



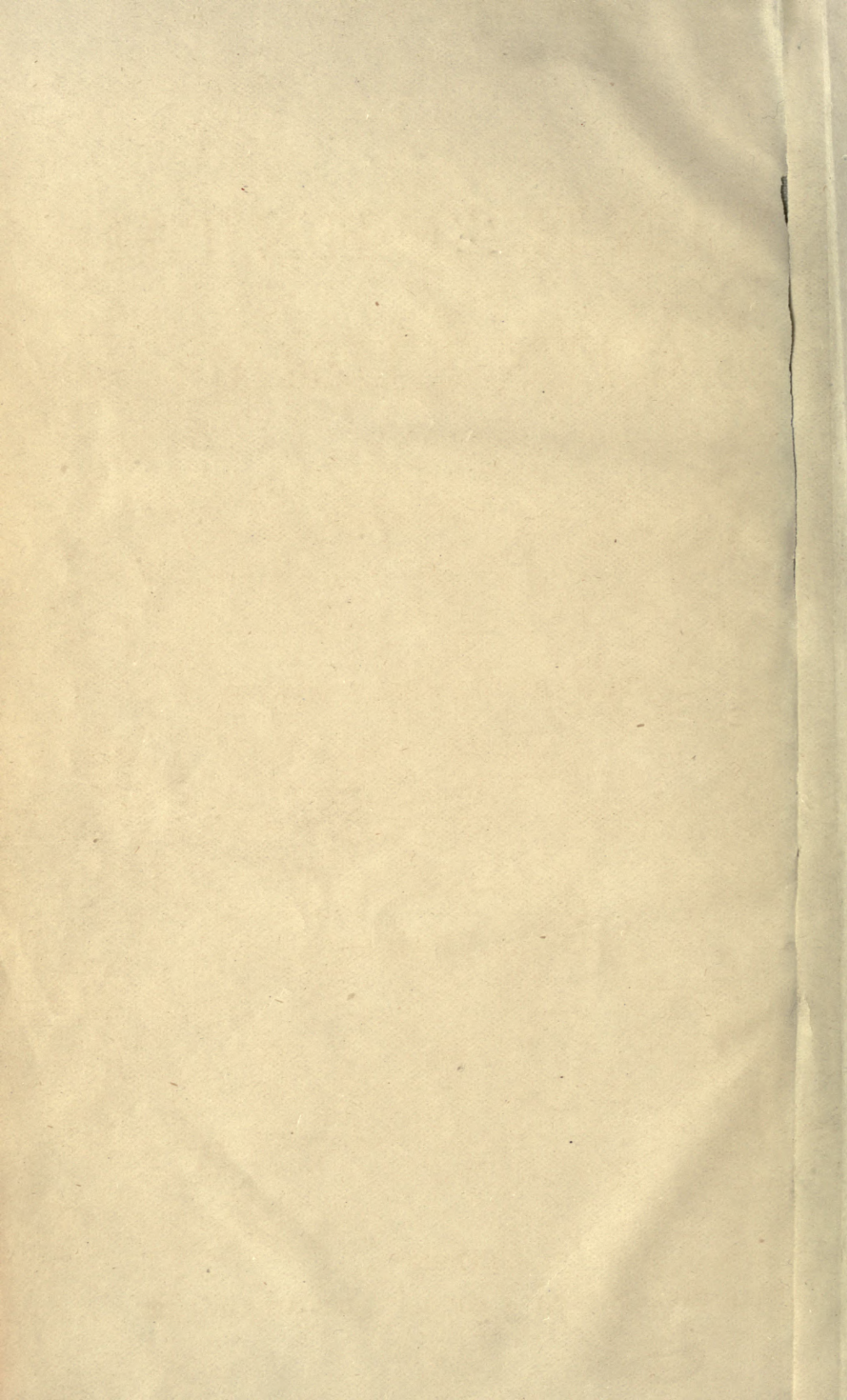


THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

LONDON

ALAN SONNENTAG & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

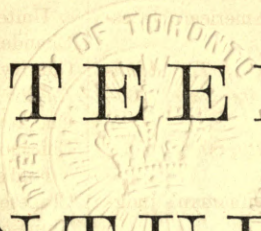


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A MONTHLY REVIEW

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

VOL. XXIII.

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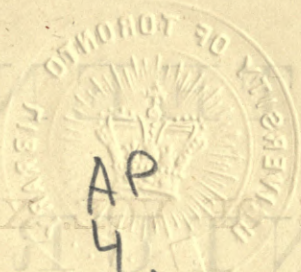
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THE

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THE
NINETEENTH
CENTURY.

No. CXXXI.—JANUARY 1888.

THE PROGRESS OF CREMATION.

IN January 1874, exactly fourteen years ago, I ventured to write an article, which appeared in the *Contemporary Review*,¹ entitled 'Cremation: the Treatment of the Body after Death,' advocating as forcibly as I could its employment instead of the method by burial in the soil. The reason assigned for taking this step was my belief, supported by a striking array of facts, that cremation is now a necessary sanitary precaution against the propagation of disease among a population rapidly increasing, and becoming large in relation to the area it occupies.

The degree of attention which this proposal aroused was remarkable, not only here but abroad, the paper being translated into several European languages. In the course of the first six months of that year I received eight hundred letters on the subject, from persons mostly unknown to me, requiring objections to be answered, explanations to be given, supposed consequences to be provided for; some, indeed, accompanied with much bitter criticism on the 'pagan,' 'anti-Christian,' if not altogether irreligious tendency of the plan. I was encouraged, however, to find that about a fourth of the number were more or less friendly to the proposal. But I confess I had been scarcely prepared to expect that people in general would be so much startled by it, as if it were a novelty hitherto unheard of. Long familiar with it in thought myself, cherishing a natural preference, on sanitary grounds, for its obviously great superiority to burial, and after thoughtful comparison on those also commonly regarded as

¹ Then under my editorship.—ED. *Nineteenth Century*.

'sentimental,' the opposition manifested appeared to me curiously out of proportion with the importance of the interests or sentiments I had perhaps underestimated. Even the few who approved yielded for the most part a weak assent to the confident assertion of a host of opponents, that whatever might be the fate of the theory, any realisation of it could never at all events occur in our time. To use a phrase invented since that date, the proposal was not to be regarded as coming within the range of a practical policy. At some future day, when the world's population had largely increased, we might possibly be driven to submit to such a process, but, thank heaven! the good old-fashioned resting-place in the churchyard or cemetery would amply suffice to meet all needful demands for several future generations still.

To some of the more formidable objections, especially those which had been urged by men of experience, weight, and position, entitled to be listened to with respect and attention, I endeavoured to reply in a subsequent article which appeared two months later in the same journal. Since that date, although maintaining an undiminished interest in the subject, I have taken no public part in any of the numerous platform discussions and published controversies which have frequently appeared both in this country and abroad. But I think the time has come to present, as far as it is possible to do so within the narrow limits of an article, a sketch of what has been accomplished here, after a patient and quiet service of twice seven years, by a few earnest friends and co-operators, in regard of the practice of cremation, and also to what extent it has been employed in other countries.

This will occupy the first portion of the paper. But it is more important still to meet one or two objections to cremation commonly urged, as well as to formulate conditions by which the practice should be regulated in future. An endeavour to do so will occupy the concluding portion.

I.

The brief historical outline which I design to make relating to the last fourteen years will be incomplete without an allusion to what the modern reaction in favour of cremation had achieved before 1874. The proposal to adopt it in recent times originally proceeded mainly from Italy. Papers and monographs appeared commending the method as early as 1866, but practical experimenters, Gorini and Polli, published separately the results of their experiments in 1872; and among others, Professor Brunetti, of Padua, in 1873 detailed his experience, exhibiting the results of it in the form of ashes, &c., with a model of his furnace, at the Great Exhibition at Vienna of that year.

I first became practically interested in the subject on seeing his collection there; and having long been inclined to the theory, satisfied myself for the first time that if not by this apparatus, yet by some other, complete and inoffensive combustion of the body might almost certainly be effected without difficulty. Brunetti's first cremation took place in 1869, his second and third in 1870, and were effected in an open furnace out of doors.

In no other European country had any act of human cremation taken place, as far as I can learn, prior to 1874; and very little notice or information respecting it appeared in any literary form. My friend Dr. de Pietra Santa, of Paris, reported the Italian cases in a little brochure on the subject in 1873, according his hearty support to the practice. But in the autumn of 1874 there appears to have been a solitary example at Breslau; while another occurred almost immediately afterwards at Dresden, where an English lady was cremated in a Siemens' apparatus by the agency of gas. No repetition of the process has taken place there since.

In 1874 a society was formed in London, taking for its title 'The Cremation Society of England,' for the express purpose of disseminating information on the subject, and adopting the best method of performing the process as soon as this could be determined, provided that the act was not contrary to law. In this society I have had the honour of holding the office of president from the commencement to the present date, endeavouring thus to serve a most able and efficient council, most of whom have been fellow-workers during the same period. I am thus well acquainted with its labours and their results, and with each step in its history.

The membership of the society was constituted by subscription to the following declaration, carefully drawn so as to insure approval of a principle, rather than adhesion to any specific practice:—

We disapprove the present custom of burying the dead, and desire to substitute some mode which shall rapidly resolve the body into its component elements by a process which cannot offend the living, and shall render the remains absolutely innocuous. Until some better method is devised, we desire to adopt that usually known as cremation.

A small annual contribution was of course also necessary.

The council of the society commenced operations by submitting a case to legal authorities of high standing, and received two opinions, maintaining that cremation of a human body was not an illegal act, provided no nuisance of any kind was occasioned thereby. Thus advised, an arrangement was soon after concluded with the directors of one of the great cemeteries north of London to erect on their property a building in which cremation should be effectively performed. This site, so appropriate for its purpose, and so well placed in relation to neighbouring property, &c., would have been at once occupied, had not the then Bishop of Rochester, within whose jurisdiction the

cemetery lay, exercised his authority by absolutely prohibiting the proposed addition.

It was necessary, therefore, to find an independent site, and we naturally sought it at Woking, since railway facilities for the removal of the dead from the metropolitan district already existed in connection with the well-known cemetery there. Accordingly in the year 1878 an acre of freehold land in a secluded situation was purchased, with the view of placing thereupon a furnace and apparatus of the most approved kind for effecting the purpose.

After much consideration it was decided to adopt the apparatus designed by Professor Gorini, of Lodi, Italy; and that gentleman accepted an invitation to visit this country for the express purpose of superintending the erection of it, and the plan was successfully carried out in 1879 by Mr. Eassie, the well-known sanitary engineer.

When the apparatus was finished, it was tested by Gorini himself, who reduced to ashes the body of a horse, in presence of several members of the council, with a rapidity and completeness which more than fulfilled their expectations. This experiment foreshadowed the result which numerous actual cremations have since realised, namely, that by this process complete combustion of an adult human body is effected in about an hour, and is so perfectly accomplished that no smoke or effluvia escapes from the chimney; every portion of organic matter being reduced to a pure white, dry ash, which is absolutely free from disagreeable character of any kind. Indeed, regarded as an organic chemical product, it must be considered as attractive in appearance rather than the contrary.

But circumstances at this time, occasioned by official opposition in powerful quarters, and not of sufficient interest to be described here, occasioned much trouble and disappointment, and demanded, on the score of prudence, a patient and quiescent policy on the part of the council, delaying the use of the building for a few years.

Nevertheless there was no reason why public attention to the proposed method should not be invited by other means. My friend Sir Spencer Wells, one of the most active members of the council, brought the subject prominently before the medical profession at the annual meeting of the British Medical Association at Cambridge in August 1880, and, after a forcible statement of facts and arguments, proposed to forward an address to the Secretary of State, asking permission to use the crematory under strict regulations. This was largely signed and duly transmitted, achieving, however, no direct result. But in various quarters, and at different times during this period, advocacy by means of essays, articles in journals, lectures, &c., had arisen spontaneously, no organisation having been set on foot for the purpose; several members of the council, however, taking an active part in some of these proceedings. And I should like to add that the share which Mr. Eassie, our honorary secretary, has

taken in this work, his ceaseless attention to the arranging of practical details at Woking, and the multifarious correspondence, &c., he has conducted during fourteen years, demand an expression here of grateful acknowledgment from his colleagues.

Meantime the progress of cremation abroad may be again referred to. The first cremation of a human body effected in a closed receptacle, with the object of carrying off or destroying offensive products, with the exception of the Dresden example referred to, took place at Milan, in January 1876, and was followed by another in April, the agent adopted being gas. The next occurring there, in March 1877, was accomplished in like manner, but by employing ordinary fuel. It was in Milan also, in September following, that the first cremation was performed by the improved furnace of Gorini, already mentioned. In the preceding year, 1876, the Cremation Society of Milan had been established, under the presidency of Dr. Pini, and it soon became popular and influential. During that year a handsome building was erected with the view of using gas as the agent; but it was subsequently enlarged, namely in 1880, to make room for two Gorini furnaces. These were soon in operation, and since that date many bodies have been burned every year, the number up to the 31st of December, 1886, being 463.

Similar buildings on a smaller scale have been constructed, and largely employed elsewhere, for example, at Lodi, Cremona, Brescia, Padua, Varese, and more lately at Rome, in the Campo Varano cemetery. This was first used in April 1883, since which date 123 cremations have been performed there up to the 31st of December, 1886. The number of all cremations occurring in other towns, excluding Milan and Rome, up to the same date is 202, making 787 for Italy alone.

In Germany the only place at which the practice has been regularly followed is Gotha. A building was constructed there, under permission of the Government, the first cremation taking place in January 1879. It has been largely employed since, the number of cremations amounting to 473 up to the 31st of October, 1887. Cremation societies, some of them with numerous members and displaying much activity, have been recently established in other countries; in Denmark (where the first cremation in a Gorini apparatus took place in September 1886), in Belgium, Switzerland, Holland, Sweden and Norway, and in various parts of the United States, where also cremation has been employed a few times.

In Australia, the Hon. J. M. Creed, a well-known physician in Sydney, has warmly advocated the practice, which has numerous supporters there. He moved the second reading of a bill to establish and regulate cremation in the House of Assembly, June 1886, in an able speech pointing out the dangerous proximity of neighbouring cemeteries to their rapidly developing city, referring to a well thus

poisoned which had caused an outbreak of typhoid, and citing similar facts arising under like conditions in the suburbs of New York and other American cities. The act was approved by the Legislative Council, but failed to pass the House of Assembly.

In Paris, projects for performing cremation have for some time been discussed, and a crematory of considerable size has at length been constructed under the direction of the municipal council. It is situated at Père la Chaise, and although unfinished, was successfully employed on the 22nd of October last for the bodies of two men who died by small-pox. The entrance of the building leads into a spacious hall, sufficing for the purposes of a chapel. In the side wall opposite the entrance are three openings, each conducting to an apparatus constructed on the Gorini principle.

We may now return to the history of our own society, at a time when active operations could be once more resumed. Owing to the serious difficulty which had been placed in their way already referred to, the council was not free until 1884 to employ the apparatus at Woking, and place it at the service of the public for practical use. But in February of that year Mr. Justice Stephen delivered his well-known judgment, declaring that cremation is a legal procedure provided it be effected without nuisance to others. The council of the English society at once decided on offering facilities for performing it, after carefully considering the best means of taking precautions to prevent the destruction of a body which might have met death by unfair means. They issued a paper stating

that they are aware the chief practical objection which can be urged against the employment of cremation consists in the opportunity which it offers, apart from such precautions, for removing the traces of poison or other injury which are retained by an undestroyed body.

Hence they required certain conditions to be complied with before granting the use of the crematorium at Woking. They are as follows:—

1. An application in writing must be made by the friends or executors of the deceased—unless it has been made by the deceased person himself during life—stating that it was the wish of the deceased to be cremated after death.

2. A certificate must be sent by a qualified medical man who, having attended the deceased until the time of death, can state without hesitation that the cause of death was natural, and what that cause was. Another qualified medical man, if possible a resident in the immediate neighbourhood of the deceased, is also required to certify, after examining the facts within his reach, that to the best of his belief the death was due to natural causes.

To each of these gentlemen is forwarded, before certifying, a letter of 'instructions' marked 'private,' signed by the president of

the society, calling special attention to the important nature of the service required.

3. If no medical man attended during the illness, an autopsy must be made by a medical officer appointed by the society, or the cremation cannot take place; unless a coroner's inquest has been held and has determined the cause of death to be natural. These conditions being fulfilled, the council of the society still reserve the right in all cases of refusing permission for the performance of cremation if they think it desirable to do so.

Only two months later, on the 30th of April, 1884, Dr. Cameron, the member for Glasgow, and one of the council of our society, brought a bill into the House of Commons 'to provide for the regulation of cremation and other modes of disposal of the dead.' He proposed to make burial illegal without medical certificate, excepting for the present certain thinly populated and remote districts. No crematory to be used until approved and licensed by the Secretary of State; no body to be burned except at a licensed place, in accordance with regulations to be made by the Secretary of State. Two medical certificates to be necessary in the case of cremation, and if the cause of death cannot be certified, an inquest by the coroner shall be held. Dr. Cameron supported the proposals by an amount of evidence of various kinds which amply warranted the course he had taken. Dr. Farquharson, M.P. for Aberdeen, another member of the council, seconded the motion, which was opposed by the Home Secretary, to whom Sir Lyon Playfair made an able reply, demonstrating, by a comparison of the chemical effects of combustion with those of slow decomposition in earth, the superiority of the former. The bill was opposed by the Government, and the leader of the Opposition took the same course; nevertheless, no less than 79 members voted in favour of the bill on the second reading, to 149 against—a result far more favourable than we had ventured to hope for.

Public attention was thus called to the subject; and the Woking crematory was used for the first time on the 20th of March, 1885, two other cremations following in the course of the year. During 1886 ten bodies were burned, five male and five female, one of them that of a Brahmin. During 1887, up to the 30th of November, ten more bodies have been burned, one only being that of a female.

The complete incineration is accomplished without escape of smoke or other offensive product, and with extreme ease and rapidity. The ashes, which weigh about three pounds, are placed at the disposal of the friends, and are removed. Or, if desired, they may be restored at once to the soil, being now perfectly innocuous, if that mode of dealing with them is preferred. One friend of the deceased is always invited to be present, and in almost every instance has expressed satisfaction with the way in which the proceeding has been carried out.

About a year ago the council made public the following resolution, in the form of a 'minute of council,' which after due consideration had been passed :—

In the event of any person desiring, during life, to be cremated at death, the society is prepared to accept a donation from him or her of ten guineas, undertaking, in consideration thereof, to perform the cremation, provided all the conditions set forth in the forms issued by the society are complied with.

A considerable number of persons have adopted this course in order to express emphatically their wishes in relation to this matter, and to insure as far as possible the accomplishment of them. The society undertake to do their utmost to facilitate the subscriber's object; and probably no better mode of effecting the purpose can be selected than that of placing a written declaration of the testator's wish, together with the society's signed undertaking, in the hands of the friends who are to act as executors.

The council desire now to render the crematory as complete as possible. Although perfectly satisfied with the process and all that appertains thereto, they are anxious to provide a chapel, suitable for the performance of a religious service on the spot, when this is requested, besides another room or two adjacent. This extension will require additional funds. There is also a small debt still remaining on the freehold. Hitherto the funeral service has generally been performed, for example in twenty of the twenty-five cases, and this has taken place before the body was sent to Woking, except in three, in which it was read after the arrival there. The ashes were usually removed by the friends. I have recently received an offer of a hundred pounds if twenty-four other persons will give the same for the purpose named. At all events an expenditure of about three thousand pounds would render the establishment complete; no appeal of any kind has been made, and the bare mention of the fact ought to insure a sufficient subscription.

II.

Arriving now at the second part of my subject, I venture to think that few persons can doubt that cremation, as a mode of safely decomposing the body after death, is at all events the most rapid and efficient agent known.

Instead of the old process of putrefaction, occupying a term of several years, and inevitably disseminating innumerable germs of fatal disease, which propagate it wherever they find an appropriate nidus—a process moreover evolving physical changes of a nature too repulsive for the mind to dwell upon—the effect of combustion is to resolve the mass rapidly into harmless dust. It destroys all corrupting matters, rendering inert all that is infectious, and restores valuable elements in the form of gases to the atmosphere, where they at once enter

into new combinations with healthy living organisms in obedience to the order of nature.

To this process of combustion I know now but one objection. One only, indeed, is ever seriously urged against it; and the gravity of that I do not dispute. So complete is the destruction of all noxious matter accomplished by cremation of the body, that if any extraneous poison happens to be present in its tissues before death, administered by accident or design, all traces of it are necessarily destroyed also. Hence in those exceedingly rare cases where the evidence of a poisoner's guilt depends on the production by chemical skill of the very agent employed, from the organs of the body exhumed for the purpose some time after death, justice would be defeated and the criminal would escape if in that particular instance cremation had been employed. I do not desire to underrate the force of the argument which lies against the procedure on that ground; I intend to deal with it seriously.

I might first, however, rejoin with great force that many bodies committed to the grave every week in the metropolitan area alone are charged with poisons not less dangerous to the living population than those which may have been used to cause death by design. I state as a fact of the highest importance that by burial in earth we effectively provide—whatever sanitary precautions are taken by ventilation and drainage, whatever disinfection is applied after contagious disease has occurred—that the pestilential germs which have destroyed the body in question are thus so treasured and protected as to propagate and multiply, ready to reappear and work like ruin hereafter for others.

Since last I wrote, the argument for cremation on this ground has been immeasurably strengthened. It was then notorious that the watercourses and wells in the proximity of graveyards and cemeteries had often been the demonstrated sources of disease to a neighbouring population.² But the later discoveries of science point more strongly to other dangers, arising still more directly from the buried dead. Every year records new facts identifying the

² It can scarcely be necessary to reproduce evidence in proof of the statement here made. Yet I am told there are signs that its force and abundance have been forgotten by many. It should suffice to refer to the printed transactions of our society for a list of published records which long ago settled the question beyond all dispute. (See *Transactions*, Nos. 1 and 2, edited by Mr. Eassie, and for bibliography of the subject given there. London: Smith & Elder.) But for those who desire specific statements on this head, together with much interesting matter regarding cremation in its scientific aspects and in connection with religious observance, see a paper in *Good Words*, July 1885, by the Right Hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B., M.P., entitled 'Disposal of the Dead.' In relation to the subject above referred to, I shall make two brief extracts: 'In most of our churchyards the dead are harming the living by destroying the soil, fouling the air, contaminating water-springs, and spreading the seeds of disease.' . . . 'I have officially inspected many churchyards and made reports on their state, which, even to re-read make me shudder.'

cause of certain of the most familiar types of contagious disease with the presence of minute organisms, bacteria, the absorption of which into the blood, or even in some cases into the alimentary canal, suffices to reproduce the dangerous malady. One of the most deadly scourges to our race, viz. tubercular disease, is now known to be thus propagated. Then besides anthrax or splenic fever, spores from which are notoriously brought to the surface from buried animals below, and become fatal to the herds feeding there, it is now almost certain that malarious diseases, notably Roman fever, and even tetanus, are due to bacteria which flourish in the soil itself. The poisons of scarlet fever, enteric fever (typhoid), small-pox, diphtheria, malignant cholera, are undoubtedly transmissible through earth from the buried body by more than one mode. And thus by the act of interment we literally sow broadcast through the land innumerable seeds of pestilence; germs which long retain their vitality, many of them destined at some future time to fructify in premature death and ruined health for thousands. It is vain to dream of wiping out the reproach to our civilisation which the presence and power of these diseases in our midst assuredly constitute by any precaution or treatment, while effective machinery for their reproduction is in constant daily action. Probably not the least important among the several modes by which buried infection may reappear is the ceaseless activity of the earthworm, bringing to the surface—which indeed in a measure it slowly creates—poisonous matters engendered in human remains, although covered by a considerable depth of permeable soil. The proportion of deaths due to the diseases referred to is exceedingly large. And let it never be forgotten that they form no necessary part of any heritage appertaining to the human family. All are preventible, all certainly destined to disappear at some future day, when man has thoroughly made up his mind to deal with them seriously.

Thus, in the year 1884 the total number of deaths from all causes in England and Wales was 530,828; of these the zymotic diseases³ were 84,196, or about 16 per cent. In the year 1885 the total number was 522,750; of these the zymotic diseases were 68,972, or about 13.3 per cent. In both years these diseases were below the average of preceding years.⁴

And one of the first steps, an absolutely essential step for the attainment of the inestimable result I have proposed, is the cremation of each body the life of which has been destroyed by one of these contagious maladies. I know no other means by which it can be insured.

³ Zymotic diseases (from ζύμωσις, a ferment) are held to include small-pox, measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, typhus, enteric fever, simple fever, diarrhoea and dysentery, and cholera.

⁴ Registrar-General's Report of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England and Wales, 47th and 48th, for the years 1884 and 1885.

The next important fact for our consideration is, that at present no adequate means are employed to insure the discovery of poison as a cause of death before burial takes place. That 'the prevention of an evil is better than its cure' is an old adage, full of truth in its application to most human affairs. It ought to be accepted as a principle that, for the purpose of insuring the safety of the public, it is infinitely preferable to provide a system adapted to detect an act of poisoning before burial, rather than to rely upon the slender chance that may arise hereafter. Once the victim has been consigned to the grave, small hope remains that discovery will take place. It is often stated that burial insures the conservation of evidence that poison has been given, but without large qualification the statement is far from true. Very soon after burial all traces of most poisons—certainly those which are the most potent, such as morphia, aconite, atropine, strychnine, prussic acid, &c.—are rapidly decomposed; or they may become associated with new septic poisons developed in the body itself, which complicate the steps of subsequent inquiry, and invalidate undeniable evidence which was present for some days after death, and might have been obtained while the body was above ground. There remain, then, only the metallic poisons which can be reckoned on as open to detection through exhumation, practically three in number, arsenic, antimony, and mercury. These will continue for a long period in a condition which permits them to be obtained by analysis from the tissues of the person poisoned. It is not too much to say that the chances in favour of discovering poison will be at least twenty to one if adequate inquiry be made while the body is above ground, as compared with the result of analysis made of those which have once been buried. Yet what is our position in relation to this inquiry? Does the fact just named practically rule our action in this matter? By no means. Thousands of bodies are buried yearly without medical certificate of any kind. Of course there are numerous deaths from disease in which no medical advice has been demanded, because the warning symptoms of danger have been absent or insufficient. And there are perhaps occasionally some in which the absence of the medical man has been insured in furtherance of a sinister design. The proportion of inquests to deaths is by no means inconsiderable, but it is certainly less than it ought to be. Of the 522,750 deaths of 1885, no less than 27,798, or 5·3 per cent., were certified after inquest; but no less than 18,146, or 3·5 per cent., were buried without medical certificate or any inquiry whatever! Now compared with these enormous possibilities for undiscovered crime, how excessively small is the remedy, imperfect as it is, which exhumation for medico-legal purpose offers. Comparing the number of exhumations with the number of inquests, it is probably about one of the former to 3,000 of the latter. Dr. Danford Thomas, the well-known Coroner for

Central Middlesex, has been good enough to inform me that during the last seven years he has held about 10,000 inquests in that district, and only three exhumations have been ordered during the same period. This inquiry is being prosecuted further through his kindness, and the result I hope to communicate hereafter.

Whether cremation be adopted, or the practice of burial be continued, in either case it is equally desirable to make a far more searching inquiry than we do at present in all cases of death. And this inquiry should be conducted by a qualified officer appointed for the purpose. I called special attention to this fact in my paper fourteen years ago, showing that the practice in this country was then, as it still is, greatly behind that of France, Germany, and other European nations. In every case of death without exception in those countries the uncovered dead body is examined by a medical officer set apart for that duty (the *médecin vérificateur*), who makes a written report detailing certain facts relating to the death obtained by inquiry, besides those which result from the examination of the body, in accordance with a schedule supplied. This officer, having of course had no professional relations with the deceased, records the name and address of the doctor who has attended, as well as those of the chemist who supplied the medicines, together with the names of nurses if any were employed. He describes the hygienic condition of the house, states what surviving relatives lived there, &c. No burial can take place under any pretext whatever until this inquiry has been made and permission has been granted. In short, it is the object of the examination to leave no means untried of detecting the cause of death before the body disappears from view.

It is needless to say how greatly superior this system is to our own; and it is impossible not to add that all who are really earnest in a desire to detect the secret poisoner are bound to advocate the establishment of that or some similar method of supervision here. Otherwise it is scarcely fair, and it is certainly inconsistent, to defend the practice of earth burial, with its manifold dangers to the living, for the sole purpose of insuring the right of occasionally exhuming a body, in order to repair the lack of adequate observation at a more fitting time.

The next step in the argument will take its starting-point from the undeniable fact that a large majority of deaths taking place in our community are obviously and unquestionably natural. It is very desirable to ascertain as nearly as possible what is the proportion of these, or inversely, what is the percentage of those about which some doubt as to the cause may be entertained. I have carefully studied this question, and it is important to consider it before we come to close quarters with the objection started at the outset. I suppose no one will imagine that there is the slightest ground for doubt about the nature of the fatal attack, in other words the cause

of death, in, say, three-fourths of the cases which occur. In fact, the proportion of obviously natural causes is very much larger than that. Old age and natural decay ; all zymotic or contagious diseases, most of which have been enumerated ; the acute and chronic diseases of the lung and other local organs, cancer, diabetes, rheumatic affections, childbirth, besides the 5 per cent. of unknown cases determined by the coroner, leave a narrow margin for doubtful examples. In acute dysentery and diarrhœa, and in some affections of the brain, circumspection is necessary in relation to the possibility of poisoning ; and in infantile disorders, especially among the illegitimate, observation should be alert. Regarding all sources of uncertainty I think 1 per cent. a full estimate. In other words, the present system, demanding as it does exercise of the coroner's function in 5.3 per cent. of deaths, another 1 per cent. might be found necessary after the searching inquiry of the *médecin vérificateur*. This is a considerable addition, because it must be recollected that the coroner's quest is chiefly needed to investigate mechanical accidents causing death, and personal violence, of which evidence is easily available. It is not altogether a secret that some medical men of large experience hold the opinion that the administration of poison causing death is not so uncommon as the infrequent discovery of the act might be held to indicate. Conviction in a court of justice following the crime is very rare. The present system of burial after certificate—and not a few, as we have seen, have no certificate—throws very little light on the class of doubtful cases. And yet we have been gravely forbidden to practise cremation, which would deprive thousands of bodies now buried of those elements which are dangerous to the living, lest perchance in a solitary case of criminal poisoning, which we have neglected through carelessness or indifference to investigate at a fitting time, the chance should be lost, if some years afterwards suspicions arise, of acquiring the often questionable evidence which exhumation might afford !

Well, unreasonable as such a course of action must appear, when seriously considered, I will grant its advocates, if there still be any, for argument's sake, that it is not wholly unjustifiable, and nevertheless I shall assert the safety and the superiority of cremation.

The advocates of cremation, as I learned with some disappointment fourteen years ago, and many a time since, have been widely misunderstood in respect of their aims, and no amount of re-statement appears to correct an impression made on the public at the outset, to the effect that we proposed, or at all events have desired, to make cremation compulsory. Let it be understood then, once for all, that we have never suggested that any man should be submitted to the process against his own will or that of his nearest friends. As to enforcing it in all cases by legal enactment, as has been imagined by some, I doubt whether the most uneasy sleepers among us have

ever dreamed of such a scheme of legislative tyranny. So far, indeed, have we been from holding such views, that I believe it has never been proposed to make the system under any circumstances universally applicable.

All we have ever asked is that cremation should be optional; that it should be recognised as legal (it is not illegal), and be performed only under certain conditions; that adequate precautions should be taken against its abuse so that the destruction of evidence against criminal poisoning should be rendered almost if not quite impossible, through the exercise of ordinary care.

I earnestly ask the great public to consider the significant fact that it is *we*, the advocates of cremation, who have sought to perform it under the above-mentioned specific conditions; that *we* have brought Bills into the Parliaments of this country and of New South Wales to obtain these objects;⁵ and that our critics and opponents have done nothing to diminish or prevent the dangers they allege to attend on cremation, and which do largely appertain to burial, while they have actually voted in majorities to prevent us from doing so. Had the practice of cremation in our own country not been conducted thus far by cautious hands, the abuse in question might have arisen. But that they have not occurred is due to us, not to our opponents.

The proposals here conceived to be necessary to insure the safety of the public, regarding equally dangers innumerable arising from the buried dead and the occasional risk of destroying evidence against crime, are as follows:—

First. I desire to act on the principle that we shall reject all doubtful cases as unsuited for cremation. It will soon be seen that the limit of this class may be provided for without difficulty by way of exclusion, and that it may be rendered by proper management exceedingly small.

Secondly. My first definite proposal will be as follows; and here for the present the appeal is made not for legal provision, but to the common sense of my fellow-citizens, who cannot be less desirous than myself to guard the health of their families from disease and death, seeing that this is our common interest.

Consent to cremate the body of every member of the family who has died of small-pox, scarlet fever, or diphtheria, to begin with. General acquiescence in this reasonable proposal alone would tax somewhat severely at first the resources of cremation. Yet here is a large and most important group of cases which, in common justice to the living, ought to be destroyed with as much rapidity as possible, and about which no manner of doubt as to the cause of death can possibly be entertained. Honest, thoughtful consideration as to the mode of treating that which remains in most instances after the destructive action of such diseases on the body must diminish the desire to pre-

⁵ House of Commons, April 1884; Legislative Assembly of Sydney, August 1886.

serve it, and reconcile survivors to its purification and reduction to harmless ashes, when these are followed to the last resting-place. Of which more hereafter.

But I interpolate a suggestion here; and it is one which must ere long be considered with a view to legislative enactment. It ought to be made imperative that in every one of these cases, when not cremated, the coffin should be filled, after the body is placed therein, with quicklime, not longer than twenty-four hours after death. Less perfect than cremation, this process at least ought to be enjoined under penalty. It will rank as a national folly, if not a crime, to omit this or an equivalent safeguard after due warning given of the importance of protecting the living; since there can be no difficulty in resorting to this mode of lessening, if not of extinguishing, the risk from infection.

Thirdly. In all other cases, such as those of old age, consumption, and various other modes of death, which have gradually arrived at their termination under medical supervision without manifesting a symptom to denote the action of any violent agent, an application to be cremated should be granted on the conditions prescribed by the Cremation Society of England (already detailed). When a responsible officer, *médecin vérificateur*, is appointed, the decision will of course form part of his ordinary business. I may add that up to this time I have charged myself with the duty, on behalf of the English society as its president, of carefully examining the certificates sent in and other sources of information, and no cremation has taken place until I have been satisfied with the evidence adduced.

Fourthly. In every case in which evidence is wanting, one of two courses are open to the applicant. If there really is any doubt as to the cause of death, it is a case in which, according to the present state of our law, the coroner ought to interfere. If he thinks that it is not necessary to do so, the responsible officer may say, as I should feel called on to say now, if circumstances suggested the want of more distinct evidence, 'I advise an autopsy to be made, and will send a proper person to conduct one.' In that case the doubt will almost certainly be solved; but if not, the stomach and a portion of some internal organ would be transferred to a small case, sealed and preserved. And doubt after autopsy could be entertained only in an extremely small proportion of cases. If the friends object, let the body be buried by all means; we have avoided the doubtful case.

Moreover, we have done so without raising an imputation. If any arise, it is solely due to the action of those who have declined a private autopsy requested by the officer responsible for cremation, who merely desired to avoid the faintest chance of applying the process to a body when the cause of death is not quite apparent. It is difficult to imagine an objection to such a proceeding; but if there is, as I said before, the cemetery is always open.

What has become of the medico-legal difficulty? I contend that it has absolutely vanished. And I add that if my suggestions are adopted, secret poisoning, which it must be confessed, owing to our carelessness in the matter of the certificate, is much more easily practicable in this country than in France or Germany, would, thanks to the supporters of cremation, be more readily detected, and therefore would be more unlikely to occur than in any other country in the world.

Two other results of another kind naturally follow the adoption of cremation.

First. Thousands of acres, yearly increased in number, might be restored to better uses than that of storing decaying bodies. Action to this end will be inevitable some day, and is simply a question of time and population. The late Bishop of Manchester drew attention to this obvious fact some years ago. If the directors of cemeteries are wise in time, they will, after passing of an Act, petition for leave to erect crematories, utilising the chapels as before, and reserving small spaces for the conservation or burial of ashes. Nine-tenths of the area will be available, with due care, for ornamental gardens for the use of towns where such exist; or, after the lapse of suitable periods of time, to other purposes.

Secondly. I propose to restore the purified remains of the Christian worshipper to the consecrated precincts of his church, whence the 'corruptible body' has been for ever banished by urgent sanitary necessity.

In ancient crypt, or in cloisters newly erected for the purpose on the long disused burying-ground, the ashes might be deposited, each in its cell, in countless numbers after religious service performed. Or, being absolutely harmless, they may be consigned to the soil.⁶

Cremation gives truth and reality to the grand and solemn words, 'Ashes to ashes, dust to dust,' and that impressive service, with slight change, will be read with a fulness of meaning never conveyed before. The last rite has purified the body; its elements of physical evil have been annihilated by fire. Already its dispersed constituents, having escaped the long imprisonment of the tomb, pursue their eternal circuit, in harmony with nature's uniform and perfect course.

It will soon be desirable to ask the Government of the day or Parliament again to consider the question of legislating to secure better evidence as to the cause of death in all cases than is attainable by the present system. At the same time the conditions on which cremation should be performed should be considered and determined.

I venture to offer the following suggestions by way of indicating the chief provisions to be settled by any Bill introduced into Parlia-

⁶ What an opportunity for a Campo Santo at Westminster!

ment to regulate the registration of death and the disposal of the dead :—

1. No body to be buried, burned, or otherwise disposed of without a medical certificate of death signed, after personal knowledge and observation, or sufficient inquiry, by a qualified medical man.

2. A qualified medical man should be appointed in every parish or group of neighbouring parishes, whose duty it will be to examine in all cases of death and report the cause in writing, together with such other details as may be deemed necessary.

3. If the circumstances of death obviously demand a coroner's inquest, the case goes into his court and the cause is determined, with or without autopsy. If there appears to be no ground for holding an inquest, and autopsy be necessary to the furnishing of a certificate, the appointed officer will make it and state the result in his report.

4. No person or company to construct or use an apparatus for burning human bodies without a license from the Home Secretary or other officer as determined.

5. No crematory can be so employed unless the site, construction, and system of management are approved after survey by an officer appointed by Government for the purpose.

6. The burning of a human body, otherwise than in an officially recognised crematory, shall be illegal and punishable by penalty.

7. No human body shall be burned unless the official examiner who signs the certificate of death shall, in consequence of application made, add the words 'Cremation permitted.' And this he is bound to do if after inquest or autopsy, or in any circumstances admitting in his mind no doubt as to the cause of death, this is returned by him as natural.

HENRY THOMPSON.

THE TWO PATHS : A DIALOGUE.

Oxford: The Garden of St. John's.

WISEMAN, of Balliol; PAPILLON, of Christ Church.

Wiseman. Well! old fellow! where were you last night? You never turned up at our Plato grind. We were on that seventh book of the Republic, about the underground den and the screen which the marionette players have when they show their puppets. We should have liked your ingenious ideas about the parable of the Cave, for it is not so entirely obvious. Take a turn round the garden, and let us hear what became of you.

Papillon. I was much better employed. I did intend to have joined you over the Plato; but as I came up from the House, I dropped in at the Union to see the paper. There I stumbled on a sort of address that some fellow in Parliament (I forget his name) had been making about reading. I skipped a good deal, for it was rather a long grind; but he says, read just as the whim takes you. So I took up *King Solomon's Mines*, and read that for an hour. There's an underground den in that, and some jerking about of puppets. Plato might have bored me; so I read Rider Haggard for my own pleasure, as the M.P. advises.

W. And you call that pleasure?

P. Well! it's as good as Mayne Reid, and what more do you want? But I got tired of that old hag in the cavern, and took up a volume of Darwin's *Letters*. I read something about Evolution, but it seemed rather rot. And then I tried old Lecky's new volumes—it's easy reading, you know—and I very nearly fell asleep over his Mirabeau and Pitt. But I could not stand much of a fellow who takes seven or eight volumes over a hundred years. Why, at that rate the history of England from Alfred would want about eighty volumes! So then I took a pull at Swinburne's *Lochrine*—awfully pretty—but you can't stand more than six ice-creams at a sitting; and after a few pages, I settled into Zola's *La Terre*.

W. And you call that pleasure?

P. No! Beastly! But you must see something of whatever comes out nowadays. Last Long, you know, at Paris I went down the sewers with a guide to see what it was like. So I always read

Zola to see what is the last new thing in smells, for I am more eclectic than you are. By that time 'Tom' had gone a long while, and I felt in no mood for Plato, so I finished with the *Sporting Life* over my pipe.

