed at Manchester and burn them with academic fire. It makes the better market for the rest. Most men like the smell of a burnt book. But let us return to the work of Mr. Froude.

Markham Sutherland is the hero of the tale. He relates his own history for some time to his friend Arthur. Markham has left the university; his father — a plain man of a few good rules, with no ungentlemanly scruples about what every body does and believes, a little thick in the head, perhaps, but sensitive enough in the heart — wishes the son to choose a profession. "The three black graces" alternately present their charms to him, but he cannot "get the apple delivered." He always meant to be a clergyman; he has a high idea of the clerical profession, and says,

"I cannot understand why, as a body, clergymen are so fatally uninteresting; they who through all their waking hours ought to have for their one thought the deepest and most absorbing interests of humanity. It is the curse of making it a profession — a road to get on upon, to succeed in life upon. The base stain is apparent in their very language, too sad an index of what they are. Their "*duty*," what is it? — to patter through the two Sunday services. For a little money one of them will undertake the other's *duty* for him. And what do they all aim at? — getting livings! not cures of souls, but *livings*; something which will keep their wretched bodies living in the comforts they have found indispensable. What business have they, any one of them, with a thought of what becomes of their poor wretched selves at all? .... Not more than one in fifty takes orders who has a chance in any other line; but there is this one in each fifty, and so noble some of those units are, that they are not only enough for the salt of their class, but for the salt of the world too. Men who do indeed spend their lives among the poor and the suffering, who go down and are content to make a home in those rivers of wretchedness that run below the surface of this modern society, asking nothing but to shed their lives, to pour one drop of sweetness into that bitter stream of injustice: oh. Arthur, what men they are! what a duty that might be! I think if it is true what they say who profit by this modern system; if there is indeed no help for it, and an ever increasing multitude of human beings must drag on their wretched years in toil and suffering that a few may be idle and enjoy; if there be no hope for them; if to-morrow must be as to-day, and they are to live but to labor, and when their strength is spent, are but to languish out an unpensioned old age on a public charity which degrades what it sustains; if this be indeed the lot which, by an irrevocable decree, it has pleased Providence to stamp upon the huge majority of mankind, incomparably the highest privilege which could be given to any one of us is to be allowed to sacrifice himself to them, to teach them to hope for a more just hereafter, and to make their present more endurable by raising their minds to endure it. I have but one comfort in thinking of the poor, and that is, that we get somehow adjusted to the condition in which we grow up, and we do not miss the absence of what we have never enjoyed. They do not wear out faster, at least not much faster, than the better favored; that is, if you may reckon up life by years, and if such as we leave them may be called life. Oh what a clergyman might do! To have them all for an hour at least each week collected to be taught by him, really wishing to listen, if he

will but take the trouble to understand them, and to learn what they require to be told. How sick one is of all sermons, such as they are! Why will men go on thrashing over and again the old withered straw that was thrashed out centuries ago, when every field is waving with fresh, quite other, crops waving for their hand? Is it indolence or folly? What is it?"

But he cannot be a clergyman.

"Arthur, before I can be made a clergyman, I must declare that I unfeignedly believe all "the canonical writings of the Old Testament;" and I cannot. What does it mean — unfeignedly believe it all? .... I suppose we are to believe that all those books were written by men immediately inspired by God to write them, because He thought them good for the education of mankind; that whatever is told in those books as a fact is a real fact, and that the Psalms and Prophecies were composed under the dictation of the Holy Spirit. .... If there were no difficulties but these, and only my reason were perplexed. I could easily school my reason; I could tell myself that God accommodated His revelations to the existing condition of mankind, and wrote in their language. But, Arthur, bear with me, and at least hear me; though my head may deceive me, my heart cannot. I will not, I must not, believe that the all-just, all-merciful, all-good God can be such a Being as I find him there described. He! He! to have created mankind liable to fall — to have laid them in the way of a temptation under which He knew they would fall, and then curse them and all who were to come of them, and all the world, for their sakes; jealous, passionate, capricious, revengeful, punishing children for their father's sins, tempting men, or at least permitting them to be tempted into blindness and folly, and then destroying them. O, Arthur, Arthur! this is not a Being to whom I could teach poor man to look up to out of his sufferings in love and hope. What! that with no motive but His own will He chose out arbitrarily, for no merit of their own, as an eastern despot chooses his favorites, one small section of mankind, leaving all the world besides to devil-worship and lies; that the pure, truth-loving Persian of the mountains, who morning and night poured out his simple prayer to the Universal Father for the good of all His children; that the noble Greeks of Marathon and Thermopylæ, the austere and stately Romans, that then these were outcasts, aliens, devil-worshippers; and that one strange people of fanatics so hideously cruel that even women and children fell in slaughtered heaps before their indiscriminating swords, that these alone were the true God's true servants; that God bid them do these things, and, exulting in their successful vengeance as a vindication of His honor, compelled the spheres out of their courses to stand still and assist the murdering! .... For myself, the most delightful trait in the entire long history is that golden thread of humanity which winds along below the cruelty of the exclusive theory, and here and there appears in protest, in touches of deeper sympathy for its victims, than are ever found for the more highly favored. Who are those who most call out our tears? Is it not the outcast mother setting down her child that she may not see it die, the injured Esau, the fallen Saul, Aiah's daughter watching by her murdered children, or that unhappy husband who followed his wife weeping all along the road as David's minions were dragging her to his harem?"

"And then there is another thing, Arthur, which seems to be taught, not in the Old Testament but in the New, which I should have to say I believed; a doctrine this, not a history, and a doctrine so horrible that it could only have taken root in mankind when they were struggling in the perplexities of Manicheeism, and believed that the Devil held a divided empire with God. I mean that the largest portion of mankind are to be tortured for ever and ever in unspeakable agonies."

He cannot preach such doctrines.

"No, if I am to be a minister of religion, I must teach the poor people that they have a Father in heaven, not a tyrant; one who loves them *all* beyond

power of heart to conceive; who is sorry when they do wrong, not angry; whom they are to love and *dread*, not with caitiff coward fear, but with deepest awe and reverence, as the all-pure, all-good, all-holy. I could never fear a God who kept a hell prison-house. No, not though he flung me there because I refused. There is a power stronger than such a one; and it is possible to walk unscathed even in the burning furnace. What! am I to tell these poor millions of sufferers, who struggle on their wretched lives of want and misery, starved into sin, maddened into passion by the fiends of hunger and privation, in ignorance because they were never taught, and with but enough of knowledge to feel the deep injustice under which they are pining; am I to tell them, I say, that there is no hope for them here, and less than none hereafter; that the grave is but a precipice off which all, all of them, save here one and there one, will fall down into another life, to which the worst of earth is heaven? "Why, why," they may lift up their torn hands and cry in bitter anger, "why, Almighty One, were we ever born at all, if it was but for this?"

Again he develops more fully some of the difficulties that he feels.

"But why do they believe it at all? They must say because it is in the Bible. Yes, here it is. Other books we may sit in judgment upon, but not upon the Bible. That is the exception, the one book which is wholly and entirely true. And we are to believe whatever is there, no matter how monstrous, on the authority of God. He has told us, and that is enough. But how do they know He has told us. The Church says so. Why does the Church say so? Because the Jews said so. And how do we know the Jews could not be mistaken? Because *they said* they were God's people, and God guided them. One would have thought if this were so, He would have guided them in the interpreting their books too, and we ought to be all Jews now. But, in the name of Heaven, what is the history of those books which we call the Old Testament? No one knows who the authors were of the greater part of them, or even at what date they were written. They make no claim to be inspired themselves; at least only the prophets make such claim; before the captivity there was no collection at all; they had only the Book of the Law, as it is called, of which they took such bad care that what that was none of us now know. The Pentateuch now has not the slightest pretensions to be what Moses read in the ears of all the people, and Joshua wrote upon twelve stones. . . . The Mahometans say their Koran was written by God. The Hindoos say the Vedas were. We say the Bible was, and we are but interested witnesses in deciding absolutely and exclusively for ourselves. If it be immeasurably the highest of the three, it is because it is not the most divine but the most human. It does not differ from them in kind; and it seems to me that in ascribing it to God we are doing a double dishonor; to ourselves for want of faith in our soul's strength, and to God in making Him responsible for our weakness. There is nothing in it but what men might have written; much, oh much, which it would drive me mad to think any but men, and most mistaken men, had written. Yet still as a whole, it is by far the noblest collection of sacred books in the world; the outpouring of the mind of a people in whom a larger share of God's spirit was for many centuries working than in any other of mankind, or who at least most clearly caught and carried home to themselves the idea of the direct and immediate dependence of the world upon Him. It is so good that as men looked at it they said this is too good for man; nothing but the inspiration of God could have given this."

Such a man, in such a state of mind, is not likely to take deacon's orders in the English Church; but one of his brothers in the navy "has just got his epaulets," and two others in a mercantile house have golden harvests, or at least a golden seed-time,

and a harvest in prospect; the bishop offered his father a living for Markham. The young man consulted his uncle the dean, and told him all his doubt. He treated it simply as a juvenile disorder "which a few weeks parish intercourse and practical acquaintance with mankind would dissipate as a matter of course;" "it was all nothing." So the young man consents to take a place as teacher in the church, thinking of Synesius, "who," as *he* says, "when he was pressed to take a bishopric by the Alexandrian metropolitan, declared he would not teach fables in church unless he might philosophize at home." Markham becomes a priest, preaches what he has to offer, Piety and Goodness, with little theology, and none of the popular sort. So affairs pass on for a year; at length by the contrivance of another clergyman, he is forced to declare himself, in private, against the Bible Society, as follows:

> "It is true I have particular feelings. I dislike societies generally; I would join in none of them. For your society in particular, as you insist on my telling you, I think it is the very worst, with the establishment of which I have been acquainted. Considering all the heresies, the enormous crimes, the wickednesses, the astounding follies which the Bible has been made to justify, and which its indiscriminate reading has suggested; considering that it has been, indeed, the sword which our Lord said that he was sending; that not the Devil himself could have invented an implement more potent to fill the hated world with lies, and blood, and fury; I think, certainly, that to send hawkers over the world loaded with copies of this book, scattering it in all places among all persons — not teaching them to understand it; not standing, like Moses, between that heavenly light and them; but cramming it into their own hands as God's book, which He wrote, and they are to read, each for himself, and learn what they can for themselves — is the most culpable folly of which it is possible for man to be guilty."

He confers with the bishop, who advises him to leave his parish in the hands of a vicar, and travel for some years, in hopes of finding an orthodox belief.

"Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt." A winter at Como does not end his skepticism, but brings him into fresh dangers, which, in his state of mind, he is ill fitted to contend with. He makes the acquaintance of a Mr. Leonard, "an easy, good-natured, and not very sensible English country gentleman, whose fortune, more than his person, had, some years before, induced a certain noble family at home to dispose of an incumbrance to him, in the person of a distantly related young lady who had been thrown upon them for support. She had married him, and ever since had been tolerating a sort of inert existence, which she did not know to be a wretched one, only because his heart was still in its chrysalis, and she had never experienced another." Her husband took little comfort in her, and she little in him — the real bond of union was Annie, a young daughter. Gradually she and Markham became intimate, attached, and enamored; Annie dies through

the accidental carelessness of the mother: — "a punishment," she says, "for my sin in marrying her father." A sense of their condition further comes upon the unhappy pair. She flees to a convent; he is about to end his life, when another appears, and dashes the poison from his cup, and tells him —

> "Your philosophy, as you called it, taught you to doubt whether sin was not a dream; you feel it now; it is no dream, it is a real, a horrible power; and you see whither you have been led in following blindly a guide which is but a child of the spirit of evil."

She soon enters the Catholic Church in despair, and to seek a hiding-place. In a few years,

> "The stricken deer that left the herd,
> With many an arrow deep infixed,"

passed quietly away; for, where hope never comes, death comes at last, with a handful of dust to allay this murmuring swarm of passions, vanities, and hopes, and to hive the exiled soul under the shelter of a Providence who not only knows what sin is, but the thing more difficult, who is a sinner.

There is no *logical* connection between Markham's creed and the catastrophe of the book; the connection is purely *circumstantial*, and might have happened to the bishop or the dean, spite of their soundness in theological belief; but most readers will say: this is the result of such disbelief; this is the Nemesis of faith. Did the author mean to show, if a man is bred in a theology which cannot stand, that when it falls he is left undefended, and must also fall? Then the work is imperfect; for the result is brought about by circumstances, wholly independent of the doubting man. Did the author mean to promulgate his doubt, his denial, and escape the consequences by this subterfuge, and say to his opponents: true there are doubts unanswered, but see the fate of him who cherishes such unholy birds in his nest? We do not doubt the writer's honesty, only in this particular confess the lack of artistic skill.

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5. — *Kavanagh, a Tale.* By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 188.

> "The flighty purpose never is o'ertook,
> Unless the deed go with it." — SHAKSPEARE.

THIS is a delightful little work, as are all Mr. Longfellow's. It makes the same impression as a beautiful picture of simple life, — men, women, and children in the midst of nature, where nothing is crowded, but all things are harmoniously grouped

together. The work is rich in quiet humour, in simple and natural descriptions. The characters seem living persons, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Pendexter, and his "old white horse, that for so many years had stamped atfunerals, and gnawed the tops of so many posts, and imagined he killed so many flies because he wagged the stump of a tail," and "had a very disdainful fling to his hind legs," and "Miss Amelia Hawkins," "who remained unmarried, though possessing a talent for matrimony, which amounted almost to genius," — these, and indeed all the characters in the work, — from Mr. "Wilmerdings the butcher, standing beside his cart, and surrounded by five cats," to Mr. Kavanagh himself, studying preaching, and courting in the sweet natural way — are sketched with such fidelity to nature, that the reader thinks them real persons who really live in some actual Fairmeadow. "Mr. H. Adolphus Hawkins" is a "gentleman" that every body remembers. There are little inaccuracies in the work, as in most of the works of this accomplished and graceful author; — a little confusion in the natural history, which we should not expect in so nice an observer of human life. Still we should say, this is perhaps the most pleasing of all Mr. Longfellow's productions, if we had not said the same of several others as they successively appeared. The general effect of this, and indeed of all his works, is quiet and soothing; he inspires the reader with tenderness, with philanthropy, with love of beauty, and with love of God.

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6. — *Wilhelm Von Humboldt's Gesammelte Werke.* Boston. 1841 - 1848. 8vo. Vol. I. to VI.

Alexander Von Humboldt has undertaken to edit the works of his deceased brother, which have hitherto been scattered in various quarters of the literary world, and therefore inaccessible. He says of them, "The fragments collected together in these volumes belong to a numerous and wide circle of ideas; they are philosophical investigations which have been made at various times, and under the varying impulses of great events in the life of the nations; they disclose to us the Man in all the affluence of his majestic mind and spiritual power; the Politician confirmed in his free style of thought, at the same time by a profound knowledge of Greek, Roman, and Indian antiquity, and by a serious and penetrating insight into the connections of modern events in the history of the world. In these volumes is shown a peculiar greatness which does not proceed from intellectual qualities alone, but more immediately from greatness of character, from a mind

never limited by the present times, and from an unfathomed depth of sentiment."

The most important works are a translation of Pindar, of two dramas of Æschylus; treatises on the structure of language; and criticisms of various works, ancient and modern. One volume is mainly filled with his celebrated criticism on Goethe's *Hermann and Dorothea.* Each volume contains several pieces of poetry, many of which, especially the sonnets, are now published for the first time.

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7. — The *Life of Maximilian Robespierre;* with extracts from his unpublished Correspondence. By G. G. H. Lewis, &c., &c. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. xii and 392.

This work has been apparently brought out by the events of the past year, which have again turned the eyes of men towards the unpleasing figure of Robespierre. The author derives his information from the well known histories of the French Revolution, special histories of Robespierre, from an article in the "Quarterly" and another in the "British and Foreign Review," and from some MSS. letters of his hero furnished by M. Louis Blanc.

The work, to judge from the matter and the form, seems hastily written; it contains much valuable matter, but is by no means an adequate biography of Robespierre, though perhaps the best we have.

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8. — *A Discourse delivered before the Rhode Island Historical Society,* on the evening of February 1st, 1849. By George Washington Greene, &c., &c. Published at the request of the Society. Providence. 1849. 8vo. pp. 24.

Mr. Greene is well known as an accomplished and elegant scholar, who filled the office of American consul at Rome for several years. Some articles from his pen did honor to one of the most important periodicals in America. In this oration he offers a slight sketch of the "Progress of Historical Science in connection with the progress of society." He says in the earliest ages History seems little more than a mere rhythmical narration of events, but not the less gives the outlines of the picture of the narrator's own age; soon History descends from traditions to

monuments, from poetry to prose, and embraces more objects. At last it becomes a grand Art which paints individuals and yet preserves to us the characteristics of the great races of men. The Oration is written in the large and humane spirit of one familiar with books, familiar also with men of various nations and races.

We have space but for a single extract:

"All the historian's inquiries are attempts to solve those questions in the social and political condition of former times, which are the chief object of attention in his own. His silence even, often goes further than the most labored paragraph, as when we are told that only a single senator perished in the second sack of Rome, and ask — what the historians of that age never thought of asking, — but where were the people? The further, therefore, that civilization is advanced, the more important becomes the office of the historian; the wider the field of general knowledge, the more extensive the range of philosophical inquiry, by so much the more is his sphere enlarged and his responsibilities increased. The curiosity which in one age rests satisfied with a simple narrative of events, demands, in another, an exposition of their causes and their results; and extending by degrees, from minute details to general views, from statistical data to philosophic generalization, arrives, at last, at the production of a living picture of society, in all its varied forms, and a recognition of the great spirit of humanity, which pervades and gives life to them all."

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9. — 1. *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT, &c. &c. &c. Translated under the superintendence of LIEUT. COL. SABINE, &c. &c. Seventh Edition. London. 1849. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 356 and CXXXVIII; and 360 and CXLII.

2. *Cosmos:* &c. Translated from the German. By E. C. OTTE, &c. &c. London. 1848–9. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. XLIX and 766

HERE we have two translations of the celebrated book of Von Humboldt. When the original is completed we intend to offer our readers a review of this magnificent work. At present we wish to speak only of the two rival versions: they are both made by ladies. No. 1 is called "the authorized English translation," having received, it is said, the *imprimatur* of the author himself. The publishers state, that "it was undertaken at M. de Humboldt's express desire," and that he himself read over the proof sheets of the first volume, and of the second to page 100, after which they were read by Chevalier Bunsen." This statement we fear must be taken, as men take the statement of an auctioneer, with a grain of allowance. It is certainly not probable, that so busy a man as Von Humboldt spends much time in looking over proof sheets, even of his own

works; an examination of this will leave it doubtful that he saw all the sheets of the first volume. In the original, Vol. I., p. 381-382, there is a paragraph which begins in this manner: "The geographical investigations (meaning apparently the legendary histories) respecting the ancient *seat*, the *cradle of the human race* so called, have, in fact, a character purely mythical." He then quotes a very long passage from a MS. work of his late brother on "The Diversity of Languages and Nations," to corroborate his own statement. The whole passage is omitted in No. 1, and the reader is not apprised of the fact. The reason is obvious,—Von Humboldt's statement does not agree with the popular Theology of England. Now this is downright dishonesty, and we confess we are amazed that Col. Sabine and Mr. Murray should be guilty of such an imposition upon the public. The translation in general is at best but a poor one; the author's meaning is often obscured by the writer; sometimes it is impossible to ascertain it; sometimes there is no meaning left which we can discover, and sometimes an opinion just opposite to the original, is put before us.

No. 2 appears to be a translation of the whole work. Miss Otté has in general succeeded much better than her predecessor, but sometimes she misses the author's meaning, where Mrs. Sabine had seen and preserved it; sometimes she obscures and weakens a sentence by giving a paraphrase and not an exact version. But on the whole, her translation is far better than Mrs. Sabine's, and is sufficiently literal. Still, we think it unfortunate that so valuable a work—requiring not merely a knowledge of the German language, but also an acquaintance with the *things* treated of in the work—should not have found some person of high scientific attainments to render it into English.

10.—*The Gospel of Labor:* a Poem, delivered before the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, on the occasion of their Twenty-ninth Anniversary, February 22, 1849. By A. J. H. Duganne, an honorary member. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16.

Sometimes a man speaks because he has something to say; sometimes because he has to say something. Anniversary poems are often written by men of the latter class, but this seems to come from a man who speaks because he has something to say. The substance is more perfect than the form; the author sometimes struggles with his material, and cannot mould and master

the clay into which he has breathed the breath of life. He speaks of the dignity of labor: man, when expelled from Eden, thought himself blasted for ever; the poet thinks that expulsion was the best thing which could have happened to him.

"The sunlight and the perfume, and the flowers,
Were hidden in Earth's solitary bowers, —
And Adam's curse was that he saw them not!
Nature with Eden's loveliness was fraught,
But all was gloom to Man's uneducated thought!

"But Toil was not his curse! The Eternal's plan,
Shrouded in mystery, was the good of Man!
Paradise was earth's foretaste — Adam shared
Its peace, that he for earth might be prepared.
Man was first placed in Eden's bowers, to learn
The heaven of joy that he through toil might earn;
Then from its gates, the Eternal led him forth,
To pluck that heaven from the golden earth."

God is continually at work,

" . . . . *and ceaseless rolls*
Out from his boundless heart the ocean of men's souls."

Again he says: —

"Fearfully do we tread
The Alpine masonry of pyramids —
And shudderingly our feet are led
Through Egypt's populous tombs,
The echoless catacombs —
Beneath whose rocky lids
Slumber a nation's dead!
With awe we mark the pillars overthrown
Of what was once the Athenian's Parthenon:
With fear we scan the crumbling stone
Of Rome's dread Colliseum —
Her pride — her mausoleum!
We dream not that those wrecks of old
A pregnant lesson may unfold —
Our blind souls have never scanned
What Ruin's damp and mildewed hand
Hath writ upon each mouldering wall! —
A lesson like the scroll in doomed Belshazzar's hall!

. . . .

"Those Ruins *answer* us! They speak amid
The shadowy years, like Samuel unto Saul:
Each stone hath voice — as if within the wall
A multitude of prisoned souls were hid;
Behold! they cry — behold these crumbling pile
Are grave-stones of the People — of the slaves,
The masses — by whose sweat and bloody toils
All were upreared — walls, bases, architraves! —
These are the monuments of those who have no graves.

"Those Ruins *teach us!* Kings have writ their name
Upon those crushed entablatures, and deemed

Their memory deathless as each column seemed:
Why is it that nor king nor vassal claims
The homage which their awful works inspire?
Why is it that we gaze — perchance admire —
Yet reck not of the long-forgotten builder,
Whose handiwork, even in ruins, can bewilder?

"It is because the soul which was in him
Who built, hath passed into his work. It is
Because the eternal life which had been his,
Was trodden out by kings from soul and limb, —
That with it they might build these monuments
To their own glory. — Human soul and sense
Was sacrificed to matter — and stones became,
Instead of men, the altars of a nation's fame.

"Myriads of men were melted into brass
For Rhodes' Colossus — millions crushed to clay,
That Thebes might dazzle through her short-lived day;
O, had these hecatombs of souls — this mass
Of living Labor been together welded! —
Had one great mental monument been builded! —
Then had that rescued and united whole
Templed creation with a deathless human soul!

. . . .

"Nations are built of Men. The mighty frame
Of that huge skeleton — a state —
Govern we it with priest or potentate —
Is evermore the same:
Bones, sinews, flesh, and blood of human kind,
Moulded together, and made one,
By that tremendous charm — the Mind;
And ruled, if ruin it would shun,
By one great bond of brotherhood —
Swayed for one object — human good!"

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11. — *Poems.* By JAMES T. FIELDS. Boston. 1844. 12mo. pp. VI. and 100.

THIS volume contains twenty-nine poetical pieces. We have room only for the following extract, which speaks for itself.

EVENTIDE.

WRITTEN IN THE COUNTRY.

This cottage door, this gentle gale,
Hay-scented, whispering round,
You path-side rose, that down the vale
Breathes incense from the ground,
Methinks should from the dullest clod
Invite a thankful heart to God.

But, Lord, the violet, bending low,
Seems better moved to praise;
From us, what scanty blessings flow,
How voiceless close our days:—
Father, forgive us, and the flowers
Shall lead in prayer the vesper hours.

12.—*To the Parishioners of Calvary Church.* New York. 1848. A Pastoral from the Rector to the Parishioners of Calvary Church, New York. 12mo. pp. 24.

THIS is a pastoral letter from the Rev. Samuel L. Southard to his flock. We are acquainted with the author only by means of this little pamphlet. He seems to be a serious, earnest man, desirous of promoting the spiritual welfare of his parishioners; but it is written in the spirit of the Catholic clergy in the times of Saint Bernard. At the first glance over these pages a liberal and intelligent man will naturally smile at the pretensions to authority set forth by the Rector of Calvary Church; but soon a sincere man becomes sad at the sight of such pretensions in America, and the middle of the nineteenth century, especially when he remembers that there are thousands who will probably yield willing necks to this priestly domination. He says, (the Italics are not ours,)

"You should look on the ministry as *divinely* appointed to rule over and teach you; to preach the gospel, 'as this Church hath received the same;' and give you the means of grace. Not as agents of man, or your agents—supported, but not hired. Never speak against them without compulsion. If you differ from your Pastors in opinion, be content to differ without words. Receive all you can of profit from their ministrations, and be still. If they err in judgment, pray for them. While you remain in a parish, never cause a division of the people. And always remember that more must be yielded to the judgment of your Pastors, than is due to your own; it is their province; and theirs is the responsibility."

"The connexion of the clergy and the people in spiritual things is nearer than any relation on earth. There is no tie so near—of friendship or of blood."

"Removals from parish to parish are to be avoided if possible; never change from whim or caprice: never altogether from taste. . . . . In changing your residence, have an eye to proximity to a Church, before all things but health; and as a general rule go to the Church which is nearest."

"Always, unless from a conscientious excuse, attend service and worship in *your own* parish Church. *Be content* with the services *there*. They will be enough for your soul: more than you will improve. If you fancy you need *more* of nourishment than you receive, apply to *your Priest;* but never stray off to seek it yourself. You know your own pastures; but you may eat garlic elsewhere. *Your* Shepherd, whoever in the Providence of God he may be, is the Shepherd *for you*. Itching ears are one of the heaviest judgments of God, and mere curiosity in religious affairs *may be* a sin. Sheep who wander from

pasture to pasture will be cared for by none, and may meet the wolf in the way."

"Never marry one to whom you may be related nearer than the *fifth* degree. Never marry the relations of a deceased wife, in any degree nearer than you are. You should never marry *out of the faith* [i. e. the faith of the Episcopal Church]: *especially* a *woman*, who, thereby, becomes subject "to the law of her husband," who may keep her away from the Church. Better never to marry than make shipwreck of the faith [i. e. of the *belief* of the Episcopal Church.]"

"Use hospitality. Be careful to entertain strangers; and especially the ministry of God. A clergyman [i. e. of the Episcopal Church] should never be left at an Inn."

12.—*A Letter of the celebrated John Foster to a young minister, on the duration of Future Punishment: with an introduction and notes, consisting chiefly of extracts from orthodox writers; and an earnest appeal to the American Tract Society in regard to the character of its publications.* Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 120.

The anonymous author is apparently an able scholar, and writes with the style of a serious and thoughtful man who feels that his words will have effect, as they certainly have weight. He shows, in the first place, that many men otherwise "orthodox," that is more or less Calvinistic, do not believe the doctrine of eternal damnation. He then addresses the American Tract Society, and justly censures that body for publishing books which contain the doctrine in its most odious form.

He shows the power of the Society, by telling of the number of its publications.

"The Society have already issued more than one hundred millions of books and Tracts — of Alleine's Alarm, 120,000 copies; Baxter's Saint's Rest, and Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion, each 100,000; of Baxter's Call to the Unconverted, 250,000; and in some efforts of late to supply our large cities, 10,000 volumes were circulated in Boston, 10,000 in Charleston, S. C., 17,000 in Philadelphia and vicinity."

"In Boston nearly 2,000 gentlemen circulated by voluntary effort about 10,000 volumes on sale, for which they received $3,500. In Hartford and New Haven, Conn., about 4,000 volumes each were circulated. In Providence, R. I., nearly 10,000 volumes were sold; in Troy, N. Y., 7,000; in Philadelphia, 18,000; in Charleston, S. C., 10,000, including 400 sets of the Evangelical Family Library, amounting to $3,000; and in Savannah and Augusta, Ga., nearly 4,000 volumes each. More than two hundred pious colporteurs are employed by the Society in conveying these publications to the homes of the people."

"From small beginnings in 1825, the Society's operations have gradually increased, till, in the last year, its receipts for books sold and donations, were more than $160,000; more than half a million of books and five millions of Tracts were circulated; and 267 colporteurs, including 44 students for vacations, were in commission, in 27 States, for the whole or part of the year — 37 of them among the German, French, Irish, and Norwegian population—who visited 215,000 families, or a twentieth part of our entire population."

Surely such a society must be dangerous to the welfare of the great mass of uneducated persons who read its works.

The Society thus states the agreement of all "the great family of the redeemed":

> "There is a happy agreement among all evangelical Christians regarding the fundamental truths of the Bible. However they may differ as to philosophy and religious order and ordinances, the doctrines of 'Man's native sinfulness; the purity and obligation of the law of God; the true and proper divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; the necessity and reality of his atonement and sacrifice; the efficiency of the Holy Spirit in the work of renovation; the free and full offers of the Gospel, and the duty of man to accept it; the necessity of personal holiness; and an everlasting state of rewards and punishments beyond the grave,' and related truths, are loved alike by the great family of the redeemed, of every name and nation."

The author complains of the character of the works published by the Society; descriptions of torment, and images of pain "have been multiplied and combined, as it were, in an *infernal kaleidescope*, so as to present images of variegated, picturesque, and transcendent horror." The publication, on so large a scale, of books like "Baxter's Saint's Rest," "Alleine's Alarm," and the like, must be regarded as a national calamity. We could wish that such large resources, and such exemplary skill in their management as belong to this society, were devoted to a better purpose.

13.—*Human Life:* illustrated in my Individual Experience as a Child, a Youth, and a Man. By HENRY CLARKE WRIGHT. 12mo. pp. 414. Boston: Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill. 1849.

THIS book is the work of a true and earnest man, who has a clear idea of the purpose for which he was placed in this world, and who has devoted himself heartily to its accomplishment. Engaged in agricultural and mechanical labor, with scarcely any opportunities for book-learning, until the age of twenty, he then began a course of education for the Orthodox ministry. On entering the Theological Seminary at Andover, he determined to take nothing for granted as true or false, right or wrong, but to doubt on all subjects, rejecting every thing which he should find to rest solely on authority, or to which he could find a reasonable and unanswerable objection. Guided by this principle, he entered upon a course of assiduous and indefatigable study, and soon found himself driven to conclusions widely different, not only from Andover theology, but from the popular opinions in business, literature, and politics, religion, and morality. He seems ever since

to have continued faithful to this idea. His motto is "Institutions for men, not men for Institutions." He regards beneficence to men as the true service or worship of God, and sets at nought all customs, laws, constitutions, and scriptures which examination shows to be at variance with the rights or the welfare of mankind.

The book is intensely interesting, for the same reasons which make the lives of Silvio Pellico and of Blanco White interesting; yet this man is very different from them, and his book from their books. His style is direct and energetic, yet at the same time prolix and repetitious. He seeks to know God and man, shrinks from no investigation and from no conclusion, and makes the freest use of all materials, himself included, in attaining this knowledge. A year hence, he promises a second volume.

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14. — *Two Sermons of the Moral and Spiritual Condition of Boston.* By THEODORE PARKER, &c., &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 74.

IN the first sermon the author considers, 1. the actual state of morals in Boston as indicated by trade and the press, by poverty, intemperance and crime. 2. he compares the morals of the present with former ages, and 3. inquires what can be done to improve the morals of the city. In the second sermon he finds that Religion is in a low condition in Boston, but in a better state than ever before. He cites examples to prove that the present complaint of the "decline of Piety" is not new, but began as early as 1636, and has been regularly continued till the present time. We give below an extract from a sermon of Dr. Increase Mather to the same purpose:

"I know there is a blessed day to the visible church not far off; but it is the judgment of very learned men, that in the glorious times promised to the church on Earth America will be HELL. And altho' there is a number of the Elect of God to be born here, I am verily afraid that, in process of time New England will be the wofullest place in all America, as some other parts of the world, once famous for religion are now the dolefullest on earth. perfect pictures and emblems of *Hell.* When we see this little Academy (Harvard college, for Dr. Increase Mather was President thereof, and preaching in the college chapel,) fallen to the ground, . . . then know it is a terrible thing which God is about to bring upon this land."

NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Two Discourses: the Kingdom of the Truth; the Range of Christianity, by A. J. Scott, M. A. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. 48.

Letters on the Development of Religious Life in the modern Christian Church (to be completed in six monthly parts,) by Henry Solly. Part I. Luther & Munzer. Part II. Zwingle & Calvin. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. II. and 98.

A Letter to the President of Harvard College, by a Member of the Corporation. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 54.

A Plea for Harvard; showing that "the University at Cambridge" was not the name established for this Seminary by the Constitution of Massachusetts, but the name authorized by that instrument was "Harvard University," by an Alumnus. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 30.

Requisites to our Country's Glory. A Discourse delivered . . . at the Annual Election, Wednesday, January 5th, 1849, by John Pierce, D. D., &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 62.

Philosophy of Space and Time. by G. A. Hammett, M. D. Newport, R. I. 1849. 12mo. pp. 40.

Unitarianism and Congregationalism. A Discourse preached at Gloucester, Mass., by A. D. Mayo, Pastor of the Independent Christian Society. Gloucester. 1849. 8vo. pp. 20.

The Claims of Seamen. An Address delivered at the annual meeting of the New Bedford Port Society, . . . by Rev. John Weiss, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 36.

A Review of the Bishop of Oxford's Counsel to the American Clergy, with Reference to the Institution of Slavery. Also Supplemental Remarks on the Relation of the Wilmot Proviso to the interests of the colored class, by Rev. Philip Berry, &c., &c. Washington. 1848 12mo. pp. 26.

Embryology of Nemertes. With an Appendix on the embryologic development of Polynoë, by Edward Desor, &c., &c. Boston. 1848. 8vo. pp. 18.

Catalogue of the Pictures . . . of the Old Masters, with a list of the Engravings . . . at the gallery of Lyceum Building, 563 Broadway. 2d Edition. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 64.

The Law of Human Progress. An Oration delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, Schenectady, July 25th, 1848, by Charles Sumner, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. pp. 48.

An Inquiry into the alleged tendency of the Separation of Convicts one from the other, to produce disease and derangement, by a Citizen of Philadelphia. Philadelphia. 1849. 8vo. pp. 160.

Republication of Essays upon Art, &c., &c. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 40.

An Address to the Suffolk North Association of Congregational Ministers, by J. P. Lesley, Minister of the First Evangelical Church, Milton, Mass. With Sermons on the Rule of Faith, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, and the Church. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1849. 12mo. pp. 130.