W. I can well believe you were in no mood for Plato; and Zola would not help us to explain τὰς τῶν σκευαστῶν σκιᾶς. How are you going to get up your Republic?

P. Oh! I shall cram up likely bits from Jowett in the last term, and with my sixth form Greek I shall do. The Governor, you know, does not want me to go in for Honours. He says I am to prepare for Parliament and public life, and get all the general information I can. So I turn over any book, old or new, just as it comes; and I never read a line further when it begins to bore me.

W. I know that you have read as many books as any ten of us together. But, my dear 'Pap,' did you ever read a book from title to 'finis' in your life?

P. No! why should I? I read to amuse me.

W. And did you ever read a book a third time through in your life?

P. No! nor twice. Why should I? I like something fresh.

W. What! Not Milton's Lyrics, nor Bacon's Essays, nor *Tom Jones*?

P. Pooh! I read all that at school. One wants something fresh to amuse one—*Half-hours with Obscure Authors*, or a Realist novel in a yellow cover.

W. What a Don Juan among the books you must be! Flirtations *mille e tre* with the literature of every country in Europe. Do the gardens of this old place never bore you, at all, *Giovannino mio*?

P. Indeed they do! They are as dull as a prison yard. The everlasting old grey roof, the conventional mullions in the oriels of Laud's Library there, eternally posing at the end of the formal lawn, weary me as much as the nightingales in May. Oxford would be a monotonous place were it all like this; if one had not Keble and the Taylor Gallery.

W. And how far do you carry your gospel of the butterfly: into Art as well as books? Did you ever cultivate your taste in music—I know you have a flute and a pretty tenor voice? Do you take any pains with your natural gifts?

P. God forbid that I should pick or choose! I leave pedants to cultivate their taste, which ends in Wagner and all that is dismal. No! I take music as it comes—symphonies, waltzes, sonatas, *Carnaval de Venise*, and *Two lovely Black Eyes*. They all are music; any of them please a man with an ear; and one is as pleasant to hear as the other.

W. So your idea in music is a *Pot pourri* by Dan Godfrey, or a *Caprice avec souvenirs variés* by Offenbach?

P. I like them just as they come. I am quite as much at home with Beethoven and Bach and that, as with 'Gus Harris's pantomime or a promenade concert. Pleasure, amusement, and variety are the object of Art; and I call the man a pedant who prefers a symphony to a patter song or a good breakdown.

W. You don't think that is desultory now?

P. And a good thing too. Life is not worth living unless it is desultory. And the business of Art is to gratify all tastes in turn.

W. As a confectioner does. Well, and what do you say to pictures? Are you equally omnivorous in a gallery of paintings?

P. Yes. I never could stand the nonsense about High Art, ancient masters, and principles of taste. I have seen most of the galleries in Europe; and I like any school, and the telling pictures of all schools in turn.

W. Do you never spend a wet afternoon in the Taylor Gallery, to study the Raphael drawings or Michael Angelo's designs?

P. Oh! I saw them one morning in my first term, when our people came up to do Oxford; and very curious they are. But as to *studying* them, the fellows who do that are narrowing their taste. That is pedantry. *Ars longa, vita brevis.* I am for knowing something of every one. Raphael is very well; and so is Doré. Titian was a clever man; and so is Verestchagin.

W. Come now, do you mean to say that all your study of picture galleries ends in your placing Doré on a level with Raphael?

P. Dear me, no! As a matter of criticism or estimate, I can see the difference, and write about it, I dare say, as the critic fellows do, by the column. But in order to enjoy, you must pass from one to the other; see the merit of all styles, and the skill of all methods. Doré has something which Raphael never had; and Verestchagin can teach Titian a thing or two in corpses.

W. And Verestchagin's corpses give you a new zest for Raphael's Madonnas?

P. Well, I like them all—Fra Angelico and Goya, Sandro Botticelli and Salvator, Giotto and Delacroix, Turner and Horace Vernet—they all have a way of their own. Variety is the end of Art; and curiosity is the note of culture.

W. And you say the same in architecture, I suppose? Here, now, in Oxford, are you just as catholic in your tastes?

P. Yes! I know no place like Oxford for a happy confusion of styles. The Greek grotesque of the Taylor Museum beside the sham thirteenth century of the Martyrs' Memorial: round arch, pointed arch, ogee, and architrave—all side by side: Norman, Early Pointed, Decorated, Perpendicular, Debased, Elizabethan, Jacobean, Queen Anne, Georgian, Victorian, Churchwarden, Jacksonian, and Omnium Gatherum styles—all get a chance in turn: and all have something of their own. I am against any *Index Expurgatorius* in Art.

W. What a delightful mood to have, an equal capacity of enjoying everything! And do you extend this to every body as well as every thing? When you go down to these balls, for instance, where I hear you are so much in request, do you take your partners for a waltz just as they come: plain, dull, heavy-footed, and all?

P. God forbid! My dear fellow, one must draw the line somewhere. I choose my partners from the girls I like best.

W. So you have an *Index Expurgatorius* of young ladies, eh?

P. Well, I like jolly partners best, of course.

W. And fellows at your club, or for a shooting party, or at a country house, and so on. Do you go anywhere you are asked, and hob-nob with any one you meet?

P. What on earth do you mean? I am rather careful than otherwise not to get into a slow house, or to sit down to a shady dinner.

W. So that you are particular as to the people with whom you pass your time, the girls with whom you dance, the dishes which you eat; but you don't care a straw with what book you pass your evening, what kind of a man it is whose ideas you are taking in, or what is the kind of stuff with which you are filling your mind? Are you not rather more careful about your stomach than about your brain?

P. Well, a bad dish spoils a whole dinner, and two heavy partners would ruin the best ball.

W. And yet what you call a 'beastly' book of Zola's or a shilling dreadful gives you a really pleasant evening, you told me, and saved you from Plato's rot?

P. Oh, I intend to finish the Republic some day; but there are such heaps of new books which a fellow has to look into that it is not easy to find time. I am not going to have anything to do with your precious *Index Expurgatorius*.

W. Yes! that is what fellows say who want to call names, and are hard up for an argument. When you object to make friends of every man you meet in the street, I suppose you are making an *Index Expurgatorius* of the whole human race?

P. Come now, what is it that you want me to do?

W. Why, simply to choose your books with a little of the care which you now so wisely show in choosing your partners and your friends. To hurry on round the galleries of Europe is to see a great deal and to know nothing; to get a smattering of Art and to enjoy nothing truly. Books are not so different from Art, nor are books or Art so very unlike human nature and life. To feel poetry deeply, to love literature nobly, you must keep your brain from the everlasting gabble, and the *assafetida* of modern carrion. He who is ever ready for Offenbach will never be a lover of Beethoven; and a perpetual round of Bond Street galleries will at last spoil the eye for Titian.

You had better dance all night with a dairy-maid, and sup with a lot of betting-ring men, than spend an evening with Zola, or work through Mudie's list of new novels.

P. Come, old man, I shall go back to college. I can stand no more of this. It's worse than going for a walk with Jowett. By the way, what are you going to do with yourself next Long?

W. I am going with Turner of New to spend my autumn in Venice; we want to study the history, as well as the art, archæology, and language. I shall take my Ruskins; and with the Perkins, Freeman, and Mrs. Jameson, we shall do the churches thoroughly. Last Long, you know, I did the same thing in Florence; the only way to know anything about Italy is to take it province by province. What do you say to joining us?

P. Oh, I have made my plans. I never can stand a foreign town for more than a few days; I am always wanting to get on. I am going in for Cook's tour round the world. We go by the Bay, touch at Gib., stay a day at each of the Mediterranean ports; have twelve hours in the Eternal City, run up to the Acropolis by the tram, half a day at Cairo and the Pyramids, Red Sea, Ceylon, India, China, Japan, and back by San Francisco and the Grand Trunk, Niagara, New York, and all that, and home again in ninety days. One should see something of everything, you know.

W. A regular Jules Verne round! My dear fellow, you will turn into a professional globe-trotter. Well, bye-bye, I shall not go with you. But I suppose it is the right thing to do for a confirmed book-trotter.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

SHELLEY.

NOWADAYS all things appear in print sooner or later; but I have heard from a lady who knew Mrs. Shelley a story of her which, so far as I know, has not appeared in print hitherto. Mrs. Shelley was choosing a school for her son, and asked the advice of this lady, who gave for advice,—to use her own words to me,—‘Just the sort of banality, you know, one does come out with: Oh, send him somewhere where they will teach him to think for himself!’ I have had far too long a training as a school-inspector to presume to call an utterance of this kind a *banality*; however, it is not on this advice that I now wish to lay stress, but upon Mrs. Shelley’s reply to it. Mrs. Shelley answered: ‘Teach him to think for himself? Oh, my God, teach him rather to think like other people!’

To the lips of many and many a reader of Professor Dowden’s volumes a cry of this sort will surely rise, called forth by Shelley’s life as there delineated. I have read those volumes with the deepest interest, but I regret their publication, and am surprised, I confess, that Shelley’s family should have desired or assisted it. For my own part, at any rate, I would gladly have been left with the impression, the ineffaceable impression, made upon me by Mrs. Shelley’s first edition of her husband’s collected poems. Medwin and Hogg and Trelawny had done little to change the impression made by those four delightful volumes of the original edition of 1839. The text of the poems has in some places been mended since; but Shelley is not a classic, whose various readings are to be noted with earnest attention. The charm of the poems flowed in upon us from that edition, and the charm of the character. Mrs. Shelley had done her work admirably; her introductions to the poems of each year, with Shelley’s prefaces and passages from his letters, supplied the very picture of Shelley to be desired. Somewhat idealised by tender regret and exalted memory Mrs. Shelley’s representation no doubt was. But without sharing her conviction that Shelley’s character, impartially judged, ‘would stand in fairer and brighter light than that of any contemporary,’ we learned from her to know the soul of affection, of ‘gentle and cordial goodness,’ of eagerness and ardour for human happiness, which was in this rare spirit—so mere a monster unto

many. Mrs. Shelley said in her general preface to her husband's poems: 'I abstain from any remark on the occurrences of his private life, except inasmuch as the passions which they engendered inspired his poetry; this is not the time to relate the truth.' I for my part could wish, I repeat, that that time had never come.

But come it has, and Professor Dowden has given us the *Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley* in two very thick volumes. If the work was to be done, Professor Dowden has indeed done it thoroughly. One or two things in his biography of Shelley I could wish different, even waiving the question whether it was desirable to relate in full the occurrences of Shelley's private life. Professor Dowden holds a brief for Shelley; he pleads for Shelley as an advocate pleads for his client, and this strain of pleading, united with an attitude of adoration which in Mrs. Shelley had its charm, but which Professor Dowden was not bound to adopt from her, is unserviceable to Shelley, nay, injurious to him, because it inevitably begets, in many readers of the story which Professor Dowden has to tell, impatience and revolt. Further let me remark that the biography before us is of prodigious length, although its hero died before he was thirty years old, and that it might have been considerably shortened if it had been more plainly and simply written. I see that one of Professor Dowden's critics, while praising his style for 'a certain poetic quality of fervour and picturesqueness,' laments that in some important passages Professor Dowden 'fritters away great opportunities for sustained and impassioned narrative.' I am inclined much rather to lament that Professor Dowden has not steadily kept his poetic quality of fervour and picturesqueness more under control. Is it that the Home Rulers have so loaded the language that even an Irishman who is not one of them catches something of their full habit of style? No, it is rather, I believe, that Professor Dowden, of poetic nature himself, and dealing with a poetic nature like Shelley, is so steeped in sentiment by his subject that in almost every page of the biography the sentiment runs over. A curious note of his style, suffused with sentiment, is that it seems incapable of using the common word *child*. A great many births are mentioned in the biography, but always it is a poetic *babe* that is born, not a prosaic *child*. And so, again, André Chénier is, not guillotined, but 'too foully done to death.' Again, Shelley after his runaway marriage with Harriet Westbrook was in Edinburgh without money and full of anxieties for the future, and complained of his hard lot in being unable to get away, in being 'chained to the filth and commerce of Edinburgh.' Natural enough; but why should Professor Dowden improve the occasion as follows? 'The most romantic of northern cities could lay no spell upon his spirit. His eye was not fascinated by the presences of mountains and the sea, by the fantastic outlines of aerial piles seen amid the wreathing smoke of Auld Reekie, by the gloom of the Canongate illuminated with shafts of sunlight streaming from its

interesting wynds and alleys; nor was his imagination kindled by storied house or palace, and the voices of old, forgotten, far-off things, which haunt their walls.' If Professor Dowden, writing a book in prose, could have brought himself to eschew poetic excursions of this kind and to tell his story in a plain way, lovers of simplicity, of whom there are some still left in the world, would have been gratified, and at the same time his book would have been the shorter by scores of pages.

These reserves being made, I have little except praise for the manner in which Professor Dowden has performed his task; whether it was a task which ought to be performed at all, probably did not lie with him to decide. His ample materials are used with order and judgment; the history of Shelley's life develops itself clearly before our eyes; the documents of importance for it are given with sufficient fulness, nothing essential seems to have been kept back, although I would gladly, I confess, have seen more of Miss Clairmont's journal, whatever arrangement she may in her later life have chosen to exercise upon it. In general all documents are so fairly and fully cited, that Professor Dowden's pleadings for Shelley, though they may sometimes indispose and irritate the reader, produce no obscuring of the truth; the documents manifest it of themselves. Last but not least of Professor Dowden's merits, he has provided his book with an excellent index.

Undoubtedly this biography, with its full account of the occurrences of Shelley's private life, compels one to review one's former impression of him. Undoubtedly the brilliant and attaching rebel who in thinking for himself had of old our sympathy so passionately with him, when we come to read his full biography makes us often and often inclined to cry out: 'My God! he had far better have thought like other people.' There is a passage in Hogg's capitally written and most interesting account of Shelley which I wrote down when I first read it and have borne in mind ever since; so beautifully it seemed to render the true Shelley. Hogg has been speaking of the intellectual expression of Shelley's features, and he goes on: 'Nor was the moral expression less beautiful than the intellectual; for there was a softness, a delicacy, a gentleness, and especially (though this will surprise many) that air of profound religious veneration that characterises the best works and chiefly the frescoes (and into these they infused their whole souls) of the great masters of Florence and of Rome.' What we have of Shelley in poetry and prose suited with this charming picture of him; Mrs. Shelley's account suited with it; it was a possession which one would gladly have kept unimpaired. It still subsists, I must now add; it subsists even after one has read the present biography; it subsists, but so as by fire. It subsists with many a scar and stain; never again will it have the same pureness and beauty which it had formerly. I

regret this, as I have said, and I confess I do not see what has been gained. Our ideal Shelley was the true Shelley after all; what has been gained by making us at moments doubt it? What has been gained by forcing upon us much in him which is ridiculous and odious, by compelling any fair mind, if it is to retain with a good conscience its ideal Shelley, to do that which I propose to do now? I propose to mark firmly what is ridiculous and odious in the Shelley brought to our knowledge by the new materials, and then to show that our former beautiful and loveable Shelley nevertheless survives.

Almost everybody knows the main outline of the events of Shelley's life. It will be necessary for me, however, up to the date of his second marriage, to go through them here. Percy Bysshe Shelley was born at Field Place, near Horsham, in Sussex, on the 4th of August, 1792. He was of an old family of country gentlemen, and the heir to a baronetcy. He had one brother and five sisters, but the brother so much younger than himself as to be no companion for him in his boyhood at home, and after he was separated from home and England he never saw him. Shelley was brought up at Field Place with his sisters. At ten years old he was sent to a private school at Isleworth, where he read Mrs. Radcliffe's romances and was fascinated by a popular scientific lecturer. After two years of private school he went in 1804 to Eton. Here he took no part in cricket or football, refused to fag, was known as 'mad Shelley' and much tormented; when tormented beyond endurance he could be dangerous. Certainly he was not happy at Eton; but he had friends, he boated, he rambled about the country. His school lessons were easy to him, and his reading extended far beyond them; he read books on chemistry, he read Pliny's *Natural History*, Godwin's *Political Justice*, Lucretius, Franklin, Condorcet. It is said he was called 'atheist Shelley' at Eton, but this is not so well established as his having been called 'mad Shelley.' He was full, at any rate, of new and revolutionary ideas, and he declared at a later time that he was twice expelled from the school but recalled through the interference of his father.

In the spring of 1810 Shelley, now in his eighteenth year, entered University College, Oxford, as an exhibitioner. He had already written novels and poems; a poem on the Wandering Jew, in seven or eight cantos, he sent to Campbell, and was told by Campbell that there were but two good lines in it. He had solicited the correspondence of Mrs. Hemans, then Felicia Browne and unmarried; he had fallen in love with a charming cousin, Harriet Grove. In the autumn of 1810 he found a publisher for his verse; he also found a friend in a very clever and free-minded commoner of his college, Thomas Jefferson Hogg, who has admirably described the Shelley of those Oxford days, with his chemistry, his eccentric habits, his charm

of look and character, his conversation, his shrill discordant voice. Shelley read incessantly. Hume's *Essays* produced a powerful impression on him; his free speculation led him to what his father, and worse still his cousin Harriet, thought 'detestable principles;' his cousin and his family became estranged from him. He, on his part, became more and more incensed against the 'bigotry' and 'intolerance' which produced such estrangement. 'Here I swear, and as I break my oaths, may Infinity, Eternity, blast me—here I swear that never will I forgive intolerance.' At the beginning of 1811 he prepared and published what he called a 'leaflet for letters,' having for its title *The Necessity of Atheism*. He sent copies to all the bishops, to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and to the heads of houses. On Lady Day he was summoned before the authorities of his College, refused to answer the question whether he had written *The Necessity of Atheism*, told the Master and Fellows that 'their proceedings would become a court of inquisitors but not free men in a free country,' and was expelled for contumacy. Hogg wrote a letter of remonstrance to the authorities, was in his turn summoned before them and questioned as to his share in the 'leaflet,' and, refusing to answer, he also was expelled.

Shelley settled with Hogg in lodgings in London. His father, excusably indignant, was not a wise man and managed his son ill. His plan of recommending Shelley to read Paley's *Natural Theology*, and of *reading it with him himself*, makes us smile. Shelley, who about this time wrote of his younger sister, then at school at Clapham, 'There are some hopes of this dear little girl, she would be a divine little scion of infidelity if I could get hold of her,' was not to have been cured by Paley's *Natural Theology* administered through Mr. Timothy Shelley. But by the middle of May Shelley's father had agreed to allow him two hundred pounds a year. Meanwhile, in visiting his sisters at their school in Clapham, Shelley made the acquaintance of a schoolfellow of theirs, Harriet Westbrook. She was a beautiful and lively girl, with a father who had kept a tavern in Mount Street, but had now retired from business, and one sister much older than herself, who encouraged in every possible way the acquaintance of her sister of sixteen with the heir to a baronetcy and a great estate. Soon Shelley heard that Harriet met with cold looks at her school for associating with an atheist; his generosity and his ready indignation against 'intolerance' were roused. In the summer Harriet wrote to him that she was persecuted not at school only but at home also, that she was lonely and miserable, and would gladly put an end to her life. Shelley went to see her; she owned her love for him, and he engaged himself to her. He told his cousin Charles Grove that his happiness had been blighted when the other Harriet, Charles's sister, cast him off; that now the only thing worth living for was self-sacrifice. Harriet's persecutors became yet

more troublesome, and Shelley, at the end of August, went off with her to Edinburgh and they were married. The entry in the register is this:—

August 28, 1811. Percy Bysshe Shelley, farmer, Sussex, and Miss Harriet Westbrook, St. Andrew Church Parish, daughter of Mr. John Westbrook, London.

After five weeks in Edinburgh the young farmer and his wife came southwards and took lodgings at York, under the shadow of what Shelley calls that ‘gigantic pile of superstition,’ the Minster. But his friend Hogg was in a lawyer’s office in York, and Hogg’s society made the Minster endurable. Mr. Timothy Shelley’s happiness in his son was naturally not increased by the runaway marriage; he stopped his allowance, and Shelley determined to visit ‘this thoughtless man,’ as he calls his parent, and to ‘try the force of truth’ upon him. Nothing could be effected; Shelley’s mother, too, was now against him. He returned to York to find that in his absence his friend Hogg had been making love to Harriet, who had indignantly repulsed him. Shelley was shocked, but after a ‘terrible day’ of explanation from Hogg, he ‘fully, freely pardoned him,’ promised to retain him still as ‘his friend, his bosom friend,’ and ‘hoped soon to convince him how lovely virtue was.’ But for the present it seemed better to separate. In November he and Harriet, with her sister Eliza, took a cottage at Keswick. Shelley was now in great straits for money; the great Sussex neighbour of the Shelleys, the Duke of Norfolk, interposed in his favour, and his father and grandfather seem to have offered him at this time an income of 2,000*l.* a year, if he would consent to entail the family estate. Shelley indignantly refused to ‘forswear his principles,’ by accepting ‘a proposal so insultingly hateful.’ But in December his father agreed, though with an ill grace, to grant him his allowance of 200*l.* a year again, and Mr. Westbrook promised to allow a like sum to his daughter. So after four months of marriage the Shelleys began 1812 with an income of 400*l.* a year.

Early in February they left Keswick and proceeded to Dublin, where Shelley, who had prepared an address to the Catholics, meant to ‘devote himself towards forwarding the great ends of virtue and happiness in Ireland.’ Before leaving Keswick he wrote to William Godwin, ‘the regulator and former of his mind,’ making profession of his mental obligations to him, of his respect and veneration, and soliciting Godwin’s friendship. A correspondence followed; Godwin pronounced his young disciple’s plans for ‘disseminating the doctrines of philanthropy and freedom’ in Ireland to be unwise; Shelley bowed to his mentor’s decision and gave up his Irish campaign, quitting Dublin on the 4th of April, 1812. He and Harriet wandered first to Nant-Gwillt in South Wales, near the upper Wye, and from thence after a month or two to Lynmouth in North Devon, where he busied himself with his poem of *Queen Mab*, and with sending to sea, boxes and

bottles containing a *Declaration of Rights* by him, in the hope that the winds and waves might carry his doctrines where they would do good. But his Irish servant, bearing the prophetic name of Healy, posted the *Declaration* on the walls of Barnstaple and was taken up; Shelley found himself watched and no longer able to enjoy Lynmouth in peace. He moved in September 1812 to Tremadoc, in North Wales, where he threw himself ardently into an enterprise for recovering a great stretch of drowned land from the sea. But at the beginning of October he and Harriet visited London, and Shelley grasped Godwin by the hand at last. At once an intimacy arose, but the future Mary Shelley—Godwin's daughter by his first wife, Mary Wollstonecraft—was absent on a visit in Scotland when the Shelleys arrived in London. They became acquainted, however, with the second Mrs. Godwin, on whom we have Charles Lamb's friendly comment: 'A very disgusting woman, and wears green spectacles!' with the amiable Fanny, Mary Wollstonecraft's daughter by Imlay, before her marriage with Godwin; and probably also with Jane Clairmont, the second Mrs. Godwin's daughter by a first marriage, and herself afterwards the mother of Byron's Allegra. Complicated relationships, as in the Theban story! and there will be not wanting, presently, something of the Theban horrors. During this visit of six weeks to London Shelley renewed his intimacy with Hogg; in the middle of November he returned to Tremadoc. There he remained until the end of February 1813, perfectly happy with Harriet, reading widely, and working at his *Queen Mab* and at the notes to that poem. On the 26th of February an attempt was made, or so he fancied, to assassinate him, and in high nervous excitement he hurriedly left Tremadoc and repaired with Harriet to Dublin again. On this visit to Ireland he saw Killarney, but early in April he and Harriet were back again in London.

There in June, 1813, their daughter Ianthe was born; at the end of July they moved to Bracknell, in Berkshire. They had for neighbours there a Mrs. Boinville and her married daughter, whom Shelley found to be fascinating women, with a culture which to his wife was altogether wanting. Cornelia Turner, Mrs. Boinville's daughter, was melancholy, required consolation, and found it, Hogg tells us, in Petrarch's poetry; 'Bysshe entered at once fully into her views and caught the soft infection, breathing the tenderest and sweetest melancholy as every true poet ought.' Peacock, a man of keen and cultivated mind, joined the circle at Bracknell. He and Harriet, not yet eighteen, used sometimes to laugh at the gushing sentiment and enthusiasm of the Bracknell circle; Harriet had also given offence to Shelley by getting a wet-nurse for her child; in Professor Dowden's words, 'the beauty of Harriet's motherly relation to her babe was marred in Shelley's eyes by the introduction into his home of a hireling nurse to whom was delegated the mother's tenderest office.' But in

September Shelley wrote a sonnet to his child which expresses his deep love for the mother also, to whom in March 1814 he was remarried in London, lest the Scotch marriage should prove to have been in any point irregular. Harriet's sister Eliza, however, whom Shelley had at first treated with excessive deference, had now become hateful to him. And in the very month of the London marriage we find him writing to Hogg that he is staying with the Boinvilles, having 'escaped, in the society of all that philosophy and friendship combine, from the dismaying solitude of myself.' Cornelia Turner, he adds, whom he once thought cold and reserved, 'is the reverse of this, as she is the reverse of everything bad; she inherits all the divinity of her mother.' Then comes a stanza, beginning

Thy dewy looks sink in my breast,
Thy gentle words stir poison there.

It has no meaning, he says; it is only written in thought. 'It is evident from this pathetic letter,' says Professor Dowden, 'that Shelley's happiness in his home had been fatally stricken.' This is a curious way of putting the matter. To me what is evident is rather that Shelley had, to use Professor Dowden's words again—for in these things of high sentiment I gladly let him speak for me—'a too vivid sense that here (in the society of the Boinville family) were peace and joy and gentleness and love.' In April come some more verses to the Boinvilles, which contain the first good stanza that Shelley wrote. In May comes a poem to Harriet, of which Professor Dowden's prose analysis is as poetic as the poem itself. 'If she has something to endure (from the Boinville attachment), it is not much, and all her husband's weal hangs upon her loving endurance, for see how pale and wildered anguish has made him!' Harriet, unconvinced, seems to have gone off to Bath in resentment, from whence, however, she kept up a constant correspondence with Shelley, who was now of age, and busy in London raising money on post-obit bonds for his own wants and those of the friend and former of his mind, Godwin.

And now, indeed, it was to become true that if from the inflammable Shelley's devotion to the Boinville family poor Harriet had had 'something to endure,' yet this was 'not much' compared with what was to follow. At Godwin's house Shelley met Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin, his future wife, then in her seventeenth year. She was a gifted person, but, as Professor Dowden says, she 'had breathed during her entire life an atmosphere of free thought.' On the 8th of June Hogg called at Godwin's with Shelley; Godwin was out, but 'a door was partially and softly opened, a thrilling voice called "Shelley!" a thrilling voice answered "Mary!"' Shelley's summoner was 'a very young female, fair and fair-haired, pale indeed, and with a piercing look, wearing a frock of tartan.' Already they were 'Shelley' and 'Mary' to one another; 'before the close of June they knew and felt,' says Professor Dowden, 'that each was to the other

inexpressibly dear.' The churchyard of St. Pancras, where her mother was buried, became 'a place now doubly sacred to Mary, since on one eventful day Bysshe here poured forth his griefs, his hopes, his love, and she, in sign of everlasting union, placed her hand in his.' In July Shelley gave her a copy of *Queen Mab*, printed but not published, and under the tender dedication to Harriet he wrote: 'Count Slobendorf was about to marry a woman who, attracted solely by his fortune, proved her selfishness by deserting him in prison.' Mary added an inscription on her part: 'I love the author beyond all powers of expression . . . by that love we have promised to each other, although I may not be yours I can never be another's,'—and a good deal more to the same effect.

Amid these excitements Shelley was for some days without writing to Harriet, who applied to Hookham the publisher to know what had happened. She was expecting her confinement; 'I always fancy something dreadful has happened,' she wrote, 'if I do not hear from him . . . I cannot endure this dreadful state of suspense.' Shelley then wrote to her, begging her to come to London; and when she arrived there, he told her the state of his feelings, and proposed separation. The shock made Harriet ill; and Shelley, says Peacock, 'between his old feelings towards Harriet, and his new passion for Mary, showed in his looks, in his gestures, in his speech, the state of a mind "suffering, like a little kingdom, the nature of an insurrection."' Godwin grew uneasy about his daughter, and after a serious talk with her, wrote to Shelley. Under such circumstances, Professor Dowden tells us, 'to youth, swift and decisive measures seem the best.' In the early morning of the 28th of July, 1814, 'Mary Godwin stepped across her father's threshold into the summer air,' she and Shelley went off together in a post-chaise to Dover, and from thence crossed to the Continent.

On the 14th of August the fugitives were at Troyes on their way to Switzerland. From Troyes Shelley addressed a letter to Harriet, of which the best description I can give is that it is precisely the letter which a man in the writer's circumstances should not have written.

My dearest Harriet (he begins), I write to you from this detestable town; I write to show that I do not forget you; I write to urge you to come to Switzerland, where you will at last find one firm and constant friend to whom your interests will be always dear—by whom your feelings will never wilfully be injured. From none can you expect this but me—all else are either unfeeling or selfish, or have beloved friends of their own.

Then follows a description of his journey with Mary from Paris, 'through a fertile country, neither interesting from the character of its inhabitants nor the beauty of the scenery, with a mule to carry our baggage, as Mary, who has not been sufficiently well to walk, fears the fatigue of walking.' Like St. Paul to Timothy, he ends with commissions:—

I wish you to bring with you the two deeds which Tahourdin has to prepare for you, as also a copy of the settlement. Do not part with any of your money. But what shall be done about the books? You can consult on the spot. With love to my sweet little Ianthe, ever most affectionately yours,
S.

I write in great haste ; we depart directly.

Professor Dowden's flow of sentiment is here so agitating, that I relieve myself by resorting to a drier world. Certainly my comment on this letter shall not be his, that it 'assures Harriet that her interests were still dear to Shelley, though now their lives had moved apart.' But neither will I call the letter an odious letter, a hideous letter. I prefer to call it, applying an untranslatable French word, a *bête* letter. And it is *bête* from what is the signal, the disastrous want and weakness of Shelley, with all his fine intellectual gifts—his utter deficiency in humour.

Harriet did not accept Shelley's invitation to join him and Mary in Switzerland. Money difficulties drove the travellers back to England in September. Godwin would not see Shelley, but he sorely needed, continually demanded, and eagerly accepted, pecuniary help from his erring 'spiritual son.' Between Godwin's wants and his own, Shelley was hard pressed. He got from Harriet, who still believed that he would return to her, twenty pounds which remained in her hands. In November she was confined; a son and heir was born to Shelley. He went to see Harriet, but 'the interview left husband and wife each embittered against the other.' Friends were severe; 'when Mrs. Boinville wrote, her letter seemed cold and even sarcastic,' says Professor Dowden. 'Solitude,' he continues, 'unharassed by debts and duns, with Mary's companionship, the society of a few friends, and the delights of study and authorship, would have made these winter months to Shelley months of unusual happiness and calm.' But alas, creditors were pestering, and even Harriet gave trouble. In January 1815 Mary had to write in her journal this entry: 'Harriet sends her creditors here; nasty woman. Now we must change our lodgings.'

One day about this time Shelley asked Peacock: 'Do you think Wordsworth could have written such poetry if he ever had dealings with money-lenders?' Not only had Shelley dealings with money-lenders, he now had dealings with bailiffs also. But still he continued to read largely. In January 1815 his grandfather, Sir Bysse Shelley, died. Shelley went down into Sussex; his father would not suffer him to enter the house, but he sate outside the door and read *Comus*, while the reading of his grandfather's will went on inside. In February was born Mary's first child, a girl, who lived but a few days. All the spring Shelley was ill and harassed, but by June it was settled that he should have an allowance from his father of 1,000*l.* a year, and that his debts (including 1,200*l.* promised by him to Godwin) should be paid. He on his part paid

Harriet's debts and allowed her 200*l.* a year. In August he took a house on the borders of Windsor Park, and made a boating excursion up the Thames as far as Lechlade, an excursion which produced his first entire poem of value, the beautiful *Stanzas in Lechlade Churchyard*. They were followed, later in the autumn, by *Alastor*. Henceforth, from this winter of 1815 until he was drowned between Leghorn and Spezzia in July 1822, Shelley's literary history is sufficiently given in the delightful introductions prefixed by Mrs. Shelley to the poems of each year. Much of the history of his life is there given also; but with some of those 'occurrences of his private life' on which Mrs. Shelley forbore to touch, and which are now made known to us in Professor Dowden's book, we have still to deal.

Mary's first son, William, was born in January, 1816, and in February we find Shelley declaring himself 'strongly urged, by the perpetual experience of neglect or enmity from almost every one but those who are supported by my resources, to desert my native country, hiding myself and Mary from the contempt which we so unjustly endure.' Early in May he left England with Mary and Miss Clairmont; they met Lord Byron at Geneva and passed the summer by the Lake of Geneva in his company. Miss Clairmont had already in London, without the knowledge of the Shelleys, made Byron's acquaintance and become his mistress. Shelley determined, in the course of the summer, to go back to England, and, after all, 'to make that most excellent of nations my perpetual resting-place.' In September he and his ladies returned; Miss Clairmont was then expecting her confinement. Of her being Byron's mistress the Shelleys were now aware; but 'the moral indignation,' says Professor Dowden, 'which Byron's act might justly arouse, seems to have been felt by neither Shelley nor Mary.' If Byron and Claire Clairmont, as she was now called, loved and were happy, all was well.

The eldest daughter of the Godwin household, the amiable Fanny, was unhappy at home and in deep dejection of spirits. Godwin was, as usual, in terrible straits for money. The Shelleys and Miss Clairmont settled themselves at Bath; early in October Fanny Godwin passed through Bath without their knowing it, travelled on to Swansea, took a bedroom at the hotel there, and was found in the morning dead, with a bottle of laudanum on the table beside her and these words in her handwriting:—

I have long determined that the best thing I could do was to put an end to the existence of a being whose birth was unfortunate,¹ and whose life has only been a series of pain to those persons who have hurt their health in endeavouring to promote her welfare. Perhaps to hear of my death will give you pain, but you will soon have the blessing of forgetting that such a creature ever existed as . . .

There is no signature.

¹ She was Mary Wollstonecraft's natural daughter by Imlay.

A sterner tragedy followed. On the 9th of November, 1816, Harriet Shelley left the house in Brompton where she was then living, and did not return. On the 10th of December her body was found in the Serpentine; she had drowned herself. In one respect Professor Dowden resembles Providence: his ways are inscrutable. His comment on Harriet's death is: 'There is no doubt she wandered from the ways of upright living.' But, he adds: 'That no act of Shelley's, during the two years which immediately preceded her death, tended to cause the rash act which brought her life to its close, seems certain. Shelley had been living with Mary all the time; only that!

On the 30th of December, 1816, Mary Godwin and Shelley were married. I shall pursue 'the occurrences of Shelley's private life' no further. For the five years and a half which remain, Professor Dowden's book adds to our knowledge of Shelley's life much that is interesting; but what was chiefly important we knew already. The new and grave matter which we did not know, or knew in the vaguest way only, but which Shelley's family and Professor Dowden have now thought it well to give us in full, ends with Shelley's second marriage.

I regret, I say once more, that it has been given. It is a sore trial for our love of Shelley. What a set! what a world! is the exclamation that breaks from us as we come to an end of this history of 'the occurrences of Shelley's private life.' I used the French word *bête* for a letter of Shelley's; for the world in which we find him I can only use another French word, *sale*. Godwin's house of sordid horror, and Godwin preaching and holding the hat, and the green-spectacled Mrs. Godwin, and Hogg the faithful friend, and Hunt the Horace of this precious world, and, to go up higher, Sir Timothy Shelley, a great country gentleman, feeling himself safe while 'the exalted mind of the Duke of Norfolk [the drinking Duke] protects me with the world,' and Lord Byron with his deep grain of coarseness and commonness, his affectation, his brutal selfishness—what a set! The history carries us to Oxford, and I think of the clerical and respectable Oxford of those old times, the Oxford of Copleston and the Kebles and Hawkins, and a hundred more, with the relief Keble declares himself to experience from Izaak Walton,

When, wearied with the tale thy times disclose,
The eye first finds thee out in thy secure repose.

I am not only thinking of morals and the house of Godwin, I am thinking also of tone, bearing, dignity. I appeal to Cardinal Newman, if perchance he does me the honour to read these words, is it possible to imagine Copleston or Hawkins declaring himself safe 'while the exalted mind of the Duke of Norfolk protects me with the world'?

Mrs. Shelley, after her marriage and during Shelley's closing years, becomes attractive; up to her marriage her letters and journal

do not please. Her ability is manifest, but she is not attractive. In the world discovered to us by Professor Dowden as surrounding Shelley up to 1817, the most pleasing figure is poor Fanny Godwin; after Fanny Godwin, the most pleasing figure is Harriet Shelley herself.

Professor Dowden's treatment of Harriet is not worthy—so much he must allow me in all kindness, but also in all seriousness, to say—of either his taste or his judgment. His pleading for Shelley is constant, and he does more harm than good to Shelley by it. But here his championship of Shelley makes him very unjust to a cruelly used and unhappy girl. For several pages he balances the question whether or not Harriet was unfaithful to Shelley before he left her for Mary, and he leaves the question unsettled. As usual Professor Dowden (and it is his signal merit) supplies the evidence decisive against himself. Thornton Hunt, not well disposed to Harriet, Hogg, Peacock, Trelawny, Hookham, and a member of Godwin's own family, are all clear in their evidence that up to her parting from Shelley Harriet was perfectly innocent. But that precious witness, Godwin, wrote in 1817 that 'she had proved herself unfaithful to her husband before their separation. . . . Peace be to her shade!' Why, Godwin was the father of Harriet's successor. But Mary believed the same thing. She was Harriet's successor. But Shelley believed it too. He had it from Godwin. But he was convinced of it earlier. The evidence for this is, that, in writing to Southey in 1820, Shelley declares that 'the single passage of a life, otherwise not only spotless but spent in an impassioned pursuit of virtue, which looks like a blot,' bears that appearance 'merely because I regulated my domestic arrangements without deferring to the notions of the vulgar, although I might have done so quite as conveniently had I descended to their base thoughts.' From this Professor Dowden concludes that Shelley believed he could have got a divorce from Harriet had he so wished. The conclusion is not clear. But even were the evidence perfectly clear that Shelley believed Harriet unfaithful when he parted from her, we should have to take into account Mrs. Shelley's most true sentence in her introduction to *Alastor*: 'In all Shelley did, he, at the time of doing it, believed himself justified to his own conscience.'

Shelley's asserting a thing vehemently does not prove more than that he chose to believe it and did believe it. His extreme and violent changes of opinion about people show this sufficiently. Eliza Westbrook is at one time 'a diamond not so large' as her sister Harriet but 'more highly polished;' and then: 'I certainly hate her with all my heart and soul. I sometimes feel faint with the fatigue of checking the overflowings of my unbounded abhorrence for this miserable wretch.' The antipathy, Hogg tells us, was as unreasonable as the former excess of deference. To his friend Miss Hitchener he says: 'Never shall that intercourse cease, which has been the

day-dawn of my existence, the sun which has shed warmth on the cold drear length of the anticipated prospect of life.' A little later, and she has become 'the Brown Demon, a woman of desperate views and dreadful passions, but of cool and undeviating revenge.' Even Professor Dowden admits that this is absurd; that the real Miss Hitchener was not seen by Shelley, either when he adored or when he detested.

Shelley's power of persuading himself was equal to any occasion; but would not his conscientiousness and high feeling have prevented his exerting this power at poor Harriet's expense? To abandon her as he did, must he not have known her to be false? Professor Dowden insists always on Shelley's 'conscientiousness.' Shelley himself speaks of his 'impassioned pursuit of virtue.' Leigh Hunt compared his life to that of 'Plato himself, or, still more, a Pythagorean,' and added that he 'never met a being who came nearer, perhaps so near, to the height of humanity,' to being an 'angel of charity.' In many respects Shelley really resembled both a Pythagorean and an angel of charity. He loved high thoughts, he cared nothing for sumptuous lodging, fare, and raiment, he was poignantly afflicted at the sight of misery, he would have given away his last farthing, would have suffered in his own person, to relieve it. But in one important point he was like neither a Pythagorean nor an angel: he was extremely inflammable. Professor Dowden leaves no doubt on the matter. After reading his book, one feels sickened for ever of the subject of irregular relations; God forbid that I should go into the scandals about Shelley's 'Neapolitan charge,' about Shelley and Emilia Viviani, about Shelley and Miss Clairmont, and the rest of it! I will say only that it is visible enough that when the passion of love was aroused in Shelley (and it was aroused easily) one could not be sure of him, his friends could not trust him. We have seen him with the Boinville family. With Emilia Viviani he is the same. If he is left much alone with Miss Clairmont, he evidently makes Mary uneasy; nay, he makes Professor Dowden himself uneasy. And I conclude that an entirely human inflammability, joined to an inhuman want of humour and a superhuman power of self-deception, are the causes which chiefly explain Shelley's abandonment of Harriet in the first place, and then his behaviour to her and his defence of himself afterwards.

His misconduct to Harriet, his want of humour, his self-deception, are fully brought before us for the first time by Professor Dowden's book. Good morals and good criticism alike forbid that when all this is laid bare to us we should deny, or hide, or extenuate it. Nevertheless I go back after all to what I said at the beginning; still our ideal Shelley, the angelic Shelley, subsists. Unhappily the data for this Shelley we had and knew long ago, while the data for the unattractive Shelley are fresh; and what is fresh is likely to fix our at-

tention more than what is familiar. But Professor Dowden's volumes, which give so much, which give too much, also afford data for picturing anew the Shelley who delights, as well as for picturing for the first time a Shelley who, to speak plainly, disgusts; and with what may renew and restore our impression of the delightful Shelley I shall end.

The winter at Marlow, and the ophthalmia caught among the cottages of the poor, we knew, but we have from Professor Dowden more details of this winter and of Shelley's work among the poor; we have above all, for the first time I believe, a line of verse of Shelley's own which sums up truly and perfectly this most attractive side of him:

I am the friend of the unfriended poor.

But that in Shelley on which I would especially dwell is that in him which contrasts most with the ignobleness of the world in which we have seen him living, and with the pernicious nonsense which we have found him talking. The Shelley of 'marvellous gentleness,' of feminine refinement, with gracious and considerate manners, 'a perfect gentleman, entirely without arrogance or aggressive egotism,' completely devoid of the proverbial and ferocious vanity of authors and poets, always disposed to make little of his own work and to prefer that of others, of reverent enthusiasm for the great and wise, of high and tender seriousness, of heroic generosity, and of a delicacy in rendering services which was equal to his generosity—the Shelley who was all this is the Shelley with whom I wish to end. He may talk nonsense about tyrants and priests, but what a high and noble ring in such a sentence as the following, written by a young man who is refusing 2,000*l.* a year rather than consent to entail a great property!

That I should entail 120,000*l.* of command over labour, of power to remit this, to employ it for benevolent purposes, on one whom I know not—who might, instead of being the benefactor of mankind, be its hane, or use this for the worst purposes, which the real delegates of my chance-given property might convert into a most useful instrument of benevolence! No! this you will not suspect me of.

And again:—

I desire money because I think I know the use of it. It commands labour, it gives leisure; and to give leisure to those who will employ it in the forwarding of truth is the noblest present an individual can make to the whole.

If there is extravagance here, it is extravagance of a beautiful and rare sort, like Shelley's 'underhand ways' also, which differed singularly, the cynic Hogg tells us, from the underhand ways of other people; 'the latter were concealed because they were mean, selfish, sordid; Shelley's secrets, on the contrary (kindnesses done by stealth), were hidden through modesty, delicacy, generosity, refinement of soul.'

His forbearance to Godwin, to Godwin lecturing and renouncing him and at the same time holding out, as I have said, his hat to him

for alms, is wonderful; but the dignity with which he at last, in a letter perfect for propriety of tone, reads a lesson to his ignoble father-in-law, is in the best possible style:—

Perhaps it is well that you should be informed that I consider your last letter to be written in a style of haughtiness and encroachment which neither awes nor imposes on me; but I have no desire to transgress the limits which you place to our intercourse, nor in any future instance will I make any remarks but such as arise from the strict question in discussion.

And again:—

My astonishment, and, I will confess, when I have been treated with most harshness and cruelty by you, my indignation, has been extreme, that, knowing as you do my nature, any considerations should have prevailed on you to have been thus harsh and cruel. I lamented also over my ruined hopes of all that your genius once taught me to expect from your virtue, when I found that for yourself, your family, and your creditors, you would submit to that communication with me which you once rejected and abhorred, and which no pity for my poverty or sufferings, assumed willingly for you, could avail to extort.

Moreover, though Shelley has no humour, he can show as quick and sharp a tact as the most practised man of the world. He has been with Byron and the Countess Guiccioli, and he writes of the latter:—

La Guiccioli is a very pretty, sentimental, innocent Italian, who has sacrificed an immense future for the sake of Lord Byron, and who, if I know anything of my friend, of her, and of human nature, will hereafter have plenty of opportunity to repent her rashness.

Tact also, and something better than tact, he shows in his dealings, in order to befriend Leigh Hunt, with Lord Byron. He writes to Hunt:—

Particular circumstances, or rather, I should say, particular dispositions in Lord Byron's character, render the close and exclusive intimacy with him in which I find myself intolerable to me; thus much, my best friend, I will confess and confide to you. No feelings of my own shall injure or interfere with what is now nearest to them—your interest; and I will take care to preserve the little influence I may have over this Proteus, in whom such strange extremes are reconciled, until we meet.

And so we have come back again, at last, to our original Shelley—to the Shelley of the lovely and well-known picture, to the Shelley with 'flushed, feminine, artless face,' the Shelley 'blushing like a girl,' of Trelawny. Professor Dowden gives us some further attempts at portraiture. One by a Miss Rose, of Shelley at Marlow:—

He was the most interesting figure I ever saw; his eyes like a deer's, bright but rather wild; his white throat unfettered; his slender but to me almost faultless shape; his brown long coat with curling lamb's wool collar and cuffs—in fact his whole appearance—are as fresh in my recollection as an occurrence of yesterday.

Feminine enthusiasm may be deemed suspicious, but a Captain Kennedy must surely be able to keep his head. Captain Kennedy

was quartered at Horsham in 1813, and saw Shelley when he was on a stolen visit, in his father's absence, at Field Place :—

He received me with frankness and kindness, as if he had known me from childhood, and at once won my heart. I fancy I see him now as he sate by the window, and hear his voice, the tones of which impressed me with his sincerity and simplicity. His resemblance to his sister Elizabeth was as striking as if they had been twins. His eyes were most expressive ; his complexion beautifully fair, his features exquisitely fine ; his hair was dark, and no peculiar attention to its arrangement was manifest. In person he was slender and gentlemanlike, but inclined to stoop ; his gait was decidedly not military. The general appearance indicated great delicacy of constitution. One would at once pronounce of him that he was different from other men. There was an earnestness in his manner and such perfect gentleness of breeding and freedom from everything artificial as charmed every one. I never met a man who so immediately won upon me.

Mrs. Gisborne's son, who knew Shelley well at Leghorn, declared Captain Kennedy's description of him to be 'the best and most truthful I have ever seen.'

To all this we have to add the charm of the man's writings—of Shelley's poetry. It is his poetry, above everything else, which for many people establishes that he is an angel. Of his poetry I have not space now to speak. But let no one suppose that a want of humour and a self-delusion such as Shelley's have no effect upon a man's poetry. The man Shelley, in very truth, is not entirely sane, and Shelley's poetry is not entirely sane either. The Shelley of actual life is a vision of beauty and radiance, indeed, but availing nothing, effecting nothing. And in poetry, no less than in life, he is 'a beautiful and ineffectual angel, beating in the void his luminous wings in vain.'

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

A RIVER OF RUINED CAPITALS.

A LAMENTED historian has shown the influence exerted on the making of England by the natural configuration of the island. But while physical geography is now recognised as an initial factor in the fortunes of European countries, it has received scanty acknowledgment in histories of the East. Yet in India, where man has for ages confronted with bare arms the forces of tropical nature, his terrestrial surroundings have controlled his lot with an energy unknown in our temperate clime. Mountains and rivers and regions of forest set barriers to human ambition in India, barriers against which the most powerful Mughal sovereign in vain shattered his dynasty. The same isolating influences which forbade a universal dominion, tended also to perpetuate local institutions, race animosities, and exclusive creeds. The conception of India as a whole, or of its races as a united people, is a conception of the British brain. The realisation of that conception is the great task of British rule. For in India man no longer confronts the forces of nature with bare arms. Science, which is in England a calm pursuit, is to our countrymen in the East an instrument of empire. It has overtopped the mountains, spanned the rivers, and pierced the forests which divided kingdom from kingdom. It has thrown down the landmarks of isolation which nature had set up, and is clasping together with bands of iron the peoples and provinces of a united India.

The following pages present a single episode in this great struggle between man and nature. I shall show how, during ages, nature lorded it over man, laughing at his painful toils, and destroying with scornful ease his mightiest works. I shall indicate the new allies which man has lately called to his aid. The battle is still a drawn one, and on its issue the prosperity, if not the existence, of the capital of British India now depends. I believe that only by thus examining Indian history in connection with Indian geography, can its true significance in the past or its bearings on the present be understood. There is another point, also, in regard to which I have a strong conviction. When Marco Polo returned from the East, the Venetians nicknamed him the Man of Millions, from the huge

figures in which he indulged. Indian history and Indian progress still express themselves in vast totals—in totals so enormous as almost to seem to place themselves outside the range of accurate Western research. I believe that if we are to approach Indian questions in a scientific spirit, we must begin by getting rid of these immense integers. We must shun the foible of Messer Marco Millionini. For in India, as elsewhere, the aggregate is merely the sum of its items, and exact knowledge is best reached by proceeding from the particular to the general—by leaving the whole alone until we have examined its parts. This article will restrict itself to a short river trough, which runs inland from the Bay of Bengal, with the buried Buddhist port near its mouth; with Calcutta about half-way up; and with Murshidabad, the forsaken Muhammadan capital, towards its northern end.

The Hugli is the most westerly of the network of channels by which the Ganges pours into the sea. Its length, under its distinctive name, is less than 150 miles—a length altogether insignificant compared with the great waterways of India. But even its short course exhibits in full work the twofold task of the Bengal rivers as creators and destroyers. The delta through which it flows was built up in times primæval, out of the sea, by the silt which the Hugli and adjacent channels brought down from inland plains and Himalayan heights, a thousand miles off. Their inundations still add a yearly coating of slime to vast low-lying tracts; and we can stand by each autumn and see the ancient secrets of landmaking laid bare. Each autumn, too, the network of currents rend away square miles from their banks, and deposit their plunder as new alluvial formations further down. Or a broad river writhes like a monster snake across the country, leaving dry its old bed, and covering with deep water what was lately solid land.

Most of the channels do their work in solitude, in drowned wastes where the rhinoceros and crocodile wallow in the slush, and whither the woodcutter only comes in the dry months, after the rivers have spent their fury for the year. But the Hugli carries on its ancient task in a thickly peopled country, destroying and reproducing with an equal balance amid the homesteads and cities of men. Since the dawn of history it has formed the great high road from Bengal to the sea. One Indian race after another built their capitals, one European nation after another founded their settlements, on its banks. Buddhists, Hindus, Musalmans, Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, French, Germans, and English, have lined with ports and fortresses that magnificent waterway.

The insatiable river has dealt impartially with all. Some it has left high and dry, others it has buried under mud, one it has cleft in twain and covered with its waters: but all it has attacked, or deserted, or destroyed. With a single exception, whatever it has

touched it has defaced. One city only has completely resisted its assaults. Calcutta alone has escaped unharmed to tell of that appalling series of catastrophes. The others lie entombed in the silt, or moulder like wrecks on the bank. The river flows on relentless and majestic as of old, ceaselessly preaching with its still small ripple, the ripple that has sapped the palaces of kings and brought low the temples of the gods, that here we have no abiding city. It is a vision of the world's vanities such as the world has not seen since Spenser mourned the 'Ruines of Rome'—

Ne ought save Tyber hastning to his fall
Remaines of all : O world's inconstancie !
That which is firme doth flit and fall away,
And that is fitting doth abide and stay.

In order to understand a great Indian waterway, we must lay aside our common English idea of a river. In England the streams form lines of drainage from the interior to the sea. The life of a Bengal river like the Ganges is much more complex. Its biography divides itself into three chapters—a boisterous boyhood, a laborious manhood, a sad old age. In its youth the Ganges leaps out from a snow-bed in the Himalayas, and races across the sub-montane tracts, gathering pebbles and diverse mineral treasures as it bounds along. After three hundred miles of this play, it settles down to its serious work in life, grinding its mountain spoils to powder against its sides, bearing on its breast the commerce of provinces, and distributing its waters for the cultivation of the soil. Its manhood lasts a thousand miles, during which it receives tributaries from both sides, and rolls onward with an ever-increasing volume of water and silt. But as it grows older it becomes slower, losing in pace as it gains in bulk, until it reaches a country so level that its mighty mass can no longer hold together, and its divergent waters part from the main stream to find separate courses to the sea. The point at which this disseverance takes place marks the head of the delta. But the dismembered river has still an old age of full two hundred miles before its worn-out currents find rest. It toils sluggishly across the delta, splitting up into many channels, each of which searches a course for itself southwards, with endless bifurcations, new junctions, twists, and convolutions.

The enfeebled currents can no longer carry on the silt which the parent stream, in its vigorous manhood, has borne down. They accordingly deposit their burdens in their beds, or along their margins, thus raising their banks above the low adjacent plains. They build themselves up as it were into high-level canals. The delta thus consists of branching rivers winding about at a perilous elevation, with a series of hollow-lands or dips between. The lofty banks alone prevent the channels from spilling over; and when a

channel has filled up, the old banks run like ridges across the delta, showing where a dead river once flowed. In the rainy season, the floods burst over the banks, and drown the surrounding flats with a silt-laden deluge. Then the waters settle and drop their load in the form of a coating of mud. As the inundation subsides, the aqueous expanse, now denuded of its silt, partly finds its way back to the channels, partly sinks into the porous soil, and partly stagnates in land-locked fens. The Ganges thus yields up in its old age the accumulations of its youth and manhood. Earth to earth. The last scene of all is the solitude of tidal creeks and jungle, amid whose silence its waters merge into the sea.

The Hugli is formed by the three most westerly of the deltaic spill-streams of the Ganges. The first or most northerly is the Bhagirathi, a very ancient river, which represents the original course of the Ganges, down the Hugli trough to the Bay of Bengal. A legend tells how a demon diverted the sacred Ganges by swallowing it. The demon was a geological one—a band of stiff yellow clay which confined the Ganges to its ancient bed, until a flood burst through the barrier and opened a passage for the main body of the Ganges to the east. The disruption took place in prehistoric times. But to this day the Bhagirathi, and the Hugli which it helps to form lower down, retain the sanctity of the parent stream. The Ganges ceases to be holy eastward from the point where the Bhagirathi breaks south. It was at this point that Holy Mother Ganga vouchsafed, in answer to the Sage's prayer, to divide herself into a hundred channels to make sure that her purifying waters should reach, and cleanse from sin, the concealed ashes of the heroes. Those channels form her distributaries through the delta. The Bhagirathi, although for centuries a mere spill-stream from the parent Ganges, is still called the Ganges by the villagers along its course.

The levels of the surrounding country show that the bed of the Bhagirathi must once have been many times its present size. The small portion of the waters of the Ganges which it continued to receive after the geological disruption no longer sufficed to keep open its former wide channel. Its bed accordingly silted up, forming islands, shoals, and accretions to its banks. It now discloses the last stage in the decay of a deltaic river. In that stage the process of silting up completes itself, until the stream dwindles into a series of pools and finally disappears. This fate is averted from the Bhagirathi by engineering efforts. The vast changes which have taken place in the Hugli trough may be estimated from the one fact, that the first of its headwaters, which originally poured into it the mighty Ganges, is now a dying river kept alive by artificial devices.

The other two headwaters of the Hugli bear witness to not less memorable vicissitudes. The second of them takes off from the

Ganges about forty miles eastward from the Bhagirathi. At one time it brought down such masses of water from the Ganges as to earn the name of the Terrible. But in our own days it was for long a deceased river; its mouth or intake from the Ganges was closed with mud; its course was cut into three parts by other streams. The country through which it flowed must once have been the scene of fluvial revolutions on an appalling scale. That tract is now covered with a network of dead rivers; a vast swampy reticulation in some places stretching as lines of pools, in others as fertile green hollows. But thirteen years ago a flood once more burst open the mouth of the Terrible from the Ganges, and it re-expanded from a little cut into a broad distributary. The third of the Hugli headwaters has its principal offtake from the Ganges again about forty miles further down. It constantly shifts its point of bifurcation from the Ganges, moving its mouth up and down the parent river to a distance of ten miles. All the three headwaters of the Hugli dwindle to shallow streams in the cold weather. At many places a depth of eighteen inches cannot always be maintained by the most skilful engineering. But during the rains each of them pours down enormous floods from the Ganges to the Hugli trough.

The Hugli, thus formed by three uncertain spill-streams of the Ganges from the north and east, receives no important tributary on its western bank above Calcutta. One channel brings down the torrents from the mountain fringe of the Central India plateau. But during three-quarters of the year this channel dwindles, in its upper course, to a silver thread amid expanses of sand. Formerly, indeed, the Hugli above Calcutta received a mighty river from the westward, the Damodar. About two centuries ago, however, that giant stream burst southward, and now enters the Hugli far below Calcutta. For practical purposes, therefore, the only feeders of the Hugli are the three spill-streams from the Ganges on the north and east.

How comes it that these decaying rivers suffice to supply one of the great commercial waterways of the world? In the dry weather, writes the officer in charge of them, it is impossible, at a short distance below their final point of junction, 'to tell whether they are opened or closed, as the proportion of water which they supply' to the Hugli 'is a mere trifle.' Thus in 1869 two of them were closed, and the third only yielded a trickle of twenty cubic feet a second. Yet within fifty miles of their junction the Hugli has grown into a magnificent river, deep enough for the largest ships, and supplying Calcutta with twelve million gallons of water a day without any appreciable diminution to the navigable channel.

This was long a mystery. The explanation is that during the eight dry months the Hugli is fed partly by infiltration underground, and partly by the tide. The delta forms a subterraneous sieve of silt,

through which countless rills of water percolate into the deep trough which the Hugli has scooped out for itself. The drainage from the swamps and hollow lands, finding no outlet on the surface, sinks into the porous alluvium. The delta thus stores up inexhaustible underground reservoirs, to feed the Hugli in the hot weather. There is a moving mass of waters beneath the surface of the land, searching out paths into the low level formed by the Hugli drain. This perpetual process of subterrene infiltration, together with the action of the tides, renders the Hugli almost independent of its headwaters so long as it can maintain the depth of its trough below the adjacent country. That depth is secured by the scouring of the current in the rainy season. During the dry months the Hugli silts up. But if only its headwaters are kept from closing altogether, the floods from the Ganges will pour down them on the first burst of the rains, and again deepen the Hugli trough. The problem of engineering, therefore, is to save the three headwaters from being absolutely silted up during the dry season.

The struggle between science and nature which the last sentence represents lies beyond the scope of this article. Meanwhile let us sail quickly up the Hugli in the cold weather, and see how man, unaided by science, fared in the conflict. The country round the mouth of the river consists of disappointing sand banks or mean mud formations, covered with coarse grass and barely a few inches above high-tide. But about thirty-five miles below Calcutta we reach a better raised land, bearing cocoanuts and rich crops of rice. There on the western side of the Hugli, but at some distance from its present course, and upon a muddy tributary, once flourished the Buddhist port of Bengal. From that port of Tamlúk, the Buddhist pilgrim of the fifth century A.D. took shipping to Ceylon. It is now an inland village six miles from the Hugli channel and fifty from the sea. Its Buddhist princes, with their ten monasteries and one thousand monks, succumbed to Hindu kings of the warrior caste, who built a fortified palace said to cover eight square miles. The Hindu kings of the warrior caste were succeeded by a semi-aboriginal line of fishermen princes. As each dynasty perished, the delta buried their works beneath its silt. The floods now unearth Buddhist coins from the deep gullies which they cut during the rains; sea-shells and fragments of houses occur at a depth of twenty feet. The old Buddhist port lies far down in the mud; of the great palace of the Hindu warrior kings only faint traces remain above the surface. Even the present temple, said to be built by the later fishermen princes, is already partly below ground. Its mighty foundation of logs spread out upon the delta, heaped with solid masonry to a height of thirty feet, and surmounted by a Cyclopean triple wall and dome, form a marvel of mediæval engineering. But the massive structure, which has defied the floods and tidal waves of centuries, is being softly, silently, surely shovelled underground by the silt.

A little above the buried Buddhist port, but on the Hugli itself, we come to Falta. Once the site of a Dutch factory, and a busy harbour of Dutch commerce, it formed the retreat of the English Council in 1756, after the Black Hole and their flight from Calcutta. It now consists of a poor hamlet and a few grassy earthworks mounted with guns. The Dutch factory is gone, the Dutch commerce is gone; it strains the imagination to conceive that this green solitary place was once the last foothold of the British power in Bengal. I moored my barge for the night off its silent bank, and read the official records of those disastrous days. A consultation held by the fugitive Council on board the schooner 'Phoenix' relates how their military member had written 'a complimentary letter to the Nawab,' who had done their comrades to death, 'complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honourable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened, and begging him in the meanwhile, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend, and give orders that our people might be supplied with provisions in a full and friendly manner.' To such a depth of abasement had fallen the British power—that power to which in less than a year the field of Plassey, higher up the same river, was to give the mastery of Bengal.

Swiftly sailing past Calcutta, with its fourfold tiers of great ships, its fortress, palaces, domes, and monuments, we come upon a series of five early European settlements, from sixteen to twenty-eight miles above the British capital. Each one of these formed the subject of as high hopes as Calcutta; several of them seemed to give promise of a greater future. Every one of them is now deserted by trade; not one of them could be reached by the smallest ships of modern commerce. The Hugli quickly deteriorates above the limits of the Calcutta port, and the rival European settlements higher up are as effectually cut off from the sea as if they were buried, like the Buddhist harbour, in the mud of the delta.

The first of these settlements, sixteen miles by water above Calcutta, is the old Danish town of Serampur. It formed the outcome of a century of efforts by the Danes to establish themselves in Bengal. During the Napoleonic wars it was a prosperous port, many of our own ships sailing thence to avoid the heavy insurance paid by British vessels. Ships of 600 to 800 tons, the largest then in use, could lie off its wharfs. In the second quarter of the present century the silt formations of the Hugli channel rendered it inaccessible to maritime commerce. The manuscript account of the settlement, drawn up with minute care when we took over the town from the Danes in 1845, sets forth every detail, down to the exact number of hand looms, burial grounds, and liquor shops. But throughout its seventy-seven folio pages I could discover not one word indicating the survival of a sea-going trade.

On the opposite or eastern bank, a couple of miles further up, lay an ancient German settlement, Bankipur, the scene of an enterprise on which the eyes of European statesmen were once malevolently fixed. No trace of it now survives; its very name has disappeared from the maps, and can only be found in a chart of the last century. Carlyle, with picturesque inaccuracy, describes that enterprise as the Third Shadow Hunt of Emperor Karl the Sixth. 'The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East India Company,' he says, 'which convulsed the diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper company, never sent ships, only produced diplomacies, and "had the honour to be."' As a matter of fact, the Company not only sent ships, but paid dividends, and founded settlements which stirred up the fiercest jealousy in India. Although sacrificed in Europe by the Emperor to obtain the Pragmatic Sanction in 1727, the Ostend Company went on with its business for many years, and became finally bankrupt in 1784. Its settlement on the Hugli, deserted by the Vienna Court, was destroyed in 1733 by a Muhammadan general, whom the rival European traders stirred up against it. The despairing garrison and their brave chief, who lost an arm by a cannon-ball, little thought that they would appear in history as mere paper persons and diplomatic shadows who had only 'had the honour to be.' The European companies were in those days as deadly to each other as the river was destructive to their settlements. When Frederick the Great sent a later expedition, the native Viceroy of Bengal warned the other Europeans against the coming of the German ships. 'God forbid that they should come this way!' was the pious response of the President of the English Council; 'but should this be the case, I am in hopes that through your Uprightness they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed.'

A few miles higher up the river on the western bank, the French settlement of Chandernagar still flies the tricolor. In the last century it was bombarded by English vessels of war. A great silt bank, which has formed outside it, would now effectually protect it from any such attack. A grassy slope has taken the place of the deep water in which the admiral's flagship lay. Captured and recaptured by the British during the long wars, the settlement now reposes under international treaties, a trim little French town landlocked from maritime commerce. A couple of miles above it lies the decayed Dutch settlement, Chinsura; and another mile further on was the ancient Portuguese emporium, Hugli town. Both of these were great resorts of sea-going trade before Calcutta was thought of. In 1632, when the Muhammadans took Hugli town from the Portuguese, and made it their own royal port of Bengal, they captured over three hundred ships, large and small, in the harbour. As one now approaches the old Dutch and Portuguese

settlements, a large alluvial island, covered with rank grasses and a few trees, divides the stream into uncertain channels, with lesser silt formations above and below. Noble buttressed houses and remains of the river wall still line the banks of the land-locked harbours. Then the marvellous new railway bridge seems to cross the sky, its three cantilever spans high up in the air above the river, with native boats crawling like flies underneath. Beyond rise the tower and belfry of the Portuguese monastery of Bandel, the oldest house of Christian worship in Bengal, built originally in 1599. The Virgin in a bright blue robe, with the Infant in her arms, and a garland of fresh rosemaries round her neck, stands out aloft under a canopy. Two lamps ever lit by her side served as beacons during centuries to the European ships which can never again ascend the river. They now guide the native boatmen for miles down the decaying channels.

From this point upwards, the Hugli river is a mere record of ruin. An expanse of shallows spreads out among silt formations, stake-nets, and mud. Oval-bottomed country boats, with high painted sterns, bulging bellies, and enormous brown square sails, make their way up and down with the tide. But the distant high banks, crowned by venerable trees, and now separated from the water by emerald-green flats, prove that a great and powerful river once flowed past them. For some miles the channel forms the dwindled remains of an ancient lake. Old names, such as the Sea of Delight, now solid land, bear witness to a time when it received the inflow of rivers long dead or in decay. From this mighty mass of waters one arm reached the sea south-eastward, by the present Hugli trough; another, and once larger, branch, known as the Saraswati, or Goddess of Flowing Speech, broke off to the south-west. At their point of bifurcation stands Tribeni, a very ancient place of pilgrimage. But the larger western branch, or Goddess of Speech, is now a silent and dead river, running for miles as a green broad hollow through the country, with a tidal ditch which you can jump across in the dry weather.

Yet on this dead western branch flourished the royal port of Bengal from a prehistoric age till the time of the Portuguese. Its name, Satgaon, refers its origin to the Seven Sages of Hindu mythology, and the map of 1540 A.D. marks its river as a large channel. Purchas in the beginning of the next century describes it as 'a reasonable fair citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things.' Foreign trade sharpened the wits of the townsmen, and a Bengali proverb still makes 'a man of Satgaon' synonymous with a shrewd fellow. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its river silted up, and the royal port of Bengal was transferred to Hugli town. I walked a few miles along the broad depression where once the river had flowed, and searched for the ancient city. I found only a region of mounds covered with countless fragments of fine bricks, buried under thickets of thorn and stunted palms. I asked a poor nomadic

family of sugar-makers, who were boiling down the date juice into syrup in earthen pots under a tree, 'Where was the fort?' They pointed to the jungle around. I asked, 'Where was the harbour?' For a time they could not comprehend what I wanted. At length the father took me to a dank hollow, and said that some years ago the floods, in the rainy season, had there washed out the timbers of a sea-going ship from deep under the ground.

What caused this ruin? I have said that although the Hugli now receives no important affluent on its western bank, yet at one time a great tributary flowed into it from that side. This was the Damodar, which brings down the drainage of the western plains and highlands of Lower Bengal. It originally entered the Hugli a few miles above the Saraswati branch on which lay the royal port. But between 1500 and 1800 A.D. its floods gradually worked a more direct passage for themselves to the south. Instead of entering the Hugli about thirty-five miles above Calcutta, it now enters the Hugli nearly thirty-five miles below Calcutta. The Hugli trough, therefore, no longer receives its old copious water-supply throughout the intermediate seventy miles. Its bed accordingly silted up, and certain old branches or off-takes from it, like the one on which lay the royal Muhammadan port of Bengal, have died away. This great fluvial revolution, after preparing itself during three centuries, ended in fifty years of terrible catastrophes. The ancient mouth of the Damodar into the Hugli above Calcutta had almost completely closed up while the inundations had not yet opened to a sufficient width the new channel to the south. In 1770, for example, the Damodar floods, struggling to find a passage, destroyed the chief town of that part of Bengal. During many years our officers anxiously considered whether it was possible to reopen by artificial means its old exit into the Hugli. 'Picture to yourself,' writes a Calcutta journal of its flood in 1823, 'a flat country completely under water, running with a force apparently irresistible, and carrying with it dead bodies, roofs of houses, palanquins, and wreck of every description.'

Proceeding upwards from the old mouth of the Damodar, the Hugli abandons itself to every wild form of fluvial caprice. At places a deep cut; at others a shallow expanse of water, in the middle of which the fishermen wade with their hand-nets; or a mean new channel, with old lakes and swamps which mark its former bed, but which are now separated from it by high sandy ridges. Nadiya, the old Hindu capital, stands at the junction of its two upper head-waters, about sixty-five miles above Calcutta. We reach the ancient city through a river chaos, emerging at length upon a well-marked channel below the junction. It was from Nadiya that the last Hindu King of Bengal, on the approach of the Muhammadan invader in 1203, fled from his palace in the middle of dinner, as the story runs, with his sandals snatched up in his hand. It was at

Nadiya that the deity was incarnated in the fifteenth century A.D. in the great Hindu reformer, the Luther of Bengal. At Nadiya the Sanskrit colleges, since the dawn of history, have taught their abstruse philosophy to colonies of students, who calmly pursued the life of a learner from boyhood to white-haired old age.

I landed with feelings of reverence at this ancient Oxford of India. A fat benevolent abbot paused in fingering his beads to salute me from the verandah of a Hindu monastery. I asked him for the birthplace of the divine founder of his faith. The true site, he said, was now covered by the river. The Hugli had first cut the sacred city in two, then twisted right round the town, leaving anything that remained of the original capital on the opposite bank. Whatever the water had gone over, it had buried beneath its silt. I had with me the Sanskrit chronicle of the present line of Nadiya Rajas. It begins with the arrival of their ancestor, one of the first five eponymous Brahman immigrants into Bengal, according to its chronology, in the eleventh century A.D. It brings down their annals from father to son to the great Raja of the eighteenth century, Clive's friend, who received twelve cannons as a trophy from Plassey. So splendid were the charities of this Indian scholar-prince, that it became a proverb that any man of the priestly caste in Bengal who had not received a gift from him could be no true Brahman. The Rajas long ago ceased to reside in a city which had become a mere prey to the river. Nadiya is now a collection of peasants' huts, grain shops, mud colleges, and crumbling Hindu monasteries, cut up by gullies and hollows. A few native magnates still have houses in the holy city. The only objects that struck me in its narrow lanes were the bands of yellow-robed pilgrims on their way to bathe in the river; two stately sacred bulls who paced about in well-fed complacency; and the village idiot, swollen with monastic rice, listlessly flapping the flies with a palm-leaf as he lay in the sun.

Above Nadiya, where its two upper headwaters unite, the Hugli loses its distinctive name. We thread our way up its chief confluent, the Bhagirathi, amid spurs and training works and many engineering devices: now following the channel across a wilderness of glistening sand, now sticking for an hour in the mud, although our barge and flat-bottomed steamer only draw twenty inches of water. In a region of wickerwork dams and interwoven stakes for keeping the river open, we reach the field of Plassey, on which in 1757 Clive won Bengal. After trudging about with the village watchman, trying to make out a plan of the battle, I rested at noon under a noble pipal tree. Among its bare and multitudinous roots, heaps of tiny earthenware horses, with toy flags of talc and tinsel, are piled up in memory of the Muhammadan generals who fell in the fight. The venerable tree has become a place of pilgrimage for both Musulmans and

Hindus. The custodian is a Muhammadan, but two of the little shrines are tipped with red paint in honour of the Hindu goddess Kali. At the yearly festival of the fallen warriors, miraculous cures are wrought on pilgrims of both faiths.

I whiled away the midday heat with a copy of Clive's manuscript despatch to the Secret Committee. His account of the battle is very brief. Finding the enemy coming on in overwhelming force at day-break, he lay with his handful of troops securely 'lodged in a large grove, surrounded with good mud banks.' His only hope was in a night attack. But at noon, when his assailants had drawn back into their camp, doubtless for their midday meal, Clive made a rush on one or two of their advanced positions, from which their French gunners had somewhat annoyed him. Encouraged by his momentary success, and amid a confusion caused by the fall of several of the Nawab's chief officers, he again sprang forward on an angle of the enemy's entrenchments. A panic suddenly swept across the unwieldy encampment, probably surprised over its cooking-pots, and the battle was a six miles' pursuit of the wildly flying masses.

A semicircle of peasants gathered round me, ready with conflicting answers to any questions that occurred as I read. Fifty years after the battle of Plassey the river had completely eaten away the field on which it was fought. 'Every trace is obliterated,' wrote a traveller in 1801, 'and a few miserable huts overhanging the water are the only remains of the celebrated Plassey.' In a later caprice the river deserted the bank, which it had thus cut away, and made a plunge to the opposite or western side. The still water which it left on the eastern bank soon covered with deep silt the site of the battlefield that it had once engulfed. Acres of new alluvial formations, meadows, slopes, and green flats gently declining to the river, take the place of Clive's mango grove and the Nawab's encampment. The wandering priest, who served the shrines under the tree, presented me with an old-fashioned leaden bullet which he said a late flood had laid bare.

Some distance above Plassey lies Murshidabad, once the Muhammadan metropolis of Lower Bengal, now the last city on the river of ruined capitals. Here, too, the decay of the channel would have sufficed to destroy its old trade. But a swifter agent of change wrought the ruin of Murshidabad. The cannon of Plassey sounded its doom. The present Nawab, a courteous, sad-eyed representative of the Muhammadan Viceroys from whom we took over Bengal, kindly lent me one of his empty palaces. The two Englishmen whom His Highness most earnestly inquired after were the Prince of Wales and Mr. Roberts, jun. Indeed he was good enough to show me some pretty fancy strokes which he had learned from the champion billiard-player. Next evening I looked down from the tower of the great mosque on a green stretch of woodland, which Clive described as 'a

city as large and populous as London. The palaces of the nobles had given place to brick houses; the brick houses to mud cottages; the mud cottages to mat huts; the mat huts to straw hovels. A poor and struggling population was invisible somewhere around me, but in dwellings so mean as to be buried under the palms and brushwood. A wreck of a city with bazaars and streets was there. Yet, looking down from the tower, scarce a building, save the Nawab's palace, rose above the surface of the jungle.

Of all the cities and capitals that man has built upon the Hugli, only one can now be reached by sea-going ships. The sole survival is Calcutta. The long story of ruin compels us to ask whether the same fate hangs over the capital of British India. Above Calcutta, the headwaters of the Hugli still silt up, and are essentially decaying rivers. Below Calcutta, the present channel of the Damodar enters the Hugli at so acute an angle that it has thrown up the James and Mary Sands, the most dangerous river-shoal known to navigation. The combined discharges of the Damodar and Rupnarayan rivers join the Hugli, close to each from the same bank. Their intrusive mass of water arrests the flow of the Hugli current, and so causes it to deposit its silt, thus forming the James and Mary. In 1854 a committee of experts reported by a majority that, while modern ships required a greater depth of water, the Hugli channels had deteriorated, and that their deterioration would under existing conditions go on. The capital of British India was brought face to face with the question whether it would succumb, as every previous capital on the river had succumbed, to the forces of nature, or whether it would fight them. In 1793 a similar question had arisen in regard to a project for reopening the old mouth of the Damodar above Calcutta. In the last century the Government decided, and with its then meagre resources of engineering wisely decided, not to fight nature. In the present century the Government has decided, and with the enlarged resources of modern engineering has wisely decided, to take up the gage of battle.

It is one of the most marvellous struggles between science and nature which the world has ever seen. In this article I have had to exhibit man as beaten at every point; on another opportunity I may perhaps present the new aspects of the conflict. On the one side nature is the stronger; on the other side science is more intelligent. It is a war between brute force and human strategy, carried on not by mere isolated fights, but by perennial campaigns spread over wide territories. Science finds that although she cannot control nature, yet that she can outwit and circumvent her. As regards the headwaters above Calcutta, it is not possible to coerce the spill-streams of the Ganges, but it is possible to coax and train them along the desired channels. As regards the Hugli below Calcutta, all that can be effected by vigilance in watching the shoals and by skill in evading them is accomplished. The

deterioration of the channels seems for the time to be arrested. But Calcutta has deliberately faced the fact that the forces of tropical nature may any year overwhelm and wreck the delicate contrivances of man. She has, therefore, thrown out two advanced works in the form of railways towards the coast. One of these railways taps the Hugli where it expands into an estuary below the perilous James and Mary shoal. The other runs south-east to a new and deep river, the Matla. Calcutta now sits calmly, although with no false sense of security, in her state of siege; fighting for her ancient waterway to the last, but provided with alternative routes from the sea, even if the Hugli should perish. *Sedet aeternumque sedebit.*

W. W. HUNTER.

HOME RULE IN NORWAY.

NATIONALISM is exercising at once a centripetal and a centrifugal effect on the States of Europe. It has been building up Germany and Italy, and at the same time breaking up Turkey, undermining Austro-Hungary, and threatening the integrity of the British Empire. If these States are to be held together, their politicians cannot do better than consult experience, in order to judge whether the rigid and thorough application of the principles of popular government, or the maintenance and strengthening of the powers appertaining to the Crown, is most likely to lead to the desired result. For, as far as politics are not an art, but a science, they consist in an application of the lessons of history. Were it only easier to take into account the modifications of human nature produced by climate, soil, circumstances, religion, customs, institutions, &c., we might indeed hope in course of time to derive from experience positive laws for dealing with every knotty political and social question.

Both Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville have shown their appreciation of this fact by appealing to contemporary events for a confirmation of the policy they recommend. The former statesman declared at Derby that Home Rule was 'causing Norway and Sweden to grow up together into one compact united kingdom, under the influence of free local government—a method approved by practical political experience throughout the world.'¹ Lord Granville at Hanley (7th of November) also quoted history as bearing out his proposition that office confers a sense of duty and responsibility on leaders of a popular party, and the necessary wisdom for governing their country.

Now I believe that if we examine things closely we shall arrive at very different conclusions. We shall be inclined to think that the predominance granted by the constitution of Norway to a class particularly subject to the influence of demagogues, joined to the recklessness of the popular leaders, has caused incalculable evil; that it has prevented two nations of the same race and religion, inhabiting the same peninsula, and closely related as regards language and customs, from gradually coalescing into one nation, as the political

¹ I am quoting from the *Standard* of the 21st of October 1887.

security and the economical progress of both seem imperatively to demand. We shall see that after seventy-three years of Home Rule the burning question of the day is separation or incorporation, repeal of the union or limitation of Home Rule. We shall see that, if Mr. Sverdrup, the Norwegian Mr. Parnell, has, since he became minister, acquired some sense of responsibility, he has in a proportional measure lost influence over a party whose idol and dictator he was, but which is now gradually abandoning him for more thoroughgoing and uncompromising leaders, such as Steen and Björnstjerne Björnson. We shall see on one side a monarchy of a thousand years' growth and with an aristocratic constitution, a country which has enjoyed a steady and regular development and is proud of its historical traditions, and on the other side the former dependency of an absolute monarchy, too rapidly transformed into an independent State, and endowed with popular government. We shall perceive that the union of two such nations cannot be converted into unison unless the institutions of both countries are rendered somewhat similar. Each is called upon to go a certain distance to meet the other, both ought to renounce what is extreme and one-sided in the character of their institutions, both should be willing to sacrifice for the common weal some special interests of their own, some favourite notions. But we shall find that reasonable concessions have always come from Sweden, where the educated classes still predominate, and from the Crown—never from the Norwegian peasantry and their ambitious leaders. With every sacrifice of royal prerogative, with every concession made by the sister country, the arrogance and discontent of the Norwegian Nationalists, and their tendency towards republicanism and separation, have increased.

Home Rule in Norway originated in the same year as the union with Sweden, in 1814. Russia, having definitively torn Finland from Sweden in 1809 and being desirous of regaining Sweden's friendship, promised by the treaty of St. Petersburg, on the 5th of April 1812, to help her towards the acquisition of Norway, as a compensation for the loss of the eastern province. Sweden in consequence joined the European powers in the great war of 1813, and turning against Napoleon's ally, the King of Denmark, forced him to renounce his rights to Norway, and to cede it by the treaty of Kiel, on the 14th of January 1814. Finding the Norwegians disinclined to accept this change of masters, Prince Christian of Denmark declared himself Regent; he then was, on the 19th of May 1814, proclaimed King of Norway by a national assembly, which had two days previously adopted a democratic constitution. This constitution—in great part the work of a certain Falsen—was fashioned after the French constitution of 1791 and the Spanish one of 1812, and has long enjoyed the reputation of being the model of a thoroughly popular constitution. Radicals have, in fact, declared the Norwegian monarchy to be

the best of republics. After the defeat of Napoleon Sweden was backed by all the great powers in its pretensions on Norway, so that King Christian saw no alternative but abdication; whereupon the Norwegian Diet, on the 4th of November 1814, unanimously granted the crown of Norway to King Charles the Thirteenth of Sweden, after the Crown Prince (Bernadotte) had in the King's name agreed to accept the Eidsvold constitution. With Home Rule on a broad foundation, with such wise and popular monarchs as King Charles the Fourteenth, Oskar the First, Charles the Fifteenth, and Oskar the Second, it might reasonably have been expected that the Norwegians would be content, and that the union would flourish. It was certainly not unnatural to surmise that, having secured all that the advanced Liberal doctrine of the age deemed essential, the majority of the nation would turn Conservative, in order to assure the stability of the institutions it had coveted and obtained. But, instead of leading to content and loyalty, the victory of the popular cause led to the creation of a party aiming at the overthrow of the monarchy and the repeal of the union.