A Correct Apprehension of God essential to True Worship: or a View of the Trinity as it stands connected with the whole Gospel Scheme, by Rev. J. N. Tarbox, &c., &c. Boston. 1849.

Pictures and Painters; Essays upon Art; The Old Masters; and Modern Artists. New York. 1849. 12mo.

Poems. By James T. Fields. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. VI. and 100.

The Soul, her Sorrows and her Aspirations; an Essay towards the natural history of the Soul, as the true basis of Theology. By Francis William Newman, &c. &c. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. XII. and 222.

The Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology. Edited by Forbes Winslow, M. D. Vol. I. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. VI. and 662. Appended to it is a Monograph I. On the cerebral diseases of children, with regard to their early manifestations and treatment. By Walter C. Druly, Esq. &c. &c. London. 1848. 8vo. pp. 42.

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, by Henry D. Thoreau. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 414.

Ten Discourses on Orthodoxy, by Joseph Henry Allen, Pastor of the Unitarian Church, Washington, D. C. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. VIII and 228.

Ursache und Geschichte der Octoberereignitse zu Wien, von einem Augenzeugen. Leipzig. 1849. 8vo. pp. 36.

Ueber Schwärmerei. Historisch-philosophische Betrachtungen mit Rücksicht auf die jetzige Zeit von J. H. von Wessenberg, &c., &c. Heilbronn. 1848. 8vo. pp. VIII. and 554.

Hamâsa oder die ältesten arabischen Volkslieder, gesammelt von Abu Temmâm, übersetzt und erläutert von Friedrich Rückert. Stuttgart. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 428 and 398.

MASSACHUSETTS QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. VIII.—SEPTEMBER, 1849.

By Samuel Brown.

ART. I.—THE METHODOLOGY OF MESMERISM.

THE subject of Mesmerism, considered as a literary phenomenon of the present day, was criticized from the scientific or positive point of view, in the last number of this organ. The multitudinous statements of fact in the science, as held by the majority or average of its expositors and students, were somewhat summarily classified under several heads; the so-called phenomena, collected and separated in those classes, were then described with as much individuality and precision as such a plan of procedure admitted of; and a scientific judgment was pronounced upon the external evidences of those phenomena, certainly not without either candor or care. The first of our classific headings distinguished and separated the great fact of the simple trance from the alleged phenomena of phreno-magnetism, community of sensation between the mesmerized person and the operator, community of consciousness, and clearseeing in all its varieties. The trance was admitted: the other things were, each and all, refused admission into the crystal sphere of positive science; and that on account of their appearing not to be eliminated from the chaos of averment and opinion with any thing approaching to the nature of inductive rigor. The higher phenomena were all relegated to another day of judgment and to other judges, being undoubtedly not proven in their present condition.

The ingenuous reader would observe, however, that we did by no means commit ourselves against those avowed phenomena. It is impossible to prove them false in the mass. The evidence in their favor is already so various, so luminous, although also so nebulous and dim, as to have left a profound

impression of their essential truthfulness upon a number of well-cultivated minds in Europe and America. Such an impression is not by any means a scientific conviction, but it may possibly be the shadow and prophecy of some future demonstration. For our own parts, we have no wish that such things as clearseeing should turn out to be true; but we shall not wonder if they do. Such an event, indeed, would be a grand and exhilarating surprise. It would shake our wine of thought upon its lees. It would agitate our too solid theories to their little centres. It would force us to think anew. Like all good news at all deserving of the name, it would sound a reveillé in our dull ears; and we should perhaps awake, not only to subdue the new facts to the dominion of the intellect, but to lay a lordlier grasp upon the whole domain of Nature. It is at the same time a matter of indifference to us whether the school of Mesmer ever do mankind so great a service or not; for futurity is rich, and one array of upstart and imperious new facts will serve the purpose as well as another.

Suppose, however, for the sake of scientific sport, as we have said already, that those fond investigators are really destined to triumph over the enormous difficulties that withstand them. Suppose that they shall make good their four or five apparently eccentrical points of fact, at some more or less distant day. Let us imagine that the statements which are every day reiterated at present by the adepts in Animal Magnetism, in the impatient hearing of cotemporary science, are actually and undeniably facts; and not a horrid imbroglio of truth and error, openmindedness and imposture, courage and humbug. In that case our theoretical position in Nature were somewhat erroneous, and would require to be altered a little; for it should then behove us to find a new centre, from which we might see the strange new facts to be neither eccentric nor strange, but as harmonious as the planets, and as homely as our daily bread.

That which we at present propose to do, then, is to find that right centre within our sphere of surrounding facts, supposed to be altered by the admission of a whole constellation of very questionable new ones. It is an imaginary problem that is now proposed for solution; and it is to be solved for the sake of the intellectual exercise. We are, in short, to suppose that Mesmerism is true in all its commonly received details; and then to explain it, we are to weave an hypothesis which shall include the wonderful statements of the magnetists in its ample

folds. We are to find some principle or other which could give coherence and unity to all the marvels which have been recorded about double consciousness and farseeing, since it is quite possible that they are really matters of fact after all!

The chief temptation to this somewhat illegitimate enterprise is not, by any means, the still less lawful hope of being ready beforehand for the wildest possibilities of psycho-physiological science, nor yet is it the love of an opportunity for the illustration of the laws of procedure, according to which a methodical hypothesis or truly scientific guess should be constructed. It is undertaken mainly, if not solely, for the sake of allowing our minds to disport themselves a little while upon the *summa capita* or topmost tops of solid, though sky-piercing science. The pure, keen air of these neutral regions, equatorial in their place but polar in their temperature, will dissolve away the grosser adhesions of that nether atmosphere in which we are content to toil at the quarry of concrete fact; and it will brace us for another day of work. These figures of speech, however, remind us that, just because this is a summer evening's foray, it must not be too much prolonged; for our great Taskmaster is jealous of the idler, and he cannot tolerate the self-oblivious sportsman in his forests or on his highlands. Let us, then, gird ourselves at once, sally forth with footsteps firm and swift, and return before the twilight has melted around us into night.

It must be remembered on the threshold, of course, that there has already been offered an hypothesis in explanation of the simple or completed trance; a phenomenon which has been accepted as undeniable. That hypothesis brought the trance under the same idea as is numerously exemplified by sun and planet, oxygen and hydrogen, zinc and copper; by the poles of the magnet, the galvanic circle, and the electrical battery; by unity and multiplicity, and so forth. In order to consistency, therefore, it is necessary to carry the same law into the region of those higher phenomena of Mesmerism, which we are now to discuss as if they were natural verities. The hypothesis which we may now invent for their explication and classification, must consist either in a proposition directly deducible from the law of polarity, or in a composition between that law and some other one; else we shall be guilty of the solecism of proclaiming an *imperium in imperio*, or couple of Senates, in this our imaginary domain. The charitable reader must furthermore understand, once for all, that throughout these few

pages we shall continue to treat of Nature, commonly so called, from that point of view which is occupied by the understanding or judgment according to sense. It is not, indeed, our custom to contemplate the world of sensations from that position; but the exoteric doctrine concerning these wondrous shows, which is dictated by the spirit of the passing times, is good enough for our present purposes. Gratefully availing ourselves of the language of the sensuous philosophy, as being both a convenient and an admirable formula, we proceed to remind ourselves of a few well-known propositions in natural science; and that by way of premises to a subsequent argument.

I. Every phenomenon, that is to say, every change, that is to say, again, every movement, transpiring in any one part of the sensible universe, is followed by an unending series of phenomena in every other part of that universe, all proceeding from the original mutation. Nature is so full as to be incapable of holding another particle more; and all her hosts of particles are so compacted together that the annihilation of one of them would leave her loose. The removal of a single atom from the world would alter its centre of gravity; and the shock would be felt by every separate part and pendicle, as well as by the whole. All things propagate their permutations to one another. The creaking of my table, the scratching of my pen, the running of my ink, the thrill of my manual nerves and muscles, the vibrations of my brain in thinking this very thought, are all reverberated from the centre of the planet Leverrier beyond Uranus, as well as from the intimate recesses of the bodily organization of Leverrier the calculator at Paris; —if we could only hear the echoes! The vault of heaven is one vast whispering gallery; but only for other ears than ours. Enough for us that we can overhear the secret with the organ of the mind; and that there is no auditory illusion in the case, as there certainly is not. The proposition now under consideration has never been disputed, at least since it was enunciated aright. It has long been one of the catholicons of science. It was a favorite thought with Leibnitz. Babbage, the prince of modern Ishmaelites, has expatiated with friendly eloquence upon this universal relationship and concord of things, in his ninth Bridgewater Treatise, sarcastically so entitled. In fact, this law of universal and unlimited action and reaction is one of the most stupendous, although also one of the simplest of the revelations of physical science; and it is all the more

profoundly interesting that it is the bodily expression and symbol of another law, still more interior and humane, as well as still more penetrative and divine.

II. The same universality of sympathy is repeated within the confines of the cerebro-spinal axis of man; and, in fact, it is then and there alone that it is properly denominated sympathy. The nervous-system is a sort of bodily soul underlying, diffused through, and organific of the grosser body of the animal form. The totality of the human person or mask, from the midpoint of the brain to the cuticular periphery, with all its pores and hairs inclusive, was held in reverence by the pious schoolmen of a bygone age as the Microcosm, standing over against as well as within the Macrocosm; a little world within the large; the beauty of the universe in miniature. For it was not long till thoughtful men, once their eyes were effectually opened on the outward world, perceived that man is an epitome and illuminated version of all the powers of nature. The spiritual-minded seers of a far earlier epoch had seen still deeper, and discovered his soul to be the express image of God. It is accordingly easy to understand the doubled insight with which a platonizing divine like Henry More observed, in the twilight of ancient philosophy and modern science, that the composite personality of man is "a medall of the Deitie."

The law of inevitable reciprocity of movement is as cogent among the parts of the microcosmical universe of the human frame, then, as it is among the members of the macrocosm, that hundred-handed Briareus, that ocular Argus of antique fable. A sensation, or any atomico-physiological movement ordinarily followed by a perceptible sensation, in or at one nerve, is unavoidably shed through every part of the system. It is a curious and beautiful, although also a deducible circumstance of this sympathy, that each nerve receives the shock, originating in another one, in its own intimate nature, and reproduces or reëchoes or propagates it through its own proper function. A sudden pang of agony in the tongue is seen by the eye, heard by the ear; and so forth. The things which limit and obscure the perception of such transmitted sensations in actual life, will be considered under another head. In the meantime it is to be particularly noticed that, apart from those circumstances of limitation in the concrete animal frame, every single portion of the nervous-system must suffer the influence, or rather the effluence, circumambient from an original movement in any

other portion, to pass on in the endless journey through the pathway of its least contingent and most individual property. It is the same throughout the whole of Nature. A phenomenon originated anywhere is carried round the universe by a mineral through its cohesion, by a plant through its irritability, by an animal through its sensibility, by a muscle through its specific contractivity, by a common nerve through its sensitive or voluntative quality, by an optic nerve through its capacity for sight; and so forth. An optic nerve, indeed, when subjected to the action of fire or caustic, is chemically decomposed; but it is by no means as an optic nerve that it is so affected; it is simply as a given chemical compound of such and such elements that it is burned. So long as it is an optic nerve, properly so called, and to the extent in which it is an optic nerve and no other *tertium-quid* in existence, it only sees fire, or else flashes fire, in such circumstances. It follows therefore, from all these considerations, that if there were two mouths, for example, in one organism, every taste perceived at one of them would be handed over as such to the other; always supposing for the present that there were nothing to set bounds to the practical working of the law of sympathetic sensation. There is a very significant thing connected with this phantastical conception of a man with two mouths, deserving to be indicated and remembered with more than ordinary care. The half-written page is before my eye; pulses of white light rush from all its surface, except where the black ink has fallen, to the outside of my retina; an image of the manuscript is painted on that expanded sheet of nerve; and the writing is seen, we know not how. All that can be said in the matter, according to the methodology of after-thought, is this; that such an image on the retina of a healthy eye is invariably followed by the perception of the thing that is imaged. But since the optic nerve and thalamus, since the brain are essential to a healthy eye, it is perhaps not easy to resist the supposition that the image of the retina is propagated inwards to somewhere that it meets the mind! Hence the Hartleian theory of sensation, so long cherished, with some modifications, by the Scotch psychologists; and hence also the Helvetian and other forms of materialism, which the doctrine of Hartley degenerated into as soon as the scientific public would suffer the play of Hamlet to be performed before them without the Prince! For our own part, we are clearly of opinion that, if the matter is to be considered from this external point of view at all, the Hartleian formula

is very good so long as it is confined to sensations and remembered sensations, including of course whatever sensational manifestations may accompany pure emotions and ideas. The word Vibration, however, must always be understood to be no more than an algebraic sign. Upon these conditions and from this point of view, it is not only allowable but correct to assert that the perception of any object over against the eye is produced, in so far as the physical mechanism of the process is concerned, by a neurological movement begun at the external surface of the retina and propagated from without inwards. When on the other hand I remember, or conceive of the paper I have scribbled over with my pen, the neurological movement essential to the conception of the writing is not begun at the outside of the retina but somewhere else, no matter where; and it is propagated from within outwards. The written page of memory is the reverse of that of perception; that is, in this physiological respect. It is more faint, sensuously speaking, than that which is under the very eye. In fever and præternatural activity or insanity of the organ, the feeble image propagated from within outwards in the act of memory becomes so forcible as to simulate the nature of an immediate image; and there is developed the phenomenon of sensuous illusion. With these subjects, however, we have nothing to do at present, except in so far as the following queer consideration is concerned. If the indulgent reader will bring our two-headed monster before his mind's eye again, he will at once observe that the atomico-physiological movement (corresponding with the taste of anything) begun at one of its mouths, and propagated from without inwards, will be carried from within outwards to the other. It will reach the secondary palate like the memory of a taste, shadowy and ghost-like; always supposing that palate not to be so morbidly sensitive as to convert the remembrance of a sensation into a palatal illusion.

III. The individuality of man, as an animal shape, is produced and sustained by those overflowing currents of sensation of which he is the subject. He is isolated from and within that world of external appearances, of which he is the centre according to the truth of appearance if not according to the truth of reality, by sensation. But it is not by the sensations produced in him by stars, or sea and land, or heat and cold, or flowers and fragrance, or the persons of friends and lovers. Were there no other sensations than these, he could not discriminate them from his animal self. They would all be parts

of him, and the whole of Nature were his body, on that supposition. It is by his sensation of himself, by his sensation of his sensations, that he is sculptured out from the rest of Nature, and walks abroad as the paragon of animals. Perceptio est sensatio sensationis.

IV. Not all sensations are perceived. It is more exact to say that not all atomico-physiological causes or usual antecedents of perceptible sensation are actually felt as sensations, that is, perceived. One sensation, so to speak, neutralizes another: one is homœopathic to another: concurring sensations are obliterative of one another. Then the perceiving mind can bend its attention in only one direction at one and the same time. Archimedes absorbed in the contemplation of a problem is deaf to the clamors of a successful siege, blind to his Syracuse in flames; and he might have died under the sword of the soldier, who surprised him in his study, without a pang. It is on these two accounts that sensation is limited in fact, and man is physiologically finite.

V. The last observation is vastly enhanced in its importance when it is considered that it is not only a legitimate, but an unavoidable corollary from the first two of these propositional paragraphs; that the whole Universe of unreposing external phenomena is potentially, though not actually, seen by every optic, heard by every auditory, felt by every tactual nerve of beast or man. This curious proposition does, we say, corollate or raise its head like a flower from the doctrine of universal sympathy or reaction aforesaid. It follows from that twofold doctrine that a multitudinous and restless image of the whole domain of Nature is continually painting itself on the cerebro-spinal axis of a man; for the whole of Nature is phenomenal in all her parts. There is no death in Nature. She is a perpetual pulse, an ever-rolling stream, an unslumbering growth, an everlasting motion. The sleepless Proteus is driving his innumerable flock before him for ever.

It is hence that, but for the limiting circumstances and the limitation described in the premise before this one, all the universe would have been literally present to the soul in every human frame; and man would have been an omnipresent God. As it is, this constant reproduction of all the phenomena of existence within the organism of man, in an imperceptible but actual way, is 'an effect defective;' and we have seen how it 'comes by cause,' to borrow the half-wise phraseology of Polonius. Having already explained how the law of polarity

is expressed by each part of the creation through means of its least contingent and most individual, in one word its differentiating quality;* and having now sent forward these five premises, it only remains that our hypothesis itself be suffered to come upon the scene. For the sake of clearness, and also for the securing of that brevity which is suitable to unproductive exercitation whether of the body or the mind, let it appear in the form of a succession of short parts or acts, like other comedies. The first of these parts, indeed, has been brought before the reader already; and that in the shape of serious scientific proposition. Purified and condensed, it will serve for the protasis of the present play.

I. That kind of sleep, or trance, which is commonly called mesmeric, although it is so ancient as to have been graphically represented by the priestly sculptors of old Egypt, is neither more nor less than the negative polarity of the nervous-system of a patient to that of the operator under whose influence he may have fallen. It is a phenomenon in congruity with the idea, the law, the universal rule of the polar induction of opposite states by induction, by catalysis, by specific neighbourhood. The patient is negative, the planet, the woman, the left side, in this neurogamia or marriage of two nervous-systems: the operator is the positive pole, the sun, the man, the right side. This idea of polarity is to be extended, in all the different kinds, to the sensitive, the voluntative, the cogitative, and the sympathetic nervous elements of the cerebro-spinal axis. It is never in reality total, however, else respiration, for example, being sustained by the specific sensibility of the respiratory tract of the spinal chord, would cease; and, in truth, mortal syncope would ensue. The neighbourhood of two axes, but that in circumstances of as complete exclusion as possible of all the causes of undivided sensation and intellectual life on the part of the intended victim, is all that is necessary to the induction of this mutual relation. Hence the Egyptians have recourse to odorous gums, and the Rosicrucians to various incenses; and hence, also, the still, twilighted, temperate apartment of the modern mesmerist, not to forget his multifarious manipulations. In the state of true and total trance the individuality of the patient is more completely gone than even in the depths of common sleep. You may cut him to pieces: he feels not,

* See No. VII., for June, 1849, pp. 299 et seq.

and that in neither of the senses of the verb; he thinks not; and he wills not. He is turned to stone.

II. But sometimes, according to the canonical scriptures of Mesmerism, there comes a change over the enchanted one; instantaneously, or in a few seconds, or in a few minutes. The dead individuality is partially requickened; the sleeper rises, half awake; the stony image, lying heavy on the chair, sits suddenly up, a semi-animated statue. The fulness of life has not yet returned, however. It is still and also beautiful as an oracle. It is life in death, not death in life. It remains upon the tripod; and that in such a questionable shape, that you will speak to it! It hears what you say, although it does not listen like any thing earthly, and it answers you like one inspired. In one word, it is a sibyl, a clear-seer, a clairvoyante, a far-seer, a second-seer, or what you will: the numerous descriptions of which, in contemporary books, certainly constitute one of the oddest and most significant of literary phenomena.

Now it is to be supposed that, in the somewhat complete neurogamia of the perfect trance, every atomico-physiological movement transpiring within the nervous circumference of the operator is shed into that of the patient. The pair is a dual unity, possessed of two mouths, four eyes, four ears, and so on. But it is to no purpose; for there is no consciousness of the community within the sleeper; and, even if there were, there is no means of its communication. It is only a potential community so long as the enchantment is total. Let us imagine, however, that the victim is partially disenthralled; and only partially. Suppose that his cerebro-spinal axis is disenchanted to such a degree, and no more, that the mere perceptivity of atomico-physiological movements within its round is reawakened; and also that the sense of hearing is opened, and the organ of voluntary speech set free. In such supposititious circumstances it appears that, the perception of all limitative sensation except that of hearing having been cut off, the neuro-negative is thrown into a state of modified or partial neurogamia with the positive. It is a state continually lapsing back into the completed trance — for the ear is unclosed only when solicited by the direct addresses of the positive voice, and is constantly falling shut again — according to the best descriptions which we have read. To be brief, the phenomena displayed by this half-liberated pair may be classified under three subdivisions.

1. The sensations of the operator are transmitted to the patient; but they are transmitted in an inverted manner, so as to be precisely of the nature of remembered sensations or of simple conceptions. Owing to nothing positive in the patient, but to the absence of interfering sensations of every kind; owing to the stillness that reigns throughout his frame, these transmitted and descending echoes of sensation are so vivid as to be a sort of sensuous illusion. It is two mouths in one body. One tastes what the other tastes; but in the former the physiological movement is from within outwards, as has been explained in one of the premises of the present hypothesis.

2. The remembrances, the conceptions, the emotions, the consciousnesses of the positive member of this strange pair of wedded cerebro-spinal axes, (in so far as those phenomena do commove the nervous fibre) are carried over in an exactly similar manner to the negative one: but they reach him as sensations, and that for the reverse of the reason why the sensations of the operator arrive at the patient in the shape of dim sensuous illusions. It is a kind of doubled consciousness. The operator bethinks him of an absent friend, and the well-remembered image stands before the eye of the patient: the former recalls a distant scene, and the latter is transported thither, like another Fortunatus: and so forth without end.

3. That multitudinous imago of the universe, which is always being painted on the nervous-system of the Mesmerizer as well as on that of every human being, though illegible by himself on account of his limitation by the inpouring and outpouring tides of nearer sensation, is shed over to the Mesmerized; who sits undisturbed, except by the temporary sound of the operator's questions. At the bidding of the enchanter the spellbound subject looks through the world for the friend, whose image the thought of him revives, and finds him. Once discovered, it is easy to read what he is doing. This is our hypothesis of the mystery of clearseeing; and there is no need of expatiating upon it. In these pages, it is intended to be no more than a hint. Nor do we wish to attach any substantial value to the conjecture, except as an exercise of the mind. There are also certain physical, or hyperphysical principles involved in the fantastical fabric we are weaving, which lose none of their importance on account of the dubious investiture in which they are now presented to the reader's eye. As for the Sleeping Beauty of the Wood, for whom we have

just been devising an imaginary scheme of deliverance, she is more than welcome to another century of repose.

III. It will be remembered, by such as have read our former article on this subject, that some Mesmerists deny the phenomena of phreno-magnetism, as it has been illiterately called; and attribute the appearances which gave rise to the supposition of their existence, to the inclusive phenomenon of double consciousness, which has been discussed above. If one might trust, not the moral, but the intellectual veracity of published accounts, there would seem to be two kinds of cases. One of these might be characterized as connected with phrenology; the other only with the mesmeric double-consciousness. In the former the response is immediate; in the latter, some little time elapses between the call and the answer. In the former the reply is vivid; in the latter it is faint. Nor were it improbable that a mixed condition should occur. But it is with the phrenological instances alone that we have any thing to do under this part of the subject, since community of consciousness has already been disposed of. Nor is it difficult to suppose that the touch or approximation of the operator's finger shall depolarize and liberate the cerebral organ touched or approached. Awaked by itself, alone, the particular organ rushes into a fury of activity; for it is by the balance of all these organs that we are kept in equipoise. The whole force of the spirit pours through the opened floodgate. It is like monomania, or the rapture of the saint, the poet, the sage, when the object of contemplation is not the universe, but something less. It is like every thing we do, in fine; partial, exclusive, and in excess.

There only remains the application of our quaint hypothesis to the case of the natural or spontaneous somnambulist. Being by no means prepared for an elaborate discussion of all the ambages of this mysterious subject, nor yet willing to enter more fully into it with the preparation which we have, we refer the reader to the suggestion thrown out already concerning Braid's hypnotic patients, as probably enough containing the clew to this part of the labyrinth. May not the halves of the cerebro-spinal axis in one individual become polar to one another, when the propitious circumstances are provided, say by fatigue or narcotics? Since two equal and similar things, fallen into the mutual relation of polarity, cannot become one solar and the other planetary, inasmuch as neither of them is

the greater or the less; and since the idea of a dual unit, the coefficients of which are both solar, is impossible; it follows that they become both planetary, revolving round one another like double suns, that is to say, both negative; that is to say, again, both non-sensitive, both non-voluntative, both non-cogitative; that is to say, again, both asleep. Is this the true theory of sleep? Since one hemisphere of the cerebral mass is often larger than the other, may it not in that degree and in such cases be neuro-positive; and does not such a supposition render the Joseph, or habitual dreamer, intelligible? In conclusion, may not the partial disentrancement of only one of the hemispheres, in one who sleeps, produce sleepwalking and its extraordinary concomitants, such as prevision and clear-sight? At all events, it is certainly not so difficult to reduce the fact of spontaneous somnambulism under our gratuitous hypothesis as it seems at first sight.

One word more, and we have done. It is to be feared that some readers, and more especially such as are very favorable to the claims of Mesmerism, will be of opinion that this hypothesis has been brought forward with unbecoming levity. It will perhaps be supposed that we do really believe in the higher phenomena just as decidedly as we have professed to do in the trance, but that we are ashamed or afraid to avow the fact. The real truth of the matter is neither far to seek nor ill to tell. The whole subject of Mesmerism was thrust on our attention early in life. We witnessed experiments of every sort, and we were too easily satisfied with their results. Then came the intellectual necessity of understanding and explaining such amazing phenomena; that is to say, of coördinating and coadunating them with the uncompleted sphere of science. A little band of fellow-students looked to us for such a service; and the hypothesis, which has been outlined above, was the product of our eager meditations. Having seen reason, however, to question the methodological validity of mesmeric evidence, our poor hypothesis is now advanced as nothing more than a playful exercitation of the intellect, in so far as all the more dubious findings of mesmeric research are concerned. Whatever may be its intrinsic worth or worthlessness as a piece of speculative thought, its value as a contribution to science is exactly equal to zero; and we do not entertain the very faintest hope, wish, or expectation concerning its future fortunes in the world.

> The earth hath bubbles as the water hath,
> And this is of them!

Art. II.—THE POETRY OF KEATS.

We shall not be accused of courting popular approbation in the selection of a subject for the following essay. The English poet, whose name is written above, is with few exceptions the least known among us. True, he has admirers among the lovers of genuine poetry. But the great verse-devouring public cannot stop to analyze and appreciate the beauties of writers like him, like Tennyson, Milnes, and Browning. Therefore Mrs. Norton, Eliza Cook, Mrs. Ellis, and Barry Cornwall are the names by which modern English poetry is commonly represented among us. There are exceptions to these remarks. Tennyson has long been before the public, in a readable form, and is at last coming into notice since it has become fashionable to read "The Princess." Keats has but lately appeared in a manner worthy his merits. One only of Milnes' charming volumes has strayed among us, but its modest presence was forgotten amid the flourish of trumpets that announced the "New Timon." Browning and Horne, the authors of "Paracelsus," "Sordelles," "Bells and Pomegranates," and "Orion," are yet to come. Perhaps we ought not to complain of this. It is easier to read songs than study epics. The jingling bells of rhyme sound pleasantly enough to ears not attuned to the sphere-born melody of the true singer. But we may certainly be excused in our attempt to write a few imperfect words on Keats, a poet differing widely in several ways from all other living English or American writers.

This peculiarity is the reproduction of the beautiful in nature and sensuous life, with a corresponding beauty of form. Poets of this class have little of the didactic, little of the higher spiritual insight of which we shall hereafter speak as the characteristics of the lowest and highest species of poetry. Keats represents beauty as it manifests itself in outward forms, not from any ulterior moral purpose, but simply from a love of the beautiful in itself. He is an Artist of the first degree, embodying his conceptions, at times, in forms of surpassing beauty, as in "Hyperion," "The Eve of St. Agnes," and portions of "Endymion."

Such being the distinguishing feature of this writer, it seems necessary, previous to a review of his works, to indicate the relation of the beautiful to poetry. This will require a definition of Poetry, which we will endeavour to give in a brief

space, though at the risk of repeating what has been better said by critics before.

What, then is the essence of the poetical? With what objects material or spiritual is poetry concerned?

The least informed reader of the reviews will discover that every man has an answer to this. One tells us poetry is imitation, another, creation, another, that its legitimate province is the beautiful, another, that it should be a teacher of truth and morality. In fact the subtle spirit seems to elude the grasp of all. No sooner have the critics built their walls of limitation around it, than it lightly scales them and darts off into unexplored realms. Every original poet finds the materials of his art lying in by-places and corners which had been given over by common consent to the dominion of the prosaic. We must not look to criticism to teach us the possibilities of poetry. It can deal only with the past, illustrating and explaining what has been done. It must follow in the train of genius, content with being her expositor. The weather-prophet may sit in the fields, on a bright day, surrounded with his almanacs and instruments, and predict the changes of the elements; but the sudden rising of a thunder storm disperses all his fine calculations, and sends him dripping to his home. Our definitions of poetry must not be narrow. Any theory of the Art is incomplete which shuts the door against the future. We must accept the past, acknowledge and classify it, if we will, but stand in reverence before the awful coming of every new bard.

The futility of all these critical limitations at once appears when we attempt to define our ideas of the beautiful, the true, and the good, the very terms employed to limit the art. What is this Beauty, this Truth, this Love, which are separately or unitedly considered the domain of poetry?

As far as our vision extends, Truth, Love, and Beauty appear to complete the circle of being. They are perceived by what we call the intellectual, affectional, and imaginative faculties of the mind. This distinction seems the least arbitrary of any we can make. It is one which the mind appears naturally to recognize. This is all we are now permitted to know of absolute being; as much of the Deity as he is pleased to reveal to us; as much, perhaps, as our faculties, in their present state, can comprehend.

But here arises a difficulty. Are Truth, Love, and Beauty separate elements, or is Being one, revealing itself in these forms? In nature, are the forces of heat, electricity, and

attraction really different, or only one force acting in different circumstances? In morals, are humility, piety, self-denial, separate virtues, or is there but one essential virtue receiving these names from its several manifestations? These questions, especially the first, which includes the others, are of the first importance to the decision of our subject; for if there be but one germ of spiritual existence which is Truth, Love, or Beauty, according to the relation in which we perceive it, then is it manifestly absurd to say poetry deals only with the beautiful, the true, or the good.

The most accurate analysis we can make of things so abstract seems to prove that Being is one. At least, no one of the elements we have mentioned can exist in perfection separated from the others. Remove the elements of Truth from existence, and Love and Beauty go to seek their lost companion. There can be no perfect Love without Truth and Beauty; no perfect Beauty disjoined from Truth and Love. As we fix our mental vision upon the essence of Being, these elements blend and separate like the shifting lights of a brilliant gem.

Thus a spiritual thing is not fully known until this question is decided in relation to it. Then if we knew the precise amount of the element or elements of Being in it, its relation to every other thing in the universe and to God, the source of all, our knowledge of it would be complete. Then could we form a theory of poetry which would last for all time, but not till then. Our critics, we apprehend, are not anxious to attempt such a task.

The Poet sees things in their reality. In proportion as he looks deeply into the mystery of Being, discovering the blended lustre of Truth, Love, and Beauty, is he a true seer. His vocation is not to sever things God hath joined. He cannot cut off one from the triple elements of existence and sing of it, for the sole condition of a correct appreciation of one is a knowledge of all. This poet is yet to come. The songs of the bards have hitherto been of things in their diversity. They have been musical fragments from the secret of nature. His song must be of its harmony, its unity.

Men have sought to limit the province of poetry, and their limitations have only indicated the boundaries of their own vision. They tell us Homer, Shakespeare, Pope, or Shelley have closed the door against all others. They can only mean that their own sight can pierce no further. Poesy obeys other laws than those of their manufacture. Its range is coextensive

with the universe. There is nothing so high that it will not fly up to it; nothing so common that it will not stoop to raise it from its abasement. Let us, then, have done with this poor play of limitations. We only weave a web to entangle ourselves, the meshes of which wither like burnt flax from around the limbs of Genius. The spiritual creation is not exhausted. There are mysteries beneath mysteries, yet to be solved. In fact, what have been all our advances but a clearing of the field for seed time. To many men flashes of reality have come, but they have been wise by moments only to be foolish for years. The great poetical sayings of all the poets would fill but a few volumes. No one of them has been great altogether. Yet let us not despise what has been done. We cannot understand why we must hate Pope to love Emerson. Let us have every man who has written up to his capacity. He is necessary to complete the series of minds which, beginning with the lowest, shall ascend to the highest. Our own spirits must pass through these successive steps in their progress. At every point of advancement stands a bard to instruct us. We wrench his secret from him and pass on, but why should it be with a frown? As we pace the street at night we leave behind, one after another, the lamps that have lighted our course. Shall we extinguish them, that he who follows may stumble in darkness?

If these remarks are true, we may by their aid assign the position of different kinds of poets in the ascending series. The lowest rank we would give to merely didactic teachers in verse, of science, manners, or religion. The powers required to execute this species of poetry, if such it can be called, are only a facility in versification with terseness of expression. The same may be said of the satirist, although it requires a greater degree of insight to wield his weapons than to repeat standard precepts of morality, or scientific truth. Next are the painters of external nature, life and manners; men like Irving, Scott, and Crabbe, who aim only to represent the surfaces of things, content if amusement may thereby be rendered to their readers. Beyond this come various degrees of spiritual insight, varying in men so widely as to forbid classification. Now flashing down for an instant into the deep places of nature and mind, as in Bulwer and Bailey, now stealing in unconsciously and imparting a spiritual grace, as at times in Keats, and oftener in Tennyson; now pervading the thought of a writer, so that it almost destroys his medium of communication

with other men, as in Shelley, Wordsworth, and America's great poet, Emerson. As a soul dwells in one or the other of these elements will its conceptions of beauty be more or less refined, from the man that recognizes it only in combinations of wit, fancy, and prettiness, to him who is alive to the visible shows of nature, and yet further, to him whose finer sense is only excited by these outward splendors to discern a spiritual Beauty streaming from the heavens and the earth, from life and his own soul. Such an one, recognizing its heavenly marriage with Truth and Love, can say with Wordsworth,—

> "Beauty—a living presence of the earth,
> Surpassing the most fair ideal forms
> Which craft of delicate spirits hath composed
> From earth's materials—waits upon my steps;
> Pitches her tent before me as I move,
> An hourly neighbour."

The highest Beauty, then, is seen only to him who sees more than it, who knows its eternal companions.

There is, also, a desire in all men, more or less developed, for an outward perfection of expression in the poet. His words should be musical, and clothe his conceptions in beautiful forms. His universal desire for harmonious expression—what is it in its last analysis but a recognition of the harmony of the spiritual universe? Music is not a thing of "pitch-pipes" and fiddle-strings; it is the answer given by the material world to a spiritual longing. So with beauty of form. It is a hint of a deeper beauty. Could we stand in space and look upon God's great poem, the created universe, we should doubtless discover it to be perfect in form and harmonious; a work in which all colors, sights, and sounds combine in a grand unity. The mind of man feels this, and seeks, in its lower sphere, in this respect, to "be perfect as its Father in Heaven is perfect."

And herein is a great difference in the power of men; in their capacity to receive or their skill in the use of language, forms, and sounds. This difference does not correspond to the difference in spiritual insight. On the contrary, men possessing a smaller degree of the latter are often more gifted in the use of the former. Also,

> "Many are the Poets that are sown
> By Nature; Men endowed with highest gifts,
> The *vision and the faculty divine;*
> *Yet wanting the accomplishment of verse.*"

It would be interesting to investigate the cause of this separation of things which we would suppose should be united; but our remarks have already been too much extended upon this division of our subject. Let us now, by the light of our views of the Poetic, endeavour to indicate the position of the author we propose to review.

Few persons qualified to pronounce judgment will now, we suspect, deny to Keats a high rank among modern English poets. He belongs to that class of writers who have been condemned without a hearing. It is now generally understood that sarcasm directed against the poetry of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson, is but the expiring echo of a departed criticism. Those who indulge in it are supposed, either to be too indolent to give to these great masters the study required for their appreciation, or so obstinately wedded to old models that they are incapable of understanding the new. That the works of these writers constitute an era in our literary history we cannot doubt; that they are the prophecy and in part the realization of a higher species of poetry than has yet been written, we have as little doubt. Therefore it would now be superfluous in a critic to waste paper and ink in arguing about the merit of these bards, as a class. Their empire is secure. They have passed into that empyreal region to which the shafts of criticism do not fly. All that can now be done is to settle precedence between their conflicting claims to excellence.

His task is relieved from much of its difficulty by the great dissimilarity in the genius of these writers. We now only laugh at the stupidity of the reviewers who placed Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey in one "school." Now and then we encounter a genuine descendant of this sagacious band who includes Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson in the same category. But there can be little comparison between these great poets. The genius of each is as accurately defined as that of Shakspeare from his contemporary dramatists or from Milton. It is true, in most of them we discover a spiritual insight into nature and life, which forms a bond of union; yet even in this particular, their different points of observation and their different degrees of artistic merit and maturity of power widely separate them.

Of this illustrious company we can ascribe to Wordsworth alone that full development and culture necessary to the employment of all the poetic energy upon all the materials within

its reach. His life has been truly a consecrated one; — consecrated to the discipline of his lofty powers and the high walk of poesy. His productions are mature. The hand of the artist has brushed away the last speck of dust and left them perfected and arrayed, like a gallery of calm majestic statues, awaiting the reverence of the world. Or, to use the Poet's own noble figure when speaking of "The Excursion" and the yet unpublished work "The Recluse", — "The two works have the same kind of relation to each other, if he may so express himself, as the Ante-chapel has to the body of a Gothic Church. Continuing this allusion, he may be permitted to add, that his minor Pieces, which have been long before the Public, when they shall be properly arranged, will be found by the attentive Reader to have such connection with the main work as may give them claim to be likened to the little cells, oratories, and sepulchral Recesses, ordinarily included in those Edifices."

This high encomium we can bestow upon no other of those writers we have named. Coleridge with a capricious hand scattered the riches of his wonderful intellect and imagination over a surface too extended to ensure his complete success in any department. He has left a few poems which will be read as long as Englishmen read any thing. We know not how the "Ancient Mariner," "Genevieve," the fragment of "Christabel," or "Mont Blanc," could be improved. These specimens we think will authorize us to claim for him a higher rank as an artist than for any modern English author. Indeed, to find their rivals in this respect we must look to a few portions of our old dramatists, the best poems of Goethe, and the choicest products of Grecian art. Could he have embodied all the conceptions of that gifted soul of his in such exquisite and harmonious forms! but we know not that we should desire it. We sometimes think his influence upon English Literature will be more enduring, though less apparent to the superficial observer, than if he had been merely a poet. His conversation was manna from heaven to a little band of noble men in their journey through the desert, and gave them strength to contend against the hordes of literary savages that surrounded them. His eloquent and often mystical books were among the first to awaken the attention of England to the exhaustless riches of the German mind. He brought to the criticism of Shakspeare a spirit as superior as it was incomprehensible to the dwarfed rules of his time. Would we understand his true influence we must seek for it in the better portions of

Hazlitt, of Lamb, Hood, and Hunt, — even in Wordsworth, Shelley, and Southey, — and thence, like the imperceptible effects of a broad river, branching out into innumerable rills and creeks, until a whole region is fertilized.

That Shelley was gifted with depth of spiritual insight, and power to describe the most profound emotions of the soul, and the links binding it to the material universe, beyond all other English poets, we had almost said beyond Shakspeare himself, we cannot doubt. His plumb and line sound those awful depths of consciousness, the secret places where joy and terror and love are born, which to some men are unknown. But alas! he did not live to give complete utterance; his brain was crazed by the woes of humanity, his short life embittered by a persecution, of which we have no parallel in the history of Modern Literature! Yet what might not that Genius, in the maturity of its power, have accomplished, that amid the chaos of a life like his could shape such forms of awful grandeur as rise before us in "Prometheus Unbound"; that could sway the passions as in "The Cenci"; that could glide into the realm of the spiritual world, as in "Adonais" and "Alastor," or revel in the pure sunshine of beauty, as in "The Sensitive Plant" and "The Skylark"? It has been truly said of Shelley, "He was a broken mirror, whose fragments reflected the forms of all things. He was a poet for poets." His writings are to the bard what the Belshazzar's Feast of Allston is to the artist — more precious that their creator left them with all their imperfections, to work their way into the souls of men.

The genius of Southey was oriental. He was a man out of his longitude by half the breadth of the globe. His "Thalaba" and "Curse of Kehama" are as truly wonderful and excellent in their way, as his "Madoc" and "Roderic" are truly the reverse. He reasoned upon politics and religion, he looked upon society like a Brahmin: he did all manner of foolish things, and wrote poems that should be hung up as "scarecrows," — yet twice he found his true element, and left those specimens of Eastern allegory and loftiest poetry unrivalled in our language.

Each of these great writers, no less than Byron and Scott, has been imitated more or less successfully. The peculiarities of master and disciples have thus divided the poetic band into groups. Among these the latest is that composed of Keats and his followers. Though so early taken from the earth, he

lived long enough to express his thought in a few productions inferior to no others of the age in originality of design and execution.

We say Keats was an original poet. Of course we do not employ the term in the usual foolish mode, as indicating an entire dissimilarity from all others. Men of true genius are not monsters. Although possessing a temperament and occupying a position which makes it impossible that they should ever be other than themselves, yet influences from lofty minds steal in to direct them, and underneath all their peculiarities flows the tide of a common humanity, as the same ocean ripples around the flower-decked islands of the tropics, and lashes the icy banks that frown over the polar seas. Of course there are men whose productions are widely separated; who stand back to back; yet the majority of writers are distinguished by characteristics not easily described. A slight peculiarity of temperament, or the slight predominance of a single faculty; a little difference of mental culture; a year's additional spiritual experience,—either of these things slightly colors the medium through which that strange assemblage of shows and mysteries we call nature and life are viewed, and constitutes the seer an original author. These peculiarities are probably his own. Temperament, depth of being, and capacity of spiritual vision, mental and moral experience,—these came from Him who willed that each of his creatures shall differ from every other. But the same materials surround all. Incitements, and hints, and suggestions must come from others. In fact, only by contact on every side with differing minds, can one acquire its proper development. By the attraction and repulsion of every individual in the great mass of humanity, is each soul driven to its own place.

We must, then, look for much that is common to us all in the most original mind, and not deny its claim to genuineness, even if we can discover all the sources of its inspiration, and all the media of communication between itself and other spirits. Therefore we shall not hesitate to bestow upon Keats the title of a great original poet. His peculiarity, as we have before observed, is the love of the Beautiful. He is the apostle of sensuous beauty, the Spenser of modern poets. Heaven and earth, air and sea, and the forms of human and mythological beings are constantly filling his soul with the materials of his poetic creation. He revels, he exults, he is oppressed and faints, amid the luxury around him. He cannot drive away

the throngs of beautiful images that besiege his spirit, and he is content with the reproduction and combination of these. Sensuous beauty is all-sufficient for him. The reader who looks for any purpose beyond this in his works, will be disappointed. He has no power in the delineation of character and life, and he never attempts it. The beautiful mythology of Greece affords him a field for the exercise of his power, and through it he ranges with ever new delight.

> "The intelligible forms of ancient poets,
> The fair humanities of old religion,
> The power, the beauty, and the majesty
> That had her haunts in dale or piny mountain,
> Or forest, by slow stream, or pebbly spring,
> Or chasms and watery depths" —

all these live again in his pictured pages. He is entirely removed from common life, dwelling in the high regions of romance, love, and beauty. The old fictions of the gods appear with a new lustre in the inspiration of this modern bard. Surrounded by modern life, and oppressed by the neglect and persecution of an age that knew not his rare powers, he never, like Shelley, makes his verse the medium of his opinions or personal feelings. He seeks not to purify the hell of modern civilization, but to escape from it. Beauty to him is sufficient consolation for all woes, — it is religion and power.

> "A thing of beauty is a joy forever" —
> "'T is the eternal law
> That first in Beauty shall be first in Might."

The loves of Endymion and the sorrows of old Saturn, the dreams of Madeline, the conjurings of Lamia, and the madness of Isabel, — these were to him more than all things else. He walked among the galleries filled with his own majestic and lovely creations, unmindful of the world, until his spirit burst from the frail temple that held it, and fled to another sphere.

We then look upon him as the poet of sensuous beauty, for of that spiritual insight that links the appearances of nature with the finest and loftiest moods of mental and moral experience, that power which so exalts to Wordsworth the lowest forms of being, and gives to Shelley that marvellous ability which makes his most glowing pages of description but the veil of the subtlest metaphysics, he is entirely destitute. His senses are nearly perfect, but the inner sense is not developed. Yet to the full appreciation of the outward splendor of the universe many gifts are essential, — a delicate ear for harmony, an eye

for color and form, and a susceptibility to taste and feeling. In the first of these we think him deficient. We do not hear in his verse the exquisite modulation of Shelley, the varying music of Coleridge, or the sublime organ harmony of Milton. But in the remaining qualifications he is not deficient. In color he is inferior to Shelley, whose poetry floats in radiance, and who must be acknowledged as the master of all in this respect. But his senses of feeling and taste are developed beyond those of all other men. His nerves ever thrill to delicious sensations; his pulses bound, and his cheeks flush in every line. That physical weakness which so oppresses most men, only rendered more acute his sensibility to outward impressions. His gods and goddesses glow with all the fervors of love and hate. His banquets, and clusters of grapes, and trees laden with fruits, would make an epicure die in our northern lands. In this latter respect he is equalled by no modern English writer, although we discover the same susceptibility in a less degree in Scott and Dickens. Who has not longed for the old days of cakes and ale, and venison pasties, in reading the romances of Sir Walter? or who has not, in imagination, snuffed with delight the steam of Dickens's Christmas dinners, or hung over the delicious brown toast, and cups of tea, and nice tarts, of his immortal housewives?

But it is in definiteness and beauty of form that Keats must be acknowledged to excel all modern English poets, and indeed, to fall little below Chaucer and Spenser. The objects he describes are such as admit this. He deals wholly with the finite, and embodies every thing upon which he looks in a shape of beauty. There is no indistinctness, nothing indefinite in his outlines. Every description is a picture of the thing described. His poetry reminds us more than any other of those beautiful Greek odes in which one group of images after another seems to start out from the page as we read. Perhaps he is inferior to Chaucer in that intense power of concentration which gives a portrait in every line; and his earlier works are imperfect as a whole in general artistic finish. Yet in his latest productions, in the fragment of "Hyperion," in the "Eve of St. Agnes," the "Ode to the Nightingale," and "On the Grecian Urn," it almost seems that Art can go no further, either in perfectness of detail or general completeness. In this high gift he is approached by no one of our modern writers except Tennyson, whose "Mort D'Arthur" and "Œnone" will live with the creations of his master as long as a sense of beauty remains in the souls of English readers.

This artistic power we regard as one of the highest indications of genius, although the critics are fond of ascribing it to mere talent. Doubtless, like every other gift of God, it is greatly developed by culture, and acquaintance with the best models, but it is nevertheless dependent for its existence upon great original poetic capacity. There are men of great mental power, who may read Homer and Plato and gaze upon the Venus de Medici and the pictures of Raphael all their lives, and still never write picturesquely, or even with the lowest degree of artistic effect. There are others whose very conversation is music and painting; to whose minds words come unbidden, and arrange themselves in the happiest forms. Such men are true artists. Study can only develop their natural power, and prune a youthful luxuriance of expression. There never was a greater mistake than the popular fallacy that great genius is naturally averse to this. Dante, and Homer, and Shakspeare, and Chaucer, and Spenser, and Milton, and Goethe are not only the greatest poets but the greatest artists of the world. A deficiency in this respect may often throw into more prominent view the other brilliant qualities of a writer, but it is still a deficiency, and one that eventually will prove fatal to the duration of any production of the human mind. It is impossible to say how much the perfect form of Greek Literature has contributed to its immortality. It has come down to us attired in the most exquisite garb, and cannot be forgotten.

This rare power few will be disposed to deny to Keats. Where can be found more perfect illustrations of it than in the following pictures, taken almost indiscriminately from his pages, and equalled by many others even in his most imperfect productions.

In his picture of fallen royalty:

> "Deep in the shady sadness of a vale
> Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,
> Far from the fiery noon and eve's one star,
> Sat gray-haired Saturn, quiet as a stone,
> Still as the silence round about his lair;
> Forest on forest hung about his head
> Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there;
> Not so much life as on a summer's day
> Robs not one light seed from the feathered grass,
> But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.
> A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more
> By reason of his fallen divinity
> Spreading a shade; The Naiad 'mid her reeds
> Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips."

Or this of Hyperion, entering his palace in the skies:

"He entered, but he entered full of wrath;
His flaming robes streamed out beyond his heels,
And gave a roar as if of earthly fire,
That scared away the meek ethereal Hours,
And made their dove-wings tremble. On he flared,
From stately nave to nave, from vault to vault,
Through bowers of fragrant and enwreathed light,
And diamond-paved, lustrous, long arcades,
Until he reached the great main cupola;
There standing fierce beneath, he stamp'd his foot,
And from the basements deep to the high towers,
Jarred his own golden region."

Or this of the gods, advancing into a vale:

—"Above a sombre cliff
Their heads appeared, and up their stature grew
Till on the level height their steps found ease."

Or this description of the banquet-room in "Lamia":

"About the halls, and to and from the doors,
There was a noise of wings, till in short space
The glowing banquet-room shone with wide-arched grace.
A haunting music, sole perhaps and lone
Supportress of the fairy-roof, made moan
Throughout, as fearful the whole charm might fade.
Fresh carved cedar, mimicking a glade
Of palm and plaintain, met from either side,
High in the midst in honor of the bride;
Two palms, and then two plaintains, and, so on,
From either side their stems branched one to one
All down the aisled palace; and beneath all
There ran a stream of lamps straight on from wall to wall.
So canopied lay an untasted feast
Teeming with odors."

And this picture of the mountain —

"Whose barren back
Stretches, with all its mist and cloudy rack
Southwestward, to Cleone."

Or Lycius —

"Charioteering foremost in the envious race,
Like a young Jove with calm uneager face."

Or the Nymph:

"Uprisen to the breast
In the fountain's pebbly margin, and she stood
'Mong lilacs like the youngest of the brood."

But the very abundance of such passages in this writer must prevent us from further illustration. His works are galleries of pictures.

These great excellences, we think, fully sustain the claim we make for him of being a true original Poet. Neither will the fact that his genius was powerfully quickened by the influence of Greek and old English literature detract from his merit. His mind instinctively caught the spirit of the Grecian mythology. Those forms to him were animated with the same beautiful significance as to the great fathers of poetry. "He was a Greek," Shelley truly said; yet he was not confined to this field for his materials. His later efforts prove that his power was equal to the adoption and animation of any class of objects. He was equally at home in the romantic and in the classic. He read the old English writers with appreciating admiration, and their influence can be discovered in the increased luxuriance of his own prolific mind. Had he lived to develop to its full capacity his great power, we should have witnessed in him a union of the classic and romantic, of luxuriance of fancy wedded to a faultless symmetry, which never has been known in our language. And the same appreciation of beauty that could revive the dead forms of the heathen gods, we doubt not would, as its crowning achievement, have animated the thousand elements of modern life, which need only the seeing eye and the hand of the artist to be rescued from the realm of the prosaic, and enshrined amid the lawful themes of poesy. But such a consummation was not permitted. He died with the flush of youth upon all his works, yet leaving a wonderful example of constantly increasing power. From "Endymion" to "Hyperion" is a distance that few men pass during long lives of literary exertion. What might not he have done who could measure it in a few years, beset by illness and discouraged by neglect?

Such is our estimate of Keats. A Poet of great original genius, another witness in these times to the eternal worth of Beauty, yet witnessing only in part, living only in its outer courts, not penetrating deeply into the Spiritual, not, indeed, a master of all the details of the Sensuous; yet we will joyfully receive him as he came, and accept from him what others cannot give us. Neglect not his song because it was of beauty alone. We are too apt to forget, in our struggle for the reform of man's circumstances, in the din of our moral efforts for the elevation of the many, that there are more ways than one for the spiritual regeneration of the soul. God speed all truly humane endeavours for the improvement of man in any particular. He who will cast out the least of the devils that rage in

the midst of us shall be accounted worthy of honor; but perish the spirit that in the contest for the practical forgets the spiritual or even the æsthetic in our nature; that will enslave men like Keats to editing "People's Journals," and writing "Voices from the Crowd." Minds that cannot be influenced by the latter, may be drawn by the high, calm beauty of the former. There are spirits all the way from Heaven to Hell, and all methods of influence must be employed to lead them upward. True Genius is always religious. It never works in vain, but leaves in the world something that shall eventually vindicate its title to the love of men. Honor to the apostle of outward beauty. Let him sing his song and move all within his reach; and for those who are too high to be elevated by his notes, one greater shall be sent; for wherever there is spiritual want, there is omnipresent Deity employing its eternal agencies in furnishing the supply.

ART. III. — *The Natural History of Man; comprising inquiries into the modifying influence of physical and moral agencies on the different tribes of the human family.* By J. C. PRICHARD, M. D., F. R. S., &c. Second edition, enlarged. With forty-four colored and five plain illustrations engraved on steel, and ninety-seven engravings on wood. London: Hippolyte Baillière. 1845.

A decided impulse to the study of Ethnology has manifested itself in every scientific circle. It does not need stimulus so much as direction: the various parties who are foraging on this extensive field have become embarrassed by the facts they have collected. They are not yet certain whether facts that belong to separate groups have been illegally mixed, or whether all the facts of a single group have been obtained. Every conclusion is therefore still held in abeyance by the consciousness that new facts, or new relations of old facts, may modify it. The science is hardly large enough yet to go alone. But the facts already possessed point to such remarkable developments, and the field is found to be so unexpectedly fruitful, that a superior avidity of investigation is shown in no other direction. Travellers and historians are questioned and collated, their true ethnological residue is rapidly extracted, physical geog-

raphers surrender their mountain-ranges and inland seas to modify the complexion and constitution of races; and even the old literalist eagerly spreads his Mosaic of texts, as if brooding and warming over Genesis would finally engender the authentic origin of man. Dr. Prichard believes in the unity of the human race on account of the facts he has collected. His reviewers deem him to be one of the few religious investigators; for a belief in books called sacred with many men passes for Religion. Professor Agassiz thinks that *his* facts support the theory of a quintuple origin: but he is very careful to surmise that only one of these is mentioned in Genesis. Every investigator has his wrench at that ancient document; and with many the object seems to be, not to study Ethnology, but to construct a Mosaic equation out of the only facts which will balance the texts. Even if it were probable that the human race have all descended from a single primeval pair, it can be fairly proved to be so only by those who conduct their investigations independent of tradition.

Dr. Prichard's book, whose title heads this notice, is a reduced and popular statement of his great argument for the genealogical unity of mankind, as it exists in his five previous volumes of "Researches." It is illustrated by beautiful and characteristic plates, drawn from authentic sources. They are true to nature; many plates embellish, these illustrate. The special types of human varieties are kept distinct, and yet their analogical gradation is quite evident. It is altogether a beautiful volume.

The argument, of which we proceed to give a brief analysis, suffers from its reduced condition; and the student will not be satisfied unless the volumes of Researches are within his reach. But it is quite sufficient to give a general idea of the bulk and kind of material existing in support of the theory, that all the different races of men, with their varieties, sprang from a single pair.

I. A generalization based upon facts observed among plants and animals. The perpetuation of hybrids, so as to produce new and intermediate tribes, is impossible. The same, then, ought to be true of mankind, if all its varieties, like the tribes of plants and animals, sprang from distinct stocks. But this is not true of mankind. All races and varieties are equally capable of propagating their offspring by intermarriages, however dissimilar the varieties may be. He instances hybrid human races that continue to propagate: the

Grigua Hottentots, from Dutch and Hottentots; the Brazilian Cafusos, from native Americans and imported Negroes; the Papuas of New-Guinea and the adjacent islands, from Papuan Negroes and Malays. Opponents must prove, then, that human races are an exception to the universally prevalent law of organized nature. If they are not, the propagation of hybrids proves that all the tribes of men are of one family.

II. Argument from facts relative to the nature and origination of animal varieties: whether the diversities which exist between races of men are *specific*, or only examples of deviations like those which occur among animals who are domesticated, or transported to more or less genial climates, or confined to novel nutriment. He instances very curious and striking varieties of the hog, horse, ass, sheep, goat, cow, dog, cat, and gallinaceous fowls. Their variations include modifications in external properties, physiological changes as to the laws of the animal economy, and psychological changes in the instincts, habits, and powers of perception and intellect. These last changes are sometimes brought about by training: are sometimes permanently fixed in the breed so long as it remains unmixed, and are possible only to a limited extent, always preserving a particular type, which is that of the species. He then proceeds to generalize: races of men are more subject to the agencies of climate than almost any race of animals. Civilization, and the influence of mind, conspire to produce great modifications. "*A priori*, we might expect to discover in the psychological characters of human races changes similar in kind, but infinitely greater in degree." The bulk of the volume is occupied with a survey of the diversities displayed by man, from three points of view: modifications in external properties; physiological changes; psychological alterations.

III. 1. Modifications in external properties. Varieties in the complexion and in the structure of the skin. There is no *organic difference of skin*, but only transitions from race to race, and varieties in single races exist. Instance of the porcupine-man in England, who, if his children had propagated, since they were like him, might have been mistaken for the first man of a distinct species. Jews become black in Southern India; dark races grow light as they ascend table-lands and mountains; blue eyes and red hair are found among Afghanistans; and gradations of color are perceptible down the sides of the Himalayan and Cordillerean ranges, also from

province to province in Africa. A comparison of the Negro's hair with the wool of animals proves that he has hair proper, and that wool is confined to animals. The differences noticed in human hair are attributed to different degrees of crispation. (We regret this argument for Unity, for the sake of those among our Orthodox brethren who at the same time believe in the divine origin of Genesis, and establish slavery upon physical distinctions. Is Moses right, and yet is there no wool, is there no special *tibia*, no special generic *negreity* divinely postulating slavery? Would it not be more economical to swear by Agassiz than by Prichard?) Varieties of structure of the skull and skeleton do not amount to specific distinctions, because, 1. "none of the differences in question exceed the limits of individual variety, or are greater than the diversities found within the circle of one nation or family." 2. "The varieties of form in human races are by no means so considerable, in many points of view, as the instances of variation which are known to occur in different tribes of animals belonging to the same stock, there being scarcely one domesticated species which does not display much more considerable deviation from the typical character of the tribe."

Distribution of Nations. He shows the relationship of the ancient Egyptians to the people of Africa, and sums up thus:

> "If it be admitted that the Egyptians display some traces of approximation in physical character to the other nations of Africa, a fact which was striking to Ledyard and to Denon; and if it be supposed that these traits are the results of physical agencies on a race subjected during thousands of years to their influence, it may be supposed, with great probability, that similar causes operating upon tribes of people in the rudest condition of existence, and so much the more subjected to the influence of climate, and to other agencies which modify the moral and physical character of human races, would produce a much greater and more general effect."

He notices the remarkable influence of climate upon branches of the Hindoo family, and then passes to the Indo-European nations, "who speak languages of cognate origin, and who are proved by that connecting bond to be the descendants of one original stock." They are spread from the mouth of the Ganges to the northern extremity of Scandinavia. The present characteristics of these races do not agree entirely with those given by ancient writers. Therefore they must have

become changed or modified through the lapse of time, and the influence of external agencies.

He then attempts to group the five great Nomadic races, and founds their identity, not decisively, but with much probability, upon an analysis of their languages. From these races the Indo-Chinese are descended by regular gradations.

In proceeding to classify the aboriginal races of India, that is, races distinct from the Hindoos, and with languages quite different from the Sanscrit, he remarks: "It must be allowed that the constituting of such a department of nations indicates the imperfection of ethnology." These races are the Singhalese, the Tamulian, tribes in the Dekhan, and petty barbarous tribes between the Indian and the Indo-Chinese peninsulas. All these are supposed to have descended from the northeast before the time when the Hindoos, of Indo-European descent, crossed the Indus.

The Caucasian languages indicate marks of ancient connection with the dialects of Northern Siberia. It is also supposed that the Georgian language is reducible into the Indo-European family of languages. The language of the Libyans is Semitic. But our analysis of his "Distribution of Nations" will degenerate into a mere catalogue of tribes. It forms a cumulative argument, whose force and bearing upon the theory of unity he displays in a chapter entitled "General Observations deduced from the preceding survey of human races." Before proceeding to that we will notice only some of the most striking facts that he has collected. He proves, for instance, the identity of the *Fulah* race of Senegambia with the *Felatahs* of Central Africa. To substantiate such facts is important in proportion to the existing dissimilarity of the races. It shows how possible it is that the widest extremes may have issued from a common origin; consequently the direction of such facts is favorable to the establishment of unity of origin for all human varieties, since no counteracting tendency has been discovered. He proves that the African nations agree in no particular character which might indicate for them a special origin, that is, origin from a distinct and appropriate pair; but the continent presents zones of varieties which shade off into each other like the colors of the spectrum. In fact, he attempts to create a sliding scale of variety, on every degree of which a characteristic may be placed, giving, by its total effect, the impression that circumstances have been the fertile cause of all human diversities.

The races of Oceanica, great as their physical difference may be, are found to give complete proof of unity of descent; and their diversities cannot be explained without supposing that they were spontaneous. The Malays are shaded off into the Polynesians.

He dates the existence of the American tribes as a distinct and insulated race, as far back as the time when the inhabitants of the Old World were separated into nations, and each branch of them flaked off into its primitive language and individuality. The unity of descent of the American tribes is rendered highly probable by the similarity of grammatical construction that their languages present. This is a much more radical bond of union than those verbal analogies, often fanciful, which travellers draw up in columns. Similarity of construction proves relationship between two languages that have no word in common. Ethnography finds identities in the philological, as well as in all the other departments, where men previously saw only differences.

The Nootka-Columbian is shown to display a remote affinity with the Azteca-Mexican. The South-American tribes are shown to be peculiarly *unlike* each other: this is an important fact in his favor, since he has just proved their undoubted affinity. We may expect to see graver discrepancies resolve themselves into some ancient and abstruse unity. He has not given this argument the prominence that it deserves. Indeed, he has left it to be suggested by his narrative.

He displays a striking modification of physical structure in the case of the Quichua or Inca race. They inhabit table lands from 7,500 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea. At such a height the air is so rarefied, that the lungs must inhale an additional volume at each inspiration: it follows that they have extraordinary dimensions. The cells are more dilated: "this dilatation increases considerably the volume of the lungs, consequently they must have, to contain them, a larger cavity—therefore the chest has a capacity much larger than in the normal state, and finally, this great development of the chest elongates the trunk beyond its natural proportions, and places it almost out of harmony with the length of the extremities, this remaining the same as if the chest had preserved its natural dimensions." And yet the Quichuas are but a branch of the American family of nations. Physical diversities of less prominence need not, then, be ascribed to a special origin.

In his chapter of General Results, above alluded to, he points out some inferences suggested by this ethnographical outline. We find that we have anticipated some of these: others we will briefly give.

"All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations; and there is, moreover, scarcely an instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place."

Each particular type of the skeleton and skull undergoes deviations, and passes into other forms. "The shape of the head varies in particular tribes of a nation, and even in the same tribe."

"With respect to color, it is still more easy to trace the greatest variations within the limits of one race. Under this head it would be quite fair to take the whole Indo-European family of nations as an example, since from one identical stock must have sprung the Gothic, the Iranian races, and the Arian stem of India, including the Xanthous Siah-Pôsh of Kafirstan, the yellow-haired and blue-eyed villagers of Jumnotri and Gangotri and the black Hindoos of Anu-gangam."

"In mankind we find the texture of the hair in every gradation of variety: and if we take the black tribes who are apparently of genuine native origin as one body, we shall discover among them every possible gradation, from the short, close curls of the Kafir to the crisp but bushy locks of the Berberine, and again to the flowing hair of the black Tuaryk, or Tibbo. In some instances, indeed, it appears that the change from one to the other may be shown *in actual transition.*"

This finishes his investigation of anatomical and external bodily characters.

III. 2. Physiological changes. "The average duration of human life is nearly the same in the different races of men. Even in different climates the *tendency to exist* for a given time is the same."

"The specific temperature of the body is the same, or nearly so, in all the races of men. There is no remarkable difference in the frequency of the pulse, or any of the other vital functions, between different tribes."

The period appointed by nature for marriage does *not* vary in different climates. The periods of life at which the principal changes take place are just the same among Oriental nations, for instance, as in Europe.

"The difference of climate occasions very little, if any, important diversity as to the periods of life and the physical changes to

which the human constitution is subject; and in all these great regulations of the animal economy, mankind, whether white or black, are placed by nature nearly on an equal footing."

To show how transportation to a particular climate affects races alike, independently of their organization, he says:

"The natives of Sierra Leone sustain comparatively little inconvenience from their climate, though it is destructive to Europeans. That this is not owing to original organization, we collect from the fact, of which we are assured by an intelligent physician, long resident in the colony, that the free Negroes who were brought from Nova-Scotia, and whose ancestors had been generally resident for some generations in a very different climate from that of Sierra Leone, are subject to the same diseases as Europeans." There are numerous examples of similar acclimatization." "This process requires many generations to bring it about; but when once produced, the new characters are hereditary and impressed upon the race."

This finishes the department of Physiological Changes.

III. 3. Psychological Alterations. "One common mind, or psychical nature, belongs to the whole human family. When we consider that the habits of men are so changed, in some races whose past and present state comes within the sphere of history, the Russians and Germans, for instance, we cannot presume to determine that the universal differences may not have been the result of circumstances favoring the progressive development of one race, and, in other instances, preventing it, or forcing a tribe already civilized to return to the brutality of savage life."

The most powerful argument for psychological unity resides in a comparison of the aboriginal superstitions and doctrines of the most widely separated tribes. Besides certain general traditions which have strangely ramified into the most remote places, there are certain radical doctrines or sentiments which are found to be universal. All men believe in spiritual agencies, and, with greater or less intelligence, propitiate them; there is a universal desire to perform some sacrifice. All men believe in a future state, and represent its conditions according to the degree of their enlightenment. All men believe in moral goodness, and aspire to possess certain tribal and characteristic virtues, that are, in truth, only stunted and neglected Beatitudes. It is evident that here is the material out of which a civilized and Christian character may be elaborated, with the modifications induced by hereditary and provincial

habits. Therefore we should expect to see the application of Christian truth in the hands of missionaries so far successful as to support the argument for psychological unity, by establishing a universal susceptibility. The argument is greatly strengthened if we consent to risk an examination of missionary experience among the most degraded and darkened races, rather than among those who possess a moderate intelligence. The result is very striking; the labors of the devoted Moravians among the Esquimaux and the Hottentots, two races which occupy the humblest places on the outposts of human life, and the former dwelling on the verge of mental as well as Arctic desolation, convince us that God has prepared mankind by a unity of capacity for a unity of life. The truth of the Gospel has found warm and germinative soil beneath the surface-frost; it has found the universal and homogeneous human heart, which underlies this zoned and many-colored map of life. It is the primitive formation which sustains numerous disruptions and strange collocations, the solid base upon which diversity depends. Psychological unity is cropping out everywhere upon the surface, to assure us that we shall not quarry for our corner-stones in vain. In fact, the science of ethnology culminates in a truth that is no less practical for the moral worker than it is impressive to the scientific seeker: *there are diversities of gifts but the same spirit.*

It shall be our object to continue these ethnological researches, under the inspiration of that central truth. We consider that the science has been acclimatized to our journal by this brief analysis of Dr. Prichard's work; and we shall endeavour from time to time to indicate its direction, and to suggest certain practical terminations which it involves. No activity of the human mind contains more directly moral and regenerative purposes than this one. Almost every other human science is necessary to support its existence, and it exceeds them all, as it combines them all, by demonstrating the moral order of the universe. No other intelligent results of human thought have done so much to authenticate the words, There shall be one fold and one shepherd,—or to project upon them a character of universal prophecy; and no other science provides us with agencies that will more surely coöperate with abstract truth to produce that great result.

Before leaving the subject we wish to call the attention of our readers to "The Ethnological Journal; a Magazine of Ethnography, Phrenology, and Archæology, considered as

elements of the Science of Races. Edited by Luke Burke, Esq., London, and J. Wiley, New York." It deserves a better notice than we can afford to give it now, but the patronage of all those who are interested in this science will doubtless be the most welcome thing to offer. We trust our readers are already acquainted with the two interesting and valuable volumes entitled "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society."

ART. IV.—*History of the Conquest of Mexico. With a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT, author of the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," &c., &c. In three volumes. New York. 1844.

AFTER Mr. Prescott had finished his History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, noticed in a former number of this journal,* several important subjects seemed naturally to claim his attention: these were the Discovery of America, and the Reign of Charles V. But the first of these had already been described by the graceful pen of Mr. Irving, adorning what it touches; the second had been treated by Dr. Robertson in a work of great though declining celebrity, and rendered attractive by a pleasing style, which often conceals the superficiality of the author's research, the shallowness of his political philosophy, and the inhumanity of his conclusions. Few men would wish to enter the literary career, and run the race with such distinguished rivals. A broader field yet remained, more interesting to the philosopher and the lover of mankind; namely, the Conquest and Colonization of America by the Spaniards. On this theme Mr. Prescott has written two independent works, of wide popularity. Of the first of these we now propose to speak, only premising what we said before in respect to the office and duty of an historian.