The fact is that parties and masses are not a whit more reasonable than the whimsical child whose pettishness by no means passes away when some tremendous grievance is removed, or when its 'only wish' has been fulfilled. Were reason the lodestar of children, women and masses, parents, husbands, and statesmen would be liable to fewer disappointments; but unfortunately greed and selfishness are constitutional faults which do not easily vanish, a part of human nature—*tamen usque recurrens*! How easily do political parties overshoot the mark, and endanger the good results of their labours by driving their theories beyond all reasonable bounds!

Like the English Liberals in 1885, the Norwegians had some difficulty in finding a cry stirring enough to rouse the population and to give life and zeal to an opposition. But no sooner did the government come forward with a plan for making the union between the two countries a reality, for working it into shape and gradually welding the two nations into one, than the Radicals raised an alarm as if the liberties of the country were in jeopardy, as if Sweden were aiming at the destruction of Norway's independence. The peasants' antipathy to the aristocratic institutions prevailing up to 1865 in Sweden came to the agitators' aid, and when a bill they had brought in (1815) for abolishing all titles of nobility was disapproved of by the Crown, after being carried in the Storting or Diet, the first trial of strength came on. Twice the bill was passed by the Assembly and vetoed by the King, until, being passed a third time in 1821, it became law according to the constitution, which in general allows the Crown only a suspensive veto, restricting the use of an absolute veto to changes in the fundamental laws of the country. From 1821 to 1830 the Crown never neglected renewing its proposals for drawing the bonds of union between the two kingdoms closer, and

the Diet was civil enough to transmit these proposals to committees, from which they never again emerged. But the wave of political excitement which passed over Europe after the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in 1830 did not fail to affect Norway. The opposition grew stronger and bolder, and in 1836 the proposals of the Crown were not referred to a committee, but rejected by a unanimous vote. The government retorted by closing the session, but when the Diet gave signs of an intention to impeach Mr. Lövenskjold, the minister of state, it was considered prudent to allay the storm and to adopt a conciliatory tone. The King went so far as to allow Norwegian vessels to fly a flag of their own, and soon regained his popularity. No sooner, however, did he return to the charge, than his proposals for improving the constitution were again thrown out (1839). We shall have to take note of the fact that one of these measures was intended to give the members of the Council of State (Cabinet) a seat and a vote in the Diet, from which they had been, curiously enough, excluded by the constitution.

In 1844 the crown devolved upon Marshal Bernadotte's son, King Oskar the First, who tried his best to please the whims of his Norwegian subjects. Their feelings having been hurt by his calling himself King of Sweden and Norway, he agreed to adopt during his residence in the latter country the title King of Norway and Sweden, and made further concessions respecting the use of a Norwegian flag and coat of arms. Both he and the Crown Prince, who later mounted the throne as Charles the Fifteenth, enjoyed such popularity, that on the strength of it the government ventured once more in 1857 to urge some improvements in the organisation of the Union. And the Diet really yielded so far as to appoint three committees, the first for fixing the proportion in which each of the two kingdoms was to contribute to their common defence; the second for regulating matters of navigation and commercial intercourse; the third for according validity in both countries to judicial sentences pronounced in one of them. These items are sufficient to show how entirely the interests of the union had been neglected since 1814; the very foundations of a national union had still to be laid. When the session closed the first point had not been discussed, and the measures proposed on the second and third had been rejected. The ensuing Diet proceeded to aggressive tactics; discovering that the constitution empowered the King to appoint a Swede to be lord lieutenant of Norway in his absence, it voted in 1859 for the abolition of this privilege. This vote gave great offence in Sweden and did not obtain the royal sanction before the year 1872. In the meantime the Nationalists had been obliged to take account of the vital interests of their country so far as to pass bills concerning the defence of Norway and its trade with Sweden. After the reform of the Swedish Diet, in 1865, the feeling between the two countries improved a little, and it was arranged

that their subjects should mutually be at liberty to settle and carry on their trade in the sister country. More than fifty years had thus elapsed since the union before Norway's consent to so elementary a measure could be obtained.

At this period Johan Sverdrup, manager of a bank, started a plan of campaign with the view of establishing the supremacy of the Diet by abolition of the royal veto. The object being to try conclusions with the Crown, it mattered little on what question the conflict arose. It sufficed to bring in a bill which the Crown was sure not to sanction, to pass it thrice, then to exact its publication as part of the constitution, and, in case of the government's refusal, to impeach and condemn the ministers. If the Crown carried out the sentence against its own state councillors, the power of the royal veto was practically destroyed; if the King did not yield, the people must be drilled and armed so as to defend the rights of parliament and assert the independence of the nation. The constitutional clause excluding the state councillors (ministers) from the sittings of the Diet was chosen as bone of contention. Having proved inconvenient for the management of public business, the Crown had, as we have seen, repeatedly attempted to alter it; but the Radicals insisted on retaining the provision, and in 1860 Sverdrup himself declared that its abolition would strengthen the government. Now the astute party leader discovered that an alteration might be proposed so humiliating to ministers that they would never accept it. The ministers were not to have a seat and a vote, but they were to be *allowed* to participate in the public sittings of the Storting and of its two sections; as to a minister's admittance to the secret sittings of these assemblies, it was entirely to depend on the pleasure of the Diet or its committees. In this form the bill was adopted in 1872, and carried again in 1874, 1877, and 1880 by a majority of two-thirds. On the look-out for a compromise, the government brought in a counter proposal in 1874, admitting the presence of ministers in parliament, but at the same time claiming a recognition of the royal power to dissolve the Diet, the granting of pensions to ministers, and the passing of a few other measures. This bill was rejected in 1877, and thus the King had in 1880 to decide between yielding and distinctly asserting his right of veto. He chose the latter course on the 29th of May, and on the 9th of June the Diet replied by declaring that the bill, having been thrice carried, formed a part of the constitution, and by requesting the government to publish it as a law of the realm. On the 15th of June the Government announced that the bill of the 17th of March 1880 never having received the King's sanction was not a law of the realm, and would therefore not be published as such. Much as the Radicals wished to proceed to an immediate impeachment of the Cabinet, they thought it more prudent to delay the arraignment

till they had made sure of the judges. Now the court before which minister Selmer and his colleagues were to answer for their conduct had to consist of the High Court of Justice and the members of the Lagthing, a kind of grand committee or second order of the House.² In their present composition neither of these bodies inspired the Radicals with great confidence. The eleven judges of the High Court could fairly be expected to interpret the constitution as according the Crown an absolute veto on constitutional bills, and the twenty-nine members of the Lagthing were not all to be reckoned upon. It was therefore decided to await the next elections, and in the meantime to pass a bill reducing the number of the members of the High Court of Justice to nine. King Oskar closed the Storthing in July 1882 with a speech announcing his determination never to assent to a change in the constitution which would rob the Crown of its most important rights. A fierce agitation spread over the country; Björnson, the poet, declared that if royalty would not give up its veto, the people were prepared to give up royalty. 'It is better,' he said, 'for Norway to count for itself than to be No. 2 in a union.' The moderate Liberals made common cause with the constitutional party (the Conservatives), and they succeeded in obtaining as many as 28,411 votes against 42,881 Radical ones. Nevertheless, the opposition secured 83 seats out of 114 in the new Storthing, and was able to elect all its most intransigent members into the Lagthing. A committee of nine was appointed to draw up the impeachment; three of these protested against the whole proceeding; they pointed out that royal authority, far from being an antithesis to the people and to popular will, was an indispensable safeguard for the minority of the nation against an otherwise autocratic majority; that it formed a most useful balance to a popular assembly consisting of only one chamber; that it was not the ministry that had infringed the constitution, but the Radical opposition, by leading the legislature to overstep its limits and to encroach on the rights of the executive.

On the 30th of March 1883 the indictment was drawn up; it was adopted by the Odelsting on the 23rd of April with fifty-three votes against thirty-two, and on the 18th of May the court met, numbering among its thirty-eight members no less than twenty-four deputies who had originally voted for the impeachment. The *Times* not inappropriately nicknamed it the Court of Criminal Injustice. The counsel for the defence called upon these twenty-four members to state whether they felt able to judge of the question with the requisite impartiality, but the court declared by a vote of thirty to eight that all its members were fully qualified to act as judges.

² At the opening of the Storthing, which is nominated for three years, it elects a quarter of its members into the Lagthing; the remaining members form the Odelsting, and the business of the House is divided between both.

Later on, however, twelve were rejected by the accused, and so the court finally consisted of twenty-six members, viz. nine judges of the Supreme Court and seventeen deputies to the Diet. On the 7th of August 1883 the proceedings against minister Selmer commenced, and terminated on the 27th of February 1884. He was sentenced to forfeit his office and to pay costs to the amount of 18,225 crowns. A similar sentence was passed on minister Kjerulf; six other state councillors were deposed, and only three came off with a heavy fine, without forfeiture of their position. On the 29th of March the trial was over.

The argumentation on both sides was very ingenious, but far too complicated to be dealt with in these pages. The juridical faculty of the University of Christiania, and such well-known foreign jurists as Professors Bluntschli and Maurer, have pronounced in favour of the Crown, and the same can in fact be said of the Diet itself and of the Radical leaders. An address of the Storting to the King in 1824 admits the absolute veto; Steen, the Norwegian Mr. Healy, is proved to have done so in 1880, and Mr. Sverdrup has spoken in a similar strain in 1863 and 1869. As to a second subject for which the State Council was called to account, viz. the refusal of government to pay to certain rifle clubs sums voted for them by the Diet, the conduct of the Cabinet appears to have been in accordance with general constitutional principles, especially with those prevailing in England, and also with § 82 of the Norwegian constitution. Besides, it was no secret that the volunteers were to form a body of troops obedient to the Diet—the nucleus of a future rebellion. Though the King accepted the resignation of the ministry, and appointed Mr. Schweigaard minister of state, he energetically repudiated (11th of March 1884) the Diet's attack on his 'unlimited right to accord or to withhold his sanction to any change in the constitution of Norway or Sweden—one of the most essential guarantees of the union.' The Swedish ministry amplified this solemn declaration by adding that the whole of the armed forces of Norway as well as of Sweden must be under the King's sole command and authority.

In Sweden many people were of opinion that the King ought rather to have laid down the Norwegian crown than to have allowed the execution of so unjust a sentence. So much is certain, that if the King fancied he would by his compliance assuage the anti-unionist and republican agitation, he was mistaken. Conciliation was interpreted as weakness by the opposition, and Selmer's successor found it impossible to govern. The Right refusing to accept the reins of government, and the Centre finding itself incapable to construct a cabinet, the King was obliged (26th of June 1884) to charge Mr. Sverdrup with the formation of a ministry, of which one half are Radicals, one half Liberals. The extreme Radicals have lately been attempting to overthrow this ministry, and though the

King has for the moment succeeded in patching up the quarrel in the Cabinet and in keeping Mr. Sverdrup in office, it is evident that a crisis is fast approaching. As the constitution prescribes new elections every three years, they will have to take place in a month or two. We shall then see which line Mr. Sverdrup is ready definitively to adopt. Will he go over to the extreme Nationalists, who insist on having a Norwegian foreign secretary? Will he side with the Moderates, who will be satisfied with the Austro-Hungarian plan of one minister of foreign affairs responsible to delegations from both parliaments? Or will he adhere to the programme of what seems to be the bulk of the Radical party, viz. to insist on the two following demands: (1) that the administration of the foreign affairs of the two kingdoms be no longer left in the hands of one minister, but be confided to a board consisting of three Swedish and three Norwegian members, presided over by the King; (2) that the article of the constitution allowing the King to appoint his eldest son viceroy of Norway be abolished.—Conciliation has evidently not won the hearts of Home Rulers in Norway; their pretensions to-day are so exaggerated and unreasonable, that we must suspect Separation and the establishment of a republic to be the real aims of the present campaign.

Mr. Sverdrup seems to prove the truth of the German proverb: *Amt gibt Verstand* (office confers understanding), for he is believed to recognise the folly of Radical insatiability and the mischief that would result were Norway to insist on measures which Sweden thinks it impossible to accept. He knows that Norway's interests would suffer most in case of a rupture of the union. Since the great States of Europe have adopted the creed of protectionism, and are more and more excluding the produce of other countries, the industries of Norway would be seriously imperilled by losing their mart in Sweden, as they would in case of separation. It is this consideration which caused the Norwegian Diet in its last session to accept almost unanimously the revised Customs Union with Sweden, notwithstanding that the alterations were mostly in favour of Sweden. It is this appreciation of the economical advantages accruing from the union which caused the last anniversary of its creation to be celebrated in a number of Norwegian towns on the 4th of November 1887. The constitutional party would not have ventured on this demonstration unless they were aware that a revulsion of popular feeling is taking place, and that many Nationalists are abandoning their leaders. A split in the ranks is visible, the moderate Radicals rallying around Mr. Sverdrup, and the ultra-democrats having chosen Messrs. Steen and Björnson as their chiefs. At the same time the Unionist Liberals are leaning over to the Conservatives, and optimists believe that a period is approaching when both unionist sections combined may, for the first time

in Norwegian constitutional history, triumph over those theoretical politicians who discredit and ruin popular government by incessantly dinning their doctrines of man's rights and freedom and equality into the ears of a multitude which, of all classes of the community, has the least notion of a citizen's duties and the greatest disregard for the interests of other classes. It is in the lower strata of the agricultural population that the extreme section of the democratic party is now seeking for the support which the well-to-do peasantry has hitherto been misguided enough to grant them, but which it is beginning to withdraw.

But while the Norwegian Nationalists are going ahead on the road leading to republicanism and separation, and unconsciously paving the way for Socialism and Communism, the educated classes in Sweden are becoming seriously impatient of an agitation which is beginning to affect the population of the sister country. Imitating their Norwegian brethren, the Swedish peasants are claiming pre-eminence for their special interests and trying to introduce corn laws for their enrichment. The unionists in Sweden are annoyed at the Norwegian Diet's reluctance to organise the union on a solid and rational foundation, manifested by its refusing the Swedish proposals in 1867 and 1871, by its rejecting a system of common coinage in 1873, and only agreeing to it in 1875 after Denmark had accepted it, and by its objection to almost every measure calculated to improve the defences of the kingdom (*e.g.* 1873 and 1876). They perceive, what is indeed clear enough, that, if the Norwegian Diet assumes the right of altering the constitution of the country without the King's sanction, it may any day repeal the union by abolishing the respective article of the constitution. Some go so far as to maintain that the Norwegians having broken the compact of the 4th of November 1814, Sweden would be justified in proceeding to the annexation of Norway—a kingdom which was formally ceded to Sweden on the 14th of January 1814, before any assembly met at Eidsvold to elaborate a constitution and to elect Prince Christian of Denmark ruler. Nobody can deny that the union, as it stands at present, leads to endless conflicts; that, instead of uniting the two nations, it separates them; and that, as repeal would be injurious, if not fatal, to the interests of Norway and Sweden, it ought to be replaced by a union of stronger build, of more perfect mechanism.

Now what lessons can we learn from the history of this Union? No double ownership in land, no conflict between two opposing creeds, no hatred between two different races has complicated the Norwegian problem; no excess of population, no succession of bad harvests has rendered the agricultural depression exceptionally severe; no laws in foreign garb have excited the displeasure of a nation; neither have Norwegian interests been damaged, nor has

Norwegian Home Rule been threatened by the ignorance, indifference, or ill-will of foreign statesmen and parliaments; no harm has been done by incessant change in the methods of administration or in the persons charged with the government. There are no recollections of past cruelties and wrongs, of rebellions or massacres, to embitter the relations of two consanguineous nations; for the memory of ancient combats has faded away long ago. The wearers of the crown have not been neglectful of their duty to visit Norway and to reside in Christiania; they have enjoyed special gifts for ruling, and have taken great pains to make themselves popular, and their ministers have always been Norwegians. In fact, the people have not a single practical grievance worth speaking of; none that will for a moment compare with grievances such as the people in Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Germany, or Austria-Hungary could not unjustly complain of. Even in Great Britain, Switzerland, or Sweden, more things could be mentioned which call for a remedy than in Norway.

How then is the uncompromising opposition, which bears great resemblance to a revolutionary movement, to be accounted for? By poverty and famine? Not in the least. By the prevalence of Socialism or a tendency to anarchy? Far from it. Those among the unmoneyed classes who are dissatisfied with the present condition of society, and wish to alter it to their own advantage, are no doubt secretly delighted at the infatuation of the peasants who are undermining law and order; but, having as yet no voice at the polling booths, they are innocent of the plan of campaign.

Let us see whether the great sage of antiquity will help us to solve the riddle—that wonderful man of wellnigh universal knowledge who amongst others studied the history and constitution of 150 different States. Well, Aristotle came to the conclusion that the government most conducive to the general welfare of all citizens and least exposed to subversion would exist in a State where the middle class was stronger than either the highest or the lowest class, and, if possible, more influential and numerous than both combined. Now this is exactly the case in Norway; the peasant proprietors own seventy-six seats in the governing assembly against thirty-eight held by the towns. But during seventy-three years this middle class has done very little indeed for the good of the State and paid but a trifling attention to the wants and interests of other classes. It has concentrated all its efforts on increasing its power and on crushing the chief protector of the minority, the Crown. Until a short time ago the representatives of the well-to-do peasantry all voted on the Radical side. Lately six of them have fallen off in consequence of a trick by which the agitators had hoped to fortify their party. The wirepullers set about providing allotments for Radical labourers with the view of increasing the number of

voters. But what they gained on one side they lost on the other. The peasants of broad acres and with a long line of ancestors to look back upon felt indignant at the sight of needy intruders claiming their share in local government, and began to turn away from the Nationalist leaders. Our hope to grasp the problem with the help of Aristotle seems therefore to vanish. While ancient history proves the citizen of moderate means to be a more reliable and less subversive member of the community than the arrogant and imperious man of wealth or the hungry and envious poor, we have here a modern example of the contrary. Apart from the Socialists, whose number it is difficult to estimate and among whom—besides the agricultural labourers, who have no vote—a small portion of the workmen in the towns may have to be reckoned, capital and labour, the class living on income and the class living on wages, are desirous to maintain the union and are loyally rallying around the Crown. They act thus because they are more intelligent and less shortsighted than the ruling class. The seafaring population and the fishermen are as loyal as any members of the learned professions, because, crossing the ocean and visiting foreign shores, the sailor ceases to be parochial; his views soar beyond the village steeple. He and the artisan working for a foreign mart have a wider intellectual horizon than the peasant; both guess what the man of education, what the merchant knows, viz. that a government has to consider a variety of things besides economy and low taxation. They are all able to understand that, if army and navy are neglected in time of peace, periods of war are sure to come on, in which the unprepared will be beaten by those who are well armed. Their reason tells them that, if Russia does not seize Finnmarken and the whole northern part of Norway, in order to have a naval station free from ice in the North Sea on the Ofoten Fjord, it is owing to Sweden and its allies, and not to any power over which Norway disposes. And their wider experience of life and broader knowledge of human nature render the town and coast population less pliable by the artifices of ambitious agitators like Steen or by the oratory of political enthusiasts like Björnson.

Supposing for a moment that Irish Home Rulers in office were to proceed on the same lines as the Nationalists in Norway, what could we augur for the future? They would start by abolishing all titles of nobility; they would insist on flying a flag of their own and on displaying an Irish coat of arms; they would exact from the Queen that she should sign herself Queen of Ireland and Great Britain when on a visit to the shores of Erin; they would protest against the appointment of a lord lieutenant of non-Irish extraction, and finally pass a bill excluding even the Heir to the Throne from the Viceroyalty. We should see supplies pouring in from America towards the creation of an Irish republic, just as the first

funds for Norwegian demagogues were provided by an association in Illinois. Were the present Irish tenants—satisfied by having in the meantime become owners of their farms—to desert the agitators, these would rapidly, like their Norwegian colleagues, extend the franchise, recruit their forces from the ranks of crofters and labourers, and change their language and their programme so as to suit their new adherents. They would manifest the utmost reluctance to contribute towards the Imperial defences; they would consider all questions of foreign and commercial policy, of coinage, of customs or excise from an exclusively selfish and narrow-minded point of view; they would go so far indeed as even to discourage a movement for assimilating the system of spelling in the two sister countries. And having hunted out some disputable point in the Act of Parliament establishing Home Rule, they would fasten upon that sentence whatever interpretation might be most unpalatable to England, most derogatory to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and then unflinchingly engage in a constitutional quarrel of sixty to seventy years' duration. They would try to separate Irish from British diplomacy; they would agitate for the appointment of an Irish foreign secretary in Dublin, and finally condescend to confide the management of foreign affairs to a board made up of three Englishmen and three Irishmen, with Her Majesty as chairman. But I have all along been supposing the Irish to be as cool-headed as Norwegians; I have not taken heed of the rancour that must burn in their hearts on account of the briberies in the time of Pitt, and of the cruelties perpetrated by that remorseless set of men, the Irish Constabulary Force, at the bidding of 'tyrant Balfour!' Could the order of things but be reversed, so that Mr. Balfour might have administered coercion a century ago and the guineas of Mr. Pitt might now be pouring in!

As far as it goes the example afforded by the Norwegian peasantry is not calculated to fortify the opinion of those persons in England who in 1885 thought that the agricultural population could safely be entrusted with the same amount of political power as the city population, nor does it confirm the hope that an Irish Land Purchase Bill would deprive the Nationalist leaders of the bulk of their present supporters. It drives us on the other hand to the conclusion that, if Mr. Parnell really were to show 'conspicuous moderation,' his followers would forsake him for men determined to push the principle of government by the people to its utmost consequences.

And now I fancy we get hold of the real secret of the Norwegian crisis. There is an inherent tendency in man to drive his pretensions to inordinate lengths. 'Who is equal in one respect,' says Aristotle, 'wants to be equal in all respects; this is the chief cause of the overthrow of constitutions.' And human faults become intensified in parties; human imperfections are magnified beyond proportion when individuals gather into classes. This is why satirists bent upon show-

ing up the weaknesses of mankind in a strong light have generally fastened not so much on the peculiarities of individuals as on those of professions and classes of society, such as servants, soldiers, monks, priests, physicians, lawyers, &c. A mob has the tendency to be as foolish, reckless, and cruel as the worst elements out of which it is composed. A political faction possessing a majority in the legislature starts by attempting to get hold of the whole legislative power. Neither in England nor in Norway does it rest until it has got rid of all constitutional checks. Where an Upper House exists, it contrives to lower its influence, and as to the king's right to choose his ministers and to withhold his sanction from bills, it finishes by abolishing these privileges, if not theoretically, at all events practically. In Norway we have been observing how it tried in 1884 to obtain full control of the executive, and how for that purpose it encroached on the judicial power. In 1887 we have witnessed very similar proceedings in France and England. In England the House of Commons has afforded a judge ground for criticising from the bench its interference with judicial questions, and a party leader has ventured to condemn both the utterances and the legal action of magistrates. In France a majority of deputies institute judicial inquiries, force the President of the Republic to abdicate, and a zealous and noisy minority goes in for abolishing both Senate and Presidency.

How wise the framers of the American Constitution were when they gave the Senate and the President sufficient power to withstand a momentary popular impulse and to arrest the system of encroachments inseparable from a House of Representatives! The election of the President by the people, and of the Senators by the single States, and the six years' duration of a Senator's term against the two years of a Representative's office, were checks of great value. Without them there are many reasons for thinking that American politics might be in as great a confusion as French affairs. It has been interesting to see from the last manifesto of the Count of Paris that the writer has been a closer observer of American, English, French, and German constitutional life than most of the journalists who have criticised him. As Professor Gneist says, it is not any longer the question in certain countries how to protect popular representation against the governing power of the State, but on the contrary how to protect the country against an abuse of the governing power by a majority of deputies of the people. And as Professor von Holst writes about the United States, the principal danger to guard against is the executive power falling into the hands of Congress (*die Verbildung der Congressherrschaft in Congressregierung*).

Man's insatiable covetousness and envy destroy not only the contentment of the human heart but also the balance of political communities. Like the boy bursting into tears at the sight of his birthday cake, because a brother and sister are already relishing the

prospect of having a slice of it, so a popular assembly is by nature dissatisfied with ever so large a share of political power; it wants the whole of it; as the masses claim equality with the classes, it claims equality with the Crown. But what both mean is not equality, but superiority. Because absolutism and aristocratic or bureaucratic government have generally displayed a more lively interest for the advantage of the reigning dynasty or the ruling class than for the rest of the nation, popular government has for a century been considered more conducive to the welfare of the greatest number. But the sudden and complete breakdown of British and French parliamentary government, the Hydra of Irish discontent, and the turn things are taking in Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other countries, must open our eyes to the fact that, by claiming for one man one vote, by subordinating intelligence and property to numbers, by granting political rights to individuals who perform no political duties, Liberals have overshot the mark. The greatest good of the greatest number will not be secured by 'counting heads;' the educated classes and those possessing a stake in the country will have again to obtain the control of parliaments, and the executive must in some way or other be endowed with sufficient strength to stand on its own legs and not to be condemned to inaction by a parcel of obstructive deputies. It is only in practice that the King of Norway and the Queen of England have become the humble servants of their legislatures. Let their subjects beg them to reassert their slumbering prerogatives and the government will be able to consolidate the Union and to maintain law and order against thoughtless masses and unscrupulous agitators. For Liberals who are utterly blind to the imminent danger of mob-rule and have nothing on their minds but fear of the narrow-mindedness and class selfishness of the old Tories, it is consistent to claim parliamentary government for the Irish. And it is precisely this consistency which has gained over the Caucus to Home Rule. But those who perceive that popular government in England, as in Norway, has overshot the mark and is landing in mob-rule, are equally consistent if they refuse to endow Ireland with a system that has broken down at Westminster, Christiania, and Paris, not to mention other capitals. It is a fact worthy of notice that a section of Norwegian Liberals is at present supporting the Conservatives for the purpose of not only saving the union, but restoring to the executive the independence which it formerly possessed, and which it ought to possess for the sake of that large minority whose best representative in a republic is the president, in a monarchy the king. The parliamentary system becomes an absurdity if the opposition has no chance of getting into office; and yet a Conservative ministry will never be able to maintain itself for any length of time against a widely extended suffrage, unless the moneyed and leisured classes combine and find themselves backed by a powerful executive. In England and Norway

parliamentary debates no longer control the policy of the country, but platform oratory dominates. A gifted poet like Björnson sways the masses and fills their brains with utopian ideas to the detriment of his country. We have drawn a false lesson from American events if we imagine that the equal participation of every citizen in the government of the State is the remedy for *our* social and economical evils. The examples of England, Ireland, and Norway between 1880 and 1888 ought to act as a warning.

The Count of Paris may be partly mistaken as to the merits of the new method of government which he recommends for France. But he is unquestionably right in looking out for some safeguards and balances to popular government, which France and England have unluckily thrown overboard. He may be said to have found them in Prussian and German institutions. Somewhere between the lines traced in these constitutions and the system prevailing actually in England and France, the golden middle course will in all probability have to be sought for. And if this be not done while a period of calm prevails, it will have to be accomplished when the billows dash high above the bulwarks, and when the rudder of the State drifts helplessly to and fro.

Mr. J. A. Froude thinks that England never has succeeded and never will succeed in governing Ireland constitutionally. I agree or disagree with him according to the signification accorded to this term. If we take 'constitutional' in the sense in which all Gladstonians and perhaps 90 per cent. of Englishmen understand the word—viz. as signifying a system where the executive is absolutely dependent on a popular assembly chosen by nearly universal suffrage—I entirely agree with him. I disagree, on the contrary, if we take a constitutional government to mean—as it more properly does mean—a condition of things where an executive, with a will and a power of its own, is controlled and directed by two independent assemblies, each of them in a different degree the representative of enlightened public opinion, but neither of them in possession of sovereign power.

Leopold von Ranke uttered a warning in 1848, which has only quite lately been published;³ he feared that if universal suffrage were introduced in England, the British constitution would not hold a day longer; labourers and Irishmen would get the government into their own hands. The extension of the franchise in Great Britain in 1885, and the franchise existing in Norway, would not have met with Aristotle's approval, any more than with Ranke's; for the Greek sage objected to farmers participating in the government of his 'best of States,' because, as he says, 'the exercise of political activity requires complete leisure.'

³ See L. v. Ranke's *Sämmtliche Werke*, Bd. 50, p. 597. Leipzig, 1887.

We know that there is a school which attributes all suffering on earth to law and order, and which is looking forward to a period when the present notions on political and social questions will be consigned to Jupiter and Saturn. Should adherents of this school ever climb into power on the ladder of universal suffrage, both the Norwegian peasantry and well-to-do British Liberals will perhaps rue the moment when—to make use of the simile employed by Pope Pius the Ninth—they set the stone a-rolling. The ancient Romans could not help conceding a political vote to the Have-nots, but they took good care not to let it be anything like an equal vote with the Haves.' A sensible division of political power would be to accord approximately one-third of it to intelligence, one-third to property, one-third to numbers—as far as means can be found for bringing about a similar result.

Strenuous partisans of government by the people will not be satisfied before they have found some special explanation for its breakdown in Norway. They will probably seek for it in the insufficiency of popular or religious education. Now as to the importance of education, we shall all be ready to agree with what Mr. Andrew Dickson White has stated in a capital speech made lately at the Centennial banquet in Philadelphia.⁴ After drawing a picture of the mob which 'passes at one bound from extreme credulity toward demagogues to extreme scepticism toward statesmen—from mawkish sympathy for criminals to bloodthirsty ferocity against the innocent—from the wildest rashness to the most abject fear,' after saying that 'the voice of a mob has been in all time evil—for it has ever been the voice of a tyrant, conscious of power, unconscious of responsibility,' Mr. White proceeds to show what an indispensable complement to popular government education is. Well, as far as popular instruction is concerned, I should say Norway was well abreast of the United States; it introduced a sound system of education earlier than France or England, and its system has certain distinct advantages over the German one.—I shall perhaps be told that political education is not synonymous with popular instruction; that a healthy political instinct and true patriotism have their strongest roots in habits of local self-government. I am far from contradicting this proposition. I only answer that, with the exception of the Swiss, no peasantry in Europe has had a greater practice in local self-government than the Norwegian.

One influence has perhaps remained unnoticed—the religious one. Are the vagaries of Norwegian Radicalism to be explained by want of religious feeling or religious instruction? By no means; in both respects the condition of things among Norwegian peasants is more satisfactory than almost anywhere else on the Continent. Is there then nothing in the world which a friend of Norway could suggest

⁴ A. D. White, *The Constitution and American Education*. Ithaca, 1887.

for the purpose of conjuring the unhappy and useless strife betwixt Republicanism and Monarchism, between Separatists and Unionists? Is there nothing Norwegians could learn from the three principal nations of Europe?

I think there is. By introducing universal military service (of a lighter description, of course, than in Germany but yet of a more serious kind than the one prevailing in Norway at present) they might perhaps learn that subordination of the individual will and pleasure to the good of the State which is the characteristic trait of the present generation of Germans. From the French they might adopt those excellent school manuals by which an understanding of the social, political, and legal institutions of the country, and of the first principles of political economy, is inculcated; by which respect for age, intelligence, and experience, regard for all classes of society, love for high and low, are encouraged, and by which, in short, morals and patriotism are taught to the young and impressionable. From England they may learn that even so imaginative and bewitching an orator, so brilliant a writer, and so excellent an individual, as Mr. — Björnstjerne Björnson must not be listened to, if his creed is utopian, if what he preaches is unwise.

Two years ago you might have divided intellectual people in England into three groups—those who were of opinion that popular government in its actual shape had collapsed, or that it was collapsing, or that it was in some danger of collapsing. That moment was chosen by certain politicians for recommending the very same form of government as a remedy for the ills of Ireland. In 1888 sensible men in Norway are probably hesitating between three similar standpoints. But Mr. Björnson, the poet, recommends separation and transformation of a constitutional monarchy into a republic. We invite him to study Mr. John Dillon's speech at Oxford (on the 28th of November 1887), where the Home Rule orator is reported to have said: 'A good executive is fully as important as good laws.'

THEODOR VON BUNSEN.

Heidelberg.

THE DECLINE OF ART.

THERE is no century, we may safely say, in which the fine arts have been so much talked of and analysed as ours; none in which they have become so widely familiar; none, perhaps, in which, so far as diffusion and expenditure go, they have been more largely encouraged. We hear our age spoken of as the age of science, of standing armies, of democracy, of commerce, of scepticism. Might we not, with equal truth, call it the age of art-exhibitions?

Last August I happened to visit Conway, in North Wales. That little town is one of the richest in England for its architectural antiquities. But what Conway was most proud of at the moment was not its famous castle, its picturesque town-walls and church, but a choice exhibition of modern pictures, English and foreign, which had just been set up in the town-house. And the picture which justly stood first and foremost in public interest was no other than that splendid Florentine Procession, the first great work of Sir F. Leighton, which had been sent all the way to Wales from the Palace by our always gracious Queen. That charming work, every one remembers, shows how the great Madonna picture, by the old Tuscan artist Cimabue, was carried in state and triumph six hundred years ago through Florence to the church where it still hangs; and how the delight of the people in its beauty gave the name of 'Joyful'—not yet effaced, after the wretched practice of France and Italy, in favour of some hero of the hour—to the street through which it passed. Here was a curious analogy. Cimabue's youthful masterpiece six centuries ago delighted Florence: Leighton's was to-day the pride of Conway. An analogy there was, but, I felt, a difference also:—the modern spectator came to enjoy, where the mediaeval crowd came to reverence.

Art, in short, it is a mere truism to say, is one of the popular indispensable pleasures of our time; 'its loveliness increases,' as the poet says; and with this increased sense of its loveliness, many voices authoritatively assure us that its influence over the mind of man increases also. Art humanizes, art educates, art elevates, we often hear. To take a word which every one uses and no one can define, Culture finds in art one of its most powerful aids and instruments. Hence we have that little school of writers in whose creed art is the

principal agent to train, refine, and comfort our souls in these disquieted days of noise, and doubt, and distraction. The chief evangelist of this aesthetic church is the many-gifted Goethe, whom Matthew Arnold, in some beautiful lines, describes as vexed by the conflicts and perplexities of life, and saying to himself, in a sort of wearied scepticism,

Art still has truth, take refuge there !

And although this diletante doctrine, it must be feared, has hitherto proved decidedly too refined and rarified for the English mind, yet we must be very philosophic, or very Philistine (as the phrase goes), to deny that the diffusion of art by exhibitions, and cheap reproductions, and criticisms of all kinds, is a true gain in modern life. We learn whilst we enjoy. But of this, hereafter. It is, however, beyond contradiction that modern art, contemporary art, is what mainly exercises this beneficent power. The same is true of literature. The writers of our own time are immensely—may we not venture to say disproportionately?—the writers by whom we are most led and moulded. The master-spirits of old govern only a fractional, a daily decreasing minority. So in art : compare the scanty, the often listless wanderers through the Museum or the National Gallery with the animated throngs of every annual exhibition ; like the Athenians of old, in their weaker day, crying out always for new things, and worshipping ugliness itself, if it be only clothed in the colours of a specious originality.¹

How far, then, does the fine art of our own day, not only here, but in Europe and America generally, answer to this pressing demand for it? The common answer, the accepted and popular answer, will be that the fine arts have shared, indisputably and liberally, in that general advance of which we all boast, and that if we cannot exactly name the Phidias or the Michel Angelo, the Raphael, Titian, or Turner of the hour, yet that in some other equally important province of these arts, or at any rate by virtue of numbers and of diffusion, our art stands on a level with past generations. For quantity, in the modern world, and especially in that Transatlantic world which is rapidly outgrowing us all, assumes to itself daily the supremacy over quality. Thus every year at the famous Exhibition feast of our own Royal Academy some leading and eloquent voice proclaims our own special advance in the fine arts, and from every other great civilized people does the same animating proclamation go forth. Whatever clouds and doubtings may overhang the national horizon, here, at least, we all seem to be agreed : here France and England, America, Germany, and Italy all congratulate themselves in chorus. This doctrine of the flourishing state, of the widening influence of the

¹ The influence over the soul exerted by art is here in question ; and to this but little, I fear, has been added by the many excellent works devoted to its historical development which recent years have supplied.

fine arts in the modern world, has, in fact, everything to recommend itself in our eyes ; it is just what we all wish for,—if it only be true. Yet that, despite all agreeable appearances, it is far from the truth—that it is true, rather, only in a quite limited sense—is the reluctant conviction to which the long history of art compels me. The decline seems written in large letters, whether we look to the work of past centuries, either as described by trustworthy contemporary records, and revealed by existing remains, or to the undeniable results and tendencies of modern civilization. And, unpopular and paradoxical as the thesis may appear at first sight, yet I think it will be found to rest largely upon facts—almost upon truisms—which are commonly accepted, but which we do not care to carry to their legitimate and, indeed, inevitable conclusions.

As my subject both covers a great space in time, and is complex also in itself, it will be convenient to begin with an outline, which, within my narrow limits, I shall then try to fill in. By the fine arts I here mean sculpture and painting alone—often, though not quite satisfactorily, described as the plastic arts, or arts of design. Poetry, of all fine arts the finest and most important, I omit ; she has a history of her own, which stands in no close or essential relation to the history of painting and sculpture. Music, now so widely impressing the world, just when there is almost a pause in her creative power, in its modern form has had a career too brief and too indefinite to be dwelt on ; whilst Architecture is so controlled by practical necessities, so eclectic in its character, that it would not be possible here to deal with it.

Sculpture and painting have had three great periods among the European races, to which, I should also add, my essay is of necessity nearly confined.² To define them roughly, these are : the Greek, say for the six hundred years before Christ ; the Mediaeval and Renaissance, 1250 to 1550 ; and the Modern, in which Flanders, Holland, France, and England have hitherto been conspicuous.

Again: it is essential to bear in mind that these arts have each two main provinces or functions: the one, the inventive and intellectual, to which all independent works in sculpture and painting belong ; the other, the decorative or applied, which embraces all ornament of public buildings or private houses, glass, pottery, jewellery, furniture, and the like. And one sure sign of a high and healthy art-period has always been that these two functions existed together. Excellence and invention in intellectual art have met with parallel advance in decorative art. Another such sign is, that their provinces are kept generally separate—ornament satisfied to be simply ornament ; intellectual art never lapsing into decoration.

Further, it will be generally admitted that success in the fine

² Oriental art, however, from India eastward, if its present state be truly reported, would only form another chapter in this history of a 'decline and fall.'

arts is, primarily, a matter of gift to certain races. The true painter and sculptor, like the true poet, in the common phrase is born, not made; or rather he is only makeable, because he has been born such; whilst in the vast majority of cases he will also be born amongst the races which have the power, and where the general atmosphere is favourable to his art. Now history shows that this primary, all-essential gift in its force and fulness, in its creative capacity, has been very rare. In the early world it belonged, under the limitations of their age, to the Egyptians and Assyrians; then, by common consent, to the Greek races, above, indeed far above, all others; then to Mediaeval Italy. Hence, when the originative power of these nations was exhausted, their art, whether intellectual or decorative, in both of which they excelled, speaking in a broad way, came to an end. In the third period, special gifts—precious indeed, yet of distinctly smaller weight and influence—have been scattered in turn amongst the Western civilized races. Each has shown some power; each boasts of a school. But the spontaneous, inborn impulse is progressively giving place to ‘cosmopolitan’ art. School now imitates school, as a man learns a foreign language. Education, which of old trained instinct, now tends rapidly to replace it. And decorative art becomes meanwhile only a modification or a copy of the classical and mediaeval inventions.

My contention, then, is that, whether we look at the excellence of the works produced, or at the abundance of them, or at their influence on the mind of man, we have strong reason to infer that the fine arts, taking a broad view, have been in a state of constant, inevitable, and natural decline from a time so far back as the beginning of the Christian era; from the death, in fact, of the original Greek impulse. For against this decline Italian art seems to me to be a brilliant indeed, but brief and limited reaction; whilst that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which forms a sort of transition stage to the art of our own century, with our modern schools themselves, exhibit a declension of their own, not less marked, although different in circumstances and character.