The new world was discovered in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella; its islands and continents, though not for the

* No. VI., for March, 1849, p. 215 et seq.

first time,* laid open to the eye of civilized Europe. The greater part of America was found to be thinly peopled by a single race of men, different in many respects from the inhabitants of the eastern hemisphere. A large part of the new world was inhabited by tribes, not only not civilized, but not even barbarous; the nations were eminently savage, though most of them were far removed from the lowest stage of human life, still represented by the Esquimaux, the New Hollanders, and the Bushmans of South Africa. The French, the English, and the Dutch, in their North American settlements, came in contact with the barbarous portion of the nations, who had a little agriculture, it is true, but subsisted chiefly on the spontaneous products of the forest and the flood. But some tribes had advanced far beyond this state: some had ceased to be barbarous. There was an indigenous and original civilization in America. Attempts have often been made to trace this civilization to the old world; to connect it now with the Tyrians, now with the Egyptians, and then with the Hebrews or roving Tartars. Sometimes the attempt has been guided by philology, which makes language the basis of comparison; sometimes by physiology, and scientific men have sought in the bodies of the red Americans to discover some trace of the stock they sprung from; sometimes by theology, which seeks the affinity indicated by kindred forms of religion. But commonly inquirers have started with the theological prejudice that all men are descended from the single primitive pair mentioned in the Hebrew myth, and have bent philology, physiology, and theology to conform to their gratuitous assumption. Hitherto these attempts have been in vain. Even the lamented Mr. Prichard, who had this theological prejudice in the heroic degree, — small for an English theologian, indeed, but great for a philosopher, as he certainly was, a prejudice which appears throughout his researches into the physical history of mankind, — fails to connect the American civilization with that of any other race. We therefore take it for granted, in the present stage of the inquiry, that it was original and indigenous. Geologists inform us that the western continent appears older than the eastern. If it be so, perhaps the American aborigines are the oldest race now in existence, and may look down on the bearded and pale Caucasians as upstarts in the world. If this be true, the red man

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* *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, No. VI., Article III.

has not advanced so rapidly in civilization as the white: this seems owing to the inferior organization of the former, and also to the absence of swine, sheep, horses, oxen, and large animals capable of being tamed, which in the eastern continent have so powerfully aided the progress of civilization. The man who would tame the sheep and the ox, must tame also himself. The domestication of animals, those living machines of an earlier age, once promoted the progress of civilization as much as the invention of machinery at this day. The camel, the ship of the desert, and the steamboat, the ship of the sea, have each something to do in ferrying man out of barbarism.

After the discovery of America, the Spaniard soon came in contact with the more advanced tribes of red men, contended with and overcame them, partly in virtue of his superior development, but partly also through the aboriginal and organic superiority which marks the Caucasian race in all historical stages of their progress, and appears in every conflict with any kindred race. This indigenous American civilization had two centres, or mother-cities, mainly independent of one another, if not entirely so — Mexico and Peru. The chief seats thereof were soon reached by the Spaniards, and conquered; the advanced tribes reduced to subjection, to slavery, or to death. The European brought there two things, wholly unheard of before — the doctrines of Christianity and a sword of steel, each thought to be the ally of the other in the conqueror's hand.

Here is a theme more important, and therefore more profoundly interesting, than the Lives of Columbus and his followers, or the Reign of Charles the Fifth, though both of those bring great events before the thinker's eye; — certainly the biography of Columbus, of Amerigo, Cabot, and Verrazzani, would offer an attractive field to a thinking man. A philosophic historian would delight in a land newly discovered. Its geography, botany, and zoölogy were all new to the eastern world; there were tribes unheard of before, with a peculiar physical structure, language, literature, manners, arts, laws, institutions, and forms of religion unlike the old. It were a noble task for the naturalist to describe this virgin America, as she appeared in the fifteenth century, when she first stood unveiled before the European eye.

In ages before the historical period, the Caucasian race had taken possession of the fairest portions of the ancient

world. Now, for the first time during many ages, on a grand scale it encounters another race. For the first time in human history, the white man and the red man fairly meet. These two families so dissimilar in natural character, so unlike in their development, now join in war, in wedlock, and at length mingle in political union. Ethnographers of this day somewhat obscurely maintain that the mingling of tribes, if not races, is an essential condition of progress. It would be instructive to pause over the facts, and consider what influence in this case each race has had on the other, and their union on the world. Never before in the historical age had two races thus met, nor two independent civilizations, with modes of religion so dissimilar, thus come together. In the great wars which the classic nations engaged in, the two parties were commonly of the same stock. Even in the expeditions of Sesostris, of Xerxes, and of Alexander, it was Caucasian that met Caucasian. The same is true, perhaps in its full extent, of the expeditions of Hannibal and of the Moors. In all the wars from that of Troy to the Crusades, the heroes on both sides were of the same stock. The nations that we meet in history, from Thule to the "fabulous Hydaspes," all are Caucasians — differing indeed in development and specific character, but alike in their great, general peculiarities. Other races appear only in the background of history, among the classic, the Shemitish, or the East-Indian nations; but seldom even there, and not as actors in the great drama of human civilization.

The Spanish colonies afford the best known example of the mingling of men of different races. The Anglo-Saxon is eminently Caucasian: he also met the red men. But the Saxon, though like other conquerors forgetting his dignity in loose amours, will not mix his proud blood, in stable wedlock, with another race. There seems a national antipathy to such unions with the black, or even the red, or yellow races of men — an antipathy almost peculiar to this remarkable tribe, the exterminator of other races. In New England more pains were taken than elsewhere in America to spare, to civilize, and to convert the sons of the wilderness; but yet here the distinction of race was always sharply observed. Even community of religion and liturgical rites, elsewhere so powerful a bond of union, was unable to soften the Englishman's repugnance to the Indian. The Puritan hoped to meet the Pequods in heaven, but wished to keep apart from them on earth, nay, to exterminate them from the land. Besides, the English met

with no civilized tribe in America, and for them to unite in wedlock with such children of the forest as they found in North America would have been contrary, not only to the Anglo-Saxon prejudice of race, but to the general usage of the world — a usage to which even the French in Canada afford but a trifling exception. The Spaniards had less of this exclusiveness of race, perhaps none at all. They met with civilized tribes of red men, met and mingled in honorable and permanent connection. In Peru and Mexico, at this day, there are few men of pure Spanish blood.

All the historical forms of religion which have prevailed in Europe, and the parts of Asia inhabited by the Caucasians, seem to have sprung from a common stock. Perhaps this is not true, but at least their resemblances may often be accounted for by reference to some actual union, to their historical genealogy; not wholly by reference to Human Nature; their agreement is specific, not merely generic. But the forms of religion that prevailed in America seem to have no historical element in common with those of the eastern world. When they agree, as they often do, and in their most important features, the agreement is generic, referrible to the identity of Human Nature acting under similar conditions; it is not specific, or to be explained by reference to history, to community of tradition. It is the same Human Nature which appears in all races, and accordingly many, especially religious, institutions have a marked likeness all over the world, but the individual peculiarity of each race appears also in those institutions. The civilization of the Caucasian tribes in the eastern world, powerfully affected by their religious institutions, seems to have been propagated by offsets and cuttings from some primeval tree, and only modified by circumstances and degrees of development; so there is an historical element common to all those nations. It appears in their manners, dress, and military weapons; in their agriculture, from the east to the west, where the same staple articles of culture appear, and the same animals — the cereal grasses, the sheep, the goat, the swine, the horse, and the ox; in their arts, useful and beautiful; in their politics, their morals, their forms of religion; in their literature, and even in the structure of their language itself, so deep-rooted is the idiosyncrasy of race. In America, to judge from the present state of ethnographic investigation, it seems that another seed, independent and likewise aboriginal, got planted, came up, grew, and bore fruit

after its kind. This also was propagated by cuttings and offsets, so to say; its descendants had spread from the land of the Esquimaux to Patagonia. Here, as in the other hemisphere, the race became specifically modified by external circumstances, and the degree of development. Still there is a generic element common to all the tribes of America, running through their civilization, and apparent in their institutions. The idiosyncrasy of race appears here also, conspicuous and powerful as there.

This diversity of race and the analogous difference between the two civilizations brought into such close connection, renders the history of the Spanish settlements in America exceedingly interesting to a philosophical inquirer: the English colonies are interesting on account of the Ideas they brought hither and developed, and the influence those ideas have had on the world; the Spanish settlements are chiefly interesting on account of the Facts they bring to light. Under these circumstances, it becomes the duty of the historian, who will write a book worthy of his theme, to note the effect of this mingling of races and of civilizations; he is not merely to tell who was killed, and who wounded, on which side of the river each one fought, and how deep the water was between them, or how bloody it ran; he is to describe the civilization of the nations, giving, however briefly, all the important features thereof, and then show the effect of the meeting of the two.

More than three centuries have passed by since the Mexican conquest was complete. During that time great revolutions have taken place in the world, — theological, political, and social. A great progress has been made in the arts, in science, in morals and religion, — in the subjective development thereof as piety, the objective application to life in the form of practical morality. But the Spanish-Americans have but a small share in that progress; they seem to have done nothing to promote it. They have not kept pace with the Anglo-American colonies; not even with the French. It is pretty clear that the population of Spanish North America — continental and insular — is less numerous now than when Columbus first crossed the sea. The condition of the Americans in many respects is improved. Still it may be reasonably doubted if the population of Mexico is happier to day than four hundred years ago. What is the cause of this: have the two races been weakened by their union; were the Mexicans incapable of further advance; or were the Spaniards unable to aid them?

The Europeans gave the Indian most valuable material helps to civilization — cattle, swine, sheep, goats, asses, horses, oxen, the cereal grasses of the East, iron, and gunpowder; ideal helps also in the doctrines of Christianity; — the machinery of the old world. In another work, Mr. Prescott declares the Moorish civilization incapable of continuing, as it had in its bosom the causes of its ruin. Is the same thing true of the Spanish civilization? Surely, it cannot stand before the slow, strong, steady wave of the Anglo-Saxon tide, which seems destined ere long to sweep it off, or hide it in its own ample bosom. The consequence is always in the cause; there but hidden. The historian of the conquest of Mexico, writing so long after the events he chronicles, while those consequences are patent to all the world, might describe to us the cause; nay, the history is not adequately written until this is done. Without this, a work is history without its meaning — without philosophy. We must complain of Mr. Prescott's work, in general, that he has omitted this its most important part. True, he was only writing of the conquest of the country and the immediate colonization; but this is not adequately described until the other work is done.

Not only has Mr. Prescott an attractive theme — obvious facts and glittering deeds, to attract all men and satisfy the superficial, and larger, more general facts of a profound significance, to pause upon and explain — but the materials for his work are abundant. There are the narratives of men personally engaged in the expeditions they write of — men like Bernal Diaz and Gomara; official documents like the letters of Cortés; early histories, as that of Solís; works on the antiquities of Mexico, like that of Clavigero, and the magnificent volumes published by Lord Kingsborough. Then there are works written by men themselves descended from the Mexicans. In addition to printed volumes, Mr. Prescott has richly supplied himself with such manuscript treasures of Spanish history as few American eyes ever behold. He has at his command about eight thousand folio pages of the works of Las Casas, Ixtlilxochitl, Toribio, Camargo, Oviedo, and others. Public and private collections abroad have been opened to him with just and scholarlike liberality.

If we divide Mr. Prescott's work according to its substance, it consists of three parts: — the first relates to Mexico, its inhabitants and their civilization; the second to the conquest

of Mexico; and the third to the subsequent career of Cortés. In respect of its form, the volumes are divided into seven books, treating respectively of the Aztec civilization, of the discovery of Mexico, the march thither, the residence there, the expulsion thence, the siege and surrender of the city, and the subsequent career of Cortés. A valuable appendix is added, and a copious index, the latter quite too uncommon in American books.

This history has been so much admired, so widely circulated in America and Europe, and so abundantly read, that, as in the former article, we shall take it for granted that our readers are familiar with the work, and spare them our analysis thereof. We shall also presuppose that the well informed reader is sufficiently familiar with the writings of Diaz and Solís, with the printed works of Las Casas, with Clavigero, Herrera, and the original accounts published at Madrid, a hundred years ago, in the collection of "Historiadores primitivos."

We now propose to examine this history of the conquest of Mexico somewhat in detail, and to say a word of each of the three grand divisions of the subject. We will speak first of the Civilization of the Aztecs. Mr. Prescott's account of the geography of Mexico, with his description of the country, is attractive and graphic. It seems to be sufficient; we only regret the absence of a more extended map. With only the ordinary maps the reader is often puzzled in trying to make out the exact position of a place, and accordingly he cannot always understand the account of a battle or the description of a march. The two small maps (in Vols. I. and II.) are of great service, and were prepared with much care, but are not adequate to render all parts of the text intelligible: thus Itztapalapan (Vol. III., p. 6,) is said to stand "on a narrow tongue of land which divides the waters of the great salt lake from those of the fresh," while on the map no such narrow tongue exists, and the reader must seek it in Clavigero or elsewhere. But this is a trifle.

In Mexico Mr. Prescott finds four important tribes, or "races." The most conspicuous of these are the Toltecs, who came from the North before the end of the seventh century, and in the eleventh century "disappeared from the land as silently and mysteriously as they had entered it"; the Chichemecs, a numerous and rude tribe who came from the Northwest in the twelfth century, and were soon "followed by other races of higher civilization, perhaps of the same family

with the Toltecs"; the most noted of these tribes were the Aztecs, or Mexicans, and the Acolhuans, or Tezcucans. The civilization of the Toltecs was communicated to the Tezcucans, and by them to the Chichemecs.

Of these four tribes—Toltecs, Chichemecs, Tezcucans, and Aztecs—the latter have become the most celebrated. They are the Mexicans, and by that name we shall designate them in what follows. After encountering various fortunes in the land, they came to the valley of Mexico in the year 1325, A. D., according to Mr. Prescott, where they subsequently built Tenochtitlan, the city of Mexico. The Mexicans were a warlike people, and in less than two centuries their empire extended from shore to shore. This rapid enlargement of their power proves the martial vigor of the tribe, and their skill in forming political organizations—though Mr. Prescott seems to doubt their political ability. But as the Mexican empire was composed of several nations recently conquered and united almost entirely by external force, it is plain it contained heterogeneous elements which might easily be separated. Like the old Roman and all other states thus formed, it was a piece of carpentry, artificially held together by outward circumstances, not a regular growth, where the branch grows out of the bole, that out of the root, and all are united by a central principle and partake of a common origin and history.

Mr. Prescott devotes four chapters to the civilization of Mexico, and one to Tezcuco. His materials are derived chiefly from Torquemada, Clavigero, Sahagun, Gama, the works which have appeared in France and England on the antiquities of Mexico, the writings of Boturini and Ixtlilxochitl. Of these authors Clavigero is the best known to general readers. Notwithstanding the advantage which Mr. Prescott has in coming sixty years after the work of Clavigero was published, we must confess that on the whole the earlier writer has given the more satisfactory account of the matter. It is true, Clavigero had space to be minute and curious in particulars,—for nearly two of his four quarto volumes are devoted to the subject,—but his general arrangement is better, though by no means perfect or philosophical,—following an inward principle,—and his account of the Mexican institutions is on the whole more distinct as well as more complete. Yet in some details Mr. Prescott surpasses his predecessor.

Mr. Prescott gives an account, sufficiently lucid, of what

may be called the Constitution of Mexico; he speaks intelligently of the royal power, which was both legislative and executive. He gives a good description of the judicial power, certainly a very remarkable institution for such a nation, and in many respects a very wise one. But his account of the nobles, of their power and position, is meagre and unsatisfactory. He does not tell us how the distinction of nobility was obtained.

What he says of the penal laws is still less satisfactory, or complete. The only punishments he mentions are death, slavery, reduction of rank, and confiscation of property. Clavigero adds confinement in prison and banishment from the country. Prisons as houses of punishment generally indicate a higher civilization than the penalty of death, or exile.

Clavigero has given the fuller and more satisfactory account of the Mexican system of slavery. He mentions also one important provision of the penal law omitted by Mr. Prescott, that kidnapping was punished with death.

Mr. Prescott's account of the manner of collecting the revenue is full and clear. The same must be said of his account of the military establishment of Mexico. Still the reader would be glad to know whether the soldiers were volunteers or conscripts, how they were fed, and when successful in war, what share of the booty belonged to them. Clavigero mentions a significant fact, that there were three military orders, called Princes, Eagles, and Tigers, (Achautin, Quauhtin, and Ocelo.) Since the two last are titles of honor, as well as the first, they furnish an important monument of the ferocity of the nation.

The civilization of the Mexicans has been sometimes exalted above its merit; still it is plain they had attained a pretty high degree of culture. Yet it differed in many respects from that of the eastern nations: it was a civilization without the cereal grasses; without wine, milk, or honey; without swine, sheep, or goats; without the horse or the ass, or any beast of burthen; civilization without iron. Mexico seems to have been the centre of refinement for all North America. Agriculture, one of the earliest arts, seems to have travelled northward; the three great staples thereof among the natives of North America in the temperate zone — maize, beans, and various species of the pumpkin or squash — had journeyed from the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of Fundy, and extended inland

to the Rocky Mountains, covering a great extent of country where they were not indigenous, and could not exist but for the care of man.

In Mexico, the fundamental law or constitution was fixed and well understood. The monarchy was elective; though, by law or custom, the choice must be made from a certain family, still the chief was chosen for his personal qualities. Montezuma was distinguished as a soldier and a priest — compatible titles in many a land not otherwise very barbarous — before he was elected king. Throughout North America, there seems to have been a general custom of choosing the ruler among the nephews rather than among the sons of the former chief.

The judicial power was carefully separated from the executive. The judges were appointed by the king or chosen by the people, and held their office for life or during good behaviour. The laws seem to have been well administered. Property was so secure that bolts and bars were not needed. Life, liberty, and the honor of women were carefully guarded, and seem to have been more secure than in Scotland at the same time. Lands were held in severalty and by a certain tenure. Almost all men held real estate in their own right. In the most densely peopled regions, there was little land not improved; far less than at the present day, as we judge. The law of descent was fixed, and well understood. The right of testament was universal.

Historians tell us that the laws were written, and published to the people. We think they exaggerate the extent of a written law, and the power of the Mexicans to record laws with their imperfect mode of writing. Perhaps Mr. Prescott with others has fallen into a slight error in this particular, though we do not say this with much confidence.

Slavery prevailed in a mild form. Men became slaves by judicial sentence, as a punishment for crime, by selling themselves, or from being sold by their parents. The slave could hold property, real or personal, and devise it to whom he would; he could own other slaves. This was not a privilege which the master might revoke, but a right at common law. The slave's life was, theoretically, sacred as the free man's. His children were all free. Nobility was hereditary, while slavery was merely a personal affair, and did not attaint the blood. Indeed, the slave was only a vassal, bound to render certain services to his feudal lord. This fact shows that the

nation had emerged from that state where man is so lazy that only the slave can be made to endure continuous toil, and where Slavery is the chief handmaid of Industry.

The penal laws were severe; capital offences were numerous. Theft was punished with death, as it was until lately in England, if the property stolen exceeded five shillings in value. Imprisonment, fine, exile, and social degradation were legal punishments for certain crimes. The revenues of the nation were collected in a regular and constant form. As in most despotic countries, the taxes were enormous; but there seems no reason for supposing that they were so excessive as they have been for many years in the kingdom of Naples; perhaps they were not proportionately so great as in England at this day. Some of the nobles were exempt from taxation, but we know not whether this exemption was the reward of some extraordinary service, or, as in France before the Revolution, came purely from the selfishness of that class, who had the power to withdraw their necks from the common yoke.

War was conducted in a systematic manner; regularly declared and commenced in a formal style. The arts of diplomacy were well known, and the rights of ambassadors respected. The military code was minute in its provisions. The arms of the Mexicans were well made and destructive. They used shields of wood, and body armor of quilted cotton. They had embattled fortifications of stone, well situated and constructed with skill. There were military hospitals for the sick and wounded soldier — institutions unknown to the Eastern world till long after the time of Christ; hospitals better than the Spanish, and supplied with surgeons more faithful.

Their cities were numerous and large, supplied with water by aqueducts. There were many towns containing thirty thousand inhabitants; the capital contained at least three hundred thousand. In his second official letter, Cortés says that Tlascala was larger and much stronger than Granada when taken from the Moors; that it had more fine houses, and was better supplied with provisions. Thirty thousand persons were daily in its markets, to buy and sell. He says the exterior aspect of Cholula is more beautiful than any town in Spain. From a single temple (Mezquita,) he counted four hundred other temples with towers. Houses were built of wood, of sun-dried bricks, and of stone. While in Spain labor was a disgrace, in Mexico it was held in honor. The calling of a merchant was honorable, and he sometimes rose to distinction in the

state, a very remarkable circumstance in a nation so warlike. Trading in slaves seems to have been as respectable among the Catos of Mexico as of Rome. Agriculture was held in high and deserved esteem. The harder work in the fields was performed by the men; only the light work fell to the lot of women. Great pains were taken with the cultivation of flowers: ornamental gardening was better understood in Mexico than in Europe. In some places the land was artificially watered, as among the Moors in Spain. There were floating gardens on the lake of Mexico. In the large cities there were public gardens of great extent and beauty. Yet, though blessed with maize and potatoes, the Mexicans lacked the valuable staples of Eastern agriculture — the more useful grains, the vine, and the olive; they had no aid from the ox or the horse — not even from the humbler servant of the plough, the ass.

The mechanics wrought with adroitness and good taste, in wood, in stone, and in feather-work. Their earthen ware, says Cortés, was equal to the best in Spain. Cotton was manufactured and dyed with taste and skill. Gold and silver were abundant, and wrought with a dexterity which rivalled the best works of Venice and Seville, astonishing the artists of Europe. They used also copper, lead, and tin. It has been said — we doubt if correctly — that they did not know the power of fire to render metals more pliant under the hammer. Iron was unknown: in its place their cutting instruments were made of obsidian, (itzli) a stone which takes a keen edge, though it is easily blunted. For money they used gold-dust, bits of tin, and bags of cacao.

The public roads excited the admiration of the Spaniards, and were probably better than they left at home. Runners went with such speed, that despatches were carried one or two hundred miles in a day. Buildings were erected along the road side for their accommodation. Indeed, couriers went with such rapidity, that fish were caught in the Gulf of Mexico, and in twenty-four hours were two hundred miles off, in the kitchen of Montezuma.

There were botanic gardens in several Mexican cities, where the plants were scientifically arranged. Cortés mentions one two leagues in circumference; it contained an aviary, — for Mexico is the country of birds, as Africa of beasts, — and basins stocked with numerous varieties of fish. At that time such gardens were unknown in Europe.

The Mexicans had attained a considerable proficiency in science. They had a peculiar system of notation, counting by scores and not by tens: — first they took the five digits of one hand, then of the next, and in like manner the ten digits of the feet. They had made a measurement of the year more exact than that of the Greeks and Romans. Their week consisted of five days; four weeks, or twenty days, made a month. There were eighteen months in the year, and then five days were intercalated that belonged to no month. Thus their common civil year consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days. But in every one hundred and four years, it is said, they intercalated twenty-five days which belonged to no year. Thus their calendar was exceedingly exact, and in many years there would be no important difference between actual and calculated time. Their day was divided into sixteen hours; they had sun-dials for time-pieces; they understood the causes of an eclipse, and knew the periods of the solstices and the equinoxes.

Women shared in social festivities with the men. Polygamy was allowed, as throughout all North America, and as with the Hebrews before Christ; wealthy men, and especially kings, had many wives; yet the custom seems limited to such, as indeed it must have been everywhere.

The languages of the various nations of Mexico were remarkable for that peculiarity called agglutination by philologists, which characterizes all the dialects of America, with perhaps but a single exception, and forms the linguistic distinction of the American race. Their language was copious, regular, and comprehensive. The Mexicans had a rude mode of writing, by pictures and symbols, which enabled them to record events, to transmit and preserve information. By means of this help they recorded their laws, their judicial transactions, and wrote their civil history. They wrote poetry in the same manner. We would speak with becoming diffidence in this matter, which we certainly have not been able to investigate to our own satisfaction, and modestly express our fear that the art of writing among the Mexicans has been a good deal overrated. We doubt that an ordinary poem could be recorded in Mexican characters. Still, this art of writing seems to have been more perfect than the Egyptian in the time of the pyramids, as indeed their language was more copious and better developed, though greatly inferior to that of the Chinese.

There were schools for the education of the children. Elderly women, serving also as priestesses, took charge of the girls; the priests instructed the boys. The former learned various feminine employments, were taught to be modest, and to pay "entire obedience and respect to their husbands." Boys were taught to work and to fight; they were instructed in the art of writing; they learned the traditionary lore of their country, and studied such sciences as the Mexicans knew; they learned the principles of government, and were taught to hate vice and love virtue — to practise the duties of natural religion. To this, of course, was added an acquaintance with the national mythology, and the rites of the popular worship. This education was no doubt rude, and limited to a comparatively small portion of the people. There was a general Board of Education, called the Council of Music. All this we suspect is a good deal more complete on paper than it was in fact; — but Diaz informs us that Montezuma intended to keep some of the Spaniards, whom he hoped to conquer, for schoolmasters, and employ them in teaching the people.

In their religion the Mexicans were polytheists. It is not easy to get at the facts respecting this matter, for the authors we depend upon seem unconsciously to have lent a coloring to what they describe, and much of the Christian tradition or doctrine has got mingled with the opinions of the natives. But it is said that they believed in one supreme Creator; they addressed him as "the God by whom we live;" "invisible, incorporeal, one God, of perfect perfection and purity;" "under whose wing we find repose and a sure defence." There were other gods beside him; the most popular was their God of War, for the Mexicans were a ferocious people, and this peculiarity appears also in their mode of religion. In common with almost every nation of the earth, and perhaps with all, they believed in the immortality of the soul, and the doctrine of future retribution. In the Mexican Heaven there were two degrees of happiness, of which the warrior had the higher. The Roman Poet had got beyond this. There were three degrees of punishment in hell. "Eternal damnation," it has been said, "is not learned by the mere light of Nature, but is one of the truths of Revelation;" so we suppose the Mexicans were indebted to their Spanish conquerors for this article of the creed. The priests were a distinct class, numerous and respected, and, as in nearly all countries, the best educated class. They served God with an abundance of

forms, rites, ceremonies, fasts, and mortifications of the flesh, — according to Mr. Prescott's quotation, "In hope to merit Heaven by making earth a hell." However, in this respect their conquerors taught them many devices which the simple Mexicans did not know before. The Mexicans do not appear to have practised any ritual mutilation of the body as the Hebrews and Mahommedans do to this day. The priesthood was not hereditary, or even heritable, as it seems. It did not necessarily last for life. There was only a movable priesthood, not a caste perpetuating its traditions and its rites in a single family from age to age. The chief priest was elected, though it does not appear by whom. Some elderly women served as priestesses. The Mexicans had some rites which strangely resembled the Christian: — they baptized their children by sprinkling; the priests heard confession and gave absolution from sin, and, what is remarkable, this absolution not only was thought to save a man from future torment, but actually held good and gave deliverance in a court of justice on earth. There was a Mexican goddess, Cioacoatl was her name, who seems closely related to mother Eve; she was "the first goddess who brought forth;" she "bequeathed the sufferings of childbirth to women;" and by her "sin came into the world." There was also a Mexican Noah, Coxcox, who survived a deluge, and has often been taken for the mythical patriarch of the Hebrew legend.

There is much that is revolting in the worship of savage nations; some of the disgusting features thereof remain long after civilization has swept away civil and social monstrosities. The most hideous thing connected with the Mexican worship was the sacrifice of human beings. Human sacrifices have been common with all nations at certain stages of their development. The custom was well known among the Greeks and Romans: the story of Abraham is a lasting monument of its existence among the Hebrews. But in no country did this abomination prevail to so great a degree. To render the ghastly sacrifice still worse, the worshippers devoured the flesh of the victims. Cannibalism was solemnly practised throughout Mexico. Human blood was the holiest sacrament. The number of victims is variously stated: one authority mentions more than eighty thousand in a single day — an extraordinary occasion; others but fifty in a year, the estimate of Las Casas. Mr. Prescott thinks it safe to admit that thousands were sacrificed each year. Diaz declares that there must have been more than a hundred thousand skulls of these victims in a single

place, and Gomara relates that two companions of Cortés counted one hundred and thirty-six thousand in a single edifice. No apology can be attempted for such an abomination; — but the same thing is called by different names in different places. In thirty-five years King Henry the Eighth put to death seventy-two thousand of his subjects by the hands of the public executioner; many thousand Moors were butchered by the Spanish soldiers, after resistance was over, in the time of Ferdinand and Isabella; a great number were put to death with more terrible torments by the most holy Court of the Inquisition. A Mexican would write that all these were sacrificed to God. Human sacrifices in Mexico excited the just horror of Cortés and his companions, while the butcheries in Spain perhaps did not disturb them at all. Few things can be conceived of more abhorrent than the human sacrifices and cannibalism of the Mexicans: their civilization deprived them of the excuse which shelters the Fiji and New Zealander. Yet these men-slaughterers endeavoured to mitigate the sufferings of their victims. Mr. Prescott shows a just and hearty horror at this unnatural mode of worship. But one of their Gods, Quetzalcoatl, it is said, taught "a more spiritualizing religion, in which the only sacrifices were the fruits and flowers of the season."

We come next to the conquest of Mexico by Cortés. He first heard the name of Montezuma about Easter, in 1519; on St. Hippolytus' day, August 12th, 1521, the Spaniards carried the capital by assault, and the Mexican empire lay at their disposal. Montezuma had died a captive; Guatemozin, his successor, was in their hands. Yet Cortés invaded this powerful empire with but a handful of soldiers. When he left Cuba, February 10th, 1519, he had one hundred and ten mariners, five hundred and fifty-three soldiers, ten heavy guns, four falconets, and sixteen horses; he had also about two hundred Indians. Two horses were subsequently added, and eighteen men; fifteen men were sent away from the expedition, and there were other but inconsiderable losses. He actually began his march into Mexico with about four hundred foot, and fifteen horse, and seven pieces of artillery, such as it was. At the same time, he had also thirteen hundred Indian warriors and one thousand Tamanes or porters, men of burthen. The number of Indians was soon increased to three thousand. When he first entered Mexico against the

will of the vacillating monarch, his whole force was less than seven thousand men; but four hundred of these were Spaniards. After he had been driven from the city, and had been reinforced by others of his countrymen who joined the expedition, when he reviewed his forces at Tezcuco, he had eighty-seven horse, eight hundred and eighteen foot, of whom one hundred and eight were arquebusiers and crossbowmen, three large field-pieces of iron, and fifteen smaller guns of brass.

Such were the forces with which Cortés invaded and finally conquered a country containing more inhabitants, to say the least, than the kingdom of Spain, at that time, with a capital as large and populous as Seville and Cordova united, or twice as great as Milan. Certainly the most daring enterprise of ancient times becomes tame in comparison with this. True, there were some circumstances which favored the enterprise. Had there been no dissensions in the Mexican empire, his attempt would have been in vain; without his Indian allies he would soon have been cut off. Then he was aided by the superstition of the times. There was a prophecy current among the Mexicans which Cortés was thought to fulfil. There was a story of Quetzalcoatl, a mythical person worshipped as a god; he had taught the Mexicans agriculture, the use of metals, and the arts of government, and opposed human sacrifices which he could not prevent; he had a fair complexion and a flowing beard, the patriarch of the golden age of Mexico; he had left the country, embarking for Tlapallan, the Mexican Eden, or Atlantis, but the prophecy said he would return and resume the possession of the empire. The Mexicans saw Cortés, and said: "This is Quetzalcoatl returned from Paradise." The Spaniards were "white gods." Montezuma himself seems to have shared this opinion. This "random shot of prophecy," as Mr. Prescott calls it, seems to have hit the mark, and prepared the nation for conquest.

Then the Spaniards were Caucasians, and had the organic superiority of that race; besides, they were far in advance of the Mexicans in the art of war. They had horses, steel, ships, gunpowder, muskets, and cannon; they understood the value of concerted action, and of well ordered movements on the field of battle; they had weapons of offence and defence far superior to those of their opponents. If Boston could be invaded by an army that should land at Provincetown, ascend in balloons, and from a single position reconnoitre the whole state of Massachusetts, and from the extremity of Cape Cod

should bombard this city, levelling whole blocks of houses at a single shot; if they had swords which could pierce through a ploughshare as easily as silk or cotton cloth, and firearms which shot through the most solid walls of brick and stone as readily as a rifle ball goes through a glass window; if they had animals trained to war, ten times larger than the elephant, as heavy as the largest locomotive steam-engine, swifter than that, and more difficult to encounter — beasts of war that trod down horse, foot, and dragoons, trampling the artillery itself into the ground; if, in addition to this, the invaders were clad in armor bullet-proof, were each stronger than ten common men, had a skill, a foresight, a daring, and a patient courage proportionate to their instruments of destruction, and a cruelty not inferior to their courage; and if, still more, it was currently believed that the Book of Revelations had predicted that they should come and conquer the land; if whole countries were ready to help the invaders, — then we should be confronted with foes which would bear about the same relation to us that the Spaniards bore to the Mexicans. Considering all these things, the success of the conquerors, marvellous as it appears, is less remarkable than the courage and patience with which the Mexicans resisted the attack. Had the Spaniards known the full extent of the difficulty, even the iron heart of Cortés must have failed within him.

But we must ask, What RIGHT had the Spaniards to invade Mexico and possess themselves of its soil. Mr. Prescott examines this question in an unsatisfactory manner, and, we are sorry to say it, gives an unjust answer, but in accordance with the spirit in which his three historical works have been written. An unprejudiced man must say the Spaniards had no claim to Mexico, but that of the stout and well armed highwayman to the purse of the undefended traveller; the right of the pirate over the unprotected ship of the merchant. It is true, the Spanish monarch had a conveyance from the Pope, which in reality gave no better title, and was worth no more than the compendious transfer offered by the Tempter in the Bible — "all these will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Neither Pope nor Satan could alienate and convey what he did not possess. We think it cannot be maintained in Natural Law that a savage tribe has a right to arrest civilization in any given spot, to keep a continent for a hunting-field dwelt in by a few wild beasts and wild men. It is commonly, perhaps universally, conceded, that a nation

has Eminent Domain over the lands of the individual, and allows him to hold them in individual severalty for his private welfare when not adverse to the general good of the State; even to bequeath them to his successor, subject to the same condition. So the Human Race has Eminent Domain over the lands of each particular nation, allowing it to hold in national severalty for the nation's welfare, when not adverse to the universal good of mankind. As there is a solidarity of the Nation, so is there of the Race, and Rights and Duties, national or universal, thence accruing. But when the nation takes the lands of the individual, which he has a good natural title to, they must fully indemnify that individual for his lands, else it is robbery; and robbery by a nation, and for the sake of the greatest majority of its citizens, is no better in itself than if done by one man in his own name,—it is still robbery, spoliation contrary to Natural Law. The same holds good between any one nation and mankind, between the Savage and the Civilized who may assume to represent the consciousness of mankind. This idea seems to have been in the mind of the settlers of New England; if not in their mind, they acted as if it were. The Pilgrim and the Puritan knew that the naked savages of Massachusetts had no natural right, adverse to the welfare of the Human Race, no right to keep the land a wilderness and shut civilization out of it for ever; but they knew, also, that though the civilized man represented the higher consciousness of mankind, and so far as that went, represented the Human Race, still he had no right, whatever necessity compelled him, to take from the savages, against their will, all that they had or any thing that they had, without returning them a complete equivalent therefor. So these settlers of New England did not rely on the grant of the English king for their title to the Indian land; they bought it of the Indians, took a deed, recorded the transfer, and honestly paid for it,—a small consideration, but enough to extinguish the title, and more than it was worth to the Indians themselves. But in New England no Indian owned land in severalty, more than wind and water, excepting the spot his wigwam covered, and the little patch subjected to the rude tillage of his wife. These were the only spots with which he had mixed up his labor. There was enough for all, and therefore personal and exclusive appropriation had hardly begun. At the merest caprice, the Indian left his place to whomsoever might take it, and himself sought another—as free as the Beaver or the Wild-cat, who like him

respected the appropriation of another. This tract belonged to the Narragansetts, that to the Pequods. There was appropriation by the tribe, not by the individual. The title of the Narragansetts was good as against the Pequods, or any other tribe, but each man of that tribe took any of the national lands not previously appropriated, as freely as he took the air and the water which was not in another man's mouth. The chief of the tribe seems to have acted as Trustee, and in that capacity gave his quitclaim deed to the chief of the white men, acting in behalf of the rest, and conveyed away the title of the tribe. The Indian parted with his land for a "good consideration," for "value received."

In Mexico, the case was quite different. Almost all the valuable land was owned in severalty; individuals had mixed their labor with the soil, owning it as much as they owned the fish-hook they had made, or the ear of corn they had grown; owned it as completely as a man can own the soil. The Mexicans were a civilized people; the lands in the valley of Mexico were as well cultivated as the lands in Granada, the garden of Europe; the natives had not stopped in their progress, as Mr. Prescott thinks the Moors had done in Spain, and their land therefore could not be claimed as a derelict of civilization; on the contrary, they seem to have been in a state of rapid advance, as much so as the Spanish nation itself. The superior culture of the Spaniard gave him no right to these lands without indemnifying the individual owners, — no more than the English have to China, or the Dutch to Turkey; no more than the New Englanders would have to seize Spain and Italy at this day. The Spaniard could not plead necessity, like the Pilgrims, — poor, persecuted, and just escaped from the ocean, — who took a fish and some corn in their extremity, when they landed on Cape Cod, and carefully paid for both when, months afterwards, they found the owners! Oppression never planted a single Spaniard in America. The Moors were not allowed to migrate thither, under the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella. The Spaniards did not attempt or pretend to buy a title to the land. Their claim was the claim of the pirate. It is true, the Pope, as Head of the Human Race, Trustee for all mankind, and Vicegerent of Almighty God, gave a title to America. Could Cortés and the others hold under that? Mr. Prescott thinks they could satisfy their own consciences in that way, and though the conveyance were worthless in itself, they would be

subjectively in the right. But the Pope gave a grant of lands subject to this condition: the Heathen must be converted. If that were not done, the title failed through breach of covenant. We shall see how this was attended to.

Mr. Prescott says the desire of converting the natives was "paramount to every calculation of personal interest in the breast of Cortés." (Vol. II., p. 32 et al.) We are amazed at a statement so gratuitous and irreconcilable with the facts of the case; we should say that the calculation of personal interest was always paramount to the desire of converting the natives. Mr. Prescott says, "There was nothing which the Spanish government had more earnestly at heart, than the conversion of the Indians." (Vol. I., p. 269.) We wish there were some facts to sustain the assertion. It is true, a pretence was often made of a desire to Christianize the Indians. Velasquez instructs Cortés "to bear in mind, above all things, that the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart, was the conversion of the Indians"; he was, however, to impress on them the grandeur and goodness of his royal master, and to invite them "to give in their allegiance to him, and to manifest it by regaling him with such comfortable presents of gold, pearls, and precious stones, as, by showing their good will, would secure his favor and protection." Imagine, oh gentle or simple readers, imagine the American board of foreign missionaries sending out their servants to China with such instructions, asking for "comfortable presents" of silks, and Sycee silver, and tea! Imagine, also, the admiration of the Castilian court, if Cortés had believed that "the conversion of the Indians" was "the object which the Spanish monarch had most at heart," and had converted the whole of Mexico, overturned every idol, sending them all as trophies to his "most noble, powerful, and catholic prince, invincible emperor, and our sovereign lord," planted the cross on every *teocalli*, but the Spanish flag nowhere, and had not sent home a single ounce of gold, nor gained an inch of land! Imagine the honors, the triumphal processions, that would have been his welcome home to old Castile! Mr. Prescott, in the very teeth of facts, maintains that Cortés took this part of his instructions to the letter, and with him that the conversion of the natives was paramount "to every calculation of personal interest." His "first object" says Mr. Prescott, "was to reclaim the natives from their gross idolatry, and to substitute a purer form of worship. . . . He was prepared to use

force if milder means should prove ineffectual." (Vol. I., p. 269.) He felt "he had a high mission to perform as a soldier of the cross." Cortés comes to St. Juan de Ulloa, as it is now called, and invites the natives "to abandon their cursed idols, abolish human sacrifices, and abstain from kidnapping." Every body knows the fable of the Fox turned Preacher; it is less remarkable than the historical and kindred fable of Cortés turned Missionary.

This confessor of the Faith, this missionary of the Lord, this great first apostle to the Gentiles of Tenochtitlan, comes to Tabasco, full of war and Christianity, resolved, as Mr. Prescott confesses, to build

> "his faith upon
> The holy text of pike and gun."

The natives opposed the entrance of armed strangers, as the Dutch or the Portuguese would have done. Cortés made proclamation, and assured them that "if blood were spilt, the sin would lie on their heads." They answered with shouts of defiance and a shower of arrows. He took the town, and two days after had a severe battle with the inhabitants of the country. Of course the Spaniards were victorious, and the Indians suffered great loss: some say one thousand were slain, some thirty thousand. The battle was fought on Lady Day, the day of the miraculous conception of the Mother of God, The battle was a good type of the "annunciation" brought by this new Gabriel to the American Virgin. As the primitive Christians, it is said, had miraculous assistance in wielding their spiritual weapons, so these devout heralds of the faith, "soldiers of the cross," and "followers of the Lamb," had aid from on high — a celestial champion "mounted on his grey war-horse, heading the rescue, and trampling over the bodies of the fallen infidels!" Cortés thought it was his own tutelary saint, — Saint Peter, a patron not wholly unsuitable for such a client, — "but," says Pizarro y Orellana, "the common and indubitable opinion is, that it was our glorious apostle, Saint James, the bulwark and safeguard of the nation." After the battle the Indians were "converted," and the event celebrated on Palm Sunday. "Behold thy King cometh unto thee meek," must have been sung with great unction that sabbath morn, and the lesson for the day, "Come unto me, ye that labor and are heavy laden," must have delighted Saint Peter and Saint James, heard "in this con-

nection!" A city was afterwards built on the battle-field; its name commemorates the day, the deed, and the Christianity of these apostles — Saint Mary of Victory!

At Cempoalla Cortés tried his hand at the delightful work of conversion; the Indian monarch, however, declared his own gods were good enough for him, and he could not comprehend how the creator of the universe "could condescend to take the form of humanity, with its infirmities and ills, and wander about the earth, the voluntary victim of . . . . those whom his breath had called into existence." Poor benighted heathen! To Cortés this was easy as drawing his sword. However, the nation was converted — at least the temples. Here, though not for the first or last time, — for "the things that are seen are temporal" and require to be renewed, — these devout apostles received a foretaste of their reward, in the form of "eight Indian maidens, richly dressed, wearing collars and ornaments of gold, with a number of female slaves to wait on them." The chief requested that they might become wives to the Spanish captains. "Cortés received the damsels courteously," such was his zeal for Christianity, "but told the cacique they must first be baptized." "*Porque manera no era permitido á hombres, hijos de la Iglesia di Dios, tener commercio con idolatras!*" Similar comforters were frequently "added to their number." Bernal Diaz, a very plain-spoken old soldier, who cared not over much for the souls of the heathen, mentions these things oftener than Mr. Prescott. Cortés himself, in virtue of his apostolic dignity, we suppose, or as head of the new church, took the right "to lead about" the celebrated Marina, — not without other helpmeets, we think, — an Indian woman who was of great service in the expedition.

This band of missionaries went to Cholula, and massacred the inhabitants, who had been previously assembled in a narrow place convenient for the slaughter. A portion of the town was burnt, and, as Cortés himself says, three thousand of the inhabitants put to death. Herrera makes the number six thousand, and others yet greater. Mr. Prescott is far from justifying the deed, yet he endeavours to excuse the conduct of Cortés: these were heathens; religious infidelity was thought a sin to be punished with fire and faggot in this life, and eternal suffering in the next. But if it is believed that death sends a man to eternal torment, a "soldier of the cross" would hesitate a little before butchering six thousand

men. Las Casas adds that he burnt alive more than one hundred caciques whom he had craftily got into his hands, and that while the city was on fire, it was said that Cortés repeated a snatch of poetry, comparing himself to Nero looking down from the Tarpeian rock on the burning of Rome, and caring not for the screams of the children and the old men. This story seems less probable to Mr. Prescott than to us. After thus introducing himself to the Cholulans, Cortés "urged the citizens to embrace the cross" and abandon their false gods.

When Cortés had his first interview with Montezuma, he told the monarch that the Christians had come to snatch his soul and the souls of his people from the flames of eternal fire. The Mexican king must have thought them remarkable men for such a mission. When about to advance to the siege of Mexico, Cortés tells his soldiers that "the conversion of the heathen is the work most acceptable in the eye of the Almighty, and one that will be sure to receive his support"; that without this the war would be unjust, and all they might gain by it, robbery. When a new king was established at Tezcuco, Cortés placed several Spaniards about him, ostensibly to instruct him in their language and religion, but really as spies to watch over his conduct and prevent his correspondence with the Mexicans.

The Spanish apostles had one mode of distinguishing their converts and catechumens from such as had not fallen into their hands which we do not find practised by the evangelists of other nations: *they branded their captives with a hot iron.* The letter G. was thus indelibly burnt upon them, to denote that they were the spoils of war, (*guerra.*) Diaz mentions the branding of the captives a great deal oftener than Mr. Prescott; on several occasions it was done to "a vast number of the inhabitants," and again "great numbers were led away into slavery and marked *in the face* with a red hot iron." (Cap. 130, 154, et saep.) This hateful torment was burned upon the women as well as the men; even upon the faces of the women who were to serve as temporary "wives" to the conquerors, who, it seems, were not always so anxious to ensure their baptism as their branding.

The motive of the conquerors was love of conquest and plunder. This is plain enough in the despatches of Cortés. Diaz makes no concealment of the fact: he wished the land to be divided as follows: one fifth for the king, one fifth for

the church, and the rest among the conquerors, according to their rank and merits. (Cap. 169.) As the conquerors who survived the conquest could not have been more than five or six hundred, they would have been pretty well paid for two or three years' service. But what would be left for the converted natives? Heaven in the next life and slavery in this.

The design of the conquerors is made plain by the invasion itself, by their conduct during the war, and by the institutions they established after it was over: they wanted the property and the persons of the Mexicans. They took both, perhaps with as little ferocity and as much decorum as any nation could rob and enslave another. The plea of a desire to convert the Indians is a poor defence and unworthy of an historian like Mr. Prescott. It would be better rhetoric, as well as truer and more honest, to say: these were hard, iron men, with rather less than the average intelligence, morality, and piety of their nation; they went to Mexico, led thither by love of adventure, love of fame, of power, or of gold; they only pretended to care for the souls of the men whose property they plundered, whose daughters they debauched, whose persons they stole or slew!

Certainly they were very remarkable heralds of Christianity. By steel and gunpowder they subdued kingdoms, wrought unrighteousness, obtained promises. They wandered about in steel caps, dragging their artillery after them, impoverishing, afflicting, tormenting. They routed armies; cities they overthrew and turned upside down; captives they took and branded in the name of God. As an earnest of their reward, they had female slaves without number, the first fruits of them that believe, and having satiated their avarice and their lust, and obtained a good report through the blood of their victims, they received the promises, the heritage of the heathen; yea, such was the reward of all those blessed apostles — of whom the world was not worthy — horse, foot, and dragoons.

Some conquerors have a great Idea, and for the sake of that do deeds which revolt the moral sense of mankind. Such men have some excuse for their violent dealing with the world, in the service they render; they esteem themselves men of destiny, and in behalf of their Idea go forth through seas of blood of their own shedding. Smiting with the sword, it is not for themselves they smite. Thus there is some defence for Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, and Charlemagne; for Napoleon and for Cromwell; even Frederic the Great was not a mere

fighter. But Cortés cannot be put in this class. He had no Idea in advance of his age; in all but courage and military skill he appears behind his times. No noble thought, no lofty sentiment seems to have inspired him; none such breathes in his words or deeds. Mr. Prescott says he was not a "mere fighter," but we see nothing else that can be said to distinguish him from the rest of men. He was one of the most vulgar of fighters; he loved the excitement of adventurous deeds; he sought vulgar fame, and vulgar wealth and power, by vulgar means for vulgar ends. Few distinguished conquerors were so ignoble. He came among the red men of America, they began by calling him a god, and ended with hating him as the devil. In the hot region of Mexico he was treated with great kindness; his companions "experienced every alleviation that could be desired from the attentions of the friendly nations." They made more than a thousand booths for the Spaniards, and freely gave provisions for Cortés and his officers. Montezuma sent to learn who we were, says Diaz, and what we wanted for our ships; we were only to tell what we wanted, and they were to furnish it. The Indians who attached themselves to his standard were faithful; of the Tlascalans only Xicotencatl proved untrue. But Cortés was crafty, insidious, and deceitful. He fomented discontent; he encouraged the disaffected nations to rely on his protection, "as he had come to redress their wrongs," while he came to steal their possessions and their persons. He told his own soldiers they were to fight against rebels who had revolted from their liege lord; against barbarians, the enemies of Christianity; to fight the battles of the cross, to obtain riches and honor in this life and imperishable glory in Heaven.

He was unjust to his own soldiers, seizing more than his share of the booty. Diaz complains of this oftener than Mr. Prescott; even the food was sometimes unjustly divided. (Diaz, Cap. 105 et al.) Did the soldiers complain, Cortés made a speech full of "the most honeyed phrases and arguments most specious," (*palabras muy mellifluas, ... razones muy bien dichas.*) Some he bribed into silence with gold, others with promises; some he put in chains. Were the captives to be divided, he not only selected first the king's fifth thereof and his own, but the finest of the women were secretly set apart, so that, as one of these missionaries complains, (Diaz, Cap. 135,) the common soldiers found only "old and ugly women" left for them. After the spoil was divided in

this unjust fashion, he would not always allow the soldiers to keep their scanty share, but once demanded one third of it back again, and insisted that if it were not restored, he would take the whole. Under pretence of loans, he extorted a good deal from his own soldiers — a circumstance which injured him much, says Diaz. Mr. Prescott thinks such occasions were "critical conjunctures which taxed all the address and personal authority of Cortés. He never shrank from them, but on such occasions was true to himself." (Vol. II., p. 207.) But truth to himself was falseness to his soldiers. He would violate his word to them for the sake of more plunder. Much as they honored and feared him, few loved him much, and in one of his most trying times, says the same old soldier we have often quoted, they all grudged him a handful of maize to stay his hunger. (Cap. 156.)

Cortés was needlessly cruel; this appears in the slaughter at Tabasco, and in the massacre at Cholula, which even Mr. Prescott thinks a dark stain on the memory of the conquerors. His punishments often appear wanton: — he orders a man to be killed for stealing a pair of fowls, another for speaking angrily to Montezuma; he has the feet of his pilot chopped off for some offence; he took fifty Tlascalans who came to his camp as spies, cut off their hands, and sent them home. The friendly Indians were curious to see the Spaniards, and came too near the lines of their encampment, and Cortés coolly relates that fifteen or twenty of them were shot down by the sentries. Mr. Prescott excuses this: the "jealousy of the court and the cautions he had received from his allies . . . seem to have given an unnatural acuteness . . . to his perceptions of danger." (Vol. II., p. 59.) After the conquest an insurrection took place and was speedily put down; four hundred chiefs were sentenced to the stake or the gibbet, "by which means," says Cortés, "God be praised, the safety of the Spaniards was secured." He burnt alive some of Montezuma's officers, who were guilty of no offence but that of obeying their king; at the same time he punished Montezuma for giving them the order. He tortured the members of Guatemozin's household, putting boiling oil upon their feet. This great apostle to the Gentiles put Guatemozin himself and the cacique of Tacuba to the torture — not exactly to save his soul, "so as by fire," but to get his gold. Afterwards, on a groundless suspicion, he treacherously hung them both. Mr. Prescott shows little horror at these cruelties, little sense

of their injustice; nay, he seems to seek to mitigate the natural indignation which a man feels at such tyranny of the strong over the weak. We confess our astonishment that an historian who thinks the desire of converting the heathen was the paramount motive in the breast of Cortés, has no more censure to bestow on such wanton cruelties, so frequently perpetrated as they were. The soldiers of the cross, going on their mission of mercy, to snatch the Indians from the fires of hell, dress the wounds of their horses with melted fat cut from the bodies of the natives they were to convert (Diaz, Cap. 34); Mr. Prescott makes no comment. Cortés has the slaves branded with a hot iron in the cheek. Diaz mentions this more than ten times; Mr. Prescott but twice, and then has no word to say — more than if they had been baptized with water.

The massacre at Cholula was terrible as it was needless and wanton. "More than three thousand of the enemy perished in ten hours," says Cortés. Mr. Prescott confesses this has "left a dark stain on the memory of the conquerors," that he does not intend to vindicate their cruel deeds, and then undertakes to excuse this very cruelty. We confess our astonishment at such an excuse. (Vol. II., 29—36.)

The massacre at Mexico, after the capture of the city, was terrible. We will not dwell upon it, nor recount its bloody details. Cortés had destroyed town after town; army after army had he swept off. It is within bounds to say that half a million men had been put to the sword since the Spaniards came thither, desirous above all things to convert their precious souls; now the mighty capital — the centre of civilization in North America, whose influence had been felt from the Mexique Gulf to the Bay of Fundy, along either shore of the continent — has fallen; Guatemozin is captured; the wide rich empire lies submissive at his feet; Cortés himself — all iron as he was and smeared with guiltless blood — is moved with compassion; the nation is to be blotted out. But Mr. Prescott has no sympathy with the Mexicans; nay, he pauses to avert the sympathy of other men, interposing his shield of ice between the victim and the compassion of mankind. He says:

"We cannot regret the fall of an empire which did so little to promote the happiness of its subjects or the real interests of humanity." "The Aztecs were emphatically a fierce and brutal race, little calculated, in their best aspects, to excite our sympathy and regard. Their civilization, such as it was, was not their

own, but reflected, perhaps imperfectly, from a race whom they had succeeded. . . . It was a generous graft on a vicious stock, and could have brought no fruit to perfection. They ruled over their wide domains with a sword instead of a sceptre. They did nothing in any way to ameliorate the condition, or in any way promote the progress, of their vassals. Their vassals were serfs, used only to minister to their pleasure." (Vol. III., pp. 215, 216.)

"The feeble light of civilization," he says, "was growing fainter and fainter." He gives not a single fact to warrant this latter statement, but even if it were true, the Spaniards did not mend the matter by overturning the candlestick and putting their bloody heel on the flickering torch. He attempts to remove any little compassion which may linger in his reader's heart: the Mexicans were guilty of human sacrifices; they also were cannibals. True, and it is a horrible thing to think of; but think of the butcheries committed by the Spaniards, also in the name of God; try each nation by its light, and which is the worse — the cannibal or the Christian? Mr. Prescott tries to excuse the barbarities of the conquerors: when any of the inhabitants fell into their hands, "they were kindly entertained, their wants supplied, and every means taken to infuse into them a spirit of conciliation." The sad shades of Montezuma and Guatemozin — what will they say to that? Diaz informs us of the "means taken" in many an instance. They were reduced to slavery, branded with a hot iron in the cheek. This was the kindly entertainment they met with from those Christian missionaries, who held their lands on condition of converting the natives. We might naturally look for justice from an American writer, with no national prejudice to blind him. But no, his sympathy is wholly with the conquerors; the Spirit of Chivalry is mightier with him than the Spirit of Humanity. Bustamente, however, spite of the Spanish blood in his veins, writing on the spot made famous by the deeds of Cortés and his followers, wishes a monument might be erected to Guatemozin, on the spot where he was taken captive, and an inscription thereon to "devote to eternal execration the detested memory of those banditti." The work is needless; themselves have erected a monument "more lasting than brass," telling of their power and their prowess, but also of their more than heathen cruelty, their tyranny, and their shame. The rhetoric of Mr. Prescott cannot hide them from the justice of mankind.

We have little to say of the subsequent career of Cortés. He made a bold and desperate expedition to the southern part of North America, enduring wonderful hardships, fighting with his usual skill and courage. Mexico was settled by hungry Spaniards, the natives mainly reduced to slavery. Cortés became rich and powerful. He was accused before the Emperor, and defended himself. He received great honors in Spain, when he returned thither. He settled down on an estate in Mexico. He died at length in Spain, but in his will expresses doubts "whether one can conscientiously hold property in Indian slaves." Mr. Prescott writes the eulogy of his hero, which we have not space to criticize. But there are two ways of judging such a man: one is that of Humanity. Here the inquirer looks over the whole field of history, impartially weighs the good and ill of a man, allows for his failings if they belong to his age, and detracts from his individual merits if they also are held in common with the mass of men, but judges the age and its institutions by the standard of absolute justice. This is the work of the philosophic historian. The other way is that of Personal Admiration of the hero. We are sorry to say that Mr. Prescott has taken the latter course. Crime is one thing; but the theory which excuses, defends, justifies crime is quite a different thing, is itself not to be justified, defended, or excused. We are sorry to add the name of Mr. Prescott to the long list of writers who have a theory which attempts to justify the crime against mankind, the tyranny of Might over Right. We are sorry to say of this work in general, and on the whole, that it is not written in the Philosophy of this age, and, still worse, not in the Christianity, the wide Humanity, which is of mankind. We know this is a severe judgment, and wish we might be mistaken in pronouncing it, but such are the facts.

Mr. Prescott has little sympathy with the natives. Marina, unmarried and a captive, becomes the concubine of Cortés, a married man and a conqueror. Her religion allowed the connection, it was not uncommon; his religion forbade it, and he was living "in mortal sin." She seems to have loved him truly and with all her heart. To him she was a useful instrument, personally as his concubine, politically as his interpreter and diplomatic agent. Mr. Prescott says, "she had her errors, as we have seen." (Vol. I., p. 297.) The only error he alludes to was her connection with Cortés, not held unlawful, against nature or custom, there; but no censure is passed

on Cortés, though he had a wife at Cuba. When his wife dies, Marina might be lawfully married to him, if he would; she had borne him a son, the unfortunate Don Martin Cortés. But he did not want an Indian woman for his wife, whatever might be her services, her love for him, or the connection between them, or the children she had borne him. He must wed one of the titled dames of Spain, daughter of the Count de Aguilar, beautiful and "much younger than himself," and Cortés "gave Marina away to a Castilian knight, Don Juan Xamarillo, to whom she was wedded as his lawful wife," says Mr. Prescott, who makes no comment on this transaction, and does not even mention it as one of the "errors" of his hero!

Mr. Prescott takes sides with the Spaniards, passes over much of their cruelty in silence, and often apologizes for what he relates, suggesting some idle circumstance which takes off the edge of indignation from the reader, careless, superficial, and requiring a moral stimulus from his instructor. In his narrative he degrades the Mexicans fighting for their homes and the altars of their gods, not less fondly cherished than the homes and the faith of Christians. The Spaniards are brave, chivalrous, heroic. Their victims, he tells us, "filled the air with wild cries and howlings like a herd of *ravenous wolves disappointed of their prey.*" (Vol. III., p. 117.) In the attack on Mexico, a Spanish ensign narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his foe: "*The barbarians,*" says Mr. Prescott, "*set up a cry of disappointed rage.*" (P. 146.) Again, at sight of the enemy and of the sacrifice of prisoners going on in the temple, the Mexicans "*like vultures maddened by the smell of distant carrion, . . . set up a piercing cry.*" (P. 155.) The efforts of Guatemozin to defend his capital were "*menaces and machinations*" (p. 162); the Mexicans "*raged with impotent anger*, as they beheld their lordly edifices, their temples, all they had been accustomed to venerate, thus swept away." (P. 171.) If we remember aright, the Jews mourned a little when Zion was trodden under foot of the nations, but we should not envy the heart of the historian who should say of the Jeremiahs of that time, that they "raged with impotent anger." Even Cortés thought it a sad sight, (*Que era lástima cierto de lo ver,*) "but we were forced to it." When driven to despair, some Mexicans, valiant as Leonidas,

"in the public breach devoted stood,
And for their country's cause were prodigal of blood."

They would not ask for mercy; Mr. Prescott says they "*glared on the invaders with the sullen ferocity of the wounded tiger*, that the huntsman has tracked to his forest cave." (P. 176.) Even the heroism of Guatemozin is only a "*haughty spirit.*"

The Spaniards established a form of slavery worse than that of the heathens. If the Mexicans did little for their vassals — what did their conquerors do? Mr. Prescott passes over the horrors of the slavery established there; excuses the founders for their offence: Columbus had done the same! "Three Hieronymite friars and an eminent Jesuit, all men of learning and unblemished piety," were sent out to investigate the condition of the natives. They justified slavery: the Indians would not work without compulsion; unless they worked, they would not be connected with the whites, and without that connection would not be "converted," and of course not "saved." Slavery, therefore, was their only road to escape damnation. We must confess our amazement that a man of liberal culture, in the midst of a Christian country, writing of such cruelties as the Spaniards practised on their victims, reducing millions of freemen to such a condition, should have no more condemnation for such atrocities. How shall we explain the fact? Can it be that the commercial atmosphere of Boston had stifled the natural and nobler breath of the historian? We know not.

There was one Spaniard who steadfastly opposed the enslaving of the Indians — the Dominican Las Casas, a man who all his life sought continually one great end, the welfare of the Indians. Mr. Prescott bestows well-deserved encomiums upon him; often praises him; yet we think he is the only author of all whom Mr. Prescott quotes that can complain of the smallest injustice at his hands.

It now remains to speak briefly of the form of the work. The division into books and chapters is sufficiently good. The style is clear and simple, though a little less carefully labored than in his earlier work. The references are abundant, and, so far as we have examined them, distinguished by the same accuracy which we noticed in the former History. Occasionally there is a little harmless pedantry. Thus, (Vol. I., p. 287,) in the text, he says, that Cortés told his men to aim at the faces of the foe, and in the margin quotes Lucan, to remind us that the veterans of Cæsar hit the dandies of Pompey's

army in the same way. But such things are rare, and by no means disagreeable.

He often refers events to Providence which other men would be content with ascribing to human agency. Thus he says, "it was beneficently ordered by Providence that the land [of the Mexicans] should be delivered over to another race, who would rescue it from the brutish superstitions that daily extended wider and wider." (Vol. I., p. 85.) But in the same manner "it was beneficently ordered by Providence" that merchant ships should be delivered over to Admiral Drake, or Captain Kidd; that the Indians of Massachusetts should butcher the white men at Deerfield, and the whites should carry the head of King Philip on a pole into Plymouth and sell his family into slavery. Again, speaking of Cortés, he tells us, "Providence reserved him for higher ends," and that he was "the instrument selected by Providence to scatter terror among the barbarian monarchs of the western world, and lay their empire in the dust." (Pp. 236, 260.) Montezuma "was the sad *victim of destiny.*" (Vol. II., p. 351.) But all this providential action is in behalf of the invaders. *Causa victrix placet diis.*

The figures of speech are commonplace; we do not remember one that is original, except that already quoted, in which the Mexicans are compared to "vultures *maddened* by the smell of distant carrion." Few of them are elegant or expressive enough to deepen the impression of the simple statement of the fact. One figure, to "*spread like wildfire,*" which is a favorite in the History of Spain, appears also and frequently in this work. Others are poor and common: — to crowd "like a herd of deer," or a "*herd* of wolves"; to be "pale as death"; to "rush like a torrent"; to swarm "like famished harpies," and to be led "like sheep to the slaughter." They add little to the freshness or beauty of the style, and do not impress us very forcibly with the originality of the author.

Here we take leave of the historian, for the present, with the same impression as that left on us by the former work.*

* See No. VI. of this journal, Art. IV., p. 248, *ad finem.*

Art. V.—ANGELUS SILESIUS, THE CHERUBIC PILGRIM.

Religion is the life and soul of any age and of any man, even of those we are apt to charge with indifferentism or atheism. But the soul is often so locked up in the body, like the spark in the flint, that it requires the hard steel-stroke of adversity to draw it forth. Hence it comes that periods which in all other respects are most barren and desolate, not uncommonly exhibit the tree of religious life in fullest bloom.

German History presents no drearier page than that of the first half of the seventeenth century. The empire distracted with a long and furious civil and religious war; Emperors and Princes, Catholics and Protestants, South and North, in arms against each other; the peasant and citizen pillaged and tortured and murdered by a cruel and lawless soldiery, headed by cruel and lawless generals; the stranger invading the frontiers; Swedish and French armies lording it on German ground, and laying waste the land; the national glory and honor stained; the Church of Christ profaned; all laws, human and divine, trodden under foot by a cruel, avaricious, hypocritical selfishness, which, vainly trying to slake its thirst, was deluging the country with blood. And yet, in the midst of this waste howling wilderness, where all obscene and angry passions, like so many jackals and hyenas, were prowling about, we find here and there an oasis, full of refreshing shade, and watered with a clear fresh spring, around which sweetest flowers were blowing, breathing their perfume into the desert air. Poetry, faithful to her mission of bliss, was still there to throw her magic veil over the dreary desert, to sing the weary and disconsolate heart to sleep, and with her enchanter's wand called up before the dreaming eye a perspective of peace and happiness, which, like a sloping Jacob's ladder, began on earth, but gradually lost itself in heaven. Never since the times of the Minnesingers, that is, during more than three hundred years, had Germany possessed such a number of good and earnest men, who, if they were not poets in the highest sense of the word, could at least, without arrogance, apply to themselves the words of Goethe:

> "Und wenn der Mensch in seiner Qual verstummt
> Gab mir ein Gott zu *sagen* was ich leide."
> Whilst other men are dumb with stifling anguish,
> A God gave me to *speak* and *sing* my woe.

Opitz, Fleming, Gryphius, Logan, Spee, Simon Dach, Gerhard, constitute a new era in the history of German poetry. The night was dark indeed; but there were some bright and blessed stars which pierced the black cloud-wall, and shone as "lights in darkness," giving assurance to the doubting heart that, though veiled for the moment, heaven and its hopes still remained. Such were those deep and earnest spirits who, from the inwardness and unearthliness of their life and the twilight glimmerings in their thinking, now in praise and now in blame, have been called Mystics.

The natural tendency of all life, when left to its own impulse, is to unfold itself like the flower and to pour the ripened energies of body and soul into the lap of mother Earth. But when, as in the times we were speaking of, this inward impulse meets with outward obstacles, when a cold and stormy world checks and chills the genial current of the soul; then the soul — for live and act it must, in spite of all obstacles, — recoils upon itself, and turns inwards its faculties, its eyes and hands, which had been turned outwards, and tries to realize, in an ideal world of its own, the plans which it could not realize in the actual.

"Ist die Welt gleich kalt und enge,
Bleibt das Herz doch warm und weit,
Aussen tobt das Zeitgedränge,
Innen blüht mir Ewigkeit."

Though the world be cold and narrow,
Yet the heart is warm and free;
Wild without the times are storming,
Blooms within Eternity.

It is but natural that we should know little about the outward circumstances of men who were dead to the world and whose life was hid in God.

The few notices we have been able to gather concerning the man whose name heads this article, and who occasioned these introductory remarks, are contained in the following lines.

JOHANNES SCHEFFLER, generally called by his adopted literary name, JOHANNES ANGELUS SILESIUS, was born about the year 1624, in a town of Silesia, it is uncertain whether in Breslau or Glatz. His parents were Lutherans, and he was, accordingly, brought up in the doctrines of that church. But his deep and fervent soul could not long be satisfied with the barren formulas of school theology and the idle logomachies

into which Lutheranism, soon after the death of its great founder, had degenerated. He was thirsting for the living water of an inward, heart-regenerating religion, and he therefore turned from the dead stone churches of the acknowledged creed to the living Spirit's Temple of the Mystic. With a godly daring, he plunged himself into the dark deep of a Tauler, Eckard, Suso, Ruysbroek, Schwenkfeld, and, above all, Jacob Boehme, and lo! the darkness became light to him, and many a pearl of priceless value brought he up with him from the bottom.

He had been studying Medicine. As soon as he had taken the Doctor's degree, he went to Holland, where Mysticism had found a more genial soil than even in Germany, and where particularly the writings of Jacob Boehme had gathered around them a number of fervent and enthusiastic disciples. Angelus was here in his element, and it was with the greatest regret he tore himself away from so congenial a circle when his circumstances required his return home. Had he before been dissatisfied with Lutheranism, he became a thousand times more so when his experience in the liberal Holland enabled him to form a contrast. He was sick of the dryness, heartlessness, and inconsistency of Protestant theology, and of the arrogance, petulance, and intolerance of the Protestant clergy. When, shortly after his return, he became physician in ordinary to the duke of Wurtemberg-Oels, he began to give a public expression to his sentiments. This brought him in violent collision with the clergy of Oels, and a quarrel arose, which was carried on with such bitterness that Angelus, led by his exasperation, was induced to take a step that decided his course for life, and which, though we may be able to account for, we can by no means approve of. He turned Catholic.

For a spirit who had stood on the height which some of his poems evince, this was indeed a lamentable fall. We should be grossly misunderstood if we were thought to mean by this that Catholicism is worse than Protestantism,—very far from that; but Angelus had known something which was infinitely better than either. However, we have all had our hours of weakness, when many a divine word, addressed to us from within or without, seems to us "a hard saying, who can bear it?" and when the "worship of God in spirit and in truth" seemed too high and transcendental for the slave of custom and the creature of flesh; we might pardon poor Angelus, had he only found in the bosom of Mater Ecclesia that peace

and rest which he had vainly sought for amongst the Protestant sects. But alas! we have but too much reason to doubt it. The intolerant and fanatic tone which embitters his polemical tracts written after he joined the church, exhibit a sad contrast with the heavenly peace and cheerfulness that breathe through his poesies which were composed a long time before, and shows — what so often since has been shown by similar cases — that the best heart and the strongest head are not proof against the baneful influence of a heart-chilling, mind-narrowing church creed.

After many vicissitudes, which carried him at last to the court of Emperor Ferdinand the Third in Vienna, he took priest's orders, and toward the end of his life, he sought a retirement in the convent of Saint Mathias, where he changed this world of strife and doubt for the better one, July 9th, 1677.