If the view here taken of the history of art be correct, the decline before us has been fourfold:—

First: In the field of inventive and intellectual art the world (confessedly) no longer produces work which can be set by Greek sculpture or Italian painting, in their rendering of the highest human interests, and the power and beauty with which they were rendered. Despite the general assertions of advance already noticed, this supremacy of Greek and Italian art, at once in idea and in execution, not only is avowed by all serious judges, but is almost a truism in popular acceptance.

Secondly: No sculpture or painting during the last three centuries, speaking generally again, has attained that deep hold over

men's minds which naturally flowed from the dignity of subject and skill in treatment exhibited by the Greek and mediæval artists. In modern times, in fact, art has unconsciously shifted its basis. It no longer occupies the same ground. Art is now one of the pleasures and refinements of life ; it was then part of life itself. It was once a necessity ; it is now a luxury.

Thirdly : These two ancient schools were as rich in decorative or applied art as in the sphere of free creation. The beauty of the statue or picture reappeared in the ornamentation, not only of public buildings, but in the art of home. Common life, especially in Greece, was pervaded everywhere by forms of beauty. In this field the modern world practically lives only on their remains, imitating what no civilized race has now the power to originate. Decorative art of old was free, natural, and spontaneous ; it is now artificial, mechanical, and eclectic.

Fourthly : Taking both classes of art together, despite the amazing numerical production of pictures in our age, the mere relics of antiquity, the treasures which still enrich every region where Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, or Roman, whilst under Hellenic influence, once lived, and the lost treasures which history assures us once existed, are an absolutely convincing proof to me that the fertility of fine art, in the creative sphere, has progressively diminished, at any rate in proportion to the area of the civilized world at each art-period.

This picture of one long decline, depressing and unpopular as it must be, whether true or false, yet in the main, I venture to contend, rests upon an historical survey of the course of art. It is an argument moving in a region above mere questions of preference, of taste, in the vulgar sense of the word. It is not as the fancy of an individual that I offer it. Still less is it a criticism upon the many able artists of our time, whose work I admire all the more from my strong sense of the unfavourable, the hostile conditions under which they produce it. Nor is the argument that art has no place, no function in the modern world ; that its place is lower, its function smaller, is my conviction. It has transformed itself to suit the time ; and the decline, in short, is only another exemplification of the favourite formula of the day ; it is a case of necessary and invincible evolution.

I may illustrate this from the world of plants. Botanists tell us how the beautiful flowers, native to certain isolated regions, are dying out before more powerful immigrants, imported by man as he subdues and civilizes the wild places of the earth. The early Flora is dispossessed by the later. I think it is the same with the fine flowers of art. Yet what remains is here also that which is most suitable to the age ; it is the survival, if not of the best, yet of the fittest.

If we now (asking once for all the reader's pardon for a dogmatism, inevitable to one who cannot produce more than a petty fraction

of his evidence)—if we now glance at those early races who were distinctly gifted with original power when civilization began, the Greeks have been so emphatically the creators of living and beautiful art—of that art upon which all later work has been founded—that I shall here pass very lightly over the earlier art of Egypt and Assyria. But I regret that my limited time compels this, because the evidence is very full and strong which proves that their intellectual, creative art did thoroughly express and embody the higher thoughts and aspirations of those two countries, and that its influence was even greater than it has ever been since over men's minds, from the fact that there was comparatively little in their literature and science to compete with it. And we know also that the decorative arts flourished equally with the imaginative by Nile and Tigris and Euphrates, filling not only the temple and the palace, but the house, with things skilfully and beautifully designed; and that, in both kinds of art, the production was so large as to make it doubtful whether—if we consider the area of these kingdoms—their fertility was surpassed even in Hellas. The wealth of our Museums—mainly due to the zeal of Englishmen in the East—in relics of Egyptian and Assyrian art, is sufficient to prove my statement.

The Greeks, in their first youth, were in some degree indebted to the art of Egypt and Assyria. They are the archaic portals through which we pass to Hellas. Here, more than ever, am I hampered by the wealth of my subject. Hellas! that word calls up at once the race most gifted among men, if not in depth of feeling, in seriousness of morality, yet certainly the most gifted with intellectual life and penetrative versatility; the most gifted in art. With this latter alone we are here directly concerned. My argument—that from the time when Greek invention lost its fresh vitality art began its decline—would be much strengthened could I here trace the history and analyse the schools of Greece. This, however, is impossible. All I can do is to reiterate a few commonplaces on the supremacy of the Greeks in art; noting at once that, though little of their painting remains, the evidence is held by good judges adequate to allow us to place this at least as near in excellence to their sculpture, the special art of Greece, as the Italian sculptors stand to the Italian painters. The Greeks then, rising above the efforts of earlier races, throwing aside their monstrous images of Deity, imaged their Gods in idealized human form; whilst when treating humanity itself, they aimed (to take Wordsworth's fine phrase) at representing 'men as they are men within themselves.' The Greeks were hence able to create the world's masterpieces of art in the great style; that art which unites most intellect with most feeling, is at once in the highest degree ideal and real, and at the same time the most perfect in technical qualities. The Greeks also, as I shall presently show, in the ornamental region of applied art,

displayed the most brilliant fertility. And to them, above all (it is hardly too much to say), the world mainly owes the creation of the Beautiful, that eternal necessity, that first and last word in all fine art.

If the Greeks were thus supreme in the province of invention, if their works express, or perhaps we should rather say symbolize, much of what was deepest and highest in the mind and heart of the race, our natural question is, Did this great art hold corresponding influence over the soul? All our evidence, I think, proves that it had this power. It was not indeed so definitely religious an influence as that of Egyptian art; for the religion of the Egyptians, if I understand recent investigations correctly, was much more closely entwined with morality than the Hellenic. Nor can it have been so engrossing an interest; the advance of the Greeks in literature, in philosophy, in the drama, already provided rivals for popular favour. Yet their art gained a compensating power over them through the supreme sensitiveness of the Hellenic race to Beauty. To men who instinctively rated the Beautiful as equivalent or convertible with the Good, fine art was a literal necessity of life. Compared with its place in the modern world, art was at once very far more imperatively demanded by the Greeks, and very far more subtly, vividly, and popularly enjoyed. It was a keener pleasure, as well as a more potent and pervading influence.

Mr. Matthew Arnold has a fine remark, that 'for the creation of a master-work in literature two powers must concur—the power of the man, and the power of the moment.' The same is true of art. Nowhere have these happy conditions coincided so largely, so genially, or for so long a time as in Greece. Supreme in quality, their art was not less supreme in quantity. Milton, in some sublime lines, has painted the splendour of the great capitals of Asia, and the glories of Rome, as he imagines them displayed to the Saviour from the Mountain of Temptation—

There the Capitol thou seest . . .
 . . . And there Mount Palatine,
 The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
 The structure, skill of noblest architects,
 With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
 Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires. . . .
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
 Carved work, the hand of famed artificers
 In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.

This is a noble spectacle. But far outshone would it be, both in absolute beauty and in copiousness of display, could we with the eye of the body, or of the mind, see for ourselves the wealth of art in its two great divisions, art intellectual and art decorative, which glowed and glittered in every city and town and even village of

Greece—whether that land itself, or spread through the Hellenic colonies, from Gaul to Asia Minor. I quote a few figures, that I may not seem to speak at random. The German writer C. O. Müller dates the earliest school of art between about 600 and 450 B.C. This is in the early days of Greek expansion and influence—before any of the world-famous names occur, whether in sculpture or painting. Yet even here he is able, from the merely casual allusions contained in later authorities, to name more than fifty sculptors, almost all within the narrow limits of Greece itself. Pass now to the Roman conquest, when the harvest of Hellenic art was full. We find that some hundred thousand statues, bronze and marble, were gradually carried into Italy, prisoners after the conquest of Hellas. Years after, however, Nero could still adorn his palace with not less than five hundred works from Delphi alone.

If we think of the very small area of the Grecian mines of art, this summary would seem exhaustive. Yet in Vespasian's time it is stated that three thousand statues were counted in the island of Rhodes, and not fewer at Delphi, Olympia, and Athens. The impression which the notices of the traveller Pausanias give confirms these numbers. Thus, that there were many towns in which half and more of the population were the sculptors' handiwork, is no mere metaphor.³ All that remains in the museums of Europe, all that is even yet discovered, whenever we take the pains to search the soil which the Greeks fertilized with art, is but an infinitesimal fraction—a number low down in decimal figures—of what once existed there—in things which, in the familiar phrase, should have been 'joys for ever,' but are not. Even, however, as we have them, these fragments, as models for true treatment and grace, are yet confessedly 'the master-light of all our seeing.'

These remarks bear only upon the intellectual art of Greece, their great art: 'high actions and high passions best describing,' and speaking through the eye to the soul. Beside it, on the decorative side, lies another infinity of inventive beauty in everything which they produced by way of mere ornament, or for the uses of common life—vases, lamps, armour, work in moulded clay, or stucco, or mosaic. All these we know but in scanty and imperfect relics, which I compare with that long series of fossil remains often spoken of as the 'geological record.' And as from that record—a bone here, a shell or a fruit there—the geologist securely reconstitutes a species, so from the bronzes of Herculaneum and Pompeii, the figures from Tanagra, or the vases sown everywhere in Hellenic tombs, or im-

³ A dozen or more probable sites whence such treasures would even yet be recoverable could be named by the authorities of the British Museum to any liberal-minded and wealthy man, who should be willing not only to add to the world's stores of beauty, but also by the same act to leave his own name in honour amongst his fellow-creatures.

ported for the Etruscan, we may safely infer that the world has never seen the like, no, nor near the like, for exquisite invention, grace, and that perfect appropriateness to the purpose of each work, which is always a sign that the artificers were thoroughly penetrated by their art. It is to the bronzes and the wall-paintings of a third-rate provincial city, and that not even half Hellenic, like Pompeii, that modern workmen look for their loveliest designs. No one, again, can imagine the varied beauty of the mosaics with which all buildings of any pretension were filled by Greek artists for Roman employers, who has not seen the fragments in the Museum at Naples, or those early Christian specimens at Ravenna, which—far unlike the dull-coloured mosaic work, between about A.D. 600 and 1100, in the Roman basilicas or St. Mark's at Venice—rival in brilliancy of tint and splendour of effect the early pictures of Venetian art. When, two years since, I visited Italy and saw in Rome the gigantic halls which had been once thus decorated, now bare masses of hideous brickwork, the lesson which I am trying to convey—how fine art has fallen away in quantity and in quality since that one gifted race of Hellas faded—that lesson was finally borne in upon me by what seemed irresistible evidence. It was but a small part, I then saw, of the Greek inheritance in inventive beauty which even the Italians of the great age had received. And since that time what have the civilized races lived on, in the whole vast sphere of decoration, but copies and variations of what Italy had inherited from Greece?

But we need not search Italy for a striking proof of my argument. Go to the British Museum and the new admirably arranged rooms in which the Greek vases—once ignorantly named Etruscan—are displayed. In variety of design, in grace of grouping, often in an indescribable exquisiteness of touch, these vases equal the finest drawings of the finest artists who have been the glory of the last five or six centuries. Yet we have no reason to rank them with the work of those men whom the Greeks themselves classed as eminent in this form of art. A hundred nameless potters have here rivalled our selectest draughtsmen: Leonardo, Dürer, or Flaxman. The very rank and file of Hellas stand equal with the best leaders of the modern army.

With the arts of Greece transferred to Rome our first period closes, and we now turn to the second period, that of Christian, Mediaeval, and Renaissance sculpture and painting. Here I have first to point out how closely and vitally mediaeval art, Italian especially, was founded on that later, ill-understood, and ignorantly depreciated phase of Greek genius and traditional skill, which survived from the fourth to the thirteenth centuries under the Byzantine empire. Through causes upon which I cannot here dwell, the great creative Hellenic impulse had, indeed, died out. But the gifted race could not part with all its power: the spark of life lingered

until it could hand on the holy flame to the Western world. Greece, in truth, it is not too much to say, revives and has a second life in mediaeval Europe. The further that modern investigation penetrates into the obscure centuries of Christian art, say between A.D. 500 and 1200, and then into the outburst which followed in Italy, the greater do we find the debt due to the Byzantines. It is to the influence of those carelessly criticized workmen, to their admirably imagined subject designs, their fine technical methods, their inherited skill of hand, and wealth of fancy, that the Italian school owed both its origin and its later excellence.

Let me confirm this statement by the deliberate and authoritative verdict of our own great sculptor, John Flaxman. 'It will be found,' he says, 'on a careful inquiry, that the elements, as well as the perfection of the arts, have always been received, either immediately or intermediately, from the Greeks by Western Europe.'

Starting with this judgment as our keynote, we observe also that, for the whole mediaeval art period, the magical word Italy has much the same significance as Hellas hitherto. There was some high art and some fine decorative art between 1200 and 1600 (to give the extremest limits) in Flanders, in Swabia, in France, in England. Yet these schools, at any rate in high original work, very rarely touched perfection. They are most interesting, but rather by virtue of their sentiment than their completeness in art. As Goethe remarked upon the gallery of early German masters, 'I see the flower, but where is the fruit?' Thus we have to confess at once that the area of true mediaeval art was very restricted. But this is not all. Italy, by the world's verdict, was the one richly and fully endowed country during the second period. Yet even in Italy the living centres of art were far from covering the land; the vital impulse lay exclusively north of Rome. Now take Italy as a whole, and compare her area and population with the civilized Europe of the middle ages. How small is the art-soil then, compared with what it was at the Christian era! How inevitable, hence, the decline in simple quantity of precious and original work!

Are we, however, compelled to confess that in quality also the great Italian painters fall below the sculptors who held the parallel place in Grecian art? On this point we have, perhaps, hardly sufficient evidence for more than an inferential decision. It will be sufficient here to note how, even after the ravages of time and neglect and restoration, enough survives to confirm the common verdict, which gives to the Italian art of the great age the supremacy over all other known to us. It is at least the art which speaks most clearly to us; the art with which we are most in sympathy. Names aid us to realize; I will hence give a few. The inventive force of Giotto, the spiritual intensity of Angelico, the mystic beauty of the Umbrian school, the Vergilian grace of Raphael, the indefinable

fascination of Michel Angelo, the tenderness of the Lombards, the splendours of Venice—these live still; they are powerful influences for the delight of the eye, for mental refinement, for lifting the heart, if we will, to high, holy, and happy thoughts. The great Grecian artists who answered to the Italian, Phidias, Praxiteles, Scopas; the schools of Argos, Corinth, Athens, Rhodes—how few of these are more than names to us!—known only by the broken fragments of their multitudinous master-works. Nor do these appeal to us with the force, with the intimacy of Italian art. All that art was founded on Christianity: its first main object, out of which grew its portraiture and its landscape, was simply to set before men the religious idea, and, especially, the life of our Blessed Lord, with all the intensity that an age which on all things felt intensely could command. In Dante's beautiful phrase, these artists were 'men on fire with that flame which gives birth to holy flowers and holy fruits:'

Accesi di quel caldo
Che fa nascere i fiori e i frutti santi.⁴

And although religion also has its movements and changes of sentiment, yet in their main ideas the Italian sacred art speaks our best and deepest thought also. This gives it a vast advantage over the relics of Grecian art, devoted in its day not less intensely to a religion so different from our modes of thinking and feeling, that the best scholars know most truly how little we can really penetrate it. Except in a sort of faint symbolical sense, the religion of Hellas has long ceased to be. Pan is dead, and all the gods are dead with him.

These facts render it doubtful if we can make a decisive comparison between the quality of the best Greek and the best Italian work. Yet we may reasonably argue that the amazing advance made by the Christian religion in purifying, deepening, and elevating the heart, the vast new horizons, even immortality itself—the most powerful idea which can be set before the mind of mortal man—opened by Christianity to the human race, gave to mediæval religious art a spiritual loveliness, an intensity of expression and thought, beyond what was possible even to the most gifted of the Greeks. In this sphere art, probably, touched its highest elevation.

But whilst thus surpassing what the old world produced, it is undeniable that the time during which Italian painting rose so high was very far briefer than the life of Grecian art. If we place its beginning about 1250 A.D., within two centuries this vital force in rendering religious scenes and the religious sentiment was waning; by 1550 was all but exhausted. Parallel signs are visible of general declension, of a falling off both in quality and in quantity, when we closely compare the applied or decorative Italian mediæval art with the similar work of Greece and its Graeco-Roman development.

⁴ *Paradiso*, xxii. 47.

Beautiful as this art is, especially in the ornamental architectural sculpture produced during the early Renaissance period, it must be remembered that those delicate decorations of church or palace, the graceful things in furniture, and earthenware, and bronze work which we all admire and would fain possess—all are largely founded upon Greek traditions, surviving in the late Roman work, or brought over by Byzantine artists; the Gothic or Teutonic impulse, elsewhere so powerful and productive in Europe, having had, I think, but little overt influence in Italy. Hence, absolute originality cannot be claimed here by the Italian artists. Further, despite its beauty, yet from the remains of the Graeco-Roman decoration, as seen at Naples and Rome, we must infer that the Italians have been below the ancient workmen in fertility of invention. The Italian decorative forms—which we and all the civilized world can now only mechanically repeat—are not only themselves in great degree transfused from the Greek tradition, but also they renew but a small part of the classical decorative wealth. There is hence a monotony about the Renaissance decorative art: it is really only a small portion of the Greek, Hellenic and Byzantine, which lived again in Italy. But such is the natural, the inevitable, lot of the imitator. Again, whilst in Greece forms of beauty seem to have been universal through the whole free community—every article showing the pure taste with which they were gifted—in Italy, even during the best period, fineness in applied art seems to have been mainly confined to the richer classes. It was not, I think, the spontaneous habit of the people—the thing which they could not dispense with.

To sum up. On the strict grounds of fact—which I do not think can be disputed upon grounds of taste—I submit that the words ‘brilliant but brief reaction,’ which I applied to Italian or Mediaeval art at its loftiest, are justified. If we may rate it in quality with the Greek, yet the amount of this excellence produced was unquestionably far less. On a broad view, both as regards invention and decoration, the decline which followed the extinction of original Greek art is repeated, carried on, and deepened, at the parallel extinction of the Italian impulse.⁵

For this acknowledged decline in Mediaeval, Renaissance, or Italian art, various reasons have been given. Chief of these is that the artists lost sight of their first, their vital aim, to set forth religious truth and intensify religious sentiment. The ‘vision and the faculty disappeared:’ *Hand*, in Dante Rossetti’s fine phrase, no longer *painted Soul*. As skill in design and colour increased, art for art’s sake became more and more their object. To this impulse we owe, indeed, the masterpieces of painting between 1480 and 1550

⁵ Gothic Architecture, the really greatest creation in art of the middle ages, with all its wealth in purely architectural decoration, as distinguished from sculptural (it must be remembered), does not fall within the sphere of my criticism.

—the glories of Italy and of the world. Yet these glories conceal the gradual loss of truth to the subjects which the artists professed to present. Religious art, having reached the goal of technical perfection, had at the same time abandoned its proper function. In Lombardy, where the fervent Celtic blood underlay the population, it lingered longest: Milan, Vercelli, Varallo, Brescia, are the last refuges of inspiration. But at the death of Ferrari and Moretto—both about 1550—all was over. Hence the later religious pictures of Italy are almost always quite ineffective to our minds. The names of the Caracci, for example, of Guido, of Domenichino, are spells to us no longer. Modern criticism, misled by a morbid and essentially sectarian hatred of the so-called ‘Catholic revival,’ does great injustice to the sincerity of their aim.⁶ Yet on the whole it must be held that, as artists, they represent an essentially hopeless effort towards an impossible reaction.

In this loss of ‘the vision and the faculty’ the later Renaissance movement, turning men’s minds to Greek and Roman literature and art, bringing the mythology of classical times into favour, and thus demoralizing art by a kind of bastard paganism, doubtless had its share. Yet these causes of decay do not explain why, at the same time, portraiture, in which the Italians had excelled, with landscape, in which they had made brilliant advances, similarly died out in Italy; why the decorative arts, of architectural sculpture, of bronze work, furniture, and the rest, all deteriorated at the same period. Italian painting and sculpture, it can hardly be denied, in the creative sense, faded and fell as a whole together.

If these things are so, my contention as to the decline of art, in its second not less than in its first period, is supported by fact. But for the deep underlying cause we must look further than to those special causes just specified. Or, rather, we may find them all united in that great change of the European spirit which accompanied and developed those vast and closely connected movements, commonly summed up as the Renaissance in literature and the Reformation in religion. It is not my place here to enter into any criticism how far these movements on the whole have been beneficial or not to humanity: I have to regard them only in their relation to art.

Briefly, then, we find that the religious revolution, wherever it penetrated, destroyed at a blow the great function of religious art; whilst everywhere the diffusion of printing largely lessened its importance as a means of popular instruction. Meanwhile the literary Renaissance, at first by its revelation of the master-works of Greek

⁶ The value of the concluding volumes of Mr. J. A. Symonds’s interesting *History of the Italian Renaissance* seems to me seriously impaired by this obliquity of vision. For a ‘disinterested,’ impartial criticism on the Renaissance, readers may safely refer to Mr. Mandell Creighton’s *Papacy during the Reformation Period*: which, however, has not yet reached the date of the ‘Revival.’

and Roman literature, then by the renewed impulse which it gave to physical science in all its branches, created interests for men's minds which were not only, in some degree, opposed to serious art, but were always in competition with it. For the human mind does not seem capable, does not seem capacious enough, to care for more than a very few subjects at once, with that intensity which is essential to the production of excellence in any field of work.

Before these advancing forces of modern life, art, like a primitive people retreating in face of one armed with the powers of civilization, has, I hold, been inevitably giving way since the beginning of its third period. It has receded, indeed, from its high place and achievements, but at the same time has been changing itself into new forms suitable to the changed requirements of the world; becoming, in one word, a pleasure, rather than a power.

This transformation is what I have now to trace in its main lines. We may divide the whole modern period into two portions for convenience' sake, say 1550 to 1750, 1750 to our own time. Passing by subordinate schools, we find first in the work of Claude and Gaspar Poussin the true beginnings of landscape art, of landscape as an interest by and for itself, not treated as a background for man. Next come the Dutch scenes of peasant and citizen life and incident; a class of work hitherto little practised. With them also begins the attempt to paint the actual landscape and buildings which the artists saw before them, what we should call topographical art. And at the same time portraiture, that

Link among the days, to knit
The generations each with each—

the only living shoot of ancient art, received a magnificent continuation from Rubens, Vandyke, and Rembrandt; whilst in Spain Velasquez with colossal power carried on the Dutch and Flemish movement. Religious art, meanwhile, and with this any art which could appeal to our higher thoughts and feelings, was almost extinct. The splendid colouring of the Flemish artists covers but does not conceal the entire want of depth, of imagination, of spiritual vision. During this whole period, in fact, only one artist can be named in the loftiest rank, the profound and mighty Rembrandt—Rembrandt, who wanted but one gift, perhaps, to have surpassed Italy herself; but that gift, the indispensable one, the one which is first and last in all art—instinct for and mastery over the Beautiful.

Observe here how the progress is from the aim at poetry in Claude to the prose of the Dutch school; from the art in which a fine human sentiment predominates, to that which strives at little more than a skilful imitation of common life or landscape. The Dutch artists felt this themselves; their pictures, in their own age, were not classed in the range of serious work; they bore commonly

the significant name of *Drolleries*. They had ceased to move the heart; they aimed at pleasing for the time, not of influencing for life. Art, in fact, let me repeat, was insensibly changing its basis. The provinces between which, during the two first periods, it was absolutely parted, are now fusing into one. Inventive art was becoming Decorative: its function was to address the eye, rather than to penetrate the soul.

This revolution, however, it should be remembered always, was irresistible, was natural. The Europe of Feudalism and Romance, the Europe of the literary Renaissance, was gone or going. The world was changed, and the fine arts, which are always the expression of their age, changed with it. Other interests supplanted the old devotion to art. Men rendered the great thoughts of life, its passion and its poetry, in new ways; the races gifted with a strong sense of beauty were well-nigh exhausted. Thus, as I said at the beginning, if not the best, yet the fittest art survived. So far from joining in a popular cry of our own day, the brave attempts made by a Claude or a Poussin, Cuypp or Hobbema, by Ostade, Jan Steen, De Hooghe, and many more, to create an art suitable for their day, should move our sincerest admiration and gratitude. The patient skill with which these men took the first and most difficult steps in new directions, the masterpieces in their kind which they have bequeathed to us, far more than cover the defects inevitable to beginners. If, however, the hand of these artists hardly painted the soul; if their work has little power to touch the heart and raise it upwards; if it does not affect us like poetry in her higher moods—if, in short, it is no longer inventive in the great sense, all this was not the defect of the artists,⁷ but the despotic influence of civilization in that stage of its progress. The men may have been there; Rembrandt is enough to show it; but the moment was wanting.

Space forbids more than a glance at the course of sculpture since 1550. But three points may be noted: that it no longer has followed a parallel development with painting; that it also has immensely diminished in production; that it has gradually lost its hold over the popular mind, and has become an educated, almost an artificial, interest, an appanage of luxury or of death. And even in these spheres, how rare have been its deep or permanent successes!

Sculpture, by its own nature, is perhaps the most intensely expressive and moving of the fine arts; I hardly know whether it has

⁷ The aim of the art of such men as Van Eyck and Memling on one side, Jan Steen and Ostade and De Hooghe on the other, appears immensely different. Yet if we look at their technical methods, their solid powerful colour, their mastery over daylight and roomlight, their firm, if somewhat cramped, drawing of the figure, or, again, at the general want in beauty of line or feature shown throughout, we should be as much struck with the technical continuity of the art of the Low Countries, as with the contrast exhibited between the spirit of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

not surpassed poetry itself in the penetrating force of its single utterances. The lower place which, despite a few illustrious exceptions, it now holds, is hence a lamentable and conspicuous feature in the decline of art.

Resuming now our historical survey: Early in the eighteenth century European art was practically dead; Germany, the Low Countries, Spain, were now barren as Italy. For although the French, from Watteau to Greuze (to anticipate a little), show true skill and originality, yet the school was only a side current which rapidly ran dry; and its main interest now is that we see the corrupt Court society of Louis the Fourteenth and Louis the Fifteenth reflected in the earlier work, whilst Greuze gives an echo, only too faithful, of Rousseau's morbid and debased sentimentalism. But the turn of England had now come. It is always dangerous for a nation to boast of itself; yet I think that we may justly claim that with us the revival began, upon which modern art has since been essentially founded. Hogarth took up the thread dropped by the Dutch school, and to scenes from common life added dramatic power, forcible intension and satire; moral teaching, impressive, if not lofty. Landscape, in the hands of Wilson, Gainsborough, Crome, and others, was once more coloured and widened by the human sentiment, by the ideal beauty of the first early masters; whilst our artists added that truth to nature, that variety of subject, which were all presently consummated in Turner and his contemporaries. Portraiture had never quite died out in Europe; it stands in a peculiar relation to fine art in general, much as the drama does to poetry at large—they are both practical necessities. But England may justly claim that Reynolds and Gainsborough raised portraiture, if not technically, yet in its sentiment and scope, to a higher point of feeling than it had attained since the days of Rembrandt and Velasquez: that they aimed (to use the words of Wilkie) at that rendering of the inner man, that expression of the soul, which is the highest triumph of the portrait. But as the most notable achievement of our last century art, I class the many pictures in which Reynolds set forth for us the beauty and charm of childhood; blending the natural with the ideal in a delightful union which the world had never yet seen. The *Child in Art*, we may truly say, was his invention.

All these movements tended towards elevation, towards meeting the higher and permanent wants of the soul—in a word, towards poetry. Art in some degree renewed its proper function, although its highest glory and influence were not reached. Strange that the eighteenth century—commonly held an age of dry prose and chilling reason—should have given birth to work so imaginative and poetical!

I compare this English movement, in its degree, with the mediæval Italian movement; it also is a brilliant reaction. But we

must now ask ourselves: Has it also been a brief reaction? How far has the nineteenth century kept the promise of the eighteenth? How far has art in France, so deeply and widely moved sixty years since by English art, by our landscape school in particular, raised itself from frivolity and mere decoration to an elevating or refining influence? What are the present aims and prospects of fine art; how far is the world's general atmosphere unfavourable or benignant? These questions we are bound to meet, however briefly, reluctantly, and diffidently.

Let the reader then recall for a moment the general aspect of art in our days, here and abroad; let him think over a few of the many exhibitions we have all seen, and then compare them impartially with what painting and sculpture produced in the two great early periods, Greek and Italian. We see now a widely spread technical skill, a vast variety and inventiveness in point of subject. But what can the civilized world show which has the height of aim, the amplitude of purpose and idea, the exquisiteness in beauty, the majesty of form, which breathe and glow even in the fragments of Greek workmanship, in the fading treasures of Italy? Again: Ask ourselves honestly: Has modern art serious power over us as a thing of mind? does it really and durably touch the heart? I have tried to set forth some idea of the sway over the soul which was held by the art of the classical and the mediæval world. Perhaps that early Pagan life is too remote from us that in any real sense we can sympathize with it. But to mediæval art, to that of Italy in particular, we may apply, with a little change, the beautiful lines of Tennyson:⁸

Had men one sorrow, and she shared it not?
One burden, and she would not lighten it?
One spiritual doubt, she did not soothe?

It is not to the fine arts, candour must confess, I think, that we now turn for influences of this character. Men have risen from time to time, here and abroad, who have aimed at this glorious function, highest amongst whom I should venture to place our own Blake and Flaxman.⁹ But their limited and isolated efforts produced no school, and the inspiration died with them.

The English reaction of the eighteenth century, it must in fact be feared, like the Italian, has had only a brief brilliancy. Whether at home or abroad, the higher impulses and aims, speaking generally, have faded. The vast majority of the subjects which are now offered by so many skilful hands, in their very nature can do little more than excite a transient flicker of pleasurable amusement. This in truth is what we all mostly ask: and it is hence what art offers us.

⁸ *Aylmer's Field.*

⁹ The name of Dante Rossetti, if a happier fate had allowed him to fulfil the exquisite promise of his earlier years, might here have been added. As it is, *magis spes quam res* is the natural sigh over the scanty relics of this unique genius.

And on this account it may be noted that there is no permanence in modern methods and aims. This I note—and can only note—as a fact of ominous significance. All fine art is a delicate compromise between Freedom and Necessity, between the strict limitations of rule and circumstance, and the unfettered liberty of imaginative genius. In old days it was a national movement; in ours, it is the private aim of the individual. Hence no school animated by any strong or durable purpose can now form itself. Art has lost the element which Wordsworth called ‘the inevitable.’ It follows the license of personal liking; it fluctuates with the fashion of the day.

In landscape, doubtless, if anywhere, it is that more vital and serious art must be looked for. But landscape has had too short a career to afford safe ground for argument. It is perhaps the growing interest of the day; it answers to our taste in literature; it is greatly aided by our own lovely English art of water-colour. But I must risk the paradox of saying that the hold of landscape on the human mind, whether in poetry or in painting, is of itself insecure and exhaustible. Man, by a law of nature better established than many which have borne the name, is the one permanent interest to man. Landscape in art can only move us much, and move us long, when the spectator’s soul feels that the artist’s soul is speaking through the forms and colours of his canvas. This was the secret of our great landscapists from Gainsborough to Turner and his contemporaries, with whom, though born a little out of season, I would group that exquisite idyllist, George Mason. But that impulse, like the poetical rendering of childhood which we owe to Reynolds, shows everywhere clear signs of waning vitality. Can it be denied that most of the landscape now produced is devoted either to slight glimpses and petty fragments of natural beauty; or to bare unimaginative imitation, miscalled realism; or to that aim at tone and effect, and nothing more, which is merely the rebound from photographic detail into the opposite extreme of fleeting and shadowy Impressionism? Landscape so conceived and executed may please, but can hardly make us feel the power and beauty of nature. Here again the law of Evolution is fulfilling itself. The higher office, as in other forms of art, seems to have passed from the painter to the poet. The pages of Wordsworth, Keats, or Tennyson amply and delightfully supply us with what—for the present at least—we rarely find expressed through canvas.¹⁰

¹⁰ Some sense of this decline pierces, perhaps unconsciously, through contemporary criticism. From the reviews of 1887 alone I might quote several examples. The last before me may suffice. The present exhibition of the ‘Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours’ is the one under notice:—the eel must almost like to be skinned with such grace and gentleness. ‘Dainty, delicate, pretty—neither daring great things, nor ever very lamentably failing—such, taken as a whole, is the art of the Water-Colour Society. It is an art in which imagination holds comparatively little place. Few of these pictures bear evident signs of being the expression, in colour and form, of some strong definite feeling, or have power to produce an analogous feeling in the spec-

The tendency of art during its third period may thus be summed up—that the intellectual or imaginative lapses into the decorative or ornamental. We might almost say that these two kinds, so rigidly severed of old, are now merging in a mixed or hybrid form. This confusion of the two is an unmistakable sign of an unhealthy state of art. And we have here, probably, one cause of that almost total disappearance of genuine ornamental art which may now be said to prevail throughout the whole civilized world. This failure in style is a comparatively modern misfortune; some decorative originality may, I think, be found almost everywhere, to the beginning of this century. Even if great art was no more, people always had some genuine style of ornament in which they took pleasure. This decay in our days has doubtless been immensely promoted by that enormous advance in mechanical ingenuities of which civilization boasts, which cannot be dispensed with, but which, as the painter Blake said, when he saw some new triumph of machine-made art, ‘We artists HATE.’¹¹ Yet even if this enemy to fine ornamental art did not exist, no signs are now anywhere shown that the civilized races can do more than repeat almost slavishly those decorative forms—Assyrian, Greek, Italian—which were created in the days of fresh and living invention. The truth is, we have really ceased to care for decorative beauty. No race that did care would be satisfied with that eternal monotony of kaleidoscopic variation, as I should call it, which pervades the modern world.

The ugliness of modern life, as regards all ways and kinds of decoration, is a phrase not more common than true. Many costly

tator. As we go round the walls of the gallery, recognising in work after work each old friendly familiar style, we come across many admirable transcripts of Nature—of Nature for the most part in her gentler moods—and much pleasurable and deft brush-work, and we are greeted almost everywhere with a tone of refinement and easy grace. But anything that should come to us as a direct message from Nature’s heart or man’s experience, we do not get.—*Academy*, December 10, 1887.

¹¹ This canker of art is nowhere more visibly mischievous and devouring than in those wonderfully ingenious ‘processes’ under which the noble fine art of wood-cutting has now apparently all but perished, unperceived of a public, everywhere hoodwinked and bribed by cheap quantity into indifference to quality. These methods uniformly fail in rendering that purity of line and refinement in gradation which not only are leading truths of nature in every landscape, but are also more reproducible by the always imperfect resources of art than other great natural effects. And when, as we daily see in the deluge of illustrated books and magazines, the photograph, with its inevitable falsifications of light and shade, is reproduced with the blotch and scratch and smuttiness inherent in the ‘processes,’ the result is one not merely devoid of all charm, but actively destructive to the popular taste and fineness of perception for the really true and beautiful in art.

Not less injurious and fearful to behold is the American ‘blottesque’ style of work, over which, a few years since, ignorance and conceit raised such shouts of triumph. All this, of course, is progress; but, like much that bears the name, progress backward and downward. Much of the same criticism applies to etching and photogravure, as now practised;—for a detailed analysis of which space here fails. But it is sad to see forms of fine art, susceptible of useful results, thus perverted into engines against it.

schemes to cure it, many anodynes have been tried and proposed here and abroad; and heartily might we wish them success, were success, in face of a world in arms against them, any longer or anyhow possible. Ixion rolling up-hill his eternally rebounding rock, Tantalus as fruit and stream fly from his lips—these old gloomy figures from Tartarus image forth the fate of those who try to replant with beauty a world-soil which has lost the vital power to produce it.

If now, far on as we are in the nineteenth century, we cast our eyes back for a moment over the long history of sculpture and painting, is not this the lesson of the whole: that fine art in its height and plenitude, both of creation and of influence, belongs essentially to the youth of the world—to the youth, at any rate, of a nation? Only then can it be a first love, a leading interest; only then can it really command both eye and heart. New lines of thought, new pleasures, new labours, have been incessantly supplanting it more and more. And is it not certain that this process is daily advancing with quicker steps, with more devouring activity? Science, pure and applied, literature, politics, travelling, all these things, and many more I cannot name, saturate our limited attention; they employ the best part of our minds; they restrict at each step onwards the space left for interest in art. A hundred magnets attract us, where Greeks and Italians, we may say, were attracted by some five or ten. Nor are deeper causes wanting, at which I can only hint:—How this very advance of fresh pursuits and interests, the fret and hurry of the age diverting us all from calm, enduring sources of pleasure, are fatal at once to the growth of genius in art, and to our enjoyment of its creations; or, how strongly the main current of life runs now in the broad channel of the new and the immediate. The past and the future, those traditions and those aspirations in which fine art has always found its highest impulse, are hidden from us by the glare of the present. That youthful enthusiasm for loveliness in form and colour, that necessity to reproduce in visible shape our thoughts of the invisible, have vanished before the vast complex organism of modern life. And whether these mighty changes be, on the whole, for the gain of mankind or not, it becomes us all, artists or spectators, to recognise the results of civilization, and mould our doings and desires accordingly.

Thus everything in this world has its compensation. Progress is but a relative term. It is in a recurrent curve, not a hyperbolic, if I may use such an illustration, that Advance moves. New losses balance new gains. The survival may not always be of the absolute best, but it will most often be the practically fittest. And what I have here set forth, as the Decline of Art, is but a striking example of this great process, of this inevitable evolution.

But

Time is, our tedious tale should here have ending.

I may sum up the whole argument thus.

The creative power in its fulness, the sense of beauty in its utmost sensitiveness, the temper which imperatively requires such an atmosphere of art to live in, and without which such art cannot live—all these belonged to the Greek race; and to it, in a degree and with an intensity elsewhere unknown. The fine arts were a legacy which they left to the world.

Italy, in the second period, received this gift in the richest measure; and though her art flourished for a bare three hundred years, and covered a far less area than the Greek; yet, inspired by Christianity, it rose to a spiritual height and expressiveness, which the world never saw before, and has never seen since.

That legacy from Greece, as transmitted to us through Italy, has underlain the best work of the third period. But it is dying out from the world, as art transforms itself to suit the taste of an age, whose serious thoughts are diverted elsewhere; an age to which it is no longer an instinct and a necessity. Art has enlarged its boundaries; but it is extensive now, not intensive; the pleasure, the amusement, the fashion of the day, not an inheritance and a joy for ever.

I have called this Decline. But it may, in some degree, be thought of also as Transformation, and, under its changed conditions, art lives on and performs a gracious function, fit for the present: more largely seen, and more widely, if less deeply, felt and enjoyed. *Tho' much is taken, much remains*: art is still adding perpetually and liberally to the world's stock of pleasure, rarely other than innocent and refining. If the throne it held of yore be beyond his reach, the artist may turn to the wide field of landscape, and find consolation for himself and for us in nature, as Vergil was consoled when he learned that the problems of the universe were beyond his powers:

Sin, has ne possim naturæ accedere partes,
Frigidus obstiterit circum praeordia sanguis,
Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem silvasque inglorius.

And if my general argument be true, art should be all the more honoured and aided whenever men of gift and genius arise to remind the world of ancient and better days. England during the last fifty years has had some such; some may be amongst us now; others, doubtless, will be born in 'the summers which we shall not see.'

The man may appear, but will he find the moment?—No force of genius, we must own, can put back the centuries, or undo the process of the suns. At any rate, in regard to art, it is the old age of the world. The movement of life is against it:

The railway, and the steamship, and the thoughts that shake mankind.

Civilization cannot any longer supply the essential atmosphere of peace. Such at least, to conclude with better words than mine, is the confession of a highly gifted poet—himself also too deeply saturated and enfeebled by the *malaise* of the day—when summing up the vivid picture which he has given of the world's history: ¹²

We say that repose has fled
 For ever the course of the river of Time :
 That cities will crowd to its edge
 In a blacker incessanter line ;
 That the din will be more on its banks,
 Denser the trade on its stream,
 Flatter the plain where it flows,
 Fiercer the sun overhead :—
 That never will those on its breast
 See an ennobling sight,
 Drink of the feeling of quiet again.

But what was before us we know not,
 And we know not what shall succeed.

F. T. PALGRAVE.

¹² M. Arnold, *The River of Time*.

AMERICAN STATESMEN.¹

AMERICAN politics have acquired a practical interest for Englishmen. England under monarchical forms has, through blind extensions of the suffrage, induced by the rivalry of factions, slid into democracy without facing the problem of democratic organisation. The framers of the American constitution had to face the problem. The circumstances under which it presented itself to them were different from those under which it presents itself to British statesmen, the people for which they legislated having been made up partly of freehold farmers, partly of slaveowners; and their solution was not a national but a federal constitution, such as was applicable to a group of thirteen states, among which no one was too predominant, while it would be wholly inapplicable to the Three Kingdoms. Still, they faced the problem, and they bequeathed to us a solution. To speak of the American constitution as having been struck off by a single and unique effort of the human mind is of course to betray strange ignorance of the process by which it was evolved. The groundwork was there in the town meeting and the colonial assemblies, while the British constitution furnished a model, always actually, though not avowedly, present to the minds of the political builders. But, if there was not a new creation, there were deliberate revision and adaptation; a definite experiment was made, and the result of that experiment is before us. Not that the American constitution was, as American writers sometimes assumed, the very first

¹ *American Statesmen: a Series of Biographies of Men conspicuous in the Political History of the United States.* Edited by John T. Morse, jun. (Boston, U.S.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) :—

John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, jun.

Alexander Hamilton. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

John C. Calhoun. By Dr. H. von Holst.

Andrew Jackson. By Professor W. G. Sumner.

John Randolph. By Henry Adams.

James Monroe. By Pres. Daniel C. Gilman.

Thomas Jefferson. By John T. Morse, jun.

Daniel Webster. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

Albert Gallatin. By John Austin Stevens.

James Madison. By Sydney Howard Gay.

John Adams. By John T. Morse, jun.

John Marshall. By A. B. Magruder.

Samuel Adams. By James K. Hosmer.

Thomas H. Benton. By Theodore Roosevelt.

Henry Clay. By Hon. Carl Schurz.

Patrick Henry. By Moses Coit Tyler.

framed for a national republic. The first constitution framed for a national republic was the Instrument of Government. If the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland were now under a Protector, a standing Council of State, and a parliament with a reasonable qualification for the franchise, instead of being governed by faction finding an ephemeral support in popular passion, lawlessness and rowdiness would not be amusing themselves at Cork or Chicago by wrecking the British Parliament, defying the national government, and trampling on the honour of the nation.

American Statesmen, edited by Mr. John T. Morse, jun., comes therefore in good season. It seems to us a very valuable series. It furnishes a history of American politics in the attractive and impressive form of biography. Some of the volumes, being the work of political experts, are full of experience and useful teaching. The editor has managed to form his staff so that, while there is no appearance of concerted uniformity in the treatment of the different lives, there is a general harmony; and it is the general harmony of rational appreciation, judicial criticism, and sound morality.

A marked change has been taking place in the American treatment of national history, both in point of style and in point of substance. What has been called 'the nauseous grandiloquence of the American panegyric historians' is now almost a thing of the past. If any fault is found with the style of these volumes, it will be rather on the score of austerity than of grandiloquence, and we oftener meet with dry humour in them than with florid rhetoric or gushing sentiment. But the Fourth of July fiction is also giving place to historical facts. A rational view of the schism in the Anglo-Saxon race begins to prevail. The biographer of Samuel Adams in this series admits that all was not plain and easy for George the Third and his advisers; he does justice to the royal governors Bernard and Hutchinson, the twin Guy Fawkeses of the Fourth of July; he does justice to the Tories and to the British garrison of Boston. He allows flaws to be seen in what it has been hitherto a point of faith to regard as the flawless character of the patriot. Some of his passages might have exposed him not long ago to rough treatment at the hands of a mob. Perhaps at the hands of a mob they might expose him to rough treatment even now.

Another change, and one specially agreeable to an English reader, is the greatly diminished frequency of the tributes which American writers used to feel it their patriotic duty to pay to the traditional hatred of Great Britain. Occasionally indeed the British palate is still offended in this way. It is the editor himself, we are sorry to say, who, in his *Life of John Quincy Adams*, shows the old feeling most strongly. In speaking of the impressment of British seamen, or seamen supposed to be British, when found on board American

vessels, which he calls 'the impressment of American seamen,' his judicial serenity gives way, and he exclaims that

the bloodiest, most costly, and most disastrous war would have been better than tame endurance of treatment so brutal and unjustifiable that it finds no parallel even in the long and dark list of wrongs which Great Britain has been wont to inflict on all the weaker or the uncivilised peoples with whom she has been brought or has gratuitously forced herself into unwelcome contact.

We will return to the special case hereafter; here we will merely remark that the American commissioners at Ghent were instructed to say nothing of the unparalleled wrong, which accordingly passed without notice in the treaty. But to what stock does Mr. Morse suppose that he belongs? Does he suppose that a single century can have sufficed fundamentally to alter the deeply-ingrained character of the bulldog, so that the Anglo-Saxon in America is entirely free from the propensities which Mr. Morse ascribes to the Anglo-Saxon in Great Britain? If old England is so vile, must not a New Englander have very bad blood in his veins? In no Englishman did the overbearing and domineering tendencies of a conquering race ever show themselves more signally than in Chatham; and who cheered Chatham more lustily than the American colonists? What do we find in this very volume? When General Jackson commits international outrages of the most brutal kind, when he 'marches about in unquestionable Spanish territory, seizing towns and hanging people after his lawless, ignorant, energetic fashion,' what is Mr. Morse's comment?

He [Jackson] had done what he ought not to have done, yet everybody in the country was heartily glad that he had done it. He ought not to have hung Arbuthnot and Ambrister, nor to have seized Pensacola, nor later on to have imprisoned Callava; yet the general efficacy of his procedure fully accorded with the secret disposition of the country.

Apparently it accords equally well with the secret disposition of Mr. Morse. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, one of the writers in this series, who enjoys a high reputation as a reforming and moral politician, countenances in the interest of the United States principles of aggrandisement upon which no British statesman, we trust, would ever allow himself consciously to act, and which would make it very difficult to have any dealings with the American Republic. Writers in this series have to speak in very strong terms of the conduct of President Polk and his Cabinet towards 'weak' Mexico. We have seen something of General Jackson's conduct, and of that of the nation which applauded him, towards 'weak' Spain; and the behaviour of American frontiersmen to 'uncivilised' Indians has recently furnished the matter for a volume entitled *A Century of Dishonor*. On the other hand, if Mr. Morse turns his eyes towards the north of his own continent, he sees a community of 'a weaker

race' flourishing under the tutelage of the British conqueror as no French colony has ever flourished under the tutelage of France. The leader of the Quebec Liberals avowed the other day, like Voltaire before him, that he rejoiced in the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm.

The history of parties in the United States, with its strange and shifting nomenclature, its Federalists and Anti-Federalists, its Democratic Republicans and National Republicans, its Democrats and Whigs, its Locofocos, Barn-burners, Hunkers, Regency-men, Bucktails, Anti-Masons, Know-nothings, Free-soilers, Liberty-men, Dough-faces, and Copperheads, seems a tangled maze. But the maze is not without a clue. At first there is a struggle between the Federalists who desired the national union with a strong government and the Anti-Federalists who desired State right with an unfettered democracy. This lasted down to the second war with England. Then followed an interval, styled the era of good feeling, in which parties were undefined and the combinations and rivalries were largely personal. After this the slavery and anti-slavery parties appear distinctly formed, and contend against each other with growing animosity till their contest ends in war. The antagonism between the free and the slave States, however, was manifest from the beginning, and was felt more or less in every question that arose; the South, caring nothing for the shipping interest, was for a war with England, which gratified its temper and paid the planters' debts in bullets, while New England was for peace and trade. The tariff controversy, which a British apologist of secession was able to dupe England into taking for the cause of the civil war, arose out of the divergence of interest between manufacturing communities, which demanded protection for their rising industries, and slave-owning communities, which, being unable to manufacture anything for themselves, required perfect freedom of importation. Apart from special questions, the whole structure and spirit of society in the slave-owning South was radically opposed to the structure and spirit of society in the industrial, democratic, and progressive North. The boast of the old royal governor of Virginia who thanked God that in his colony there were no schools or printing presses remained substantially true, though the rule of royal governors had departed; and even in the revolutionary war the pride of the Southern gentlemen had spurned the command of the Northern trader. Garrison called the constitution a compact with death and hell. It was unquestionably a compact with an element morally, socially, and politically alien to the element to which Garrison belonged, and a compact against which the intellect and conscience of New England were certain in the end to rebel. Though there was a junction, there never was a real union, of the slave with the free States. Destiny pronounced sentence of ultimate divorce on the very day of the ill-starred marriage. Could the colonies have parted

from the mother-country in the peaceful course of nature, like ripe fruit dropping from the tree, they would, in all probability, have fallen into the two sections into which, after a century of uneasy wedlock, they were rent, unless slavery had been gently extinguished by the extension to the dependencies of the Emancipationist movement which prevailed in the mother-country. The rupture of 1861 and the struggle which ensued can hardly be called a rebellion or a civil war. It was simply an 'irrepressible conflict.' The irreconcilables parted, and the stronger of the two invaded, and after a desperate and prolonged struggle conquered and annexed, the weaker. Whether conquest will be followed by assimilation; whether a white society and a black-and-white society will ever become one people and alike thoroughly republican, is the secret, and, as a perusal of Judge Tourgee's *Bricks without Straw* will show, the momentous and formidable secret, of the future.

Across the main current of party politics come from time to time accidental and extraneous currents, such as Anti-Masonism and Know-nothingism, the former of which arose from a panic alarm about the power and designs of the Freemasons, while the latter had a more rational origin in the growing influence of the foreign, especially the Irish population. The flame of Anti-Masonry blazed high for a moment and then expired for ever. Of Know-nothingism we are not unlikely to hear again, though perhaps under a different name.

On George the Third and his ministers history has passed a sentence which it is needless to repeat. Bitter have been the consequences of their ignorance, wrongheadedness, and obstinacy to the Anglo-Saxon race in both its branches; for the Republic suffered from the revolutionary bias given it by the rupture as much as the mother-country suffered by the rupture itself. But some excuse for them may be found in the characters with which both in New England and among the slave-owners of the South they had to deal. The ex-Puritan of New England had lost much, not only of the religious enthusiasm of his forefathers, but of their morality, as the diary of John Adams plainly shows. He had retained in full measure their polemical spirit. He had retained something of the wiliness which was mingled with their fanaticism. He had acquired an intense love of litigation, on which subsisted a number of mischief-making lawyers. Constant attendance on town meetings had formed his political intelligence and at the same time bred in him a passion for political controversy. If the town meeting was the most important and characteristic of the political institutions, the taverns, of which the number was great, also played their part.

If you spent the evening in a tavern (says John Adams), you found the house full of people drinking drams of flip, toddy, and carousing and swearing; but especially plotting with the landlord to get him at the next town meeting an election either for selectman or representative.

The revolution itself was born in the room of the Caucus Club, amidst clouds of smoke and deep potations of egg-flip. Wilkes and Liberty had their counterpart on the other side of the Atlantic. Plenty of active spirits were ready for political havoc.

The few (says Adams) who have real honour, temperance, and understanding, who are desirous of getting their bread and paying their debts by their own industry, apply their attention to their own business and leave the affairs of towns and provinces to others. But a young fellow who happens to be by nature indolent and perhaps profligate begins by laying schemes by himself or his friends to live and get money without labour or care.

Such patriots are not easily appeased. Undoubtedly in intelligence as well as in integrity, industry and thrift, the New Englander was a picked Anglo-Saxon, and the elect of destiny for the foundation of republican institutions; but, we repeat, he was not good-tempered or placable, nor was it easy to maintain with him political relations in their own nature equivocal and thorny.

Samuel Adams was a typical New Englander in everything but industry and thrift. He had failed in regular callings and had defaulted, though only through incompetence, as a public taxgatherer before he found his element in politics, and became the contriver and leader of a revolution. No doubt is left in our mind after reading the candid narrative of his biographer that he meant mischief from the beginning. Throughout he did all that was in his power to prevent reconciliation and to bring about revolution and civil war. His aspirations may have been grand, his aim may have been beneficent, he may deserve on these accounts the political canonisation which he has received, but his determination to produce a rupture is the acquittal, so far as he is concerned, of the English ministers. No government can satisfy a man who is bent on its overthrow. As a plotter he was very active, bold, persevering, and adroit, nor does his desire of political change appear to have been mingled with any lower motive. The facts, so far as we can see, warrant no higher praise, and we are not disposed to pervert the truth of history for the purpose of placing a crown on the head of any man who, in whatever circumstances, when a peaceful redress of grievances is open to him, prefers revolution and civil war. The professions of attachment to the mother-country which continued to issue from Samuel Adams's lips and pen when he had certainly made up his mind to prevent a reconciliation require, as his biographer allows, some casuistry for their justification.

It is wonderful (says Mr. Hosmer) if the Puritan conscience did not now and then feel a twinge when Adams, at the very time when he had devoted himself body and soul to breaking the link that bound America to England, was coining for this or that body phrases full of reverence for the King and rejecting the thought of independence.

There was in the patriot's character, to borrow again Mr. Hosmer's words, 'a certain fox-like shrewdness which did not always scrutinise the means over-narrowly while he pushed on to the great end.' The moral twist in the character of the Puritan, in short, had survived his devoutness. Samuel Adams seems to be convicted of having laid a trap for Hutchinson, and of having, in unpleasant contrast to his cousin John, tried to force on the trial of Preston and the soldiers who in self-defence had fired on the Boston mob before popular passion had cooled, with a view to what would have been nothing less than a judicial murder.

This is not the place to discuss at length the schism, which Samuel Adams had the chief hand in bringing about, and which made the two portions of the Anglo-Saxon race foreign nations, or worse than foreign nations, to each other, when they might have shared the great Anglo-Saxon heritage in peace and friendship. That the colonists did not, like the subjects of Spain in the Netherlands, feel themselves sorely oppressed is shown by the mask of loyalty which Samuel Adams and other revolutionists found it necessary to wear. They were in the perfect enjoyment of security for life, property, personal liberty, and freedom of opinion, the last, in New England at least, being assured to them partly through the action of the home Government, which had imposed restrictions upon New England theocracy. Numbers of them remained loyal to the end, and suffered exile in the royal cause, though the royal commanders did everything that could be done by their blunders to estrange support. The country was flourishing, notwithstanding the restrictions on trade, which were the worst grievance, though they were simply the blindness of the age. Parliament had repealed the Stamp-tax; there was no reason to despair of its repealing the Tea-tax; a large party, including by far the most powerful statesman, was on the colonial side. The Tea-tax was paltry in amount. In the meantime colonial commerce received the protection of the Imperial fleet. It had, after the establishment of Independence, to pay blackmail to the Algerines. When Hampden resisted the payment of ship-money—which he did, by the way, in a court of law—he was combating an attempt to found on arbitrary taxation a reactionary government which, as he and his friends believed, would have not only extinguished the civil liberties but quenched the spiritual life of the nation. Nobody can suppose that Grenville aimed at anything worse than to make the colonies contribute to the expense of imperial armaments. The representation of the colonies in the Imperial Parliament was an idea which there is no reason to believe that British statesmen were unwilling to entertain, though the enemies of peace in the colonies were. Mr. Hosmer vindicates Hutchinson, who, though a Royalist, appears to have been not only

well-intentioned, but a colonial patriot in his way, and especially acquits him of blame in the matter of the famous letters, leaving at the same time a dark shade of doubtfulness on the conduct of his opponents. By appointing such a man at such a time the British Government showed that its designs were not malignant, while by allowing its soldiers to be brought to trial and actually branded on the hand for firing on a mob which attacked them with sticks and stones, it proved that it was not disposed to trample on the laws or riot in blood. The testimony of Mr. Hosmer, which is supported by the writer of another of these volumes, to the discipline and forbearance of the British soldiers in Boston, comes opportunely at a moment when unscrupulous faction and malignant ambition are traducing the record of the British army as well as that of British statesmanship and that of the country.

Mr. Hosmer seems to think that the American revolution was necessary in order to arrest the course of political reaction in England. We find difficulty in tracing any such effect, though it is true that the event has been too much viewed in its aspect as the revolt of a dependency, and too little in its aspect as a civil war. One consequence of it certainly has been a French and Catholic Canada. Mr. Hosmer, whose tone is to us most refreshing, would like, if we do not misinterpret him, to see the political union of the race restored by a Pan-Anglo-Saxonic Confederation. We cannot share that dream, but moral reunion, were it not for the Irishry, might come to-morrow. It is something, at all events, to have found an American, and a patriotic American, refusing to glorify the revolutionary intrigue which combined with royal folly to break, in a paltry quarrel, the grand and beneficent unity of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Of the Southern and slave-owning revolutionist the best specimen is Patrick Henry. Not that he actually belonged to that high-spirited, hot-headed, spendthrift, horse-racing, cock-fighting, gambling, duelling, and domineering slaveocracy of Virginia which furnished many of the leading patriots. As a lawyer of humble origin he stood midway between the F.F.V.s (First Families of Virginia) and the 'mean whites.' He had failed in shopkeeping before he took to law. His able and industrious biographer, Professor Coit Tyler, takes pains to rescue him both from the imputation of illiteracy and from that of having kept a tavern. He only, it seems, while preparing for the legal profession, helped his father to tend the bar. But he was the offspring of a community to which the slaveocracy gave its tone; and he was himself, though an occasional declaimer against slavery, through life an owner, and not only an owner, but a buyer and seller, of slaves. He seems, in fact, to have been rather a notably sharp hand at bargaining for human chattels. In that school his notions of liberty were formed. His political education was received, as his biographer tells us, by means of

communings in the tavern porch or on the shady side of the country store, [with] an occasional clergyman, pedagogue, or legislator, small planters and small traders, sportsmen, loafers, slaves and the drivers of slaves, and, more than all, those bucolic Solons of Old Virginia, the good-humoured, illiterate, thriftless Caucasian consumers of tobacco and whisky, who cordially consented that all the hard work of the world should be done by the children of Ham. During all that time in his life, as we now look back upon it (says his biographer), he has for us the aspect of some lawless, unkempt genius, in untoward circumstances, groping in the dark, not without wild joy, towards his unconceivable true vocation; . . . withal borne along, for many days together, by the mysterious undercurrents of his nature into that realm of reverie where the soul feeds on immortal fruit and communes with unseen associates, the body meanwhile being left to the semblance of idleness.

Is not this something like a philosophical description, tintured with poetry, of the loafer? Henry made his first notable appearance in the Virginia Clergy case, as the defender of what his biographer is constrained to brand as barefaced iniquity—iniquity upon which George the Third had put a tyrannical veto. Nor were the appeals to malignant and dishonest passion by which he gained his cause required or justified by professional duty. In the dispute with the British Government, Henry, like Samuel Adams, meant mischief from the beginning; he may even claim to be the first who gave his voice openly for civil war; and in his case, as in that of Samuel Adams, the government stands acquitted by the impossibility of satisfying the Implacable. He showed his implacability in a notable way by fiercely rejecting the conciliatory scheme of John Galloway, who proposed in Congress that the American colonies should be confederated and have a federal parliament of their own, with a governor-general appointed by the Crown; a plan which would have given them all that the most advanced of constitutional patriots pretended to desire. John Galloway was a man of mark. John Adams mentions him among the ‘sensible and learned but cold’ speakers in Congress, while he numbers Henry among the ‘orators;’ and the rejection of Galloway’s scheme² by the vote of a single state was a signal triumph of oratory over cold ‘sense.’ As to Henry’s power as an orator of

² ‘Could the plan have been adopted,’ says Professor Tyler, ‘the disruption of the British Empire would certainly have been averted for that epoch, and, as an act of violence and unkindness, would perhaps have been averted for ever; while the thirteen English colonies would have remained English colonies without ceasing to be free.’ To bar false inferences, it may be as well to remark that between this scheme of Home Rule and the proposal of a statutory parliament for Ireland there are vital points of difference. In the first place, Galloway’s plan would have involved no reconstruction of the polity of Great Britain; in the second place, the Crown in those days would have been a real, not merely a nominal, link; in the third place, the American colonies were three thousand miles off; and in the fourth place, their inhabitants were for the most part attached to the mother-country, and, instead of wishing to ‘break the last link,’ were very anxious to retain the connection. After all, no one can tell how the two Parliaments would have acted together. A call from Great Britain for supplies for a European war would have put a severe strain on their harmony.

firing the Southern heart there can be no doubt ; but gunpowder is easily fired. Some of these gentlemen, moreover, were not unwilling to apply the sponge of revolution to their debts. The 'tremendous speech' in which Henry ejaculates 'Give me liberty or give me death,' we believe, is still read in all American schools. But the good taste of his biographer must have winced in giving us the following account of its delivery by a devotee who was present :—

When he [Henry] said, 'Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?' he stood in the attitude of a condemned galley slave, loaded with fetters, awaiting his doom. His form was bowed; his wrists were crossed; his manacles were almost visible as he stood like an embodiment of helplessness and agony. After a solemn pause, he raised his eyes and chained hands towards heaven, and prayed, in words and tones which thrilled every heart, 'Forbid it, Almighty God!' He then turned towards the timid loyalists of the house, who were quaking with terror at the idea of the consequences of participating in proceedings which would be visited with the penalties of treason by the British Crown; and he slowly bent his form yet nearer to the earth, and said, 'I know not what course others may take,' and he accompanied the words with his hands still crossed, while he seemed to be weighed down with additional chains. The man appeared transformed into an oppressed, heart-broken, and hopeless felon. After remaining in this posture of humiliation long enough to impress the imagination with the condition of the colony under the iron heel of military depotism, he arose proudly, and exclaimed, 'But as for me'—and the words hissed through his clenched teeth, while his body was thrown back, and every muscle and tendon was strained against the fetters which bound him, and, with his countenance distorted by agony and rage, he looked for a moment like Laocoön in a death-struggle with coiling serpents; then the loud, clear, triumphant notes, 'Give me liberty,' electrified the assembly. . . . After a momentary pause, only long enough to permit the echo of the word 'liberty' to cease, he let his left hand fall powerless to his side, and clenched his right hand firmly, as if holding a dagger with the point aimed at his breast. He stood like a Roman senator defying Cæsar, while the unconquerable spirit of Cato of Utica flashed from every feature; and he closed the grand appeal with the solemn words, 'or give me death!' which sounded with the awful cadence of a hero's dirge, fearless of death, and victorious in death; and he suited the action to the word by a blow upon the left breast with the right hand, which seemed to drive the dagger to the patriot's heart.

It is not pleasant to think that such stage-play as this had a material effect in bringing on a bloody revolution and rending asunder the Anglo-Saxon race. When political science or reason in any shape rules the world, the orations of Patrick Henry will be no more read in schools. His sublime ecstasy of aspiration after liberty or death being over, 'Cato' went out to bargain with Scævola or Brutus in the tavern-porch for a slave. One of the Southern States held out as a reward to volunteers in the cause of freedom so many head of cattle and one healthy negro. It is an astonishing instance of the hardening force of habit that these men should have been able to rant against slavery without feeling the sting of the word, that they should have inscribed on their capitol *Sic semper Tyrannis* without suspecting that the greatest of tyrants

were themselves. Brutus, it is true, owned slaves, and in his way he was probably a genuine lover of freedom; but he did not live in the days of Wilberforce. The triumph of George the Third and Lord North, or even of worse rulers than George the Third and Lord North, would have been preferable to the triumph of the tyrannicides who were destined to found the slave power.

The life of Washington in this series has not yet appeared. But one of the writers truly says that he was the indispensable man without whom, in that war, America could not have won. Not only was Washington indispensable, Howe with his lethargy and Burgoyne with his blunders were equally indispensable; the wooden Hessians were indispensable; French aid, as Washington in accents of despair proclaimed, was indispensable; and French aid would have profited little if there had not been a party in the British Parliament which insisted on peace; for Rodney would have swept the fleet of France from the sea, and her army could not have maintained itself in America alone. Washington held together, as no other man could, an army which had been reduced to a scarecrow by the ebb of rhetorical enthusiasm and the hollowness of the cause. He quelled the mutiny which ingratitude to the army springing from the same sources had brought on, and which unquelled would have been ruin. Afterwards his ascendancy saved the ill-cemented republic from being torn in pieces by faction and rivalry. He saved her from throwing herself at the feet of revolutionary France, and settled her foreign policy on a footing of wisdom—that is, on a footing thoroughly American. He alone could have borne the strain laid on the government by Jay's treaty. That his figure has been seen through a halo, and that he had more infirmities of temper than we wot of, as Mr. MacMaster, the author of the valuable *History of the American People*, tells us, may be true; though, at the most trying moments, when he has to contend for himself and his starved and unclad soldiers with jobbery as well as with neglect, his despatches are perfectly calm. To praise him for not having played Napoleon is absurd; he was not tempted in that way; but he may be almost called a Heaven-sent man. The rupture having once taken place, it was clearly desirable that the colonies should win their independence, and there should be no protraction or renewal of the fatal struggle. For this result we are indebted to Washington. A writer in this series seems to think that, after all that has been said, there is something in the character of Washington which eludes analysis. Is the mysterious element anything more than the decided strain of a British officer which Washington had contracted from his military associations? A simpler character, we should say, does not offer itself to the inspection of history.

Franklin's life also is wanting in this series. Like Priestley, he represents political liberalism as connected with scientific progress.

Eripuit celo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis. We remember seeing a statuette of him with that inscription placed at a public dinner immediately in face of the British ambassador. Franklin also represents the antagonism of a highly economical and matter-of-fact philosophy of life to aspirations after imperial grandeur and all the fancies of the past. He does not, as we know, represent either New England orthodoxy or Puritan morality. Through him, if at all, the peculiar spirit of Voltaire found its way into the American Revolution. He was not any more than Voltaire by nature a revolutionist. Of all the men on the scene, he was the best fitted to play the part of a mediator, had he only been put to that use. In the luckless affair of the letters he showed lack of a gentleman's sense of honour, while Wedderburn showed his low-bred ruffianism and the Lords of the Council their insolent folly—all at fearful expense to the race.

Alexander Hamilton, whose *Federalist* has acquired enhanced interest for British politicians since it has been proposed to throw the British constitution into the smelting-pot and bring it out a federation, claims the foremost place among American statesmen. It has been said that the progress of American statesmanship since the divorce from England has reversed the boast of Augustus, who said that he had found Rome of brick and made it of marble. This is a hostile judgment, but it is true that the republic has had no second Hamilton. In truth, the conditions under which he was produced have ceased to exist; for he belongs to the brief period in which, as necessity sternly called for the right man, it was possible to rise to power without being a demagogue. He belonged neither to the ex-Puritan nor to the slave-owning element of the revolution, but alighted upon the scene from a different sphere, being a British subject bred in Jamaica. There is something especially attractive in the character of the man. How he came by his high breeding is rather a mystery; but he certainly was a thorough gentleman. He showed it in the case of André; he showed it in protecting loyalists against the outrages of the patriot mob at the outbreak of the revolution; he showed it when the struggle was over, in opposing himself to the cruel and ignoble vengeance which was poured out by the victors upon the heads of the vanquished, and which went the length of proscribing loyalist women; he showed it in the tragic affair in which he, too early for his country, met his end. In joining the revolutionary standard he seems to have followed fortune which beckoned his youthful ambition to that side: his first leanings were royalist. There is a doubt about the year of his birth, but, on any hypothesis, his precocity must have been extraordinary. He can have been little more than a stripling when, as Washington's aide-de-camp, he was employed in important and delicate missions as well as in writing despatches which, allowing that the substance is

Washington's, show marvellous judgment and maturity of style. As a soldier he distinguished himself, and it seems that, had he pursued that career, he might have risen high. As a member of Washington's staff he would have to take part in a struggle, not only against the enemy, but against anarchy in all departments, and his natural leaning in favour of authority must have been intensified by his experience. The war left behind it as its consequence a political, financial, and moral chaos, which again went far to justify those who had shrunk from revolution.

The distinguishing qualities of those communities [the thirteen colonies], and of the central government as well (says Mr. Lodge), were at that moment faction, jealousy, and discord, infirmity of purpose, feebleness in action, unblushing dishonesty in finance, black ingratitude towards the army, and the rapid acquisition of an ever-growing contempt on the part of the rest of mankind.

It was the genius of Hamilton mainly that out of this confusion brought order, solvency, and something like public morality. By the genius of Hamilton mainly it was determined that the United States, instead of being a loose league of states, with separate sovereignties, should be a nation, though with a federal structure, and should have a strong central government. An unbridled democracy was the object of his profound mistrust. His avowed preference was for the British constitution, nor did he even regard with intense abhorrence the corruption by which in the British Parliament of those days a king's government was sustained. He would himself have been a model minister under a constitutional monarchy and have moved in a court with perfect ease and grace. But he saw that monarchy in the New World and on the morrow of a revolution was unattainable, and he acquiesced in a republic; nor is there anything whatever in his subsequent course to justify the suspicion which Jefferson always entertained or affected to entertain that Hamilton was trying to set up a king. There was no king possible but Washington, of whose loyalty to the republic there could be no doubt. The republic, however, had it been fashioned by Hamilton's hand, would have been as little democratic as possible. He would have had a president and senators holding office, not for a short term, but during life or good behaviour; and he would have had them elected by a class qualified by the possession of a certain amount of real property. He would also have assigned the appointment of all the state governors to the president of the United States, and have given each governor a veto on all state legislation. Very different from this was the model adopted. But Hamilton wasted no time in whining over the rejection of his ideal. He accepted the constitution as it was, and did his best to give it the ply which he desired, by practical interpretation, for which, while the clay was still moist from the potter's hand, there was much room.

The great ability as a jurist, and power of arguing questions of legal principle, which he combined with his legislative and administrative faculties, here served him and the republic in good stead. Various causes have since contributed to the triumph of nationality over State right. It has been promoted by railways and telegraphs, by the extension of commercial enterprises and connections, as well as by the action of political parties embracing the whole Union, and by the patriotic devotion to a common country which was evoked by the struggle against secession. Still, Alexander Hamilton is with justice regarded as the founder of the American nation. Nationality, with order and strong government, was his guiding idea. In his reorganisation of the finances, his restoration of the national credit, and his exposition of his financial measures, he showed transcendent ability and a wonderful insight into true principles; and his policy in this department was virtually connected with his general design of insuring the unity and raising the character of the nation. If he was not free from protectionist tendencies, it must be remembered that the world was protectionist in those days: the light of Adam Smith had but just dawned, and had scarcely illuminated the minds of any statesman except those of Shelburne and the younger Pitt. When he decided in favour of moderate protection, neither he nor any one else had been taught by experience how hard it is to preserve moderation in protection, and how the infant industry when it has been fostered into manhood, instead of gratefully recognising the favour which it has enjoyed, and readily resigning the privilege which is no longer needed, takes you by the throat with its strong political grasp and extorts a continuance or perhaps an increased measure of protection for the future. Hamilton completed his services by sustaining, perhaps more than sustaining, Washington in the sound foreign policy which was embodied in the proclamation of neutrality, and in facing at the President's side the storm of Gallomania which was raised by the Jay treaty.

Tossed on stormy waters and assailed by bitter enemies, with Jefferson at their head, infamously attacked not only in his public character but in his personal honour, Hamilton more than once went astray. He went astray in instigating Jay to resort to a constitutional *coup d'état* for the purpose of averting a party defeat in New York; in writing articles for the press against a colleague in the cabinet, though the colleague was treacherous and had really begun the game; and in penning his pamphlet against John Adams, though the pamphlet would never have seen the light had it not been stolen and published by Aaron Burr. But there are few more spotless records, as there certainly have been few careers more beneficent, than that of Alexander Hamilton. His biographer is probably right in holding that even his death, in a miserable duel with a scoundrel, was a sacrifice to public duty, since he felt that

refusal to obey what was the code of honour in those days would have impaired his influence and his usefulness.

The work of Hamilton's genius, a nation with a strong government, would have been in great danger of sharing the fall of the Federal party, had not the chief justiceship of the Supreme Court, and with it the interpretation of the constitution, remained in the supremely able hands of the federalist, John Marshall—the 'revolutionary and patriarchal' John Marshall, his biographer calls him; and the combination of epithets is curiously characteristic of a country the highest antiquity of which goes no further back than the Revolution of 1775-83. Whatever is either exalting or moderating in the influence of a great national history America lost by her rupture with the past. Marshall preserved and extended Hamilton's work by developing through his decisions the 'implied powers' of the constitution. His biographer admits that in many of the causes before him, that of the constitutionality of the United States Bank, for instance, he might have given opposite decisions had he been so minded, and that as matter of pure law these opposite decisions would have been just as good as those which he did give. Naturally the Jeffersonians decried as loudly as the Hamiltonians applauded him. On the great issues the Supreme Court, as we have said before, leans to the principles of the party by which the judges were appointed. Under Marshall it leaned in its decisions to federalism, under Taney to slavery. Without political motives it could hardly have decided that the Legal Tender Currency Act, which forced a creditor to receive payment in paper so depreciated that he lost fifty per cent. of the debt, was not a breach of the article of the constitution forbidding any legislation which would impair the faith of contracts. Our own Privy Council, though not influenced by party, has been influenced by political considerations. In its ecclesiastical judgments it has leaned visibly to the side of comprehension; in its judgments on questions between the central government and the provinces of Canada it has leant to the side of provincial right, desiring no doubt that the provinces should have reason to remain satisfied with confederation. A Supreme Court, constituted so as to command as far as possible the confidence of all the parties to a confederation, is the indispensable keystone of the federal arch. Of this the authors of that strange legislative improvisation, the Irish Government Bill, appear to have had an inkling; but the best they could do was to assign the power of deciding constitutional questions between Great Britain and Ireland to the British Privy Council—that is, to one of the parties in the suit. The American Supreme Court represents, and, with the inevitable qualification which has been mentioned, impartially represents, the entire confederation.

Thomas Jefferson, as his biographer tells us, was rather on the edge of Virginian slaveocracy than within the charmed circle. He

was, however, opulent, and by the time when he went forth as the chief apostle of human liberty and equality had by his thrift increased the number of his slaves from thirty to fifty. Cultivated and scholarly, he was able to frame the plan for a university, and, unlike the common demagogue, to offer up knowledge and intelligence, as well as conscience and self-respect, on the altar of the democratic idol. To Alexander Hamilton's Ormuzd, Jefferson played Ahriman. Democracy in its loosest and most unbridled form was his religion, at all events till he held power. 'Monocracy,' perhaps the secret ideal of his great rival, was the object of his fanatical hatred and ever-haunting suspicion. In theory he was an anarchist, and his utterances on this subject severely try the patience of a biographer who would fain be sympathetic. He was fond of saying that we could not find angels to govern, but he assumed that we could find angels to be governed or to govern themselves. If he had to choose between a government without a press and a press without a government, he said that he should at once choose the latter. In New York, under the reign of Tammany, with Barnard and Cardozo for judges, he might almost have enjoyed the realisation of his ideal. Of three states of society, that of the Indians without any government, that with a democratic government, and that with a government other than democratic, he was not sure that he did not prefer the first. Shays's rebellion, which on other extreme democrats acted as a warning, drew from him the remark that a rebellion now and then was a good thing, and that republican rulers ought not to discourage them too much. 'God forbid,' he ejaculates, 'that we should ever be twenty years without a rebellion! What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.' Again it must be said that George the Third and Lord North are not answerable before the tribunal of history for not having fulfilled such an ideal as an ultra-democratic government with a rebellion once in every twenty years. Whether Jefferson was a French revolutionist from the beginning, or was made one by his sojourn in France, is a question on which his biographers differ. He was certainly a Rousseauist from the beginning in his belief that agriculture was the only moral or healthy pursuit, and that the mechanical arts and commerce were corruptors of society. Rousseauism seems strange in a Virginian slaveowner, but Rousseau himself squinted towards slavery, and in the essentially Rousseauist tale, *Paul and Virginia*, the lovely children of nature are supported by the labour of two old slaves. What is certain is that Jefferson became a French revolutionist of the most genuine breed. It was after the September massacres, of all the Jacobin atrocities perhaps the most hideous, that he wrote that 'the struggle was necessary, though in it many guilty persons fell without the forms

of trial, and with them some innocent.' 'These,' he adds, 'I deplore as much as anybody, and shall deplore some of them to the day of my death. But I deplore them as I should have done had they fallen in battle. It was necessary to use the arm of the people, a machine not so blind as balls and bombs, but blind to a certain degree. . . My own affections have been deeply wounded by some of the martyrs to this cause; but rather than it should have failed I would have seen half the earth desolated; were there but an Adam and Eve left in every country and left free, it would be better than it is now.' We see here in full perfection the Jacobin belief that everybody could be made happy, and not only happy but virtuous, by butchering kings and aristocrats, without the trouble of self-improvement. The admirers of Jefferson must rejoice that the scene of his beneficence was not Paris; had it been, he might have played a part in the September massacres, though the part which he would have played would have been that of a contriver rather than an actor. He somewhat resembled Robespierre in his feline nature, his malignant egotism, and his intense suspiciousness, as well as in his bloody-minded, yet possibly sincere, philanthropy; though, unlike Maximilian, he could ride. In his union of visionary speculation on politics with practical astuteness as a politician and capacity for intrigue, Jefferson reminds us of Sieyès. Whether he was entirely sincere in his religion of anarchy or not, he very distinctly saw the great fact that, beyond the leaders of worth and intelligence with whom he found it not easy to cope, there lay what he and other demagogues are pleased to call the people—that is, the masses; in other words, the people minus its leading intelligence—and that to this force, by playing on popular jealousy of intellect and social grade, he might hopefully appeal. Thus he became the founder and the highly successful leader of the democratic party; not its stump-ordinator, for he had not the gift of speech, but its oracle, its guide, philosopher, and friend. No man ever understood party management more thoroughly or knew better when to loosen and when to tighten the rein; how to take advantage of passion and at the same time to shun frenzy, and come out wiser and more trusted than ever when the tornado was over. He also saw the value of a suborned press. At Monticello he was a Virginian gentleman and a scholar, always, however, in his letters affecting the Cincinnatus; but before his public he condescended to the extreme of demagogic simplicity. When he was inaugurated as president, instead of riding in state to the capitol, he hitched his horse to the fence, and he received a British envoy dressed in an old coat and pantaloons, with slippers down at the heel. He succeeded thoroughly in making himself a popular idol. 'No personal influence of a civilian,' says his biographer, 'not nourished in any degree by successful war, has ever been so great and so permanent over our people.' In what respect

his influence has been useful we would rather leave it to the biographer to say. A 'humanitarianism' which is ready to butcher all mankind but a single pair in order to carry out a theory seems a questionable substitute even for common Christianity. Jefferson was the champion of religious equality in Virginia, and as president he did a very good thing in purchasing Louisiana, though the act was a breach of the constitution, and had it been done by Hamilton would have drawn from Jefferson shrieks of 'monocracy' and 'consolidation.' In the Kentucky resolutions he proclaimed the fatal doctrine of nullification, and pulled the trigger of civil war. His notions of finance and economy, if they were anything more than factious contradictions of Hamilton's views, were absurd, and in that department he did all the mischief in his power. He behaved as ill to Hamilton as he could and as ill to Washington as he dared. Over the 'Ana' admiring biography can only draw a decent veil.

It is needless to say that the impress of Jefferson's mind remains indelibly stamped on the Declaration of Independence. No other theorist has been so fortunate in having his fancies indelibly carved on public marble. 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organising its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.' So wrote the owner of fifty slaves, whom he never emancipated, or, we believe, showed any practical inclination to emancipate; while, if he framed a project of abolition, it was allowed to drop so easily that it can be regarded as little more than an ostensible tribute to consistency. 'Nothing,' said Calhoun a generation afterwards, 'can be more unfounded and false than the prevalent opinion that all men are born free and equal: it rests upon the assumption of a fact which is contrary to universal observation.' Jefferson, as is well known, had framed a clause denouncing in the most truculent language George the Third as the author of slavery and the slave trade. But this was 'disapproved by some Southern gentlemen.' The issue was a constitution which recognised slavery, under a shuffling alias, perpetuated the slave trade for twenty years, with an indefinite prospect of further extension, and embodied a fugitive slave law. The colonial legislation restricting the importation of slaves, in disallowing which Jefferson accuses the King of prostituting his negative, was, as Jefferson well knew, not moral in its object, but commercial. If it was moral, why was it not renewed when the

colonists were their own masters? We do not wish to press the charge of hypocrisy too far; it is true that emancipation was difficult, but it is also true that there were difficulties in the path of the ministers of George the Third. The preposterous violence and the manifest insincerity of the suppressed clause are enough to create suspicion as to the spirit in which the whole document was framed. In fact, the Declaration of Independence is not more scrupulously truthful than are the general utterances of a statesman for whom his biographers do not venture to claim the credit of strict veracity. In its preamble it enumerates as normal examples of the King's government and justifications of insurrection acts which, however unadvised, were really measures of repression, taken after the insurrection had broken out. No government could allow its officers to be assaulted and their houses sacked, its loyal lieges to be tarred and feathered, or the property of merchants sailing under its flag to be thrown by lawless hands into the sea.