All the really valuable works of Angelus had been written, as above said, before he joined the Church of Rome; that is, when he was neither Catholic nor Protestant, but Christian. It is true, we use the latter word in a sense in which hardly any established church ever either claimed or deserved the title. We have several collections of religious poetry by him which, for the most part, are tainted with the same defects which disfigured the religious poetry of that age, no more in Germany than elsewhere, (that of the English Quarles, Crashaw, and even the excellent George Herbert,) but particularly in the Catholic countries of Spain and Italy — quaintness of tone, wit, and expression, a sickly sentimentality, and a childish toying with symbols. However, his defects he shared with his times, his excellences were his own. Even in those collections we spoke of there are some which, in the intenseness of a pure and heavenly love, and in the sweet and melodious flow of the versification, are only rivalled by the spiritual songs of Luis Ponce de Leon and Novalis.

But the chief work of Angelus, that in which he laid down the law of all his deepest living and thinking, and on which his fame as a theosophical Poet is mainly founded, is a collection of rhymed epigrams in six books, which bears this title: "*Johannis Angeli Silesii Cherubinischer Wandersmann, oder geistreiche Sinn-und Schlussreime zur göttlichen Beschaulich keit anleitende;*" that is — The Cherubic Pilgrim, or spiritual Rhymes and Epigrams, teaching a life of Divine Contemplation.

We venture to say that there are but few volumes in any language, particularly in rhyme, which contain within so short

a compass such a number of thoughts, the deepest, wisest, and holiest, expressed in a form so concise, so transparent, and unavoidable.] Many a one of them might be fitly called *nardi parvus onyx*, containing the quintessence of a thousand leaves written with theology and philosophy; they are all "apples of gold in dishes of silver."

The religion preached therein is indeed not that of Protestantism or Catholicism, of Bible or Tradition, but that of the Everlasting Gospel, preached and confirmed by that divine and humane Spirit of Wisdom which in all ages, entering into holy souls, made them friends of Gods and prophets.

The preaching of Angelus, in common with that of all his brother Mystics, is distinguished by the following characteristics:

1. Rejection of all outward authority, be it that of men or books, of bibles or councils, of popes or reformers. The Jewish bibliolatry of the Protestant churches was no less an abomination to them than the heathenish idolatry of the Catholics and their belief in the infallibility of councils and popes. They acknowledged no authority but that of the Holy Spirit revealing himself in the hearts of men.

Novalis says: "The Holy Ghost must be our teacher of Christianity, not a dead, earthly, equivocal letter."

And Jacob Boehme: "The written word is but an instrument whereby the Spirit leadeth us to itself within us." "Your councils and synods, (speaking to the priests,) your canons and articles, your laws and ordinances, are all mere devilish presumption. The spirit of God in Christ will not be bound to any laws of men."

2. Rejection of all mere historical belief in the great facts of Christianity. The life of Christ, according to them, has a symbolical meaning, and only when thus understood and applied, does it become of value and benefit to us. Our belief must wear itself out in a faithful reproduction; that is, imitation of Christ's life.

Jacob Boehme says: "Christianity doth not consist in the mere knowing of the history and applying the knowledge thereof, saying that Christ died for us and hath paid the ransom for us, so that we need do nothing but comfort ourselves therewith and steadfastly believe that it is so. Christianity is no such cheap and comfortable thing. Only he is a true Christian who is born of Christ."

Our Angelus expresses but the mind of all his brethren when he says:

> "The cross on Golgotha can never save thy soul,
> The cross in thine own heart alone can make thee whole."

Regeneration — that supernatural new birth of the inner man which has been a mystery to all Pharisees, Priests, and Levites, ever since the days of Nicodemus down to their last-fashioned representative in a New England pulpit, that miraculous transubstantiation of the earthly into the heavenly through the all-melting power of a divine love — is the characteristic centre-doctrine of all Christian Mystics, from Saint John and Saint Paul to Jacob Boehme and Angelus.

Let me quote once more Jacob Boehme:

"Ye need not ask, Where is Christ? Is he in the baptism or in the supper? Is he in the reading of the Bible or in the hearing of the minister? Do but bend your heart, soul, and mind with all their strength unto Christ, that Christ may be born in you, and then ye have baptism and supper, Bible and minister within you in all places wheresoever ye are. Men tie us in these days to the history and to the material churches of stone, which are indeed good in their kind if men did also bring the temple of Christ into the Churches. But many a man goeth to church twenty or thirty years, heareth sermons and receiveth the sacraments, and yet is as much a beast of the devil at the last as at the first: a beast he goeth into the church, and a beast he cometh out from thence again. What good end doth it answer for me to go to the material churches of stone, and there to fill my ears with empty breath? Or to go to the supper, and feed nothing but the earthly mouth, which is mortal and corruptible? Cannot I feed and satisfy that with a piece of bread at home? What good doth it do the soul, which is an immortal life, to have the bestial man observe the form and venerate the shell of Christ's Institutions, if it cannot obtain the kernel thereof? Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.

"But the holy man, I mean the man who is born again, hath his church, wherein he heareth and teacheth, about him everywhere, — even in himself: for he always standeth and walketh, sitteth and lyeth down in his church. He liveth in the pure Christian Church, yea, in the true Temple of Christ. The Holy Ghost preacheth to him out of every creature. Whatsoever he looketh upon, he seeth a preacher of God therein."

3. Another characteristic in the preaching of the Mystics is their yearning for rest. God, according to them, is a blessed stillness.

Angelus dwells upon this in several of his Epigrams, as, for instance, —

> "Rest is the highest good, and if God was not rest,
> Then heaven would not be heaven, and angels not be blest."

4. And lastly, they lay a great stress upon a perfect union with God. This, which at first sight seems merely an explication of what was already implied in the doctrine of regeneration, they carry sometimes so far as to destroy all individual distinction, and utterly to annihilate every thing human in the all-absorbing fire-ocean of divinity. The last two characteristics the Christian Mystics have in common with the Persian Mystics, particularly with the greatest of them, Dschelaleddin Pumi. No one, however, went further than Angelus, who in some of his epigrams carries this pantheistic confounding of the human with the divine to such a pitch as appears to us absolutely sinful and blasphemous. A single glance upwards to the stormy sky might have confounded such arrogance, and brought our philosopher on his knees. For the love we bear him we have suppressed the worst of these stains in his otherwise pure and shining wings, and lest they might hold back from him the love which it is our wish to gain for him on this his first introduction to an English and American public. Let the reader judge him for the present only by the following specimens of his poetry and theosophy.

FROM THE CHERUBIC PILGRIM.

1.

What I am and what I shall be.

I am a stream of Time, running to God my sea,
But once I shall myself the eternal ocean be.

2.

The Dew and the Rose.

God's Spirit falls on me as dew drops on a rose,
If I but like a rose to him my heart unclose.

3.

The highest good.

Rest is the highest good; and if God was not Rest
Then Heaven would not be Heaven, and Angels not be blest.

4.

The Tabernacle.

The soul wherein God dwells — what church can holier be?
Becomes a walking tent of heavenly majesty.

5.

The Holy Night.

Lo! in the silent night a child to God is born,
And all is brought again that e'er was lost or lorn.
Could but thy soul, O man, become a silent night,
God would be born in thee and set all things aright.

6.

The Difference.

Ye know God but as lord, hence LORD his name with ye,
I feel him but as love, and LOVE, his name with me.

7.

The seasons of the soul.

Sin is Soul's Winterfrost; Repentance is the Spring;
Summer the mercy state, Autumn good works will bring.

8.

How far from here to Heaven?

How far from here to Heaven? Not very far, my friend,
A single hearty step will all thy journey end.

9.

Christ must be born in thee.

Though Christ a thousand times in Bethlehem be born,
If he 's not born in Thee, thy soul is still forlorn.

10.

The outward profiteth not.

The cross on Golgotha will never save thy soul,
The cross in thine own heart alone can make thee whole.

11.

Rise thyself from the dead!

Christ rose not from the dead, Christ still is in the grave,
If Thou, for whom he died, art still of sin the slave.

12.

Heaven within thee.

Hold there! where runnest thou? Know Heaven is in thee.
Seekst thou for God elsewhere, his face thou 'lt never see.

13.

The only want 's in thee.

Ah would thy heart but be a manger for the birth,
God would once more become a child upon this earth.

14.
See God in Thyself.
Pray thee, how looks my God? Go and thyself behold;
Who sees himself in God, sees God's own very mould.

15.
The soul God's image.
God's very image lies upon the soul imprest,
Happy who wears such coin, in purest linen drest.

16.
The heart encloses God.
Immeasurable is the Highest — who but knows it?
And yet a human heart can perfectly enclose it.

17.
The eyes of the soul.
Two eyes hath every soul; one into Time shall see,
The other bends its gaze into Eternity.

18.
The seasons of the day.
In Heaven is the day, in Hell below, the night;
'T is twilight here on Earth: consider this aright!

19.
The loveliest tone.
In all Eternity, no tone can be so sweet
As where man's heart with God in unison doth beat.

20.
Magnet and Steel.
God is a magnet strong, my heart, it is the steel,
'T will always turn to him, if once his touch it feel.

21.
The swiftest.
Love is the swiftest thing; it of itself can fly
Up to the highest Heaven, in the twinkling of an eye.

22.
The Rose.
The beauteous rose which here thine outward eye doth see,
Hath blossomed thus in God, from all Eternity.

23.

God in me and around me.

To Deity am I the cask which it doth fill,
And it is my deep sea that doth surround me still.

24.

Love's transubstantiation.

Whate'er thou lovest, man, that too become thou must:
God — if thou lovest God; Dust — if thou lovest dust.

25.

Time immemorial.

You ask how long it is since God himself begot?
Ah me! so very long, himself remembers not.

26.

The greatest riddle.

I know not what I am, I am not what I know,
A thing and not a thing, a point, and circle too.

27.

There is no Death.

I do n't believe in Death. If hour by hour I die,
'T is hour by hour to gain a better life thereby.

28.

How to become immortal.

Become substantial, man, for when the world shall die,
All accident shall pass, but substance will abie.

29.

"*The well is deep.*" — John, IV., 11.

Why shouldst thou cry for drink? The fountain is in thee
Which, so thou stopp'st it not, will flow eternally.

30.

Alas! why can we not?

Why can we not, we men, as birds do in the wood,
Mingle our voices too — a happy brotherhood?

31.

Love is not to be defined.

One only thing I love, yet know not what it is,
And that I know it not, makes it the greater bliss.

32.

The Holy of Holies.

No holier sanctuary on earth has ever been
Than in body chaste, a soul that 's void of sin.

33.

Quiet Love is strongest Love.

Love is like wine. When young, 't will boil and overflow;
The older it will grow the milder will it grow.

34.

The best preachers.

What is a sinless state? No priest can ever teach thee
What, eloquently dumb, the pious flowers will preach thee.

35.

Humble and free.

From lowly daisies learn, O men! how ye may be
Both good and beautiful, humble in heart and free.

36.

The rich Poor.

The old man swims in gold, yet talks of poverty.
He speaks but what is true, no poorer wretch than he.

37.

The most effectual prayer.

The sleep of his Beloved, much more with God will do,
Than when the wicked wake and pray the whole night through.

38.

There lives no Sinner.

There lives no sinner. "How? Is not this man a sinner?"
A sinner he may be, but he *lives* not, *as* sinner.

39.

To Theologians.

Within this span of time, God's name ye will unfold,
Which in Eternities can never quite be told.

40.

Divine passiveness.

Go out — God will go in; die thou and let him live,
Be not, and he will be; wait, and he 'll all things give.

41.

Self-will the fall of man.

If Christ had self-will left, though he be blest of all,
Believe me, Christ himself would fall in Adam's fall.

42.

Blessedness.

The soul that 's truly blest, knows not of selfishness:
She is one light with God, with God one Blessedness.

43.

Without a why.

The rose knows of no why. It blows because it bloweth,
And careless of itself, to all its beauties showeth.

44.

"The best part."

To work is good enough, still better is to pray,
The best—to love thy God, and not a word to say.

45.

God is a blessed stillness.

We pray "On earth, in heaven, O Lord be done thy will,"
And yet God has no will, but is forever still.

46.

Man transformed to God.

Before I was a Me, in God then was I God,
As soon as I shall die I shall again be God.

47.

Hell is where God is not.

If thou diest without God—though Christ gained Heaven for thee,
Thy life will be a Hell, wherever thou may'st be.

48.

God alone is great.

Nothing is great but God; Even Heaven's boundless hall
Is for a God-full soul much, O how much! too small.

49.

The finest sight.

Fair is Aurora, fair, but still a soul 's more fair,
When after a long night the sun, God, riseth there.

50.

Ignis fatuus.

Who runneth not with Love, will always run astray,
And ignis fatuus like, to Heaven not find the way.

51.

The noblest is the commonest.

The nobler is a thing, the commoner it will be.
The sun, the heavens, and God, what commoner than these three?

52.

The philosophical Janus.

Alternately I must, when at this world I peep,
Laugh with Democritus, with Heraclitus weep.

53.

The old ones like the young ones.

Thou smilest at the child that cryeth for his toys,
Are they less toys, old man, which cause thy griefs and joys?

54.

Sigh for God.

God is a mighty sea, unfathomed and unbound.
Oh in this blessed deep, may all my soul be drowned.

55.

The shortest way to God.

To bring thee to thy God, Love takes the shortest route;
The way which Knowledge leads, is but a roundabout.

56.

It is here!

Why travel over seas to find what is so near?
Love is the only good; love and be blessed here.

57.

God is no talker.

No one talks less than God, the all-creating Lord.
From all eternity he speaketh but one word.

58.

Descent to Hell.

Once, Christian, once like Christ, thou must to Hell descend.
Wilt thou like victor Christ, again to Heaven ascend.

59.

Neither without the other.

It must be done by both, God never without me,
I never without God, myself from Death can free.

60.

Drive out the world!

Drive out from thee the world, and then like God thou 'lt be,
A heaven within thyself in calm eternity.

61.

Spiritual Sun and Moon.

Be Jesus thou my sun, and let me be thy moon,
Then will my darkest night be changed to brightest noon.

62.

The sweetest meeting.

Whene'er in Spirits Deep my soul with God is meeting,
It seems as if one Love his second love was greeting.

63.

The Spiritual Mount.

I am a mount in God, and must myself ascend.
Shall God to speak to me, upon my top descend.

64.

Solitude.

We need the solitude; and yet in every place
A man may be alone, if *he 's* no commonplace.

65.

Life in Death.

In God alone is Life, without God is but Death.
An endless Godless life were but a life in Death.

66.

Like the doves, but like the serpents also.

That simpleness I prize, that seasoned is with wit.
A witless simpleness I value not a whit.

67.

Wisdom a child.

Ye ask how wisdom can thus play in children's guise?
Why wisdom *is* a child, so 's every man that 's wise.

68.

No Beauty without Love.

All Beauty comes of Love, God's very countenance,
If lighted not with Love, could never yield a glance.

69.

The Creature a Zero.

Creature preceding God, to nothing doth amount,
But place it after God, and 't will begin to count.

70.

Faith without Love.

Faith without Love aye makes the greatest roar and din:
The cask sounds loudest then when there is nought within.

71.

The second bliss in Heaven.

The greatest bliss in Heaven, is next to God's blest sight,
That into every heart we straight can see aright.

72.

No law for Love.

The Lover needs no law: he 'd love God quite as well
Were there no Heaven's reward, no punishment of Hell.

73.

The valley and the rain.

Let but thy heart, O Man! become a valley low,
And God will rain on it till it will overflow.

74.

Divine Music.

A quiet patient heart that meekly serves his Lord,
God's finger joys to touch; it is his harpsichord.

75.

Beware of the smoke!

The world is but a smoke. Therefore, if thou be wise,
Keep off, or, sure, it will blind thy spirit's eyes.

76.

Learn from the silkworm!

O Shame! A silk worm works and spins till it can fly,
And thou, my soul, wilt still on thine old earth-clod lie.

77.

The drops in the Sea.

Drops mingling with the sea will all become the Sea:
So souls when blent with God, will themselves God then be.

78.

Overboard!

Throw overboard, O soul, the world with all its goods,
Lest near the heavenly port thou perish in the flood.

79.

God is a wondrous thing.

God is a wondrous thing: he wills whate'er he is
And is whate'er he wills — the same in whirling bliss.

80.

How we can see God.

God dwelleth in a light far out of human ken.
Become thyself that light, and thou wilt see him then.

81.

God's Work and Rest.

God never yet has worked, nor did he ever rest,
His rest is aye his work, his work is aye his rest.

82.

"*The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.*"—Ps., CXI., 10.
With "Fear" we must begin, then next to Knowledge tend;
But only Love of God is Wisdom's perfect end.

83.

Great gifts and small receivers.

Our great God always would the greatest gifts impart,
If but his greatest gifts found not so small a heart.

84.

The workings of Love.

Love works the same as Death; it kills what kill it may,
But through the bursting heart the Spirit wings its way.

85.

True Philanthropy.

I love, but love not Men. Ye ask, "What lovest then?"
It is Humanity alone I love in men.

86.

Killing time.

Man, if the time on Earth should seem too long to thee,
Turn thee to God and live time-free eternally.

87.

The Crown of the Blessed.

What is the blessed prize? What crowns the victory?
It is the lily white of pure Divinity.

88.

Beginning and End.

Where can I my last end and first beginning find?
There where God's heart and mine themselves together bind.

89.

To the Reader.

Let, Reader, this suffice. But shouldst thou wish for more,
Then read in thine own heart a page of mystic lore.

ART. VI.—1. *Address of the Southern Delegates to their Constituents.*

2. *Address to the People of the Union on the subject of Slavery.*

3. *Letter to R. Pindell, Esq., on Emancipation:* H. CLAY.

4. *Lecture on the North and the South, by* ELLWOOD FISHER.

WE are almost amazed at the rapid sequence of events which have followed the demands for freedom for the enslaved. Never in the history of this nation has there been such a deep feeling of antagonism between its different interests. The clamor, which a few men comparatively unknown, except in this one connection, have raised, has attained a significance before which statesmen and politicians have been compelled to pause. Let it be then, as we are told, that the first beginnings for freedom could scarcely be "ferreted out by a vigilant police," it is now useless to say that any other question has any political importance in comparison with that which has divided the nation so arbitrarily, by an imaginary "Mason and

Dixon's line," into North and South; not, indeed, that all the friends of freedom are on the one side, or all the coadjutors of oppression on the other; the issue would be a far easier one to meet, if it were so.

Those who are familiar with the history of recent events will scarcely need to be reminded of the formation of the Free Soil party, its subsequent growth, and the consequent committalism of the Northern leaders of the other parties to its avowed purpose; or of the proceedings of the last session of Congress; so remarkable for accomplishing next to nothing, and thus doing a vast deal in behalf of human freedom, when not able, for the first time in the history of recent sessions, to do any more for Slavery. These are indications of a brave work going on bravely, though slowly, as it must needs be.

The main question, towards which these things all very plainly look, has not yet come to be tried; and perhaps the people are not ready, North or South, to say whether Slavery shall any longer be allowed as heretofore to rule the destinies of the Republic, by its existence on the statute book, and on its soil, where the jurisdiction is exclusively national. The earnestness with which vulnerable positions are defended, shows that there will yet be a fearful war of argumentation, and a sad loss of temper, if not of life and property, before Slavery can be exterminated: that is, if these gentlemen have their own way!

The purposes of the documents above named is to check, if it be possible, the "anti-slavery agitation," which already puts on, in the view of the champions of oppression, too much of the manly spirit and courage so well befitting its humane object. Mr. Fisher even boldly argues in favor of Slavery from its manifest results, as it has always been common to infer the beneficence of the Creator from the beauty and goodness of the creation. This gentleman was once, we have heard, so zealous in opposition to slave-labor, that he avoided the use of any of its products! He dwells in a Free State now; is surrounded by free associations, among which, we presume, he lives voluntarily, and addressed an audience of young men in the city of Cincinnati, in praise of Slavery from its influence upon society!

Such a document is entirely new in the controversy. The array of "fictitious facts," as the elder Pitt styled the charges against himself, will astonish every one. Indeed, in this wonderful production we have a new synonyme for Slavery:—

"*the unrivalled system of Southern civilization*;" against which are exhibited in striking colors the woes and wretchedness, the celibacy, penury, and profligacy of New England, where "multitudes [of the young men] die by dissipation in her cities; and her lonely and deserted women are placed, not in convents, but in factories." "In Boston, one person out of every fourteen males, and one out of every twenty-eight females, is arrested annually for criminal offences;" while, of course, "there must be many, who escape detection altogether."*

We have neither space nor inclination to follow Mr. Fisher through the pamphlet in which he demonstrates, to his own satisfaction, that the Free States are in a sad way of decline, as to wealth, population, morals, and religion, when compared with the Slave States; and that the complaints with which Southern papers have so long teemed, of the degeneracy and stagnation, in all respects, of Southern cities, and of the Southern population generally, are wholly untrue. Mr. Fisher deduces conclusions from the comparison of the rural districts of one section with the dense population of the cities of another; and thus constructs an argument, which New Orleans or St. Louis would scarcely have afforded, in favor of the moral and social position of men in the region of Slavery! It may seem strange to some of us, that the laborers of the South so much increase the aggregate wealth, because they are slaves, while the laborers of the North do the reverse; that Virginia without schools is quite as well off as Massachusetts with them; and that the liberal tendencies of Northern theology contrast unfavorably with the formalism of Episcopacy, and the bigotry of the more exclusive sects which thrive best in the Southern and South-western States! Yet these are some of the results of "the unrivalled system of Southern civilization," which is, it seems, bearing aloft to heights yet unattained, the character, the enterprise, the thrift, the intelligence, and the religion of such as live on other men's unrequited toil! Reply is needless.

Mr. Clay's letter presents a different view of the subject. Himself a slave-holder, and ever watchful of the interests of his associates in slave-holding, he yet dissents entirely and radically from the positions of Mr. Fisher. Indeed, he has here

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* [There has been an able reply to this work of Mr. Fisher, in which his "facts" and arguments are carefully examined: — Review of Ellwood Fisher's Lecture on the North and the South, by Osgood Mussey. Cincinnati. 1849. 8vo. pp. 98. — Ed.]

given us an important admission, in intimating the indirect evil influence, socially and morally, of the institution upon the master. It is gratifying also to have the confession from that side of the absolute and necessary instability of the system of oppression.

And yet it is saddening to find a statesman so eminent deliberately preparing and publishing such views of emancipation; doing this as with his latest breath, and after all the considerations, which any baffled hope of advancement may have heretofore suggested, must have passed away. Let it be conceded that this letter gave hope and cheer to the friends of freedom in Kentucky, at a moment when they were likely to be dismayed and disheartened by the turn of events at home,— even although this shall be deemed the best scheme which could find any favor at the hands of men who will most require to be counselled, entreated, and convinced,—still, with all its admissions and concessions, it is too thoroughly selfish in its arguments and too neglectful of the natural rights of the slave to find any great favor with the friends of humanity anywhere.

Men of such distinguished ability will always be censured when they restrain the movements which they ought to lead. Mr. Clay does not stand in the foreground. It would seem to be the office of one so well qualified, in the crisis through which his own State is passing, urged on by noble spirits, pigmies in influence to him, to carry the noblest work of the day to its successful and holiest termination. Incautiously for the integrity of his purpose, Mr. C. admits that Slavery is a terrible woe to the victims, and scarcely any thing less to the masters; that it was commenced in wanton and violent outrage, and is continued only by force; and yet declares that he shall be opposed to any scheme of emancipation, to any restoration of violated rights, to any relief from the woe to the one side, and from the direct or indirect injury to the other, without a system of colonization, the impracticability of which within one hundred years seems to put off all redress and deliverance almost indefinitely!

We are mistaken if Mr. Clay has not signally failed, in this as in other schemes of his, to gain any thing but reproof. The day is passing for such temporizing policy. He has ever been recognized as a "compromiser," "a man of expediency," more ready to patch up dilapidated structures than to erect new ones, and not a little disposed to sacrifice great interests for immediate advantages. It seems a pity, in such a contro-

versy, that all the expediency should be applied on the side of the oppressor.

The emancipationists in Kentucky and elsewhere, whether gradualists or immediatists, will not fail to take advantage of the admissions which come in good season, precisely one month after the delivery of Mr. Fisher's lecture. They will rejoice that Mr. Clay has told his fellow-citizens what he and they might long ago have learned from other sources, that Slavery is never a blessing to either the enslaver or the enslaved; and that the inferiority of the colored race, if there be such inferiority, entitles that race to protection, not to insult and injury. But on what reasonable ground is the slave, so wrongfully oppressed, held in bondage by no divine right, to be required to purchase his freedom at such an exorbitant price over and above his daily living, and to pay for his subsequent expatriation? The victim surely is the last man under the sun who ever should be mulcted for his sufferings. Not many of the hired men of the North could contrive to pay for themselves at such rates, or at rates correspondingly increased as white labor receives so much higher compensation, and for all the infirm and disabled, young and old, within the circle of a given number of miles, and accumulate in the mean time sums sufficient for the transportation of the whole number across the Atlantic! Well does our author affirm, that the first sacrifice on the part of any slave-holder would be at a *distance of at least thirty-five years!* especially as the right to sell out of the State into regions even less humane is to be held inviolable!

But one word more upon this favorite scheme of colonization — or the motion for indefinite postponement of the whole subject of emancipation: — It might be difficult to prove that the colored race of America was not as much a native race as any other class of persons who happen now to dwell here, excepting the Aborigines. It is generally argued, such is Mr. C.'s position, that the descendants of Africans should be removed, because they and the European race cannot live together. This alternative is a gross assumption. Freedom will not make a difference half so much to be dreaded as the present state of things. Would there be more estrangement between employers and employed than between masters and serfs? But granting the fact for argument's sake, and consenting, for a moment, to bow before the bugbear of amalgamation as an unavoidable consequence of freedom, even more so than of Slavery with its varied hues, will any one show us the white

man's right to remain upon this side of the ocean, and to compel his sable neighbour to remove to the other? Let us be just if we cannot be generous. We are as far from our natural home as is the African; and it would cost much less, in a pecuniary point of view, provided the two races cannot dwell harmoniously side by side, to transport five hundred thousand whites to a more congenial spot, than to convey across the Atlantic the present number of three millions of reputed blacks. At least, expatriation is a better word than colonization, when it is proposed to remove compulsorily. Mr. Clay's plan strikes us as being entirely impracticable, and abhorrent to all ideas of justice. Confessing the difficulty of the subject, we do not so much complain that he has not removed it all, as that he has chosen to view it only in this one-sided, unjust, we had almost said, perfectly absurd manner.*

But every intelligent friend of mankind will feel that these are side issues after all. Mr. Fisher's comparison of the thrift and prosperity of different sections when a great question of humanity is to be solved, seems to be very mean and contemptible. If all that Mr. F. says in his Lecture were as true as it is generally false, if his arguments were of decent validity, and his figures of tolerable accuracy, still nothing of this kind can touch the question of Freedom or Slavery. If the South be richer than the North, the argument from the fact is best answered by a reference to the ideal treasure which one Captain Kyd is currently reported to have buried somewhere in the sand,—the results of predatory and piratic enterprises; for wealth does not always prove the honesty, integrity, or blessedness of the ways in which it was amassed; it is therefore no adequate sponsor for the character of the possessor. We wonder that the same author should have trusted himself on the moral and religious grounds of preference for Slavery! If the results of licentiousness can anywhere else in the civilized world be as plainly observed as at the South, the fact has never yet been brought to light.

Then as to the scheme of colonization, one word more. We do not marvel that it should seem hard to those who have nurtured the bantling to a period when it was to assume the raiment and do the offices of manhood, to find it something less

* It used to be argued that Slavery was to be tolerated because the fertile fields of the South and South-west could only be tilled by the African race. Is it proposed, in colonizing this whole people, to relinquish this argument for slave-labor, or to leave the plantations uncultivated?

than a stripling, and not one half qualified to meet the emergencies of life! But why is it needful to make this the condition of emancipation forty years hence? Why tie a man's hands behind him when so much work is to be done, and then proclaim that we will not hear of any plan of labor which is not based upon this condition of inability for performance? The negroes have rights. The natural and only just way looks first to the security of those rights against invasion. When the slaves are acknowledged as freemen, then if they choose to migrate, and if migration be so much a blessing to them, (and they will be pretty sure to find that out more speedily than Mr. Clay can teach it to them,) then every man of common humanity will be ready to assist them. But there is a preliminary matter to be considered, — and we have good evidence in these documents that its consideration is going on faithfully, — to spread a truer public sentiment, which will acknowledge *the slave's right to himself.* The terms of emancipation may be agreed upon subsequently.

Meanwhile, it is such papers as this of Mr. Clay which really retard the "good time," because they seem to imply this recognition of a natural right, which Mr. Clay never once honestly and fairly admits, and to indicate that slave-holders already possessing a right will are now cautiously inquiring for the right way. Let no man be imposed upon by such appearances. The perpetualists, — and the slave-holders generally are such, and for all practical purposes Mr. Clay is one of them, — have no such idea of emancipation. They have acquired Texas and California and New Mexico, at great pains and hazard, for the same purpose that dictated some earlier acquisitions. The border States, where the property is daily becoming more insecure, and where the contrast is continually presented between Slave States and Free States, — Mr. Fisher's "facts" to the contrary, notwithstanding, — look occasionally at some process of gradual emancipation; but slaveholders who propose to retain their slaves until the tardy operation of a law which is purposely postponed in its action for more than a generation of masters, and for two generations of slaves, are not the men to relinquish their claims for service on the ground of natural rights, so long as slave-labor is profitable, and continues to be the source of political power, unless a marvellous change should be wrought in their feelings. The plans founded upon an expected unprofitableness of servitude, or on a desire to escape the ignominy which is rapidly fastening upon

slave-holders, must not be confounded with the gradualism of Wilberforce and Clarkson. Their spirit is inherently different. Hence their champions seldom fail to deprecate all agitation of the subject as useless, dangerous, and fanatical, especially as touching its moral bearing. Hence the arraignment of the friends of freedom for intermeddling, as if freedom were a matter to be placed among the economics of a community, or a topic to be limited, restrained, or enlarged, even in its discussion, by human laws and local interests.

The two "Addresses," the titles of which have been given, in purpose may be accounted as one: that "to the People of the Union," prepared by Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, is only a mild and magnanimous appeal; while that "to the Constituents of the Southern Delegates" combines the qualities of apology, recrimination, and defiance. Mr. Berrien addresses the people of the Union to conciliate them to his purpose; he entreats and remonstrates. Mr. Calhoun speaks to the South, carefully remembering all the time that he is in the hearing of the North. To be sure, it is substantially the same lesson, recited by different persons, each in his own tone and words. We shall devote the remainder of this article to some notice of the points raised in both, as they are presented by Mr. Calhoun.

We cannot help remarking at the outset that this "Address" is essentially weaker in its tone than any document which the same author has recently prepared. On the whole, it is rather apologetic than menacing, unwontedly moderate in its counsels, if it really counsel any thing, and very little likely to attract any especial attention.

Like every thing from that side of the "line," it assumes the old ground upon which the battle has been so skilfully waged by the South in all the contests of Freedom with Slavery, and on which there is a decided advantage to the latter. It assumes that the Slave-holding States have always been the sufferers by the compact into which they seem to have been inveigled by Northern diplomacy, and with the promise of certain rights and immunities which have never yet been confirmed. Consequently, the Northern States have been always, or for the most part, in the wrong; and have unduly prospered by unfaithfulness to their less favored brethren!

We take exception at once to the issue presented, and on which the chief stress of the document is laid. This great question, which is so deeply agitating so much of the world just now, the question of Freedom, of Personal Liberty, is not a

controversy "between the different sections of the Union," or concerning "the relation between the two races, the European and African, which inhabit the Southern section." The appeal to the constituents of the signers is of course more cogent from this point than from any other. But the statement does not do justice to the millions whose hearts are beating earnestly for freedom, and who pity alike the toiling poor of England, the serfs of Russia, and the slaves of America. It is not a sectional question, which would only include general ideas of prosperity and convenience, nor a question of races.

The anti-slavery agitation knows no clime or color. It is not arrayed against Southern measures and institutions, as such, but against the oppression which is practised under their influence and authority. If the slavery of South Carolina and Georgia and Alabama is visited with censure more severely than any other clime or region, it is because the face of the earth is not known anywhere to present so inhuman, so barbarous, so wicked a system as there obtains and is defended. There is no contest concerning the relation subsisting between the two races, only as that relation interferes with justice, with the rights of human nature, and with the hopes of mankind. It is absurd to speak of the "*two races*," as if they were even as distinct in the South as the Englishman is from the Frenchman. Slavery knows no color in the United States! It depends upon the condition of the mother, although she be as white as the Anglo-Saxon, and her offspring exhibit no traces but of white descent!

Let us meet this complaint at the threshold. Perchance in no one respect do the slave-holders require to be enlightened more than in this. They cannot be supposed to understand the spirit which they themselves may be now ready to manifest for the struggling republicans of Europe, while they will not comprehend the interest which is felt by so many earnest men in the North for the oppressed people of the South. It is not, as the "Address" affirms, a "question of feeling" alone, or chiefly; but a question which is based upon the demands of a common nature; a question of right, of justice, of liberty, for which men have borne and sacrificed more than for all other things combined. It appeals to all that is noblest and holiest in human nature. It will answer no good purpose to attempt to stigmatize this anti-slavery feeling as "a deep-seated disease." If it be a disease, it partakes in the nineteenth century of the nature of an epidemic, which has raged with great

virulence at divers times in the experience of different nations, and seems to have been quite contagious in some parts of Europe since February, 1848. In Europe, one of the symptoms, when the fever runs highest, is *revolution;* here, fortunately for our Southern friends, it only tends to serious investigation and constant discussion!

In the closing paragraph of the "Address," this metaphor is again employed, and the hope is expressed that "unanimity [among the slave-holders] will of itself apply a remedy to this dangerous and deep-seated disease; but if such should not be the case, the time will then have come to decide what course to adopt." We venture the prediction that the most complete unanimity will have in itself no remedial power, if such unanimity were among the possible things of to-day. We moreover suggest that the only rational way of escaping the pains and symptoms of the disease will not be found in secession, to which the "Address" indirectly looks, but in emancipation. The "feeling" for freedom will never again become inoperative or less jealous in this nation, unless in the prevalence of universal liberty, when men may become seemingly regardless of rights and immunities which are never violated.

We have always marvelled at the surprise and indignation of the advocates of Slavery at the opposition which they encounter at the North. They are not probably familiar with the opinions which were so vehemently urged in the Convention of 1787, when the bitterness exhibited by the few who desired to secure the assistance of the new government in advancing their plans of injustice, was repelled by an earnest refusal of their claims. Nor was the North alone or most earnest in denouncing Slavery. Words were then spoken against the system such as have not often been uttered by any men. No one then praised Slavery, or did more than plead for a temporary toleration or security.

The comparison of the received opinions of that day with the discarded ones of to-day, is almost humiliating. Such men as Luther Martin never ransacked the language in quest of mild words in which to speak their abhorrence of Slavery. Was it not in a great measure owing to the conviction which then extensively prevailed, that Slavery would soon be extinct, — "not struck with an apoplexy, but affected with consumption," — the conviction that a system so abhorrent, as Mr. Martin said, "to the genius of republicanism" could not long survive the formation of a regular government, — that the

Constitution, with its compromising clauses, was ratified? and that an indifference upon the subject arose, from which the Free States were only aroused by the admission of so many new Slave States into the Union?

The present aspect of the subject, be it remembered, is not a new one, but an old one revived. The tendency of public opinion seems to have been downwards after the adoption of the Constitution; or, indeed, ever after the success of the American Revolution. "At this time," (1787,) says Luther Martin, "we do not generally hold this commerce, [slave-dealing,] in so great abhorrence as we have done. When our liberties were at stake, we warmly felt for the common rights of man. The danger being thought to be past which threatened ourselves, we are daily growing more insensible to those rights." In several of the Slave States, and in all the Free States, there were at that time societies in active existence to promote the abolition of Slavery; and these societies held public meetings in Virginia and Maryland, and petitioned Congress to move in the matter; the petitions being received and treated in a respectful manner. To this part of the subject we may recur again. We content ourselves now with saying, that there was a time, the purest and truest in our nation's history, when it was a virtue rather than a crime to express invincible hatred to injustice and oppression.

Nearly one third of the "Address" is devoted to the consideration of the escape of fugitives, and the difficulties attending recapture. This cause of complaint, if any cause at all, has lately been very much on the increase, as all who are familiar with the matter very well know. The facilities for communication seem to have greatly augmented the difficulties of detention. Railroads which have sunk, in mercantile phrase, a great amount of money thus invested at the South, have also, in some few instances, rendered the living "property" singularly insecure. The wide-spread intelligence of the community-north strangely and stealthily finds its way into the very cabins of the slaves of remote sections. Indeed, the North Star has also been faithless to the master when so faithfully serving the slave; for the information, we know not how, certainly by means of no special emissaries of Anti-Slavery societies, seems to have been widely extended among the ignorant "chattels personal," that the bright, twinkling light, to which a kind Providence, in no spite, we are confident, to Mr.

Calhoun and his associates, has assigned perpetual "pointers" in the sky itself, is a star,

> "Whose radiance no arm of flesh can hide,
> Whose hope is for the lowliest."

To prevent the escape of slaves seems to be impossible. Southern jealousy and vigilance have been again and again avoided; and schemes rivalling the fairy stories of childhood have been successfully executed. An express agent in Richmond, for instance, all unsuspicious, takes charge of a box, not always observing the direction, "*with care, this side up*," in which a living negro is borne on white men's shoulders to his place of destination in a Northern city! During the last winter, a man and his wife arrived in New England, having come openly on their way from Macon, Ga., in cars and steamboats, tarrying only at the best hotels on the route, under the concealment of an almost transparent deception. With the aid of steam for the cunning and daring, and the sable robes of darkness and the bright Star of the North, to befriend the more cautious and timid, we see not how such escapes can be readily prevented. Indeed, the escape is ever primâ facie evidence that it cannot be prevented by the argus-watchfulness of those who have been trained to detect a runaway at first view.

Acknowledging the facts, and sympathizing as humanity requires with the sufferers by these occurrences, we are still at loss to perceive in what necessary way any citizen of the North becomes implicated in such "outrages" upon the domestic institutions of the South. It would not seem to be very necessary that any especial agencies should be established, or any emissaries despatched, to plead with the bondman in behalf of his own freedom; or to stimulate him to improve any opportunity that might offer of escaping the woes and misery of life-long bondage. And yet this is one of the charges preferred against us: "Secret combinations are believed to exist in many of the Northern States, whose object is to entice, decoy, entrap, inveigle, and seduce slaves to escape from their owners, and to pass them secretly and rapidly, by means organized for the purpose, into Canada." That individuals may have acted for themselves in helping the wanderers, and in assisting them to the recovery of some of their "inalienable rights, — life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," we have no doubt; but of the existence of such secret combinations

there is not a shadow of proof. Such combinations are not only unknown to the "States within whose limits they exist," but also to the Abolitionists themselves, who are not so choicely cherished in the North, that they should find legislatures ready to assist them in any such action. The whole tale is a fabrication, we suppose, of some ingenious rogue, who has secured a favor at the hands of the gallant gentlemen who have been imposed upon, and who have endorsed it with their names.*

But the escape is only secondary to the protection afforded, which is affirmed to be in direct violation of the terms of confederation. We do not question that the article relating to "persons held to service or labor," was really intended to cover the case of fugitives from Slavery, although the terms are not so precisely to the point as would seem to have been required. But then we know that this phraseology was adopted to save the feelings of such as abhorred the very idea of tolerating or continuing Slavery. Viewed as a deliberate compromise, it would seem to be obvious that while the compact is in force, nothing should be directly done by those consenting to it, to violate any of its provisions. Still let not the slave-holder wonder at any exhibition of jealousy on the part of the North, when he reads the story of its adoption, the painful struggle that it cost, and the artful evasion of difficulties before it was passed. Mr. Madison says that an attempt was made by Mr. Butler of South Carolina, "to require fugitive slaves and servants to be delivered up like criminals," or at public expense; but the motion was withdrawn. (Madison Papers, p. 1447.) Subsequently, the world "legally" was struck from this provision, because it seemed to "favor the idea that Slavery could be legal in a moral view." (Madison Papers, p. 1589.)

But the contract, although opposed vehemently, was finally concluded in the spirit of compromise. The phraseology, and the terms of surrender, were all deliberately adjusted, and the "modus operandi" of the provision left to subsequent legislation. The same jealousy which so carefully examined the law has unaccountably followed its operation! It is now complained that the citizens of the North have first enticed the slaves from their claimants, and then thrown impediments in the way of their reclamation; so that "the attempt to recover

* The two fugitives already mentioned denied all knowledge of the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North, and of the existence of such friends as they have found. God inspired them with a love and hope for freedom!

a slave, in most of the Northern States, cannot now be made without the hazard of insult, heavy pecuniary loss, imprisonment, and even of life itself." That the recovery of a reputed runaway is attended with great expense, seems to be an evil against which no provisions can be made. The expenses are unavoidable, and on whom should they fall, if not on the master? This question was settled in the Convention, as we have already seen. The statement that a slave-claimant would be imprisoned for presenting his claim is as absurd as unfounded; or that he would be endangered, excepting under such provocation as in the case referred to in the "Address," in which the sufferer seems to have been the offending party at first, requires something more than the declaration of these gentlemen for its confirmation. The violence of men is under more restraint at the North than at the South; and here the protection of law would as soon be thrown around a peaceable citizen of a neighbouring State, as afforded to the panting fugitive, halting for a night's lodging on his way to a freer land.

Moreover the censure — in reality an honor — bestowed upon the legislators and judges, is entirely undeserved. We do not know that any legislature has done more than refuse the use of the State and County jails, and the assistance of its own paid functionaries to the slave-hunter. Thus much it was surely competent to do on the strictest construction of the clause touching the question. The first refusal of a Northern judge to permit a slave, when proved to be such, to be removed from the State in which he was captured, to his owner's abode, is yet to be put upon record. That the jealousy of human freedom has induced an inquiry of most cogent character to be instituted before a decision adverse to the weaker party is rendered, — that the accused, so to speak, the victim, is allowed the benefit of any doubt which may be raised, ought not in a republic to be matter of complaint. These points, we are sure, will never be surrendered.

It is somewhat uncivil to hang Haman on a gallows not intended for just such use. Yet we have the authority of the very Prigg case, referred to so confidently by these gentlemen, and the substratum of Southern demands for a return of fugitives, on both these points. In regard to the passage of State laws to protect the negro population of the North, and to prevent State magistrates from acting as slave-catchers, it is expressly said in the decision, *Prigg* vs. *Pennsylvania*, "As to the

authority so conferred on State magistrates, while a difference of opinion exists and may exist on this point in different States, whether State magistrates are bound to act under it, none is entertained by the Court, that State magistrates may, if they choose, exercise the authority, *unless prohibited by State legislation.*" On the other point, we have the opinion of the Court in the same case, that a master may remove his slave without investigation, if he can do it "without any breach of the peace, or illegal violence." But in other cases, or where there is a contest of claims, the point must be adjudicated by a proper officer; and that is all the security which the judiciary has ever extended to the fugitive.

That difficulties of another kind do exist we admit, and have a word to say of them. The protection of the slave may be accomplished judicially, or by popular will; when done judicially, it is because, in the contest of claims, the slave-claimant did not make out his case. But the popular disposition manifests itself in a different way. The "Address" states that the same impediments to recovering a fugitive did not exist in the early operation of the government. We presume that the signers literally mean the government under the Constitution; as it is well known that no such claim was ever allowed under the Confederation. Formerly, then, in other words, the States lent the aid of their magistrates, and no questions were raised as to the justice of the master's claim to "service or labor." Now, without imputing any improper motive, or any motive which a Southern man could impugn, we can see two sufficient reasons for an entire change in public sentiment. In the first place, Slavery was not then an extinct institution in the Northern States. After the Revolution, it is stated that Massachusetts contained 3,500 slaves; New York, 15,000; while Georgia then only held 16,000. Of course, then, there was a greater presumption against a fugitive's freedom, than would be afforded after all the slaves in any region were emancipated, and the familiarity with the condition of bondmen was lost. As the number of free colored persons has increased, so is the presumption strengthened, that any individual forcibly taken before a tribunal for adjudicating so delicate a matter as his legal right to himself, is truly, *de jure* as well as *de facto*, a freeman.

Again, within the last fifty years, such continuous efforts have been made to extend and strengthen the institution of Slavery, that the consequence has finally been that a corre-

sponding interest in, and appreciation of, the institutions of Freedom, as these are expressed in the principles of a republican government, has arisen. Without the coöperation of the perpetualists, or rather with their interest like Jefferson's against oppression, the abolitionist would have been deprived of half his influence. A corresponding change in public opinion is one of the results. Greater sympathy with the oppressed continually manifests itself by increased vigilance in his behalf, by earnest words, and, whenever the opportunity offers, by kindly deeds for his sake. Personal liberty is not now too well secured, or too carefully guarded. We only wish, therefore, that we could repel the reproach which the "Address" indirectly casts upon a former generation in representing it as less cautious on this point.

But we are disposed to question the fact, however. We do not believe that so sudden a change took place after the adoption of the Constitution, as seems to be intimated. It is on record that previous to that time the Free States offered a safe asylum for the fugitives. Story, in his Commentaries on the Constitution says, "The want of such a provision [for returning fugitives,] under the Confederation, was felt as a grievous inconvenience, by the slave-holding States, since in many States no aid whatsoever would be allowed to the owners: and sometimes indeed they met with open resistance." — "At present," said Mr. Madison in the Virginia Convention, (2 Elliott's Debates, p. 336,) "if any slave elopes to any of those States where slaves are free, he becomes emancipated by their laws." Mr. Iredell, of North Carolina, urged the same point in the Convention in that State. In Massachusetts, New York, and some other States, objections were raised on the same point. And to show that the practice and the theory were alike, there is a letter still extant from General Washington to the Collector of Customs in Portsmouth, soliciting his aid, which was refused, in capturing a slave-woman who had eloped from his (General W.'s) possession, and was then living, where she subsequently died, in New Hampshire, an unreturned fugitive!

Leaving this topic, the "Address" next recounts with tolerable fairness and accuracy the history of legislation in connection with Slavery since 1819: concluding, of course, with the somewhat striking passages of the last session. We cannot help being here reminded of the excellent French lady somewhere mentioned by Dr. Franklin, who concluded all her disputes with the words, — "*Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours*

raison." No one can ever be in the right but our author. The position set up in this portion must not be admitted: namely, the inherent right of slave-holding in the Districts and Territories where Congress has "exclusive jurisdiction, in all cases whatsoever." We offset the claim by saying that Slavery has no inherent right anywhere! It only exists by violence. It commences in the subjugation of man to man's power, and in his continued submission to the tyranny which he cannot successfully resist. Without superior might, fancied or real, the dominion of the slave-holder would not endure for a day. Now whenever and wherever such an unequal struggle is going on secretly between the few and the many, the strong and the weak, it is arrant folly, or worse, to prate of "inherent rights of slave-holders." There are none such. It is legislative action, guaranteeing the aid of the government, which makes all the *right of property*, to speak in slave-holders' language, by which the possession is secured. When the master can no longer hold his slave, all the property ceases; not only the value is at an end, but the property itself ceases, *ipso facto.* The possession is here all the "ten points," or none at all. Nor can the law do any thing but confirm the possession, as it confirms to a man the possession of his house. It gives him no *right of property*; but comes after the property is acquired, to secure its possession.

What are the vested rights of slave-holders in relation to these portions of national domain? In the Constitution it is declared, that "Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, &c." This would cover the case of the District of Columbia. The cession was made subsequently to the adoption of the terms; and the inhabitants have, for the most part, or wholly, become residents in view of this power of Congress. So far from any legal enactment to guarantee a perpetuity of Slavery there, the terms reserve the right to do the opposite whenever occasion may demand its exercise.

The right to carry slaves into the new Territories is urged with such earnestness, that it is evidently the principal point in the mind of the gentleman who prepared the "Address;" the same gentleman who negotiated for the admission of Texas into the Union. The claim based upon the number of volunteers engaged in the war with Mexico, was very properly and ably refuted in figures on the floor of Congress, from the records of the War Department. The other claim requires a

moment's notice. It is that the ownership of the Territories is vested in the several States, and in the individuals composing them; and, consequently, that in order to equal advantage from the acquisition, it is necessary that Slavery should be allowed, or not forbidden there.

But let it be observed, in the first place, that Slavery is necessarily either a creation of law, or a result of force. And when the force would not be sufficient without the assistance of government for its maintenance, it may be regarded as essentially a creation of law. In legislating for Territories, the good of all the inhabitants, white and black, the respect for the rights of man, and the corresponding obligations of humanity have a claim upon attention. It is not competent to the United States to establish a monarchy, — although it has been deemed so to do the next thing, appoint a military dictatorship; — nor would it seem to be within its proper province to provide for injustice or inhumanity. The strong will take care of themselves there, or anywhere. And the sacred guarantees of the law, established by a government, must be provided for the weak and defenceless, for those who will otherwise come under the dominion of avarice or violence. If on the ground that we of the North are not responsible for Slavery in the States, all action there may be denied, action at least must be granted where responsibility holds for the governments which we shall be called to erect and maintain. It is not a question which we care to reduce to argument: we have no license to grant for Slavery, where we have any power of prevention.

In the second place, this plea for an equality of privileges completely refutes itself. It is argued, that Congress should impose no restrictions upon the immigration of slave-holders with their property, in order to render them equal with the non-slave-holders who go thither with theirs. But the case to be decided is, shall this idea of "property in man," which "Mr. Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution," (Papers, p. 1429,) be protected in these Territories? Nothing but absolute legislation can protect it; or such toleration of existing legislation as shall be equivalent to new laws. The mere existence of oppression is not one half so much to be dreaded as the existence of laws which will become necessary for its maintenance.

For instance; In close proximity to the clause relating to "persons held to service or labor," is another which says,

"The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." But can this declaration be maintained in a slave-holding community? Let the laws, the "police regulations," of many of the Southern States, say whether all the citizens of the Northern States have there secured to them the "privileges and immunities" of citizens. If not, in what way shall Slavery be rendered any more compatible in the new Territories, and the States to be yet formed of them, with the rights which are violated with impunity in the South generally?

There are nearly 400,000* free colored persons in the United States; and only about 500,000* slave-holders; and yet these latter, for equality's sake, forsooth, claim favors which will work the forfeiture of all the rights of the former! Similar reasoning may be applied to the relative condition of white laborers, where slave-labor is permitted: for the relation of master and slave can never exist without so deranging the true conditions of manual labor, that free-laborers cannot be invigorated by the same atmosphere which supports slaves.

This conflict of interests is nothing new. The South, or rather the few oppressors, who arrogantly assume to speak for the millions of non-slave-holding citizens of those States, have always been similarly arrayed against freemen, free institutions and free labor. The diversity of interest between the North and the South is radical, and cannot be removed while its cause remains. Mr. Madison felt this, and owned it, in the Convention of 1787. Free-labor and slave-labor have an entirely different relation to those who are benefited by them. It is a great mistake still to regard Slavery as the great interest of the country. The Raleigh Register recently estimated the whole wealth, slaves included, of North Carolina, to be $146,000,000; while that of the city of Boston is $167,000,000. The diversity of interest is not in the wealth, but just where it was in 1787, when Gouverneur Morris said in Convention, "Southern gentlemen will not be satisfied, unless they see the way open to gaining a majority in the public councils. Either the distinction between North and South is fictitious or real; if fictitious, let it be dismissed, and let us proceed with due confidence. If it be real, instead of attempting to blend incompatible things, let us at once take a friendly leave of

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* These figures were taken from the census of 1840. The case is stronger to-day against the slave-holders than it is here represented.

each other." And to-day, the question of equality of rights in California and New Mexico, is a question of political power and importance, rendered the more urgent by the defection in the political parties of the friends of humanity.*

We have said thus much in reply to some of the positions of this "Address," not because the question seemed to admit of any argument, but because we have an apprehension that there are nearly or quite as many persons in the Free States as in the Slave States, who will admit the correctness of the conclusions.

The Northern mind has in some manner become strangely inconsistent on this subject; and the same men who will deem it wise, good, and noble to sympathize with the oppressed subjects of a kingdom, who have lost only the freedom of the press, or been excessively taxed, believe it wrong in a high degree to manifest similar regret for the wretched inmates of the "prison house of bondage." "The rights of slave-holders are sacred; but the slave's right to himself is questionable." Mr. Calhoun will find many men in Massachusetts who believe with him and his coadjutors, that only disaster will come from acknowledging the rights of human nature in their slaves. The misrepresented story of Hayti, and not the well-authenticated reports from Jamaica, finds a ready place in their minds.

This assumption of unconquerable aversion on the part of liberated slaves, whom it is one part of the same system of logic to prove very loving to their masters, is unjust to that common sentiment of gratitude for which this deeply injured and ever-enduring race has always been signalized. Let him who will, compare the danger from such as these with the danger from a horde of foreigners, annually pouring into our Atlantic cities, not only degraded and ignorant, but, worse than all, full of the lowest superstition. This cry of danger is only a skilful manœuvre to throw off a demand for right, upon a claim for equality of social position. The slaves, like the Irish, may be free without having their relation to their present masters otherwise changed. It is only owing to the generous, confiding, and forgiving nature of those men and women, that such terrible wrongs have not raised a frenzy, which could

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* The recent production by Mr. Benton of documentary evidence to show the inconsistency of Mr. Calhoun's present position with that which he maintained while in President Munroe's Cabinet, may open a further testimony to the statements of the text; namely, that the questions raised concerning property and constructive rights of that kind, are of less moment than that of political preëminence and power.

only be allayed in indiscriminate slaughter of the oppressor and his race. Emancipation will prevent all this hazard, which must be daily augmented under such unnatural conditions of life.

The various provisions which slave-holders and their abettors are desirous of making for the present emergency, have a terrible tendency, which is nothing else than a perpetuation and indefinite extension of the servitude on which they live. Here is the fearful mistake of the perpetualist: he is binding burdens on other generations, — burdens of which he may sometimes himself complain. There are no incipient steps taken for emancipation, no acknowledgment of the wrong and curse of Slavery, in words that show an earnest purpose to do well. The wailing that "the slaves are unfit for freedom," is mockery, while no measures are proposed to prepare them for it, and while every thing is done to prevent their attainment of such a condition. It is, we say, the mistake of the perpetualist and his abettors, that they will not allow the seed to be sown to-day for a future harvest. In the whole of Mr. Calhoun's "Address," there is not one sentence which recognizes the slave as a man, or as any thing else than as an instrument of labor and wealth, or as an untamed beast, daily adding to the hazards which his existence as a slave creates. Mr. Fisher and Mr. Clay scarcely do any better.

The plans of perpetualists and extensionists should meet but one reply — it is the prophecy and the counsel which are to be read, without a seer's vision, from the records of the past: — Slavery, where it now exists, must be exterminated for the good of the master and the slave! — for the well-being of mankind it must extend no further! The abolitionist is the friend of the master, when with hopeful words he wins the slave away from dreams of vengeance, in which streams of blood wash away the traces of oppression, to a higher hope of voluntary emancipation. If there is no power other than the moral appeal of discussion concerning the perpetuation of Slavery, we have something more than that to exercise in regard to its further extension: and of that, we say, right or wrong as regards the compromises of other days, violation or not of the supposed terms of any past compact, we dare not so offend the majesty of Truth, so violate the solemn obligations of Humanity, so disregard the claims of Justice, as to be the means ever so indirectly of opening new markets of men and women.

Then as to fugitives from slavery. The sentiment of the

North is rapidly taking that position when it will be impossible to give any ready compliance, or anything but a legal, forced submission, to the present construction of the Constitution. That fugitives have been surrendered otherwise, and with alacrity, will not afford any sanction for a continuance of the practice. No legal impediments are in force, none will probably be put in force, in any Free State, other than those which relate to all kinds of property, its proof, and the payment of charges, before it will be legally, sofar as the judiciary is concerned, allowed to be taken away. If Mr. Calhoun, in the "Address," means to intimate that the spirit of the Constitution requires that "persons held to service or labor" shall be arrested by the State in which they have taken refuge, and be delivered up voluntarily by such State, or if *aid* be required by the spirit of the terms of the compact, then the enactments of several of the Free States have been onerous and unjust. But we remind all who think thus, that this was expressly denied, when asked for, in the Convention!

Public sentiment now forbids that any man should be carried off by violence before it has been fully proved that there is a claim upon him for "service." The simple affirmation of ownership will not answer when the claim is contested by the individual whose welfare is most concerned in the issue. The law authorizes "seizure" without "a breach of the peace, or illegal violence." The Act expressly requires an adjudication of the question, before an officer such as it designates. "A reputed slave claims his freedom; he pleads that he is a man, that he was by nature free, that he has not forfeited his freedom, nor relinquished it. Now unless the claimant can prove that he is not a man, that he was not born free, or that he has forfeited or relinquished his freedom, he must be judged free; the justice of his claim must be acknowledged." *

If such proceedings, which the nature of the case seems to warrant, or rather require, are unjustifiable, then indeed are Northern legislation and jurisprudence onerous, and scarcely to be endured; but if Southern men may urge such a claim as this of the "Address," then to us, to whom freedom for all is a cardinal point of belief, if we cannot enjoy the privileges, such as they are, of the republic without becoming implicated in returning fugitives, the ground of complaint would seem to be on this side rather than upon the other. In either case, we

* Rev. D. Rice's Address in Convention in Kentucky, 1792.

should not be surprised if the sons should adopt the sentiment of the fathers who "held it to be a self-evident truth,"—"that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, [life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,] it is the right of the *people* to alter and abolish it, and to constitute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." If the government be "insufferable," which does not aid the master to rescue his fugitive slave, so is it much more insupportable if it compel a New England citizen to sanction so cruel a wrong as the binding of undeserved fetters upon human limbs!

And this is the sole issue to-day. It is probably true that according to the Southern intention of the compact, the South does not receive its own; and there seems to be no will or power to render the "pound of flesh" which is "written in the bond." Our fathers made the compromise, which these signers testify to have been well observed during their lives. We cannot do as it is said they did, because were the question again opened, we should not reënact the same ambiguous words. Of the thousands who would loudly denounce an infringement of the Constitution, or any question of its validity, we do not believe that there could be found in Massachusetts one hundred men so recreant to the cause of Freedom as now seriously and solemnly to adopt a Constitution with such a clause in it, for such purposes.* The men of 1787 were misled by the declaration in Convention that Slavery would soon be extinct.

The Pro-slavery and the Anti-slavery men join battle on this ground:—Both sides singularly enough maintain that the compact has been broken, and to be now scarcely more than an evil. The passage of the laws of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, though no literal violation of the compromise, is still a refusal of the assistance to which the South thinks itself entitled by the letter and spirit of the agreement: on the other side, when South Carolina and Louisiana adopted the police regulations concerning free colored seamen, and, still more, when they refused to test those laws before the supreme tribunal of the nation, they purposely denied that "the citizens

* [We wish the author may be correct in his estimate, but think we could easily find a hundred "good whigs," and another hundred "good democrats," in a single ward in Boston, who would cheerfully reënact that clause of the Constitution, and remain in good political repute.—Ed.]

of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States," in the sense in which the provision was agreed to here. It is a question of political honesty, how long such obvious infractions shall be screened from observation under a compact which their enactment virtually sets aside. The retaliation, which seems to some an easy method of adjusting the question, has no honesty in it.

As we apprehend the matter, some new adjustment of the questions at issue is imperatively demanded. It is affirmed that the States came into the Union for specific purposes, with specific mutual concessions and admissions. These gentlemen now urge that the North refuses to abide by the terms of the partnership. Setting aside the injustice perpetrated under their laws in their maritime cities, an outrage which ought to have sealed their lips concerning violations of good faith, let us look at the case from their position. It is in the "bond" that slaves shall be redelivered to their claimants, when found in a Free State; the South does not receive the indemnity for coming into the Union, (thus they state the case,) and now demands that the terms should be more strictly complied with, or the partnership declared at an end. We do not see how this trouble can be avoided. Here is an issue to be met in no truckling way. No new compromise made in Congress, or elsewhere, will bind the people of the Free States! The will of the people will have its expression: if that will shall sanction the use of the Free States as hunting-grounds, and permit marauders on these hills, like the soldiers and hounds in the everglades of Florida, to ferret out the panting fugitives, and to return them to that condition of wretchedness which has driven them to try a hope so desperate as the chances of escape offer, then let it be so, and as the South desires; if not, let there be no pretension of doing that which will never be performed, or censure for the party who is aggrieved by any neglect of the letter and spirit of the law.

The "Address" of Mr. Berrien, at least, deserves a reply; and the reply should be candid, manly, straightforward. It is not to be expected that the North will begin to bluster; that is not its usual way of announcing its conclusions. Any response from this quarter must have the impress of the Northern character; and be calm, energetic, and earnest. It must be such that there shall be no questions to be again raised concerning its import. It need never be seen in print, or heard aloud. But it may be manifested in the character and

convictions of the men who shall annually visit the seat of government to take part in the affairs of legislation. The time for weak men, for pusillanimous men, for men who will say and unsay bold things; for men who will truckle for seats near the throne; for men who are "absent on leave," or indisposed at home, when serious votes are to be taken, — the time for such men has gone by. They do not express the earnest, living, free thought of the Free States.

Once again, we say, the signers of this "Address," and the South generally, do not understand the views and feelings of the freemen of the North; but they clearly apprehend that there can be only one result of so much agitation; it is that result which they are attempting to prevent. They design to move the South to insist that the North shall do more to help and less to hurt the cause of oppression. If it be possible, they will intimidate some by the prospect of a severance of the Union, or by some similar scarecrow yet to be erected. Will their end be answered? We believe not. There is one admission in the "Address" for which we are thankful, from which the friends of freedom may take courage, and which will silence, we hope, the lips of those who are continually affirming that the agitation has done and can do no good. Forty-eight of the perpetualists thus declare themselves concerning its influence: "*This agitation, and the use of these means, have been continued, with more or less activity, for a series of years, not without doing much towards effecting the object intended.*"

We do not apprehend, in the least, a dissolution of the Union. There are not perpetualists enough who will peril it for the sake of Slavery; or retain Slavery at its expense, if the thing were practicable, as it is not. But for the power of the Free States added to their own, the indefinable power of the Union, unseen, but everywhere felt, there is not strength enough to keep three millions of slaves in bondage in the Southern States. Many of their shrewdest men have said as much. It will be a long day before the minds of the people are prepared for that result. And while the North is becoming more alive to the inconsistency of Slavery in a republic, and more disposed to resent the aggressions of the Slave-power, for every friend of dissolution made here, an opponent of the plan is made at the South. Two large parties have now an existence, both of which urge a dissolution of the Union, — the Northern, to be free from the responsibility of

upholding the domestic institution of other people, and the Southern, professedly to support this institution; we are no prophet, if the increase of the one does not annihilate the other.

The "Address" concludes with an appeal for union among Southern men on this subject, and in resistance to the encroachments of the North. The futility of any attempt to array the South, as a section, against the North, will be apparent when it is remembered that not more than one quarter of the white citizens are themselves slave-holders; and that one half the remainder are degraded by the prevalence of the same spirit which crushes the colored man to the earth. These gentlemen may have yet to learn that it is one thing to unite men on the side of Justice and Humanity, and another to band them on the opposite side. Men will never do valiant deeds for conventional privileges which have no foundation in justice and no relation to humanity. Beside, all human nature, not the North alone, is united against oppression; the very stones cry out against it; the genius of the republic is its foe; the law of progress disowns it. It is weak in itself, and the source of all kinds of weakness where it exists. The vaporing of eloquence will not save that which is founded on injustice, and which can have no breath of true life, no strength of arms. He is in a sad plight, who holds a man in his right hand, and contends with the Universe for his supremacy with his left. "Indeed, I tremble for my country," were Jefferson's oft-quoted and impressive words, "when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever. Considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheels of fortune, an exchange of situations, is among possible events; — the Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with us in such a contest."

Good men of all parties and sections will soon admit the inconsistency maintained in this republic, and be as earnest as the most zealous of to-day, in escaping from the blight of so unnatural a condition as Slavery. The fanaticism of slave-holding is not now what it once was. We can remember when it spoke in different terms from those of this "Address," which, after all, only received the signatures of a small number of the Senators and Representatives of the Southern States. It was once or twice recommitted to be modified; and finally was subscribed by forty-eight of the one hundred and twenty-one delegates in Congress from slave-holding States!

The time is rapidly hastening on, when the whole voice of the community shall decree, in tones that will endure no denial, a separation from tyranny. The day of pro-slavery excitements and mobs in the North has wholly passed away. The only apprehension to be entertained is, that for a while longer the spirit of the unhappy words of Roger Sherman, who, in the Convention, thought that the North should yield, if the South insisted, will prevail in the public councils of the country; in other words, that men will sacrifice the Just and True, as heretofore, to the expedient of to-day. There are three positions, which, including, perhaps, all actual and immediate connection with oppression, ought to be taken and sacredly maintained by friends of freedom at the North, at all times, independently of the moral agitation of the subject, in a broader view: — 1. The abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; or, if that be impossible, the removal of the seat of government to a freer region; — 2. The annihilation of the commerce in human flesh between the several States; — 3. The better protection of the colored citizens of the Free States from the danger to which they are exposed of arrest and removal under sanction of a corrupt administration of an iniquitous provision; and of imprisonment and sale when going for legal and proper purposes, on peaceable errands, to Southern ports.

The first two of these are surely within the literal construction of the powers of Congress, as enumerated in the Constitution. The third is founded upon the common rights of human nature, and is demanded by the constant recurrence of outrages for which the victims can have no remedy. It is to secure these, as well as to prevent the extension of the domain of Slavery, that we are to pledge ourselves. And the result, so surely as the cause of truth, justice, and love will prevail over the opposite ways of wrong, will not be for ever wanting to human efforts.

A few hot-headed champions cannot always retard the march of liberal principles. Such men do not now fitly represent the section which in a few years, themselves unchanged, they will grossly misrepresent. It is to be hoped that the non-slaveholders of the South will soon cease to be thus identified with the institution which degrades their labor, and debases their manhood. *Homo homini aut Deus aut lupus*, said Erasmus. If the slave have found one half the keen satire to be too sadly true, he may yet learn that the other has something of a reality in human experience!

ART. VII. — *The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN, author of "Modern Painters." With Illustrations, drawn and etched by the author. New York: John Wiley. 1849. 12mo. pp. VIII. and 186.

THESE "Lamps" Mr. Ruskin explains to be the "laws of right," in the "peculiar aspects of them which belong to the first of the arts"; namely, Architecture. He entitles them as follows: Truth, Power, Beauty, Life, Memory, Obedience.

Here, already, is a confusion between the laws of Art and the laws that should govern the life of the artist, who is not only an artist, but *also* a moral being, and as such held to obedience to the "laws of right," if he would deserve success, in this, or in any other vocation. Art, however, is indifferent to persons, and cares not whether her results be arrived at in prayer and sacrifice, or in rioting and wantonness; by a Rubens or by a Buonarotti.

In this specimen we have a type of the whole book. It is filled with earnest, striking criticism, from a high, even religious point of view, but not very comprehensive nor anywhere going to the root of the matter, and mingled throughout with nebulous theories, with whims, and sometimes even with cant, though of the kind that Carlyle calls "sincere cant."

What Mr. Ruskin really has to say might come under a much narrower heading than his title-page; this, namely, the necessity of simplicity, truthfulness, and straightforwardness in Architecture.

And, indeed, in criticism of the architecture of the day this should be the prominent point, *a definite aim*, for this is the first requisite to success in any thing, and yet it is rarely to be found in our architecture.

To this all Mr. Ruskin's canons, except the fourth and sixth, may be reduced; the necessity, before all things, of a definite aim. We extract some of his glowing sentences to this point: —

"It is the misfortune of most of our modern buildings that we would fain have an universal excellence in them; and so part of the funds must go in painting, part in gilding, part in fitting up, part in painted windows, part in small steeples, part in ornaments here and there; and neither the windows, nor the steeple, nor the ornaments, are worth their materials. For there is a crust about the impressible part of men's minds, which must be pierced

through before they can be touched to the quick: and though we may prick at it and scratch it in a thousand places, we might as well have let it alone if we do not come through somewhere with a deep thrust; and if we can give such a thrust anywhere, there is no need of another; it need not even be so 'wide as a church door,' so that it be *enough*. And mere weight will do this; it is a clumsy way of doing it, but an effectual one, too; and the apathy which cannot be pierced through by a small steeple, nor shone through by a small window, can be broken through in a moment by the mere weight of a great wall. Let, therefore, the architect who has not large resources, choose his point of attack first, and, if he choose size, let him abandon decoration; for, unless they are concentrated, and numerous enough to make their concentration conspicuous, all his ornaments together would not be worth one huge stone. And the choice must be a decided one, without compromise. It must be no question whether his capitals would not look better with a little carving — let him leave them huge as blocks; or whether his arches should not have richer architraves — let him throw them a foot higher, if he can: a yard more across the nave will be worth more to him than a tesselated pavement; and another fathom of outer wall, than an army of pinnacles."