Republican institutions, if they exclude hereditary title, admit family distinction. The Massachusetts house of Adams might with some reason call itself the first political family in the world. It has given, in the direct line, two presidents to the republic; it has produced an ambassador whose task was hardly less important and certainly not less trying than that of any president, and its fertility appears not to be exhausted, though the times are not propitious to its prominence so far as active politics are concerned. John Adams, the founder of the line, was a specimen of the highest type of politician formed by the municipal life of New England, and of all engaged in the revolution, with the possible exception of Washington, the man whose character we should say does most to justify or redeem the movement. As 'Novanglus' he is its great apologist, and weak enough from the constitutional point of view his apology is. It is surely idle to contend that under a parliamentary monarchy the connection of a dependency was with the king alone, and not with parliament. Where was the sovereign power? To whom did colonial commerce look for protection? Equally idle does it seem to contend that the King in dealing with the colonies acted in his personal capacity only, not in his political capacity and as the head of a constitutional government. Adams is much more rational when he says that the whole system of colonial government had been left in a very unsettled and equivocal state. Powers had, in fact, been legally retained by the Imperial Government which it was practically wrong and unsafe to exercise. Hence arose the quarrel; and this is precisely the relation which the framers of the Irish Government Bill purpose deliberately to create between the British Parliament and Ireland. At the same time John Adams was not free from the traits of the conspirator. He continued to express attachment to the connection with Great Britain and grief at the

idea of separation at a time when it is certain that he had set his heart on separation, and had formed a settled plan of independence. The disclosure of his real sentiments and designs, through the capture and publication of his secret correspondence, scattered dismay among those whom he had been luring to the brink of civil war by his professions of moderation. That there should have been a necessity for resorting to such acts, we must repeat, proves that there did not exist among the people in general a sense of such oppression as alone, we should say, can warrant any one in enticing a community into revolution and civil war. It tends to show that the catastrophe was not inevitable, but was brought on by the scheming activity of a comparatively small group of violent and ambitious men, combined perhaps with the interest of traders galled by the pestilent restrictions on trade. We also see in Adams's diary the bacchanalian element of the revolution in some force. In the evening at Mr. Mifflin's 'there was an elegant supper and we drank sentiments till eleven o'clock. Lee and Harrison were very high. Lee had dined with Mr. Dickinson and drank Burgundy the whole afternoon.' In such councils it was resolved that, to avenge a paltry blunder committed by a particular British minister, the grand and beneficent unity of the Anglo-Saxon race should be dissolved, perhaps for ever. It would be well if, when civil war impends, patriots could be made to drink water. The man who burns like Camille Desmoulins 'to embrace liberty, though it were on a heap of corpses,' if he is not mad or desperately wicked, is probably drunk. The revolution over, however, John Adams stands in history a strong, upright, and conscientious servant of the State, rugged and gnarled as an old oak, but not less firmly rooted in his patriotism or less steadfast in resisting the adverse gales, from whatever quarter they might blow, whether from that of extreme federalism and fond attachment to England, or from that of extreme democracy and the subserviency of sham sansculottism to France. By his defence of Preston and the soldiers he had given noble proof of his antipathy to mob violence as well as of his humanity. To the yoke of the Caucus his neck was never bowed. Nor, though a republican, was he a demagogue, or even an extreme democrat. He firmly believed, as his biographer truly says, in government by a class duly qualified by intelligence and public virtue: of all aristocracies the most offensive to St. Just, who thought it the height of impiety in any one to pretend to intelligence or virtue, but especially to virtue, in presence of the divine people. In his suggestion for the regulations of the president's household Adams even shows a tendency to surround republican authority with a good deal of state. Hamilton in the present day would be utterly impossible as an American politician. Only one degree less impossible would be John Adams.

John Randolph was a genuine Virginian gentleman, an authentic 'F.F.V.' He combined in the proper measure aristocratic prejudices and arrogance with a democracy which meant hatred of all authority above his own, and he united English tastes to French revolutionary principles. He was no doubt, like others of the same group, well read in English literature, at least of the lighter kind. He had certainly read Fielding, and was thus enabled to get himself into a duel by comparing an alliance between the 'Puritan' Quincy Adams and the 'black-leg' Clay to an alliance of Bliffl with Black George. It seems that he once made a will emancipating his slaves, but if ever he dallied with philanthropy, the dalliance was brief. Thus he writes:—

There is a meeting-house in the village built by a respectable denomination. I never was in it, though, like myself, it is mouldering away. The pulpit of that meeting-house was polluted by permitting a black African to preach in it. If I had been there I would have taken the uncircumcised dog by the throat, led him before a magistrate, and committed him to jail. I told the ladies, they, sweet souls, who dressed their beds with the whitest sheets and uncorked for him their best wine, were not far from having negro children.

Randolph had a rare gift of vituperative declamation by which he seems to have kept up a sort of reign of terror. This, combined with his social position, enabled him to do what he pleased and treat the Senate like a hunting kennel. If he ever had anything nearer akin to statesmanship in him, it had been shattered by his passions, which from his childhood had no doubt been uncontrolled. Giving utterance to everything that came into his head and for hours together, he sometimes gave utterance to a home truth.

Albert Gallatin was a Genevan who, dissatisfied with the conservatism of a republic in the politics of which Calvin still made head politically against Rousseau, came 'to drink in independence in the freest country in the universe.' He may be regarded as the first-fruits of the political emigration from Europe which assumed large proportions after 1848, and while, on the one hand, it has given to the republic such citizens as Carl Schurz, has, on the other hand, given birth to the anarchism of Chicago. He brought out here, of course, a hatred of strong government and a special desire to crush 'aristocracy,' the grand bugbear of the extreme democrat, with whom social rather than political equality is usually the chief object of desire. In this way Gallatin found that he had as long a day's work before him in the freest country in the universe as he would have had in Geneva; for in Philadelphia there was social inequality, the offspring of wealth which had been made by speculation and was not always in the worthiest hands. Gallatin went out upon the land, but apparently did not fare much better than other Utopians who have taken the same line. His revolutionary principles involved him rather unfortunately in the Whisky insurrection, which, by the way,

gave birth to boycotting, full blown and clearly defined. But he ultimately became sober, and distinguished himself as a not immoderately factious or tricky leader of the democratic party in Congress, a strict financial economist, and an organiser of the Treasury Department. There being no 'Genevan vote' to command the homage of politicians, Gallatin's foreign origin was sometimes cast in his teeth.

It is to be hoped that Lives of Gouverneur Morris and Fisher Ames are to be included in the series. They would be at least as well worth having as Lives of Randolph and Gallatin.

The volumes which we have noticed chiefly relate to the period of the 'Fathers;' we propose hereafter to notice those volumes which comprise the period of the sons.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

A REJOINDER TO MR. MIVART.

I HAVE a very few words to say by way of rejoinder to the reply made by Mr. Mivart to some remarks of mine which appeared in the October number of this Review, upon an article of his published in July. I acknowledge with pleasure the kindly spirit in which he writes of me personally, and I am glad that I have succeeded in expressing my dissent from his views without giving him personal offence. I think, moreover, that he has shown both candour and courage in his articles, and the answers which he gives to the questions which I put to him fully explain his position to me, and leave me nothing more to ask, though they involve a state of mind which seems to me even stranger than the one which originally surprised me.

Omitting a variety of minor matters, on which I should have much to say if controversy were my object, I come at once to the main statements made by him. I will first, in a word, remind my readers of the question between us. In his article in July Mr. Mivart explained at length that in his opinion Biblical criticism had shown great part of the Old Testament to be 'unhistorical and untrustworthy,' and admitted that the ordinary methods of criticism were the proper methods for arriving at the truth in such matters, and were entitled to overrule all ecclesiastical authority and opinion about them.

The effect of my article was to discover whether he applied the same principle to the New Testament history, and, if so, what he thought of such criticisms as those of Renan and Strauss, of which I gave some illustrations? In other words, I wished to know whether he was content to hold or to give up the main articles of the Apostles' Creed relating to Jesus Christ, according to the result of ordinary historical investigations into their truth or falsehood?

His answer I understand to consist of two parts. The New Testament history may be criticised by ordinary means like the Old Testament, and if tried by those tests alone it cannot, in his judgment, be supported; but the truth of the articles of faith which it contains cannot reasonably be disbelieved, because they are asserted to be true by an infallible Church, and are neither contradictory in themselves nor contradicted by evidence which demonstrates their

alsehood. In short, a Catholic who believes the dogmas enunciated in the Apostles' Creed is at liberty to disbelieve the narratives contained in the Gospels—just as a man might believe that Troy was besieged, and yet deny the truth of Homer's 'Iliad.' Mr. Mivart himself, as I understand him, does occupy this position, which, at all events, has the merit of being perfectly clear.

These are the words on which I found this inference: 'The New Testament has, as a matter of course, to undergo the ordeal of the sharpest and most exhaustive criticism; I have, then, not the least objection to add the names of Strauss and Renan to those of the Old Testament critics,' who, according to his previous article, showed by arguments similar to those of Strauss and Renan large parts of the Old Testament to be entirely 'unhistorical and untrustworthy,' though the narratives so characterised 'had God for their Author.' He also says:—

The principle that not everything contained in them (the Gospels) is free from error and historically true is admitted without dispute, and it is a fact that in some respects certain dogmas of the Christian religion would be freer from difficulty had they never been written.¹

What this means may be inferred from the following passage:—

Let us for argument's sake make the very largest admissions as to New Testament criticism and investigations into the history of the Primitive Church . . . let us suppose it to have been unanswerably proved that St. John the Apostle and St. Luke had neither of them anything to do with the Gospels generally attributed to them; that the history of the birth, resurrection, and ascension of Our Lord presents various legendary features, and that the later accounts are fuller and more circumstantial than the earlier ones, resembling in so far the more or less similar legends which have arisen in past ages about other persons 'whose lives have deeply stirred the sympathies of men,' and that the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ has the appearance of having grown in such a way that earlier statements are most difficult to reconcile into Nicene views.

This language implies not, indeed, that all this is established, but that, as a lawyer would say, there is evidence of it, that it is the sort of thing which may be established by historical evidence, and on which such evidence is the proper test. Mr. Mivart, in a word, does admit that the New Testament must be criticised on the same principles as the Old. What, in his opinion, will be the result of such criticism? After many pages of argument upon other parts of the subject, he says²:—

I do not, however, wish it to be understood that I could accept these doctrines as true, except inasmuch as acquiescence in them is a necessary condition for the acceptance of a revelation, the truth of which is evident to me on other grounds. Were I asked to believe in a virgin birth, a real resurrection from the dead, or an ascension into heaven, on only such evidence as that afforded by the written Word, I should find it utterly impossible to do so, and I can quite understand and sympathise with the impatience which many a man of science feels when asked to listen

¹ P. 858.

² P. 865.

to any argument in their favour. Nevertheless, there are some most estimable men of science, and also men as eminent in law and jurisprudence as my critic, who do not feel this, and who are satisfied with such evidence. I have nothing to say as to their view, except that it is not and never (since I was seventeen years of age) was mine. I never did and never could so accept those doctrines, and it seems to me inevitable that they will sooner or later be rejected by the overwhelming majority of those who do receive them only on that evidence, and apart from any actual living authoritative and traditional revelation, the truth of which they have accepted on rational but independent grounds.

It is impossible to speak more plainly than this. The only remark upon it which appears to me to be necessary is that the phrase 'such evidence as is afforded by the written Word' obviously means critical and historical evidence, such arguments as those used by a series of writers on evidence from Grotius' *De Veritate* to Paley. The only other possible meaning of the phrase would be that Mr. Mivart has never been able, since he was seventeen, to take for granted the truth of the 'written Word' without any evidence at all—to regard it as self-evident. He can hardly mean this. I do not suppose any one worth mentioning ever held such a view in modern times.

We have here, then, a plain statement that if the question whether the Gospel history of Jesus Christ is true or not is to be decided by the ordinary canons of history and evidence, it appears to Mr. Mivart incredible, in so far as it is miraculous, for no one will assert that the historical and critical evidence for the miracle of the loaves and the fishes, the raising of Lazarus, or the cure of the man born blind, is stronger than the evidence for the Resurrection. The necessary result is that Mr. Mivart thinks that the New Testament as it stands is unhistorical and untrustworthy, although the doctrines supposed to be recorded in it are shown to be true by other means.

This is emphasised and set in the clearest possible light by the care with which Mr. Mivart distinguishes between believing a dogma and believing in the facts stated about it in the New Testament. The following specimens of these statements are enough for my purpose:—

The dogma of the resurrection must mean something very different from what is ordinarily imagined, for, according to Catholic doctrine, had the body of our Lord been reduced by fire to its ultimate chemical elements, and had these elements entered into the most diverse and complex combinations with other kinds of matter, such a circumstance would not in the least have impeded the resurrection on the third day.

I do not appreciate this: a power able to restore life to a dead body might well be able to reconstitute a body burnt in the fire; but what follows is more important.

We must recollect it is the dogma of the resurrection, not the mental picture formed by our imagination from the Gospel narrative, that Catholics are bound to accept as expressing the truth. Similarly, the article of the Creed which declares

'He ascended into Heaven' does not require the acceptance of any mental picture of the imagination, but the affirmation of the truth of an intellectual conception. Any person who believes that Christ really rose, in whatever true sense, from the dead, and was for a time manifest on earth afterwards, must (since no one denies that manifestation to have now ceased, since 'heaven' is the expression denoting supernal bliss, and since 'upward' is a symbol adopted as less inapplicable than downward) admit His ascension into heaven.

This illustrates perfectly Mr. Mivart's position. The account given of the Ascension in Acts i. 9 is in these words: 'While they' (the Apostles) 'beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight.' A Catholic, it seems, may believe the doctrine of the Ascension, and yet disbelieve that the Apostles left Jerusalem with Jesus Christ, that he was taken up, and that a cloud received him out of their sight. All that he need hold is 'the truth of the intellectual conception.' We need not accept any 'mental picture of the imagination.'

In all common cases the question whether a statement is believed or not is tested by the question whether the hearer does or does not accept the 'mental picture of the imagination' which the words raise. If a man should say, 'I saw A. B. walking at such a place and on such a day,' those who accepted the mental picture which those words raise would believe them, and those who did not would disbelieve them. Mr. Mivart's language, therefore, justifies the belief that in this sense he disbelieves all the words of the New Testament which relate to the doctrines referred to, though he believes the doctrines themselves on the authority of the Church. This naturally raises the question, Why, then, do you believe in the infallibility of the Church?

The precise meaning of the phrase 'infallibility of the Church' is not stated by Mr. Mivart; but no doubt he means that the Pope and the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, or some of them, when they act in some special character and some particular way, have such a power of enunciating religious dogmas that a dogma so enunciated by them can be refuted only upon proof of the contradictory of what is enunciated. Mere intrinsic improbability or, as Mr. Mivart calls it, the 'hardness' of a dogma is not enough to invalidate it, however great the hardness may be. The negative must be established by appropriate and conclusive evidence. It is nothing to show 'that the history of the birth, resurrection, and ascension of Our Lord present various legendary features.' Nothing can justify disbelief in the dogmas as distinguished from the history of the facts except an accumulation of evidence disproving specifically every sense in which any of these 'intellectual conceptions' can be held. Considering Mr. Mivart's distinction between mental pictures of the imagination and the corresponding intellectual conceptions, it is obvious that this rule of evidence practically makes, and is intended to make, disproof of

the doctrines of the Church impossible. I cannot help saying that my legal experience has led me greatly to distrust any one who appeals to artificial rules of evidence. It is said, I know not how truly, that by the Canon Law certain acts of immorality could not be proved except by a number of eye-witnesses proportioned to the rank of the alleged offender—I think four in the case of a bishop and seven in the case of a cardinal; I forget how many if the offender was a pope. Such rules have rather safety than truth for their object, and the practically impossible conditions of disproof under which Mr. Mivart wishes to shelter Church dogmas from refutation is a proof of the degree of protection which he thinks they require. Nor is this at all wonderful, as he admits in terms that the oldest and most venerable of all ecclesiastical documents—namely, the parts of the New Testament which relate to the history of the Resurrection, the Virgin Birth, and the Ascension as distinguished from the dogmas—appear to him impossible to be proved by historical or critical evidence; whence it follows, as I suggest, that he does not believe them—that is, the histories as distinct from the dogmas—to be true.

The particular grounds on which Mr. Mivart founds this opinion about his Church are to some extent illustrated in the article under notice; but, passing them over for the moment, I may remark that he does not realise the difficulty of proving the rule of evidence which he requires in order to reach his desired conclusion. I will try to explain the insuperable difficulties of the task itself, and the extreme insufficiency of the evidence, if it deserves the name, on which he relies. First, as to the difficulty of the task. It must necessarily require stronger evidence to prove that a given authority is competent to enunciate infallibly a 'hard' or improbable doctrine than to prove the improbable doctrine itself, for everything which shows any improbability in the doctrine is an objection to the authority of the person who asserts it to be true, and there are, besides, all the difficulties which are inherent in proving the means of knowledge and the trustworthiness of the particular person who asserts its truth. The weight attached to the evidence of experts may at first sight appear to contradict this principle, but it is in truth the strongest illustration of it. It may be said the most abstruse statements about chemistry, astronomy, and the like may be proved by a single man of science to persons wholly ignorant of that science; therefore it is not necessarily more difficult to prove the competency of the witness than to prove the fact asserted—it is even in some cases less difficult. On examination this will be found to be a fallacy. No doubt, if the principles of the science which the expert professes; the eminence in the science of the expert himself; and his good faith; are admitted or proved, men unacquainted with the details of any science may accept with little doubt conclusions which they could

not reach by their own exertions. I should feel no hesitation in accepting as correct a plan prepared by a competent surveyor, or a statement of the result of a set of voluminous accounts prepared by an accountant, or statements made in the *Nautical Almanac* by, or by the authority of, the Astronomer Royal,—but this is because every person of common education knows enough of surveying, arithmetic, and astronomy to know the methods employed and to be aware that they can be trusted to work out recondite and difficult inquiries. If, however, the principles of a science, or of the methods by which those who profess it proceed, are denied or are obscure, the principles must be proved to be true and the method to be legitimate before the conclusions of an expert are of any value at all. Before an expert on astrology can testify he must first prove that the principles of astrology are true, and then that the method by which his conclusions are reached will lead to legitimate conclusions from them. So of theology: before you can rely on any person or body of persons as authoritative exponents of it, you must first believe that the principles of theology are true and that the method by which the authoritative exponent of them proceeds is correct, and then that both their knowledge and good faith are such as to give their enunciations the weight claimed for them—such weight in this case, that it can be rebutted only by conclusive proof of the contradictory of what is alleged; and upon the proof of each of these matters, the improbability or ‘hardness’ of each and every one, and of all the doctrines enunciated, will be a relevant objection.

Three leading Catholic dogmas—the Resurrection, the Birth from a Virgin, and the Ascension—are admitted by Mr. Mivart to be ‘utterly impossible’ to be believed by him on mere historical and critical grounds. This is an argument to show that the principles of the so-called science of theology are false, or that if they are true its method is false, or that if that is true the expert is not skilful, or that if he is skilful he is not in good faith; and any one of these inferences is fatal to the value of the enunciation of doctrine. Who would believe a chemist or a medical man or a natural philosopher who was obliged to admit that some of his leading doctrines would but for his assertion of their truth be wholly incredible? Every one would say there must be a mistake somewhere. A crane requires a solid foundation, but if it is intended to lift a heavy weight, an additional degree of strength in the foundation must be added for every addition to the maximum weight to be lifted, for when the weight is lifted it must be supported as well as the crane and the tackle.

It is not easy to prove the appearance of ghosts, but it must be far more difficult to prove that any given man knows so much about them that, if he says a ghost appeared, the burden of proving that it did not is thrown on every one who denies it.

There are some particular difficulties about the proof of his rule of evidence which Mr. Mivart lies under, and of which he has taken no notice. He does not specifically define what he means by the infallibility of the Church. He does not say in whom it is vested, or how it is exercised, or how it is limited. It may be supposed, however, that he believes it to be vested in the Pope and the bishops and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, or some of them when acting in some special capacity. Mr. Mivart will not say, of course, that it is a self-evident truth that Leo the Thirteenth is infallible when he acts in a certain capacity and on certain occasions. Such a statement would be as absurd as that any other person is infallible. It cannot conceivably be proved otherwise than by independent historical evidence, conclusive in its nature, that Leo the Thirteenth is the actual holder of powers of the sort claimed, given to some person or persons and their successors by God himself nearly nineteen hundred years ago. I will not be exacting. I will say nothing about the irrelevancy of the text 'Thou art Peter.' I will consent to sweep the New Testament out of existence if Mr. Mivart wishes it, but he must give us a *πῶς* of some kind; surely there must be some sort of historical foundation somewhere. Mr. Mivart surely believes that Jesus Christ founded the Church and gave it infallibility, being a Divine Person able to do so. He must believe this for some reason other than that Leo the Thirteenth and other living men say so, or he begs the question. What then is his reason? Ultimately it must be that history proves it. But where is any historical proof at all? and even if there were any such proof, what could it come to except that Jesus Christ said, or wrote, or did this or that? and even if that should be proved, what would it matter unless it were proved that Jesus Christ knew more about such things than others? and how could that be proved unless you could prove by historical evidence the doctrines of the Apostles' Creed which Mr. Mivart tells us are on such evidence alone to him absolutely incredible? His whole theory is thus nothing more or less than a *petitio principii* disguised. I believe the Church to be infallible because the infallible Church says it is infallible.

What makes the contrast between Mr. Mivart's rule of evidence and his admission of the common principles of science and criticism more startling, is that his rule of evidence requires a specially distinct proof of the infallibility of the Church as defined at the Vatican Council, whereas his scientific principles have led him to impute broadcast the grossest errors to all sorts of ecclesiastical and theological authorities on all sorts of religious questions not actually forming a part of the set of intellectual conceptions which he says are dogmas of the faith.

If this view of the results of Biblical criticism is true, all the works of all the most famous theologians must be discredited; for

whatever may have been the doctrine of the Church, every page of their writings is written on the supposition that, so far from being unhistorical and untrustworthy, the whole of the Old and New Testaments, as interpreted by the Church, is absolutely true. It is impossible to open Aquinas without seeing that the *Summa* is a mixture of philosophy, as Aquinas understood it, with Scripture, interpreted according to certain rules and precedents. The same is true of Bellarmine, but a single instance from Bossuet is so instructive that I will say a word of it. I refer to his celebrated controversy with Père Simon the Oratorian, one of the earliest forerunners of the modern school of criticism. Simon, a man of great learning, wanting 'elbow-room,' like Mr. Mivart, criticised the Bible as he would criticise other books—that is, he read the originals, or what claimed to be such, in Greek and Hebrew, and made out their meaning as well as he could in the ordinary way. He would not accept the interpretations of Augustine and others. Bossuet denounced him almost as a criminal, and declared in every form and repeatedly that to attack the traditional interpretation of the Scriptures was to attack both tradition and Scripture, and led straight to that religious indifference which he regarded as the height and consummation of all impiety. It is impossible to read Bossuet without feeling that he would have regarded Mr. Mivart's view about the criticism of the Scripture, and the results to which it has led, with equal horror and astonishment. It would have stultified all he wrote.

Mr. Mivart tells us himself that councils, doctors, Church tribunals, and ecclesiastical authorities of all sorts have grievously erred in morals and in doctrines not forming part of the actual dogmas of the Church. He says, 'In matters of morals, what could have been more unequivocal than the most authoritative and distinct decrees of popes and councils against usury, yet what ecclesiastic has now a word to say against it?' He gives a long account of the proceedings against Galileo, which he denounces,³ and he sums up a long passage thus: 'Authority can be justified only by reason, and it cannot therefore be justified if it opposes reason'⁴—as it did in the cases of usury and persecution. I mention this in order to show the strange position in which Mr. Mivart has placed himself about his rule of evidence. His fundamental proposition is that the authority, defined at the Vatican Council, is infallible. If this is not proved beyond all doubt by historical evidence, he either falls into a *petitio principii*, or fails to establish his rule of evidence. The evidence must also be adjusted with extraordinary delicacy. It must be exactly what is necessary to prove that the Church is infallible on those articles of faith which cannot be tested by reason, and not enough to show that it is infallible on matters which can be so

³ July 1887, p. 46; July 1885, pp. 38-41.

⁴ July 1885, p. 46.

tested; for on those matters he himself admits it has been shown to be wrong. To prove too much is as fatal to Mr. Mivart's views as to prove too little, for he expressly admits that the Church has repeatedly been proved to be wrong on matters which can be tested by reason, though it has, he says, been providentially restrained from erecting such errors into articles of faith. The evidence must prove clearly that the Church is entitled to belief, in the absence of a negative demonstration, when it asserts the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, but that all the Doctors of the Church, from the early Fathers down to the present day, may have been utterly wrong in their views about Biblical criticism; that tribunals and councils may have been wrong when they denounced usury, wrong when they practised persecution, wrong, in short, whenever they 'opposed reason,' but that they were infallible when they pronounced upon the Monothelite controversy, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the like. In short, that they were always right when they could not be tested, and generally wrong when they could. It is as difficult to my mind to prove this as it would be to prove that a man's memory was so bad that he could never remember a letter accurately unless it had been burnt, in which case it was so good that he must be believed in whatever he said unless the contradictory of it could be proved by the production of the letter itself.

Mr. Mivart is the more bound to be precise upon this because of the language which he holds about the early Church.

Let us allow, for argument's sake, that evidence tends to show the Church of the first century to have differed profoundly in aspect from that of the third, which latter every competent person knows to be essentially the same as the Catholic Church of to-day. Let it also be similarly admitted that there was at first no distinction between bishops and priests. . . . Let us admit that primitive services were sometimes accompanied by the utterances of an irrational jargon claiming to be a gift of tongues, that epileptics were taken to be persons possessed of devils, and that, instead of the modern mass, there was a service consisting in part of a common meal, in partaking of which great abuses and excesses occurred. Would such admissions as these be destructive to Catholic faith or be fatal to the authoritative character of the Church as the exponent of a divine, supernatural revelation? Sir James Stephen of course thinks they would be thus fatal.

I think they certainly are the strongest evidence to show that the present Church and the primitive Church differed widely, both in doctrine and in discipline, and Mr. Mivart does not say how he means to avoid this conclusion, nor does he appear to me to understand the importance of it. To me it seems to cut at the root of the modern claim.

Before leaving this subject, I must observe that, when a matter depends upon the evidence of an expert or experts, the question of good faith is more important than in any other questions of evidence whatever. Engineers, surgeons, chemists, can always

be found to swear to nearly anything. Theologians differ even more. From the days of St. Paul to those of Dr. Döllinger their disputes have filled the world. A decision by a number of theologians that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception or the Infallibility of the Pope is true, is like a decision by Mr. Gladstone as an expert in politics that Home Rule is wise, or by Lord Salisbury that it is unwise. It is merely a passionate expression of personal opinion in the maintenance of which the person who expresses it has an overwhelming personal interest.

I now turn to the foundations on which Mr. Mivart builds his whole theory. He does not expressly tell us what they are, but he gives us a sketch (and it is all that could be expected in so short an essay) of the sort of way in which he believes in the existence of God and in the existence of the Infallible Church.

As to the existence of God, he says, with some impatience at my supposed ignorance of the opinions of Catholics, 'Of *course* the existence of God is a question to be settled by reason.' 'It is most true, as my critic says, that ordinary human reason in the last resort is the supreme judge of all controversies whatever. Sir James Stephen would have learnt this if he had only consulted the first priest he met in the street.'⁵ (I think the priest would have been a good deal surprised at being stopped with such a question, but let this pass.)

Let us see, then, what, according to Mr. Mivart, reason tells him of the existence of God.⁶ Though he asserts that the existence of God is a question to be determined by reason, he gives us no hint as to the reasons by which he is determined in deciding it in the affirmative. He says he 'approaches the examination of what professes to be revealed with a profound absolute conviction that the universe is ruled by a personal God.' Where he gets this belief he does not hint. He seems to connect it in some way with a belief about free will, which many, perhaps most, people do not share. He gives some information, however, as to what his belief about God is. 'Our reason makes God so far known to us as to appreciate His utter incomprehensibility, since it is only God who can know what the word God really means.' 'Existence in God and creatures is indescribably and incomprehensibly different.' The proposition 'God exists' is thus reduced to an assertion that an unmeaning predicate may be attached to an unknown subject, that something unintelligible may be said of something unknown. Further, we are told that all words applied to God are 'utterly inadequate symbols.' 'The term goodness as applied to God is utterly inadequate, but is infinitely more true than badness.' These words convey to my mind no meaning at all. There is other language of this kind, of which I will quote only this: 'Though reason is enough to make

⁵ P. 851.⁶ Pp. 859-60.

Theism manifest, to us the *θεός* is vague, most unpractical, and reached after effectually but by very few without the aid of some more definite religion.'

Such being, according to Mr. Mivart, the God of reason, how can he found any inferences at all upon his existence? Mr. Mivart says: 'Thus it seems to be likely *à priori* that God either has vouchsafed, or when the proper hour arrives will vouchsafe, some revelation of himself to man.' How does this appear? The proper inference from this vague *θεός* appears to me to be silence, if that can be called an inference. Mr. Mivart seems to believe that there is some sort of analogy between God and man, though he does not say why he thinks so. 'If man has a certain amount of benevolence, what may we not expect from the analogous Divine attribute?' I reply, As far as I can see you can expect nothing. That there is such an analogy at all is, as far as appears from Mr. Mivart, an unproved assertion. Granting it for the sake of argument, no inference can be drawn from it. Can any one seriously profess to found upon a consideration of the attributes which he ascribes to God any sort of forecast of the course of human events? Has any one ever succeeded in doing so? Has any reasonable person ever tried to do so? Yet this is what Mr. Mivart tries to do retrospectively when he says that a revelation of the Divine Will is probable *à priori*.

He next goes to the Church. Here at least we are again in the region of facts and history. We have to do with living men and institutions which for nearly two thousand years have held the first place in the history and attention of the world. Mr. Mivart does not say that he relies upon any historical results, upon any book or books, upon anything at all capable of being definitely tested. After making his remarks about God he says, 'Animated by such convictions and anticipations, I survey the world to see what signs there are that any such Divine authoritative revelation has been vouchsafed,' and of course he finds what he wants in the Roman Catholic Church.⁷ I will not go into what he says, beyond making one remark. He first describes those features in the Roman Catholic Church which attract him, and then says that the marks of a true revelation are found in the Roman Catholic Church. He compares the foot with the mark by pressing it down upon it, and then says, See how they fit. In precisely the same spirit Bishop Warburton discovered by *à priori* methods that the ideal of a Christian Church was a National Establishment tolerating Dissent, but protected by a test law. This he regarded as a powerful argument for the Church of England as he knew it.

For these reasons it appears to me that Mr. Mivart's whole system is an elaborately disguised and inconsistent begging of the question. Its special inconsistency lies in the fact, which I originally pointed out, that in reference to certain parts of it he applies a method

⁷ December 1887, pp. 862-3.

which he does not carry through the whole. If you are to criticise the Bible on his principles, you must apply the same principles to the examination of the authority of the Church which you call in to support the doctrines which you maintain. This he does not do, and if he tried to do so he would fail.

Putting aside all details, it is to my mind obvious that between scientific methods and religious belief there is a great gulf fixed. Bossuet, in reference to a closely allied though different matter, said, 'S'il faut mettre au large la raison humaine, et que ce soit là le grand ouvrage de la Réforme, pourquoi ne pas l'affranchir de tous les mystères . . . puisque la raison n'est pas moins choquée de l'un que de l'autre?' The whole of the celebrated work in which this occurs⁸ turns upon a matter very like that of the discussion between Mr. Mivart and myself. How, says Bossuet in all sorts of forms, can you, Jurieu, refuse to submit to the Church, and yet hope to resist the Socinian? If you accept the Bible as interpreted by the Church, you must believe Transubstantiation. If you do not how will you be able to maintain that view of the Bible which asserts the doctrine of the Trinity against Socinians? Just in the same way I ask Mr. Mivart, If you allow ordinary human reason to overrule the Bible, how do you expect to impose upon it the authority of the Church, which its greatest doctors have always held to be the authorised interpreter of the Bible and of the traditions connected with it? It would in my opinion be much better and simpler to say at once, I do not argue, I merely affirm. I do beg the question of religion. I find certain moral and what I call spiritual advantages in it, and I say no more. This kind of faith no one could reasonably attack, either in Mr. Mivart or in any one else, whether a Catholic priest or a Baptist minister. I at all events would never do so.

My only objection to Mr. Mivart's original article was that it appeared, as it still appears, to me to present great temptations to dishonesty, and involves a disguised inconsistency. I do not accuse Mr. Mivart of dishonesty, but I think that he is trying to mix up two inconsistent ways of thinking, and this tempts most men to be dishonest. We cannot serve two masters faithfully.

⁸ *Sixième avertissement aux Protestants*, vol. xxii. Versailles edition of 1816.

JAMES FITZJAMES STEPHEN.

DETHRONING TENNYSON.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE TENNYSON-DARWIN CONTROVERSY.

COMMUNICATED BY ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

THE quarter from whence the following lucubration is addressed cannot fail to give it weight with the judicious reader whose interest has been aroused by the arguments in support of Lord Verulam's pretensions to the authorship of *Hamlet*. I regret that I can offer no further evidence of the writer's credentials to consideration than such as may be supplied by her own ingenious and intelligent process of ratiocinative inference; but in literary culture and in logical precision it will be apparent that her contribution to the controversial literature of the day is worthy of the comparison which she is not afraid to challenge—is worthy to be set beside the most learned and the most luminous exposition of the so-called Baconian theory.

A. C. SWINBURNE.

‘Hanwell: Nov. 29, 1887.’

“The revelations respecting Shakespeare which were made in the columns of *The Daily Telegraph* have attracted great attention and caused no little sensation here.” With these impressive and memorable words the Paris correspondent of the journal above named opens the way for a fresh flood of correspondence on a subject in which no Englishman or Englishwoman now resident in any asylum—so-called—for so-called lunatics or idiots can fail to take a keen and sympathetic interest. The lamented Delia Bacon, however, to whom we are indebted for the apocalyptic rectification of our errors with regard to the authorship of *Hamlet* and *Othello*, might have rejoiced to know—before she went to Heaven in a strait-waistcoat—that her mantle had fallen or was to fall on the shoulders of a younger prophetess. If the authority of Celia Hobbes—whose hand traces these lines, and whose brain has excogitated the theory now in process of exposition—should be considered insufficient, *The Daily Telegraph*, at all events, will scarcely refuse the tribute of attentive consideration to the verdict of Professor Polycarp Conolly, of Bethlemopolis, U. I. S. (United Irish States), South Polynesia. The leisure of over twenty

years passed in a padded cell and in investigation of intellectual problems has sufficed—indeed, it has more than sufficed—to confirm the Professor in his original conviction that “Miss Hobbes” (I am permitted—and privileged—to quote his own striking words) “had made it impossible any longer to boycott the question—and that to assert the contrary of so self-evident a truth was to stand grovelling in the quicksands of a petrified conservatism.”

‘The evidence that the late Mr. Darwin was the real author of the poems attributed to Lord Tennyson needs not the corroboration of any cryptogram: but if it did, Miss Lesbia Hume, of Earlswood, has authorized me to say that she would be prepared to supply any amount of evidence to that effect. The first book which brought Mr. Darwin’s name before the public was his record of a voyage on board the *Beagle*. In a comparatively recent poem, written under the assumed name of Tennyson, he referred to the singular manner in which a sleeping dog of that species “plies his function of the woodland.” In an earlier poem, *The Princess*, the evidence derivable from allusion to proper names—that of the real author and that of the pretender—is no less obvious and no less conclusive than that which depends on the words “hang hog,” “bacon,” “shake,” and “spear.” The Princess asks if the Prince has nothing to occupy his time—“quoit, tennis, ball—no games?” The Prince hears a voice crying to him—“Follow, follow, thou shalt win.” Here we find half the name of Darwin—the latter half—and two-thirds of the name of Tennyson—the first and the second third—at once associated, contrasted, and harmonized for those who can read the simplest of cryptograms.

‘The well-known fact that Bacon’s Essays were written by Lord Coke, the *Novum Organon* by Robert Greene, and the *New Atlantis* by Tom Nash (assisted by his friend Gabriel Harvey), might surely have given pause to the Baconite assailants of Shakespeare. On the other hand, we have to consider the no less well-known fact that the poems issued under the name of William Wordsworth were actually written by the Duke of Wellington, who was naturally anxious to conceal the authorship and to parade the sentiments of a poem in which, with characteristic self-complacency and self-conceit, he had attempted to depict himself under the highly idealized likeness of the Happy Warrior. Nor can we reasonably pretend to overlook or to ignore the mass of evidence that the works hitherto attributed to Sir Walter Scott must really be assigned to a more eminent bearer of the same surname—to Lord Chancellor Eldon: whose brother, Lord Stowell, chose in like manner (and for obvious reasons) to disguise his authorship of *Don Juan* and *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* by hiring a notoriously needy and disreputable young peer to father those productions of his erratic genius. The parallel case now before us’—
[But here, we regret to say, the language of Miss Hobbes becomes—to put it mildly—contumelious. We are compelled to pass over a

paragraph in which the name of Tennyson is handled after the same fashion as is the name of Shakespeare by her transatlantic precursors or associates in the art or the task of a literary detective.]

‘Not all the caution displayed by Mr. Darwin in the practice of a studious self-effacement could suffice to prevent what an Irish lady correspondent of my own, Miss Cynthia Berkeley, now of Colney Hatch, has very aptly described as “the occasional slipping off of the motley mask from hoof and tail.” When we read of “scirrhou roots and tendons,” of “foul-fleshed agaric in the holt,” of “the fruit of the Spindle-tree (*Euonymus Europæus*),” of “sparkles in the stone Avanturine,”

Of shale and hornblende, rag and trap and tuff,
Amygdaloid and trachyte,

we feel, in the expressive words of the same lady, that “the borrowed plumes of peacock poetry have fallen from the inner kernel of the scientific lecturer’s pulpit.” But if any more special evidence of Darwin’s authorship should be required, it will be found in the various references to a creature of whose works and ways the great naturalist has given so copious and so curious an account. “Crown thyself, worm”—could that apostrophe have issued from any other lips than those which expounded to us the place and the importance of worms in the scheme of nature? Or can it be necessary to cite in further proof of this the well-known passage in *Maud* beginning with what we may call the pre-Darwinian line—“A monstrous eft was of old the lord and master of earth”?

‘But the final evidence is to be sought in a poem published long before its author became famous, under his own name, as the exponent of natural selection, of the survival of the fittest, and of the origin of species. The celebrated lines which describe Nature as “so careful of the type, so careless of the single life,” and those which follow and reject that theory, are equally conclusive as to the authorship of these and all other verses in which the same hand has recorded the result of the same experience—“that of fifty seeds she often brings but one to bear.”

‘But—as the Earl of Essex observed in his political comedy, *Love’s Labour’s Lost*—“satis quod sufficit.” The question whether Shakespeare or Bacon was the author of *Hamlet* is now, I trust, not more decisively settled than the question whether *Maud* was written by its nominal author or by the author of *The Origin of Species*.’

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Feeling deeply the truth of these last words, I have accepted the office of laying before the reader the theory maintained by the unfortunate lady who has entrusted me with the charge of her manuscript.—A. C. S.

LEO THE THIRTEENTH AND THE CIVIL POWER.

AN APPEAL TO COMMON SENSE.

PART I.

I. THE interests of Christendom and of modern civilisation, no less than of the Catholic Church, seem to demand that the position of Leo the Thirteenth should be made really independent and free from the control of any particular State or civil power. These are days in which we can allow of no deliberate weakening of the great traditional influences which hold together the structure of the Christian order of the world. Rather is it a time when all Christians should combine to strengthen the hold of Christianity upon modern civilisation and frankly accept for this purpose the proffered co-operation of Leo the Thirteenth. An appeal lies to Christian common sense.

When Napoleon had incorporated Rome with his Empire and had locked up Pius the Seventh within the walls of Savona, he declared, in a memorable conversation with Prince Metternich, that it was his intention to establish the Pontiff in an exalted position of dignity and independence. He then unfolded his plan. He would bring the Pope to Paris; he would give him a palace in the neighbourhood of the capital with a zone of neutral territory; he would transfer from Rome, as in fact he did, the archives of the Holy Office and of Propaganda; he would surround the Pope with the Sacred College of Cardinals; would allow him to send forth and to receive envoys and ambassadors, and would guarantee to him a civil list of six millions of francs. He would treat him with sovereign honours. 'Placed near Paris,' he continued, 'the Pope will find himself more in the centre of the Catholic world—nearer to Vienna, Lisbon, and Madrid—than when he resided in Rome.'

'Think you,' added Napoleon, 'that Pius the Seventh will decline this proposal?' 'I believe that he will,' replied the Prince, 'and that all Europe will applaud him. The Pope will declare that in this new position he will be as much the prisoner of your Majesty as he now is within the walls of Savona.' After a heated discussion,

Metternich reduced the proposal to its true meaning in the following words: 'My master, the Emperor of Austria,' he said, 'seeing that your Majesty is unwilling to restore Rome to the Pope, has determined to offer him the palace of Schönbrunn, enclosed within a neutral territory of ten or fifteen leagues circumference, with a revenue of twelve millions a year. If the Pope is willing to accept the offer, will your Majesty signify your consent?' The Emperor had understood the diplomatist, and abruptly closed the interview.