"After size and weight, the power of architecture may be said to depend on the quantity (whether measured in space or intenseness) of its shadow; and it seems to me that the reality of its works, and the use and influence they have in the daily life of men (as opposed to those works of art with which we have nothing to do but in times of rest and pleasure) require of it that it should express a kind of human sympathy, by a measure of darkness as great as there is in human life; and that as the great poem and great fiction generally affect us most by the majesty of their masses of shade, and cannot take hold upon us if they affect a continuance of lyric sprightliness, but must be serious often and sometimes melancholy, else they do not express the truth of this wild world of ours; so there must be, in this magnificently human art of architecture, some equivalent expression for the trouble and wrath of life, for its sorrow and its mystery; and this it can only give by depth or diffusion of gloom, by the frown upon its front, and the shadow of its recess. So that Rembrandtism is a noble manner in architecture, though a false one in painting; and I do not believe that ever any building was truly great, unless it had mighty masses, vigorous and deep, of shadow mingled with its surface. And among the first habits that a young architect should learn, is that of thinking in shadow, not looking at a design in its miserable liny skeleton; but conceiving it as it will be when the dawn lights it, and the dusk leaves it; when its stones will be hot, and its crannies cool; when the lizards

will bask on the one, and the birds build in the other. Let him design with the sense of cold and heat upon him; let him cut out the shadows, as men dig wells in unwatered plains; and lead along the lights, as a founder does his hot metal; let him keep the full command of both, and see that he knows how they fall, and where they fade." "It matters not how clumsy, how common, the means are that get weight and shadow—sloping roof, jutting porch, projecting balcony, hollow niche, massy gargoyle, frowning parapet; get but gloom and simplicity, and all good things will follow in their place and time." "We are none of us so good architects as to be able to work habitually beneath our strength; and yet there is not a building that I know of, lately raised, wherein it is not sufficiently evident that neither architect nor builder has done his best. It is the especial characteristic of modern work. All old work, nearly, has been hard work. It may be the hard work of children, of barbarians, of rustics; but it is always their utmost. . . . Let us have done with this kind of work at once. . . . Do not let us boss our roofs with wretched, half-worked, blunt-edged rosettes; do not let us flank our gates with rigid imitations of mediæval statuary. Such things are mere insults to common sense, and only unfit us for feeling the nobility of their prototypes. We have so much, suppose, to be spent in decoration; let us go the Flaxman of his time, whoever he may be, and bid him carve for us a single statue, frieze, or capital, or as many as we can afford, compelling upon him the one condition, that they shall be the best he can do. . . . It may be that we do not desire ornament of so high an order: choose, then, a less developed style, also, if you will, rougher material; the law which we are enforcing requires only that what we pretend to do and to give, shall both be the best of their kind; choose, therefore, the Norman hatchet work, instead of the Flaxman frieze and statue, but let it be the best hatchet work; and if you cannot afford marble, use Caen stone, but from the best bed; and if not stone, brick, but the best brick; preferring always what is good of a lower order of work and material, to what is bad of a higher." "The first condition which just feeling requires in church furniture is, that it should be simple and unaffected, not fictitious nor tawdry. . . . I recollect no instance of a want of sacred character, or of any marked and painful ugliness, in the simplest or most awkwardly built village church, where stone and wood were roughly and nakedly used, and the windows latticed with white glass. But the smoothly stuccoed walls, the flat roofs with ventilator ornaments, the barred windows with jaundiced borders and dead ground square panes, the gilded or bronzed wood, the painted iron, the wretched upholstery of curtains and cushions, and pew heads and altar railings, and Birmingham metal candlesticks, and above all, the green and yellow sickness of the false

marble — disguises all, observe; falsehoods all — who are they who like these things? who defend them? who do them? I have never spoken to any one who *did* like them, though to many who thought them matters of no consequence."

The above may serve as sufficient specimens of the general views, but the reader of the "Modern Painters" will readily conceive (though the "Lamps" are much less rich in such) how many admirable bits of special criticism, and how many pictures by the wayside, are scattered through the pages. As this:

"There is no subject of street ornament so wisely chosen as a fountain, where it is a fountain of use; for it is just there that perhaps the happiest pause takes place in the labor of the day, when the pitcher is rested on the edge of it, and the breath of the bearer is drawn deeply, and the hair swept from the forehead, and the uprightness of the form declined against the marble ledge, and the sound of the kind word or light laugh mixes with the trickle of the falling water, heard shriller and shriller as the pitcher fills."

To select, further, some of the most directly practical of his views, we may mention that he attacks all machine-carving, imitation of a material different from that actually made use of, and in general all work pretending to be what it is not. The reason assigned is that it is a violation of truth, in pretending to more labor or expense than has really been given to it.

These questions are wide ones, and, practically speaking, certainly his doctrine is on the safe side. Abuses of this kind have reached a most glaring pitch; have got, indeed, to be almost equivalent to ornamental architecture. But the ground on which they are to be opposed, Mr. Ruskin does not make very clear. As to the mere moral question; Art, as we have said, has nothing to do with Morals. As to the mere quantity of labor or expense, this also is a matter of indifference. Indeed, has he not himself taught us, (*Modern Painters*, Vol. I., ch. 2,) that, other things being equal, rapidity, slightness, and apparent inadequacy of the means to the effect, are preferable? The truth is, the value of a work of art consists in its being the expression of human feeling and thought; but in machine-work the execution is out of all proportion to the thought, hence the diminished value.

As to imitations, the ground of objection is that the material is not fit for the work; not merely apparently inadequate, (this it may not be,) but really so. If the inadequacy is *only* ap-

parent, it becomes a source of pleasure; as, for instance, in the slender shafts and slight vaulting of Gothic architecture, which is delightful when, either by science or by tradition, we are assured of its strength, but otherwise would be offensive.

The omission of ornament where it is not to be seen, the counterfeit splendor of the freestone front and the beggarly nakedness of the rear, is such a gross, and at the same time so common an offence against correct taste, that we should be glad, if our space permitted, to copy some of our author's remarks on this point. He very judiciously allows the discontinuance of ornament where it could by no possibility be seen; but will have this done openly, and only in clear cases. It is destructive to Art to have it degraded to mere *appearance:* on the other hand, the desert flower that blooms unseen is no rule to Art, which is elevated above the accidentalness and waste of Nature.

The "Lamp of Beauty" might have been expected to shed some light on the question somewhat vexed among the readers of the "Modern Painters," whether or not Mr. Ruskin intended to hold up the imitation of Nature as the standard of Art: For ourselves, our opinion was very clear that he had no such thought, and we were much surprised to read here, (p. 58,) that "whatever in architecture is fair and beautiful is imitated from natural forms," and (p. 86) "forms which are *not* taken from natural objects *must* be ugly." Now, whatever opinions have been entertained in this respect as to Painting and Sculpture, such assertions as to Architecture are to us, at least, both new and strange, since this alone of the plastic arts has no prototype in Nature. In *decoration*, no doubt, much is suggested by natural objects, but even here *imitation* is generally avoided, except in barbarous or debased styles. We still prefer to hold this as a slip of the pen or the fancy, and remember rather his former statement, (*Modern Painters*, I., 24,) that "ideas of truth are the foundation, and ideas of imitation the destruction of all art." If the beautiful be the imitated, then whatever is imitated must be beautiful.

Neither is Mr. Ruskin more happy in his definition of the Picturesque as distinguished from the Beautiful. He calls it (p. 156) *Parasitical Sublimity.* But, to make use of his own question on occasion of another definition, we should be "curious to trace the steps of any reasoning which, on such a theory, should account for the picturesqueness of an ass colt as opposed to a horse foal," or, indeed, should account for it at

all. Picturesqueness we take to be simply the fitness of any thing to form part of a picture, implying only the requisite harmony or contrast with other objects, and not any beauty of the thing itself out of the combination.

Lest our strictures, from their number, should seem to outweigh our really thankful commendation of the work in general, we pass over some other matters that appear to us open to criticism. Much partisan praise and blame in matter architectural; bigoted attacks on the Roman Church; crotchety talk against railroads, (even wishes that the men employed on them had been set to building "beautiful houses and churches" instead); much conservatism — run-mad, of all kinds, we omit.

The pervading feeling of the whole work as to the prospects of Architecture, (and it would sometimes seem as to all other prospects) is despair; an unwise feeling, which human nature will sometimes yield to, but which no considerate man will put into print, since there is never any ground for it.

If there is no chance for our ever having a good architecture, we may rest assured there is some reason, could we but find it, why it is best so. In reply to all complaints of the "utilitarianism of our age," of the "want of taste in the people," &c., &c., we say, that first of all, such complaints are presumably in the wrong. All criticism of general and decided tendencies, of whole nations, will be found in all experience to have been fallacious; right, perhaps, in what it saw, erring from not seeing the compensation that kept the account square. Right in this case, for instance, in seeing the degeneracy of Architecture, as a fact, but wrong from not seeing what this fact proves. For looking at things in the large, the features we discern are necessary ones, and carved by the finger of Fate. Perhaps in the fulness of time it will be discerned that this building of railroads and mills was the thing most wanted in the building line just at present, and that the ends attained by the noble architecture of antiquity are now attained in some other way. If we look at Mr. Ruskin's requisites we shall see that the feeling by which he demands the artist shall be possessed is nothing more or less than — Religion. His demand, then, is that we shall be religious, and moreover, that we shall express our religion in the form of religious architecture. But we have better ways of expressing it. In the days of the grand architecture it was the best way or one of the best ways; it is not so now.

To enlarge upon this topic, however, would lead us too far. But thus much we may confidently assert, that granting that Architecture, as a Fine Art, holds at present a subordinate position, it is the part of no friend to Art to waste his strength in the hope of helping it up. For Art swims only with the current, and when the days of criticism come, and the educated and cultivated have possession of it, it is already dead and gone. Like Bentham, it bequeathes its body to the doctors. Our part clearly is to take what is given us with thankfulness and peace, and not be anxious to tinker at the order of the universe. If there be any thing more foolish than mourning over what is dead, it is the attempt to revive it.

The present edition seems to be a faithful reprint of the English; the plates are facsimiles, with no appreciable difference in the execution. The mosaic copied on the cover (note 14) is omitted, and its place supplied by a Gothic window. Excepting this, we prefer the American edition, from its more convenient size and price, to the English.

Art. VIII. — SHORT REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. — *Memoirs of Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D. D., and of his Son, Rev. Joseph Stearns Buckminster.* By Eliza Buckminster Lee. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. xii. and 486.

It has been with feelings of no ordinary interest and delight that we have lingered about this charming work, — a graceful monument builded by genuine affection to the cherished memory of a father and a brother. It was well for the ancients to rear over the mortal remains of those they had loved and lost, the magnificent mausoleum, and by sculptured stone and marble beauty to express their sorrow and love for the departed; it was fitting for them thus to mourn for what they regarded as the cheerless repose of unwilling exiles from the face of Earth; the fixed, dead, unproductive stone, inexorable as the Fates, seemed in unison with the voice that sounded in their unconsoled hearts from the life beyond the grave. But a deeper insight into the meaning of Life, and a more joyous trust in our own immortal destiny and a Father's care, render unsuitable for us what was appropriate to the younger days of the world; the existence which has been dignified by usefulness and holiness and all sweet affec-

tions, closes not at all for others, more than for itself, when the fleshly garment, through which it expressed its activity to the eye, is laid beneath the sod. Some congenial heart, gathering with pious care and appreciating delicacy the scattered memorials of word and deed, which, all along its daily path, have been shed from the inner life of the beloved one, and preserving them in a simple memorial-urn, preserves for us the refreshing fragrance of those well-spent days. They, the seemingly departed, are still here, giving words of cheer and strength to those whose feet are yet soiled with the dust of every-day duties.

We cordially thank the authoress who, with so much delicacy, taste, and acute perception of beauty in sentiment, has placed before us the united lives of father and son. The whole book breathes of home; the domestic affections, and interests, anxieties, cares, and enjoyments are sketched with finest touches; we feel welcomed to the midst of them; we sit in "the little parlor"; mark the father's anxiety for the best welfare of his children; and, in the hearty purity and piety which have made the name of Joseph Stevens Buckminster sacred to so large a circle, we see the effect of that early religious environment. Naturally gifted with religious tendencies, the heart of the young boy was still furthered by that blessing in disguise which is usually spoken of as unmitigated evil — the removal of a lovely and pious mother by death. Her gentle care, her unwearied patience, may be missed in the supply of physical wants, the indulgence of innocent, childish whims; but such a mother is buried from such a son to rise an angel in his heart of hearts; her continual presence there stimulates to exertion, strengthens in temptation, whispers peace in the little sorrows which come to all children, awakens in the young soul ideas of spiritual communion, and helps to make a home-reality of that Eternal Life which is to-day and here, and will be for ever.

To the influence of these associations in the home of his childhood, garnered there for his manhood's use, we should attribute much of that power which his beautiful life has had in the community. We look in vain in the volumes of his sermons for any thing to confirm the high estimation in which his preaching was held; we feel that the man was far greater than all his written words, and that the Truth and Beauty and Love, with which his great heart was overflowing, found their utterance so completely, so effectually, in countenance, gesture, tone, and the whole demeanour, that the words in which these realities were embodied were of secondary importance, — proving how much more men are affected by real character than by fine actions or eloquent words.

The book is preëminently of New England. The letters from the father, and various little incidents scattered throughout, speak

as distinctly of the domestic habits, the moral atmosphere, the general tone of feeling amid which her hardy sons have been nurtured, as her pine groves and the glowing beauty of her autumnal scenery tell of the sterility of her soil, and the sudden chilling frosts of her variable air. "Take care of your clothes, your health, your morals, your soul," says the excellent father, at the close of an affectionate letter to the young Cambridge student; and the good man's economical injunctions were not lost on "the diligent boy, who, when he had saved all his pocket-money to buy a new pair of boots, finding it insufficient, was forced to have his old ones patched." This reminds us of the difficulties and trials through which many noble spirits among us, conscious of powers which would not sleep, yet cramped within the iron bands of poverty, have acquired for themselves, by unfaltering exertion and the indomitable energy of New England enterprise, a station of distinguished usefulness.

The stern conflict, too, in the father's soul, when he finds the religious faith of his dear children differing from his own standard in what he believed most essential, has been the unwritten story of many a New England home. To our Puritan fathers we can look back with profound respect, for the elevated tone of morality and the spirit of piety which still characterize their descendants; but the stern and dark theology which narrowed their hearts, chilling the warm flow of the affections, is still too visible among us in its baneful effects to be looked upon without aversion. We are grieved for the affectionate parent, who could not see in his darling and admired son the evidences of a Christian character, because the technical terms of their intellectual belief differed; they were treading so conscientiously and earnestly the same pathway of light, and yet an imaginary barrier separated his child from him. The correspondence which passed between them, when Joseph was preparing for the ministry, attests the lovingness of the father's heart and the unloveliness of his theology.

There are many pleasing sketches of persons and events scattered through the book. We close this imperfect notice by extracting a little gem, whose simple beauty will tempt the reader to look for more in the book itself.

"They dwelt in a small, plain house, one little parlor of ten feet square containing all that was requisite for their comfort. The deacon himself tended a little shop in front of the parlor, filled with needles, pins, tapes, quality binding, snuff, — that most common luxury — with a pair of scales to weigh a copper's worth. The deacon always wore a full suit of very light drab broadcloth, with white cotton stockings and silver knee-buckles, and a full-bottomed white horsehair wig, always powdered. His exquisitely plaited cambric ruffles were turned back, while he was in the shop, under white linen sleeves or cuffs, and a white linen apron preserved the purity of the fine drab broadcloth. His solitary mate sat in the little three-cornered parlor, whose fire-place was an afterthought, and built into the corner, the bricks forming successive little shelves, where various small things could be kept warm. There she sat all day at her

round table with needle-work, dressed in an old-fashioned brocade, with an exquisite lawn handkerchief folded over it; and environed with a scrupulous neatness, where the litter of children's sports never came. In the stoical childhood of the writer, it was a blessed recreation to be permitted to go and drink tea with the old-fashioned pair. The visitor sat upon the stair that came down into the room, and observed the process of making tea, when the bright copper kettle was placed before the fire, and the waiter with small china cups took the place of the work-basket upon the round table. There, as the evening shades gathered in their little room, and the tea-kettle sang louder and louder, the mate of this solitary nest came in from the shop. His white wig was exchanged for a linen cap, the cuffs and the apron laid aside, and the latchet of the silver shoe-buckles unloosed, but not taken out. His place was at another small table, where were writing materials and the ledger of the little establishment.

"It was the proud office of the childish visitor to be permitted to carry the smoking cup of tea across the few steps that divided the tables, without spilling a drop, more than rewarded by the benignant smile, the courteous politeness of the old gentleman. Yes; although he sold snuff by the copper's worth he was a true paladin, chivalrous to his companion, whom he always called, 'My love,' while she addressed him by the placid title of 'Neighbor,' obeying, no doubt, the injunction of Scripture, to love her neighbor as herself.

"In this frugal, uniform, secluded manner they passed the evening of a life that had once been more eventful, and with greater means of expense; and in retaining the costume of better days, unsuited to the business of the small shop, they retained what conduced to their own unassuming self-respect. The old lady always folded her work, and closed her evening, in the words of Dr. Watts:

> 'I 'm tired of visits, modes, and forms,
> And flatteries paid to fellow-worms;
> Their conversation cloys,
> Their vain amours and empty stuff;
> But I can never have enough
> Of thy dear company.'

In my childish simplicity it seemed a beautiful compliment to her companion; but as I now understand its significance, it seems almost a parody upon their quiet life."

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2. — *Popular Christianity; its Transition State, and probable Development.* By FREDERICK J. FOXTON, A. B., formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford, and perpetual curate of Stoke Prior, and Docklow, Herefordshire. "Non Deos vulgi negare profanum; sed vulgi opiniones Diis applicare profanum." — EPICURUS. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. XII. and 226.

HERE is another book from a Fellow of Oxford, which shows a tendency of thought in earnest men quite counter to the common theology of the day. The author treats of the Condition of the Churches; Inspiration of the Scriptures; Miracles and Prophecy; the Divinity of Christ; Doctrines and Articles; Prospects and Conclusion. It is not a profound book, the author seldom going down to first principles, nor yet a learned one; but it is earnest, liberal, tolerant. Mr. Foxton often takes things at second hand,

but he generally takes *good* things. He thus speaks of the condition of the churches.

"The dry bones of all churches are beginning to stir; and (like dead bodies under the stroke of a galvanic battery,) even the most obsolete and superannuated superstitions receive a momentary and spasmodic vitality from the shock of controversial excitement. From the ancient heart of Christendom, from Rome herself, a faint pulsation is still felt through the decaying members, and a lingering hope seems to be entertained that 'new wine' may be put into 'old bottles.'"

"A rationalizing spirit has penetrated into the very sanctuary of fanaticism, and bigotry itself is seeking for the practical and essential in religion, regardless of external forms, and the strictness of a doctrinal terminology."

"A few years ago, the common room at Oriel was the constant scene of those gladiatorial displays of intellect which the liberal Protestantism of the age has introduced into the arena of theological discussion. Amongst the most distinguished of the combatants were Blanco White, Newman, Arnold, Whateley, and Hampden, men admitted even by their adversaries to have possessed considerable learning, unblemished character, and religious sincerity. The dust of the amphitheatre has now cleared away, and after the lapse of a few years let us again observe the position of the combatants. The simple-minded, sensitive, and honest Blanco White, after having successively attached himself, after his secession from Romanism, to the liberal Church party, to the Evangelicals, and to the Unitarians, at length died in the profession of what the world calls Deism. The devout and reverential Newman, after a long and painful struggle, being unable to find a resting-place for the sole of his feet, within the pale of his Church, in primitive simplicity of heart commences, staff in hand, a pilgrimage to Rome!"

"The language of our forms no longer describes the actual feelings and wants of the worshippers, except in the expression of those general sentiments of natural religion which are common to all times, and its hold on the affections of the people (if hold it has) is founded on a sickly sentiment for antiquity alone. It is thus, by for ever looking back, that the Church neglects her office as leader of Christian civilization, and allows the world to outgrow her ordinances, and neglect her instructions. To the best and purest of her ministers, her cumbrous and antiquated machinery is daily becoming more and more an incumbrance and a snare, and the brightest ornaments of her communion are those who virtually renounce their allegiance to her laws.

"The honest defenders of the spirituality of the Church amongst her clergy are simply called upon openly to profess what so many of them secretly believe. Let no honest preacher any longer continue to teach what he believes to be unreal and untrue, even though it may be consecrated by the formularies of the Church. Let the people, at least, be freed from the burden of rites and ceremonies no longer significant, or which have a positive tendency to divert their minds from the spiritual objects of their faith. Let them no longer be taught that the imposition of hands can convey the gift of the Holy Ghost; that the water in Baptism can wash away our sins, or that the Eucharist is more than a commemorative rite. The abrogation of rites and ceremonies, confessedly obsolete or actually pernicious, would be at least a step towards a more earnest and genuine belief."

He thus speaks of Inspiration.

"In conclusion, then, the Scriptures can only be said to be 'inspired' in a sense far more restricted that what is required to sustain the authority which is given to them by the popular theology. Many believers carry to the account of 'inspiration' the dogmatical wisdom of Solomon, and the poetical beauties of Isaiah; but this is the same 'inspiration' which is popularly attributed to the sublimities of Milton or Shakspeare, or even to the homely wisdom of

Benjamin Franklin; for "Poor Richard's Almanac" abounds in the peculiar wisdom, at least, of the book of Proverbs. The daily prayers of the Church implore for every individual soul the gifts of God's spirit, and shall this divine guide be denied to the benevolent Howard or Elizabeth Fry, whilst it is supposed to have blessed in an especial manner the backsliding Peter, or the incredulous Thomas! The power and influence of the modern saint on his age and nation cannot be compared with ancient examples, for the rapturous enthusiasm of the East is unknown in our northern climate and advanced civilization. It seems extremely probable, after all, that the words "inspired," "Holy Spirit," "Holy Ghost," and many other synonyms, were actually used in the Scriptures much in the same vague sense as in modern literature, where we speak of the 'Divine Dante,' the 'inspired Shakspeare,' the 'inspirations of genius,' or the 'spirit of love;' and surely we cannot deny to the florid writers of the East a latitude so freely indulged in by those of the cold and passionless north."

"To the poor and illiterate man of the present age, the Bible, with all its mysteries and miracles, is simply an object of idolatrous reverence. The mysterious doctrines — the religious metaphysics — the profound criticism and subtle learning by which it is overlaid for the educated reader, are entirely lost upon the illiterate believer. The vulgar idea I conceive to be, that God has twice and only twice actually spoken to mankind, once in the Hebrew and once in the Greek language — these being the chosen tongues of the Divine Lawgiver. The various records that compose the sacred volume are looked upon as objects of devout adoration, as much as if they had actually fallen down from heaven — a childlike reliance on priestly authority, extending even to translations of translations the same sacred character that attached to the original records. All truth and all wisdom — scientific and moral — 'the whole counsel of God,' are literally assumed to be comprehended 'in the words of a book;' and, though it is true that a moral sense of right and wrong is generally admitted to be an *original* element in human nature, yet the concession is so qualified by a pious mysticism, and so obscured by theological disputation, that the believer is left but little reliance on the inspirations of conscience. The doctrines of original sin and human infirmity are so taught as to neutralize all practical dependence on the 'inward witness.' When such is the condition of the religious mind, not only of the illiterate vulgar, but of the half-instructed laity of all classes, it is easy to account for the still existing credulity on the subject of miracles."

His belief in miracles is hardly orthodox.

"That a belief in miraculous agency should thus exist in the 18th century, or even at the present moment, is simply to be referred to the authoritative teaching of the Church; for there is in reality no sufficient reason for denying the same miraculous powers to the Bishops of Exeter or of London, which were once freely conceded to Justin Martyr or Irenæus. It is certain that the ignorant vulgar believe the miracles of the Church solely on her own authority — they humbly receive this as they do every other doctrine of their faith, on that authority alone, without exercising or attempting to exercise that right of private judgment so boastingly assumed to be the badge of the Protestant. The assumed universality of the belief in miracles amongst all classes of Christians must not be considered, therefore, as any evidence of their reasonableness or of their truth."

"St. Paul, no doubt, *heard*, at his conversion, one of those

'Airy tongues that syllable men's names,'

so delicately imagined by Milton."

"A living faith in the ethics of Christianity, it will surely be conceded, is more important than a belief in the raising of Lazarus, or the possession of the swine; and if, by a not improbable change in religious opinion, these two miracles should be abandoned, as so many others have been by the advocates

of the popular creed, how little would it affect the spiritual objects of our faith. The grand dogmas of the immortality of the soul — the progressive and heavenly tendency of the human spirit and its relation to God — the incarnation of God in Christ, our bright example (considered by Ullman as the very essence of Christianity) — the beauty of holiness and virtue the proper happiness of mankind — all these heavenly lessons would remain self-sufficing and indestructible, though every recorded miracle in the Gospels, and half the doctrines extorted from them by the Church, should be proved to be the offspring of oriental credulity and ecclesiastical corruption. Nay, more, how many thousands of human beings, in whose hearts the love of Christ, and reverence for his teaching, are warmly cherished, but who receive with sullen and stunned apprehension the miraculous history with which it is involved, would rejoice in the emancipation of their understandings and the liberty of reason.

"It is, however, after all, absurd to suppose that the miracles of the Scriptures are subjects of actual belief, either to the vulgar or the learned, and the very gravest of Christians are found occasionally to smile at the ass of Balaam and the voyage of Jonah; and even devout and learned bishops have had their joke at the grotesque superstitions they continue to inculcate. These things surely betray the absence of any honest, sincere, and earnest belief in the popular creed; and, beyond all question, the skepticism of the world is greatly on the increase. I repeat, that, even amongst the vulgar, the miracles of the Scriptures are not matters of devout belief in the nineteenth century, and that, long before another has passed over our heads, they will hold no higher place in the public mind than the spurious miracles of the Romish Church."

"A belief in *miracle and prophecy* is becoming daily less and less necessary as the means of inculcating a faith in the invisible things of God, in proportion as the inner miracles of the human heart and intellect are being made known by the diffusion of spiritual knowledge. *Creeds and confessions* are almost imperceptibly, but surely, losing their authority over the minds of men under the expanding influence of intelligence and toleration."

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3. — *The War System, or the Commonwealth of Nations:* an Address before the American Peace Society, at its anniversary in Boston, May 28th, 1849. By Charles Sumner, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. pp. 72.

This is prudent, timely, and eloquent; the best of Mr. Sumner's orations.

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4. — *Memoir of Hiram Withington. With Selections from his Sermons and Correspondence.* Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. vi. and 190.

This work contains a brief and beautiful memoir of a very earnest and worthy young man, who struggled with difficulties in early life, became a Unitarian minister, and died at the age of 30. The sermons are remarkable for directness and brevity.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Goethe's Leben von Viehoff. Theil III. Leipsic. 1849. 16mo. pp. 512.

Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache von Jacob Grimm. Leipzig. 1848. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. XVIII. and 1036.

Zur ältesten Völker und Mythengeschichte. Von F. Hitzig, &c., &c. Erster Band, Urgeschichte und Mythologie des Philistäer. Leipsic. 1845. 8vo. pp. XII. and 318.

Die Verfassung des Deutschen Reichs wie sie von der National-Versammlung in Frankfurt beschlossen wurde, &c., &c., nach den officiellen ausgaben, &c. Leipzig. 1849. 8vo. pp. 58.

Ursache und Geschichte der Octoberereignizze zu Wien, von einem Augenzeugen Leipzig. 1848. 8vo. pp. 136.

Beitrag zur Deutschen Mythologie, von Friederich Panzer, mit 4 Küpfertafeln. München. 1848. pp. VI. and 406.

Mythologie und Symbolik der Christlichen Kunst. Von der altesten Zeit bis ins sechzehnten Jahrhundert. Von Ferdinand Piper, Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Berlin, Ersten Bandes erste Abtheilung. Weimar. 1847. 8vo. pp. XLIV. and 510.

Lexicologie Indo-Européenne ou Essai sur la Science des Mots Sanskrits, Grecs, Latins, Français, Lithuaniens, Russes, Allemands, Anglais, etc. Par H. J. Chavée, &c., &c. Paris. 1849. 8vo. pp. XVI. and 420.

Histoire Critiqué des Institutions Judiciaires de la France de 1789 à 1848. Par M. Hiver ancien magistrat avocat à Orléans. Paris. 1848. 8vo. pp. XVI. and 640.

Dante's Divine Comedy: the Inferno. A literal prose Translation, with the text of the original collated from the best editions, and explanatory notes. By John A. Carlyle, M. D.

> O degli altri poeti onore e lume,
> Vagliami il lungo studio e il grande amore,
> Che m'han fatto cercar lo tuo volume. — *Inferno*, I., 82-4.

New York. 1849. pp. XXXIV. and 375.

[This is the beautiful work mentioned in Vol. I. of this Journal, p. 527.]

The Maniac and other Poems. By George Shepherd Burleigh. Philadelphia. 1849. pp. VIII. and 240.

Foot-Prints. By R. H. Stoddard, &c., &c. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 48.

First Nursery Reading Book, intended to teach the Alphabet by means of English words, whose analysis shall give the true sounds that were originally, and even now are generally, attached to the characters in all languages. By Elizabeth P. Peabody. Boston. 1849. Small 4to. pp. IV. and 48.

A Trap to catch a Sunbeam. By the author of "Mount Jolliffe," "A Merry Christmas," etc., etc. Boston. 1849. 16mo. pp. 60.

Memorial to the State Legislatures of the United States. By John W. King. Cincinnati. 1849. 8vo. pp. 16.

Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Congregational Friends, held at Waterloo, N. Y., from the 4th to the 6th of Sixth-month, inclusive, 1849. With an appendix. Auburn. 1849. 12mo. pp. 45.

Report of the Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 19th and 20th, 1848. Rochester. 1848. 16mo. pp. 12.

Spiritual Blindness and Social Disruption: a Sermon, &c., by John Hamilton Thom, &c. London. 1849. 12mo. pp. 28.

The Electropathic Guide, devoted to Electricity and its medical applications. By Dr. A. Paige, &c., &c. Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. VIII. and 158.

Review of Ellwood Fisher's Lecture on the North and South. By Osgood Mussey. Cincinnati. 1849. 8vo. pp. 98. [See above, p. 489, note.]

A Systematic Report of 392 Cases treated hydropathically at Brattleboro', 1848, &c. Also, Causes and Hydropathic Treatment of the Cholera. By Drs. Wesselhoeft and William Grau. New York. 1849. 8vo. pp. 96.

Addresses at the Inauguration of Jared Sparks, LL. D., as President of Harvard College, Wednesday, June 20, 1849. Cambridge. 1849. 8vo. pp. 60.

Service-Pipes for Water: an Investigation made at the Suggestion of the Board of Consulting Physicians of Boston. By E. N. Horsford, Rumford Professor in the University at Cambridge, &c., &c. Cambridge. 1849. 8vo. pp. 48.

Letter addressed to the Hon. John Davis concerning the Census of 1850. By Nahum Capen. Washington. 1849. 8vo. pp. 23.

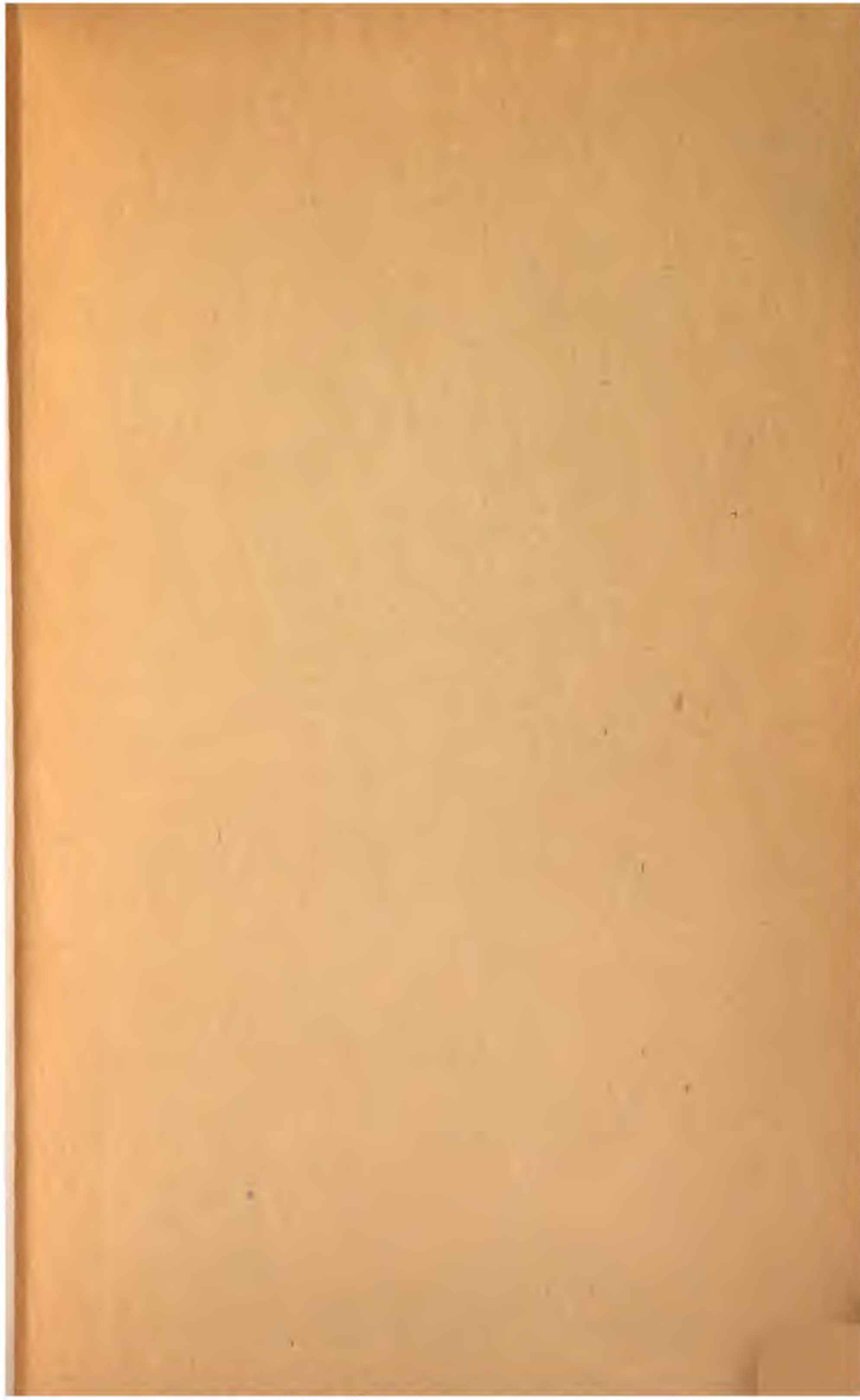
A Review of the Causes and Consequences of the Mexican War. By William Jay. Fourth edition. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 333.

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers. By Henry D. Thoreau. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. 413. [A Review of this in the next number.]

The Bucolics, Georgics, and Æneid of Virgil; with English notes, a Life of Virgil, and remarks upon Scanning. By Edward Moore, A. M. Boston. 1849. 12mo. pp. IV. and 561. ["The sole aim of the Editor," he tells us, was "to furnish a useful schoolbook." He seems to have succeeded.]

The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James the Second, in 1687. By David Hume, Esq. A new edition, with the author's last corrections and improvements. To which is prefixed a short account of his life, written by himself. Boston. 1849. 12mo. Vols. I. and II. pp. XXXII. and 483.

[This is a neat and beautiful reprint of Hume's History. The whole is to be completed in six volumes of the size of the Boston edition of Macaulay's History.]



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