Napoleon recognised the weight and reach of the Pope's authority throughout Europe. He was accustomed to say that he treated the authority of the Pontiff with the respect due to an army of 100,000 men. He did not desire to destroy it, so much as to subject it to his own ambitious ends. He therefore determined to invest the Pope with the name and insignia of sovereignty, while retaining within his own grasp effective power over the Pontiff's real freedom and independence.

The proposal which Napoleon failed to carry out has been accomplished under a king of Italy. The law of guarantees of 1871 has thrown into legal form the plan sketched out in 1810. Every effort has been made to persuade Christendom that the Pope is sovereign, free and independent, while his position has in reality been reduced to one of absolute subjection to the Italian Government. This condition of things has been brought about by two classes of men—by those who are bent on the destruction of the Papacy and of Christianity itself, and by those who would retain the Papacy, provided it be subject to the Italian State.

One thing, and one thing alone, has hitherto saved the dignity and freedom of the Pontiff, viz. his absolute rejection of the law of guarantees, his refusal to treat with the Government and to be reconciled with it, until his rightful sovereignty and independence have been restored. Had the Pope complied with the proposals of the Italian Government, accepted the law of guarantees, waived his claim to a civil principedom, the whole Christian world would have declared that in a moment of weakness he had yielded to the Italian revolution, and had become a salaried official of the Italian Government. The consequence would have been that the freedom of his pontifical acts and decisions would have become liable at any time to be called in question. Leo the Thirteenth is, by temperament and antecedents, peaceful and conciliatory. His whole soul abhors the state of contention which circumstances have forced upon him. He knows that an attitude of opposition and of continual protest alone secures to him even the semblance of freedom and independence. He knows that the character and inflexibility of the Pontiff is the one barrier standing between the revolution and the liberty of the Church. He is forced, therefore, to silence the yearnings of his nature, and to declare that there can be no truce, no conciliation, so long 'as the

head of Christendom is stripped of the only solid guarantee of his independence.

It is strange that men can be found having a sense of self-respect, or of ambition for their own good name, who should counsel the Pope to reconcile himself to the spoliation of his see, and to descend to a state of dependence. It were to invite him to write his name on a lower level than that of any of his predecessors, to hand his name down to posterity as having failed in a great trust, as the first in a long line of Popes since the time of Constantine, who had signed away the only acknowledged and repeatedly declared guarantee for the spiritual liberty of his sacred office.

It is perceived now, but it will be seen far more distinctly when the figure of Leo the Thirteenth shall stand on the horizon of history, that he is contending not only for the principle on which the stability of thrones must rest, but for the Christian order of the world. It will be seen that the head and teacher of Christendom, by refusing to surrender his sovereign independence to the forces of atheism and revolution, has maintained in reality the independence and sovereignty of Christianity itself.

Let it be well understood that the Catholic Church demands the temporal power, or civil principedom, of the Holy See, not for its own sake, not as an object of human pride, not for purposes of ambition or conquest, but as a guarantee, the only possible guarantee in the present state of the world, for the independence of the spiritual head of Christendom.

The absolute incompatibility of the free exercise of supreme spiritual dominion with a condition of civil dependence has been recognised in all ages of the world, even among pagan and half barbarous peoples. The Pontifex Maximus of Rome was supreme, for he was one with Cæsar, who thus ruled mankind in a dual capacity. Remote Japan co-ordinates the authority of the spiritual with that of the temporal emperor, and the ruler of China is its high priest as well. But why refer to distant times and places when we find in England herself that the spiritual headship of the national religion is not vested in the person of a subject, but in the temporal sovereign, so that the temporal and spiritual powers are, at least in theory, co-ordinate?

If, then, supreme spiritual headship, even in particular nations, has required for its due exercise a position of independence, how much more necessary must a position of sovereign independence be to the spiritual headship of a religion which is universal?

The teaching of the Church on this head may be summed up in the words of Bossuet :—

God, who wished that His Church, the common mother of all nations, should not depend in all temporal matters on any one nation, and who desired that the Chair, in which all the faithful were to preserve their unity, should be placed above the intrigues which the rivalries and interests of particular States might give rise

to, laid the foundation of this, His great design, by means of Pepin and Charlemagne. By a happy effect of their liberality it was brought about that the Church, independent in her head of any temporal power, found herself in a position to exercise more freely, in the common interests and under the common guardianship of all Christian kings, her celestial office of ruling souls; and that holding the balance equally in her hands, amid so many empires, often at war among themselves, she has been able to preserve the unity of the whole Christian body, sometimes by irrevocable decrees, sometimes by sagacious counsels.

And again :—

We know that these possessions of the Holy See, being dedicated to God, are sacred, and that no other can usurp them without being guilty of sacrilege. The Apostolic See possesses the sovereignty of the city of Rome and of its States, in order to be able to exercise its spiritual power throughout the entire world with greater freedom and security for peace. We rejoice therein, not only with the Holy See, but with the whole Catholic world, and desire with our most earnest wishes that this sacred principality should remain for ever intact and safe from all harm.

To the words of Bossuet may be added the testimony of politicians, statesmen, and historians, without regard to creed.

In a famous pamphlet, written under the inspiration of the third Napoleon, the question was asked, 'Is the temporal power of the Pope necessary to the exercise of his spiritual power?' And it was answered as follows :—

Catholic doctrine and reasons of policy agree in recognising it as being so. From the religious point of view it is necessary that the Pope should be a sovereign. From the political point of view, the head of 200 millions of Catholics must be independent, that is to say, must not be subject to any Power, and the august hand that governs souls must be lifted, free from any shackle, over all human passions.

If the Pope were not an independent sovereign, he would be French, Austrian, Spanish, or Italian, and the attribute of such nationality would deprive his pontificate of its universal character. The Holy See would be nothing but the prop of a throne, whether at Paris, Vienna, or Madrid.

Rome is the centre of a moral power extending throughout the universe; and therefore it is for the interests of all peoples and governments that it should not lean to one side or to the other, and should remain immovable on the sacred Rock, which no force can ever overthrow. Rome, then, belongs to the head of the Church.

The Protestant historian and statesman, Guizot, speaks as follows :—

No, never in former times was it so necessary as now that there should be in Europe an authority accepted and listened to as right personified, without the need of having recourse to force; an authority before which the mind bows without abasement of the heart, and which speaks loudly with the authority, not of violence, but of duty.

Sismondi writes :—

The head of religion, if he be not a sovereign, necessarily becomes a subject. True, the administration of a State ill becomes a priest, but servitude becomes him still less. As a monarch, the Pontiff will at least be independent of kings, and, while setting himself frankly to condemn their misdeeds, will become conscious of his own.

The Pope (says another Protestant writer of authority) throughout the world must be able to reply to those who give commands to others; consequently, none must give commands to him. Religion alone does not suffice to impose its will on so many sovereigns; and God, with great reason, has decreed that the common father of the faithful should preserve his independence, together with the respect which is due to him.

English Protestant statesmen and Liberals a few years ago spoke with no less clearness and decision.

In a memorable debate on foreign policy Lord Brougham said:—

And here let me say a word which may not be popular in some quarters, upon the separation of the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope. My opinion is, that it will not do to say the Pope is all very well as a spiritual prince, but we ought not to restore his temporal power. That is a short-sighted, and, I think, a somewhat superficial view of the case. I do not believe it possible that the Pope could exercise beneficially his spiritual functions if he had no temporal power. . . . His temporal force increased his spiritual authority, because it made him more independent. Stripped of that secular dominion he would become the slave now of one Power, then of another. His *temporal power is a European question*, not a local or a religious one, and the Pope's authority should be maintained for the sake of the peace and the interests of Europe. We ourselves have 7,000,000 of Roman Catholic subjects, and how is it possible to suppose that, unless the Pope has enough temporal authority to keep him independent of the other European courts, jealousies and intrigues will not arise which must reduce him to a state of dependency, and so enable any one country wielding the enormous influence of his spiritual authority to foster intrigues, factions, and rebellion in the dominion of her rivals?

Lord Lansdowne answered as follows:—

He had no hesitation in stating that he quite agreed in the views of his noble and learned friend; but he assured him they were *by no means peculiar*, inasmuch as they were precisely those laid down in Lord Palmerston's despatch to Lord Normanby, when he distinctly stated that the sovereignty of the Pope was something quite peculiar, and having a relation with all the Catholic States of the world quite different from that of any other authority. The condition of the Pope's sovereignty was quite peculiar. As a temporal sovereign the Pope was of a fourth or fifth-rate order; as a spiritual sovereign he was not only of the first honour, but enjoyed a sovereignty unparalleled in the world, being capable of exercising over, not one, but every country in Europe an authority and an influence with which nothing could compare. There was, therefore, in respect of other States, a ground for interfering and maintaining his authority which did not exist in any other case. He was not prepared to say that we, as a Protestant State, had not to a certain extent a similar interest; there was not a country with Catholic subjects and Catholic possessions which had not a deep interest in the Pope being so placed as to be able to exercise his authority unfettered and unshackled by any temporal influence which might affect his spiritual authority.¹

Statesmen, whose horizon is not bounded by personal or local interests, always take large and many-sided views of the political situation of Europe. They foresee that grave complications might easily arise out of the subjection of the Papacy to the tutelage of any single Power. Suppose, for instance, that the Pope became the

¹ *Hansard*, vol. cvii.

willing subject of the King of Italy, and that the papacy were incorporated in the national government as a regular State department. And, then, suppose that a disagreement and a war broke out between Italy and France, between Italy and Austria, or between Russia in alliance with Italy and England. The Italian Government would naturally count upon the full and hearty co-operation of every department in the state. Having incorporated the papacy into its national system, it would at once attempt to avail itself of all the resources of the Papacy. It would look to the Papacy to stir up a feeling against France in the Mediterranean, in the Levant, and in China. Or, if Italy were making common cause with Russia against England, the Papacy, as a department of the Italian State, exercising powerful religious influences in Constantinople, Egypt, India, and the East generally, would be requested to invite her great army of missionaries to co-operate with the policy pursued by Italy in conjunction with Russia against England. In fact, to subject the papacy to the kingdom of Italy would be to throw into the hands of Italy a world-wide spiritual power, which might render her influence and strength unique and supreme among the nations of Europe. Italy would thus be made not only a first-class Power, but a Power that had acquired, through means of the Pope, the art of appealing for support to the religious feeling of Christendom. Napoleon foresaw all this, and sagaciously determined that the Papacy should be subject to no temporal power but his own.

When, therefore, statesmen urge the importance of maintaining the temporal power of the Pope, they are impelled, not by theological but, by far-reaching political and European considerations. They also distinctly acknowledge that not only the political equilibrium of Europe, but another subject—more deeply rooted in the affections and traditions of the people—is bound up with the independence of the Pope, namely, the Christian character of modern civilisation. They have not hesitated to couple together both these interests as reasons for supporting the temporal power of the Holy See.

II. It is impossible to believe that English statesmen are less liberal in their views now than in the days of Lord Palmerston. And as to the liberality of the people, the influence of education and of the Press has wrought a marvellous change. It has taught men to distinguish at once between the purely controversial side of a question, and that which is political, religious, and moral. At heart the English people are Christian, and desire that a Christian policy, a Christian spirit, shall animate the public and domestic life of Christendom; nor will they allow certain outstanding theological differences to paralyse or destroy the defence of the common Christianity of Europe. The English people perceive clearly enough that an extraordinary change is coming over the world. Democracy is

spreading and rising to power and government. Rocks, hidden and visible, are ahead; and hopes and fears balance each other in men's hearts. Mutual co-operation and good-will among Christians, and most skilful piloting are recognised as absolutely necessary if Christian society is to escape shipwreck.

But what, it may be asked, is the democracy? It is a composite order, made up of all shades of men, good and bad. The opposing forces locked up within its bosom are broadly these: Christianity and Atheism. The issue to be tried is, which of the two shall rule society and the world. Under these circumstances it is surely the obvious prudence and wisdom of Christians to combine to the utmost and to use every available resource for the preservation of all that they hold dearest.

The beneficial influence upon society of the acts of Leo the Thirteenth, ever since he came to the throne, is admitted by Christians of every denomination. It is impossible to enumerate those acts, but a brief summary may not be out of place. In his apostolic letters, widely circulated throughout the civilised world, he has again and again taught and insisted on the principles of eternal truth and justice on which Christian society has been founded and built up. He has propounded, on the one hand, the moral obligations of rulers and governments, warning them against those faults and tendencies which lead on to the misery of the governed. He has, on the other hand, urged upon the people the necessity and obligation of the virtue of obedience, for God's sake, to law and authority, the reasonableness of allegiance and the sinfulness of rebellion.

Leo the Thirteenth treats, as they arise, the questions that shake society to its foundation. Nine years ago he raised his voice in defence of property.

The Socialists, he said, denounce the right of property as a human invention, repugnant to the natural equality of men; they claim a community of goods, and preach that poverty is not to be endured with patience, and that the possessions and rights of the rich can be lawfully disregarded. But the Church more wisely recognises an inequality among men, of different degrees in strength of body and of mind, also in the possession of goods, and ordains that the right of proprietorship and of dominion, which comes from nature itself, is to remain intact and inviolable in each one, for she knows that God, the author and asserter of all right, has forbidden theft and rapine in such a manner that it is not allowed even to covet another's goods; and that thieves and robbers as well as adulterers and idolaters are excluded from the kingdom of heaven. But the Church, like a good mother, does not neglect the care of the poor and the relief of their wants, &c.

On the contrary, the condition of the working classes and of the poor has occupied and continues to occupy his most careful attention.

The Holy Father's wise and noble instructions on the Christian constitution of States,¹ on the place and sanctity of marriage, on the

¹ See *A Manual of Catholic Politics*. Burns & Oates.

importance of the study of history, of science, of philosophy, on the relations between Christianity and civilisation, between the rich and the poor, between pastors and people, prove to demonstration what kind of ally the nations may count upon when they enter into official relations with Leo the Thirteenth.

We have desired (says the Holy Father in one of his published letters) to make our voice heard by those who rule the destinies of nations, earnestly calling on them not to refuse, in these times when so much is needed, the most solid aid that the Church holds out to them; and urged on by Apostolic charity, we have also turned to those who are not united to us by the bond of the Catholic religion, anxious that their subjects may enjoy the salutary influence of that divine institution. As you will readily see, our design is to carry the beneficial action of the Church and the papacy into the heart of the society of the present day.

It is but fair to add that the co-operation proffered by Leo the Thirteenth in noble and simple terms has been as nobly accepted by the countries of Europe. Thanks of gratitude for his having used the whole weight of his authority and influence against the errors and dangers which beset society have again and again been sent to him by Sovereigns and leading statesmen throughout Europe. His encyclical on secret societies is said to have been read in the churches throughout Russia, by order of the Czar. His active intervention has often been sought in behalf of peace and of social order, but never more strikingly than when the Protestant Emperor of a great country asked to submit himself to papal arbitration in the matter of a dispute between himself and a Catholic Sovereign.

All this tends to show that the Christian element in the governments of the world, no matter what their form, recognises the importance of a close alliance with the spiritual head of Christendom. While, on the other hand, the fury and hatred of the revolutionary and anti-Christian sects and their determination to destroy the Papacy are a standing witness to, and a strong argument for, the value of the Pope's influence in preserving and strengthening the Christian order of society.

But to return to the rising figure of the democracy.

Leo the Thirteenth is not opposed to the democracy. On the contrary, he is a friend to the people. The spirit of his policy is drawn from those pregnant words of his Divine Master, 'I have compassion on the multitude.' Neither is the Pope afraid of the people. Let the Pontiff's place be free and independent, and he will speak plain truths, wherever needed, whether to kings and governors, or to the masses of the people. He has been accustomed in every age to argue, to beseech, and to rebuke, *in omni patientia et doctrina*.

Nor have democratic institutions cause to fear or suspect the Pope, so long as they are truly Christian. They will recognise in the Papacy and the Church a popular stamp characteristic of all elective societies—a welcome to all men and a path wide open to the highest positions of trust and authority. They will see more and more that

they have no truer or more sincere friend than he who addresses their reason and conscience with Apostolic freedom, and leaves the result to God.

None can be more conscious than the educated and the thoughtful of the dangers to which democracy is exposed. Its power may become overwhelming, and on occasion more tyrannical than that of kings, because there is no reserve of force to resist it. It may pride itself on its high moral sense, but the correlative sense of responsibility and the dread of punishment cannot be brought home to the multitude as it can to the few. The greater the power of democracy, the greater its need of a sense of responsibility, the greater its need of religion. It will be safe and prosperous in proportion as it is Christian.

From this the conclusion naturally follows that it is the manifest interest of the democracy to preserve in honour and independence the religious head of the 225,000,000 who form the larger part of the modern democracy. Every Christian will admit that an enormous accession of strength is won to the side of social order, peace, and prosperity by the presence in the world of a spiritual Power recognised by half of the population of Europe—a Power existing simply for the maintenance of the Christian law, whose voice is heard throughout every land, and who alone is admitted, even by non-Catholics, to have a primacy, at least of honour, over Christendom.

The public and political recognition of such a Power becomes all the easier when the whole Catholic portion of the democracy already accepts and obeys it, while the non-Catholic portion understands that its influence is purely moral and spiritual—that it enforces its teaching by no military displays or threats of war; but is content to appeal to faith, reason, and the moral sense, relying entirely on God and on the freewill of the people for the acceptance of its teaching and its counsels.

As a matter of fact, the civil Powers of the world are for the most part in direct relations with the Holy See. All the great States of the Continent accredit ambassadors or ministers to the Vatican. Fifteen different Governments treat diplomatically with the Pope, and even distant China and Japan desire to establish relations with him. Not only Catholic, therefore, but Protestant, non-Christian and pagan countries believe it to be their interest to recognise and treat with a spiritual Power which is one of the *de facto* phenomena of the world. It is their interest in many ways. Take a single instance. According to canon law, Catholic bishops, whatever their rank or influence, are obliged to refer all *causæ majores* to the Holy See. These comprise ecclesiastical matters of more than ordinary importance or difficulty. Some are important *intrinsically*, such as matters touching on faith, moral conduct, and discipline; others *extrinsically*, such as difficulties and questions arising between

the Church or bishops and the civil power. In all these matters bishops are bound to conform their teaching and conduct to the decisions of the Holy See. It stands therefore to reason, especially in questions concerning the civil power, which must be always more or less in contact with the Church, that it is the interest of the State to be in direct diplomatic relations with the Vatican, in order that the Pope, before deciding, may be fully informed of the merits of both sides.

Only men possessed by a spirit of absolutism or of extreme partisanship could desire the Holy See to decide upon their own *ex-parte* evidence. The practice and tradition of the head of the Church, from the time of Constantine until now, has been to enter into relation with the civil power. And thus the Holy See, removed from scenes of passionate contention, dwelling in its own peace and independence, has ever studied to adjust differences as they arise, and to pronounce wise judgments for the guidance of all parts of the Church. The civil power and the Christian order of the world have thus been constantly reconciled and strengthened.

This broad and statesmanlike view of the importance of relations between the Pope and the civil power—prescinding altogether from any acquiescence in certain theological tenets—is finding a wider acceptance among the people of England. Nor is this surprising. A wonderful change has been creeping over the public mind during the last thirty years. Religious bodies, having no direct connection with the State, are now frankly recognised; their heads and representatives deal directly, when need occurs, with every Government; they are placed on royal commissions and on public committees. The goodwill and moral support of all denominations is conciliated by fair and friendly relations with their respective leaders. Indeed, it would seem as though the tendency of democracy were to meet any great moral power upon free and friendly terms, and openly to count upon it as among the means of testing and forming public opinion, and of maintaining order and strengthening civil allegiance.

The public is beginning to realise vividly that the security and permanence of our gigantic empire depend more on moral influences than on the force of arms. This belief is of itself a weighty argument in favour of friendly relations with a spiritual head and teacher whose willing disciples are scattered by millions over the face of the British Empire. Everywhere the conscience of the bishops is informed and directed by his supreme interpretation of the Christian law; and through the bishops, the clergy and the people are everywhere influenced, instructed and guided. The frontiers of no empire are so long drawn out or so exposed to attack as our own. But the Pope's jurisdiction everywhere overlaps them. The presence of his religious authority is, therefore, both within and without. It is then surely wise and expedient to accept his offer of friendly relations.

Some argue that Leo the Thirteenth's good-will may be counted upon, because he is what he is. But we answer, that the beneficial exercise of friendliness must depend on the frank interchange of information and on mutual good understanding. This may be made clear by an illustration.

Only the other day a concordat was concluded between the Holy See and Portugal, in which the presentation to archiepiscopal and episcopal sees in British India was ceded to the Portuguese crown. It is quite imaginable that such a cession might under given circumstances gravely prejudice British interests in India. Had diplomatic relations existed between England and the Vatican, it is more than probable that such a concordat would never have been signed. We are always exposed to such events, on a larger or smaller scale, where there are no official relations. And though to-day they may carry no grave results, there is no saying when and where, in the rivalry of States and the thirst for conquest, the influence of the Holy See might not be manipulated to our disadvantage, because we had, through some puerile fear or insular bigotry, stood aloof from diplomatic relations which no one else is afraid of.

Lord John Russell established formal relations with Pius the Ninth; Mr. Gladstone's Government felt the need of renewing them. The present Government is understood to recognise their importance. Both parties therefore in the State are practically agreed. Diplomatic relations, which simply mean openly acknowledged relations, are better than relations which are secret. Relations which are forbidden and yet resorted to, denied and yet accorded, are of all forms of friendly relations the very worst. They are open to perpetual suspicion.

It would not be respectful to ignore all objections. Limited space must be my apology for brevity. Argument would be wasted on those whose opposition to diplomatic relations with the Pope is grounded on their opinion that Christianity is an effete superstition, to be eliminated as speedily as possible from public life. They are logically consistent in holding that the Pope and Christianity stand or fall together. *Philosophes* they may be, but not practical politicians, whose business is to recognise and deal with the actual moral forces that govern mankind. A few Catholics are unfavourably disposed to diplomatic relations, because the Church within the British Empire is not dependent for its material maintenance upon the Civil Power as in France and Germany. They seem to think the safeguarding of ecclesiastical property the chief reason for diplomatic relations. The Holy See has a higher mission and motive than this for entering into direct relations with governments: namely, the promotion of harmony and co-operation between the civil and spiritual powers, based on the observance of the Christian law and the interests of Christian society. The rendering to Cæsar the

things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's, implies a double obligation and mutual relations on the respective representatives of Cæsar and of God. These are entered upon with the greatest advantage to both parties, when friendly, though independent relations are established diplomatically. They involve no surrender of rights, not even a concordat. Of course it is always for the Supreme Head, not for its subordinates, be they bishops or archbishops, to determine the policy and conduct of the Church in matters of graver moment, and therefore *in causis majoribus* a direct and straightforward communication between the civil power and the Holy See is always a legitimate and normal proceeding. But the opposition of Orangemen and of certain extreme sectarians who are haunted by vague fears of Rome, picturing to themselves a nuncio in London undermining the national religion and working out a policy of aggression, ought to be disarmed when they are assured that there need be no papal nuncio or envoy in London, and that satisfactory relations may be established on the basis of those existing between Berlin and the Pope: namely, that a representative of the Crown be accredited to the Vatican, and nothing more.

But whatever counsels may eventually prevail, the Christian people of England ought to face the fact that war against the Holy See in Italy is carried on, no longer in opposition to one or other particular doctrine, but in deep and bitter hatred of the Christian religion. The aim is to overthrow the whole fabric of Christianity, to renew the face of society, and to establish the worship of humanity. To accomplish this policy its leaders and apostles have declared that the Papacy must be destroyed as the keystone of the arch—that if they begin gradually with the temporal independence, it is in order to proceed the more surely to the destruction of the spiritual power of Christianity.

The proof of this assertion, the statement of the intolerable position of the Pope under the law of guarantees, and the suggestion of a solution which may secure the real independence of the Pontiff, without injury to the Italian Kingdom, must be left to the second part of this article.

✠ HERBERT, Bishop of Salford.

A GREAT CONFESSION.

AMONG the many distinguished men who have contributed to the world's plebiscite in favour of the Darwinian hypothesis on the origin of species, there is no one name more distinguished than that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. He has pursued the idea of development with wonderful ingenuity through not a few of its thousand ramifications. He has carried it into philosophy and metaphysics. He has clothed it in numerous and subtle forms of speech, appealing to various faculties, and offering to each its appropriate objects of recognition. He is the author of that other phrase, 'the survival of the fittest,' which has almost superseded Darwin's own original phrase of 'natural selection.' Nothing could be happier than this invention for the purpose of giving vogue to whatever it might be supposed to mean. There is a roundness, neatness, and compactness about it, which imparts to it all the qualities of a projectile with immense penetrating power. It is a signal illustration of itself. It is the fittest of all phrases to survive. There is a sense of self-evident truth about it which fills us with satisfaction. It may perhaps be suspected sometimes of being a perfect specimen of the knowledge that puffeth up, because there is a suggestion about it—not easily dismissed—that it is tautological. The survival of the fittest may be translated into the survival of that which does actually survive. But the special power of it lies in this, that it sounds as if it expressed a true physical cause. It gets rid of that detestable reference to the analogies of mind which are inseparably associated with the phrase of natural selection. It is the great object of all true science—as some think—to eliminate these, and if possible to abolish them. Survival of the fittest seems to tell us not only of that which is, but of that which must be. It breathes the very air of necessity and of demonstration. Among the influences which have tended to popularise the Darwinian hypothesis, and to give it the imposing air of a complete and satisfactory explanation of all phenomena, it may well be doubted whether anything has been more powerful than the universal currency of this simple formula of expression.

Such is the authority who has lately contributed to this Review

two papers upon 'The Factors in Organic Evolution.' The very title is significant. The survival of the fittest is a cause which after all does not stand alone. It is not so complete as it has been assumed to be. There are in organic evolution more elements than one. There is concerned in it not one cause but a plurality of causes. A 'factor' is specially a doer. It is that which works and does. It is a word appropriated to the conception of an immediate, an efficient cause. And of these causes there are more than one. Neither natural selection nor survival of the fittest is of itself a sufficient explanation. They must be supplemented. There are other factors which must be admitted and confessed.

This is the first and most notable feature of Mr. Spencer's articles. But there is another closely connected with it, and that is the emphatic testimony he bears to the fact that the existing popular conception is unconscious of any defect or failing in the all-sufficiency of the Darwinian hypothesis. He speaks of the process brought into clear view by Mr. Darwin, and of those with whom he is about to argue, as men 'who conclude that taken alone it accounts for organic evolution.'¹ In order to make his own coming contention clearer, he devises new forms of expression for defining accurately the hypothesis of Darwin. He calls it 'the natural selection of favourable variations.' Again and again he emphasises the fact that these variations, according to the theory, were 'spontaneous,' and that their utility was only 'fortunate,' or, in other words, accidental. He speaks of them as 'fortuitously arising;'² and it is of this theory, so defined and rendered precise, that he admits that it is now commonly supposed to have been 'the sole factor' in the origin of species.

It is surely worth considering for a moment the wonderful state of mind which this declaration discloses. When Mr. Herbert Spencer here speaks of the 'popular' belief, he is not speaking of the mob. He is not referring to any mere superstition of the illiterate multitude. He is speaking of all ranks in the world of science. He is speaking of some overwhelming majority of those who are investigators of Nature in some one or other of her departments, and who are supposed generally, to recognise as a cardinal principle in science, that the reign of law is universal there—that nothing is fortuitous—that nothing is the result of accident. Yet Mr. Herbert Spencer represents this great mass and variety of men as believing in the preservation of accidental variations as 'the sole factor,' and as the one adequate explanation in all the wonders of organic life.

Nor can there be any better proof of the strength of his impression upon this subject than to observe his own tone when he ventures to dissent. He speaks, if not literally with bated breath,

¹ P. 570.

P. 575.

yet at least with a deferential reverence for the popular dogma, which is really a curious phenomenon in the history of thought. 'We may fitly ask,' he says, whether it 'accounts for' organic evolution. 'On critically examining the evidence,' he proceeds, 'we shall find reason to think that it by no means explains all that has to be explained.' And then follows an allusion of curious significance. 'Omitting,' says Mr. Spencer, 'for the present any consideration of a factor which may be distinguished as primordial—'³ Here we have the mind of this distinguished philosopher confessing to itself—as it were in a whisper and aside—that Darwin's ultimate conception of some primordial 'breathing of the breath of life' is a conception which can only be omitted 'for the present.' Meanwhile he goes on with a special, and it must be confessed a most modest, suggestion of one other 'factor' in addition to natural selection, which he thinks will remove many difficulties that remain unsolved when natural selection is taken by itself. But whilst great interest attaches to the fact that Mr. Herbert Spencer does not hold natural selection to be the sole factor in organic evolution, it is more than doubtful whether any value attaches to the new factor with which he desires to supplement it. It seems unaccountable indeed that Mr. Herbert Spencer should make so great a fuss about so small a matter as the effect of use and disuse of particular organs as a separate and a newly recognised factor in the development of varieties. That persistent disuse of any organ will occasion atrophy of the parts concerned, is surely one of the best established of physiological facts. That organs thus enfeebled are transmitted by inheritance to offspring in a like condition of functional and structural decline, is a correlated physiological doctrine not generally disputed. The converse case—of increased strength and development arising out of the habitual and healthy use of special organs, and of the transmission of these to offspring—is a case illustrated by many examples in the breeding of domestic animals. I do not know to what else we can attribute the long slender legs and bodies of greyhounds so manifestly adapted to speed of foot, or the delicate powers of smell in pointers and setters, or a dozen cases of modified structure effected by artificial selection.

But the most remarkable feature in the elaborate argument of Mr. Spencer on this subject is its complete irrelevancy. Natural selection is an elastic formula under which this new 'factor' may be easily comprehended. In truth the whole argument raised in favour of structural modification arising out of functional use and disuse, is an argument which implies that Mr. Spencer has not himself entirely shaken off that interpretation of natural selection which he is disputing. He treats it as if it were the definite expression of some true physical and efficient cause, to which he only

³ P. 570.

claims to add some subsidiary help from another physical cause which is wholly separate. But if natural selection is a mere phrase, vague enough and wide enough to cover any number of the physical causes concerned in ordinary generation, then the whole of Mr. Spencer's laborious argument in favour of his 'other factor' becomes an argument worse than superfluous. It is wholly fallacious in assuming that this 'factor' and 'natural selection' are at all exclusive of, or even separate from, each other. The factor thus assumed to be new is simply one of the subordinate cases of heredity. But heredity is the central idea of natural selection. Therefore natural selection includes and covers all the causes which can possibly operate through inheritance. There is thus no difficulty whatever in referring it to the same one factor whose solitary dominion Mr. Spencer has plucked up courage to dispute. He will never succeed in shaking its dictatorship by such a small rebellion. His little contention is like some bit of Bumbledom setting up for Home Rule—some parochial vestry claiming independence of a universal empire. It pretends to set up for itself in some fragment of an idea. But here is not even a fragment to boast of or to stand up for. His new factor in organic evolution has neither independence nor novelty. Mr. Spencer is able to quote himself as having mentioned it in his *Principles of Biology* published some twenty years ago; and by a careful ransacking of Darwin he shows that the idea was familiar to and admitted by him at least in his last edition of the *Origin of Species*. Mr. Spencer insists that this fact is evidence of a 'reaction' in Darwin's mind against the sole factorship of natural selection. Darwin was a man so much wiser than all his followers, and there are in his book so many indications of his sense of our great ignorance, that most probably he did grow in the consciousness of the necessary incompleteness and shortcomings of his own explanations. But there was nothing whatever to startle him in the idea of heredity propagating structural change, through functional use and disuse. This idea was not incongruous with his own more general conception. On the contrary, it was strictly congruous and harmoniously subordinate. He did not profess to account for all the varieties which emerge in organic forms. Provisionally, and merely for the convenience of leaving that subject open, he spoke of them as fortuitous. But to assume the really fortuitous or accidental character of variation to be an essential part of this theory, is merely one of the many follies and fanaticisms of his followers.

Although, therefore, the particular case chosen by Mr. Herbert Spencer to illustrate the incompetency of natural selection, taken alone, to explain all the facts of organic evolution, is a case of little or no value for the purpose, yet the attitude of mind into which he is thrown in the conduct of his argument leads him to results which

are eminently instructive. The impulse 'critically to examine' such a phrase as 'natural selection' is in itself an impulse quite certain to be fruitful. The very origin of that impulse gives it of necessity right direction. Antagonism to a prevalent dogma so unreasoning as to set up such a mere phrase as the embodiment of a complete philosophy, is an antagonism thoroughly wholesome. Once implanted in Mr. Herbert Spencer's mind, it is curious to observe how admirably it illustrates the idea of development. Having first sought some shelter of authority under words of the great prophet himself, he becomes more and more aggressive against the pretenders to his authority. His grumbles against them become loud and louder as he proceeds. He speaks of 'those who have committed themselves to the current exclusive interpretation.'⁴ He observes upon 'inattention and reluctant attention' as leading to the ignoring of facts. He speaks of 'alienation from a belief' as 'causing naturalists to slight the evidence which supports that belief, and refuse to occupy themselves in seeking further evidence.' He compares their blindness now respecting the insufficiency of natural selection with the blindness of naturalists to the facts of evolution before Darwin's book appeared. He marshals and reiterates the obvious considerations which prove that the development of animal forms must necessarily depend on an immense number and variety of adjusted changes in many different organs, all co-operating with each other, and all nicely adjusted to the improved functional actions in which they must all partake. He reduces the practical impossibility of such changes occurring as the result of accident to a numerical computation. He tells his opponents that the chances against any adequate readjustments fortuitously arising 'must be infinity to one.'⁵ But more than this: he not only repels the Darwinian factor as adequate by itself, but, advancing in his conclusions, he declares that it must be eliminated altogether. On further consideration he tells us that in his opinion it can have neither part nor lot in this matter. He insists that the correlated changes are so numerous and so remote that the greater part of them cannot be ascribed (even) in any degree to the mere selection of favourable variations.⁶ Then facing the opponents whose mingled credulities and incredulities he has so offended, he rebukes their fanaticisms according to a well-known formula: 'Nowadays,' he says, 'most naturalists are more Darwinian than Mr. Darwin himself.'⁷ This is most true; and Mr. Herbert Spencer need not be the least surprised. All this happens according to a law. When a great man dies, leaving behind him some new idea—new either in itself or in the use he makes of it—it is almost invariably seized upon and ridden to the death by the shouting multitudes who think they follow him. Mr. Herbert Spencer here directs upon their confusions the searching light of his

⁴ P. 581.⁵ P. 571.⁶ P. 574.⁷ P. 584.

analysis. He most truly distinguishes Darwin's hypothesis in itself, first from the theory of 'organic evolution in general,' and secondly from 'the theory of evolution at large.' This analysis roughly corresponds with the distinctions I have pointed out in the preceding paper; and when he points to the confounding of these distinctions under one phrase as the secret of wide delusions, he has got hold of a clue by which much further unravelling may be done. Guided by this clue, and in the light of this analysis, he brings down Darwin's theory to a place and a rank in science which must be still further offensive to those whom he designates as the 'mass of readers.' He speaks of it as 'a great contribution to the theory of organic evolution.' It is in his view a 'contribution,' and nothing more—a step in the investigation of a subject of enormous complexity and extent, but by no means a complete or satisfactory solution of even the most obvious difficulties presented by what we know of the structure and the history of organic forms.

It is no part of my object in this paper to criticise in detail the value of that special conception with which Mr. Herbert Spencer now supplements the deficiencies of the Darwinian theory. He calls it 'inheritance of functionally produced modifications,' and he makes a tremendous claim on its behalf. He evidently thinks that it supplies not only a new and wholly separate factor, but that it goes a long way towards solving many of the difficulties of organic evolution. Nothing could indicate more strongly the immense proportions which this idea has assumed in his mind than the question which he propounds towards the conclusion of his paper. Supposing the new factor to be admitted, 'do there remain,' he asks, 'no classes of organic phenomena unaccounted for?' Wonderful question, indeed! But at least it is satisfactory to find that his reply is more rational than his inquiry: 'to this question, I think it must be replied that there do remain classes of organic phenomena unaccounted for. It may, I believe, be shown that certain cardinal traits of animals and plants at large are still unexplained;' and so he proceeds to the second paper, in which the still refractory residuum is to be reduced.

Whatever other value may attach to an attempt so ambitious, it is at least attended with this advantage, that it leads Mr. Herbert Spencer to follow up the path of 'further consideration' into the phrases and formulæ of the Darwinian hypothesis. And he does so with memorable results. What he himself always aims at is to obliterate the separating lines between the organic and the inorganic, and to reduce all the phenomena of life to the terms of such purely physical agencies as the mechanical forces, or as light, heat, and chemical affinity, &c. In this quest he finds the Darwinian phrases in his way. Accordingly, although himself the author and inventor of the most popular among them, he turns upon them a fire of most

destructive criticism. He allows them to be, or to have been, 'convenient and indeed needful'⁸ in the conduct of discussion, but he condemns them as 'liable to mislead us by veiling the actual agencies' in organic evolution. That very objection which has always been made against all phrases involving the idea of creation—that they are metaphorical—is now unsparingly applied to Darwin's own phrase 'natural selection.' Its 'implications' are pronounced to be 'misleading.' The analogies it points at are indeed definite enough, but unfortunately the 'definiteness is of a wrong kind.' 'The tacitly implied "nature" which selects, is not an embodied agency analogous to the man who selects artificially.' This cuts down to the very root of the famous formula, and to that very element in it which has most widely commended it to popular recognition and acceptance. But this is not all. Mr. Herbert Spencer goes, if possible, still deeper down, and digs up the last vestige of foundation for the vast but rambling edifice which has been erected on a phrase. The special boast of its worshippers has always been that it represented and embodied that great reform which removed the processes of organic evolution once and for ever from the dominion of deceptive metaphor, and founded them for the first time on true physical causation. But now Mr. Herbert Spencer will have none of this. The whole of this pretension goes by the board. He pronounces upon it this emphatic condemnation, 'The words natural selection do not express a cause in the physical sense.'⁹ It is a mere 'convenient figure of speech.'¹⁰

But even this is not enough to satisfy Mr. Spencer in his destructive criticism. He goes himself into the confessional. He had done what he could to amend Darwin's phrase. He had 'sought to present the phenomena in literal terms rather than metaphorical terms,' and in this search he was led to 'survival of the fittest.' But he frankly admits that 'kindred objections may be urged against the expression' to which this leading led him. The first of these words in a vague way, and the second word in a clear way, calls up an idea which he must admit to be 'anthropocentric.' What an embarrassment it is that the human mind cannot wholly turn the back upon itself. Self-evisceration, the happy despatch of the Japanese, is not impossible or even difficult, although when it is done the man does not expect to continue in life. But self-evisceration by the intellectual faculties is a much more arduous operation, especially when we expect to go on thinking and defining as before. It is conceivable that a man might live at least for a time without his viscera, but it is not conceivable that a mind should reason with only some bit or fragment of the brain. In the mysterious convolutions of that mysterious substance there are, as it were, a thousand retinae—each set to receive its own special impressions from the

⁸ P. 749.⁹ P. 749.¹⁰ P. 750.

external world. They are all needed ; but they are not all of equal dignity. Some catch the lesser and others catch the higher lights of nature ; some reflect mere numerical order or mechanical arrangement, whilst others are occupied with the causes and the reasons, and the purposes of these. Some philosophers make it their business to blindfold the facets which are sensitive to such higher things, and to open those only which are adapted to see the lower. And yet these very men generally admit that the faculties of vision which see the higher relations are peculiarly human. They are so identified with the human intellect that they can hardly be separated. And hence they are called anthropomorphic, or as Mr. Spencer prefers to call them 'anthropocentric.' This close association—this characteristic union—is the very thing which Mr. Spencer dislikes. Yet the earnest endeavours of Mr. Spencer to get out of himself—to eliminate every conception which is 'anthropocentric'—have very naturally come to grief. 'Survival'? Does not this word derive its meaning from our own conceptions of life and death? Away with it, then. What has a true philosopher to do with such conceptions? Why will they intrude their noxious presence into the purified ideas of a mind seeking to be freed from all anthropocentric contamination? And then that other word 'fittest,' does it not still more clearly belong to the rejected concepts? Does it not smell of the analogies derived from the mortified and discarded members of intelligence and of will? Does it not suggest such notions as a key fitting a lock, or a glove fitting a hand, and is it worthy of the glorified vision we may enjoy of Nature to think of her correlations as having any analogy with adjustments such as these? In the face of the innumerable and complicated adjustments of a purely mechanical kind which are conspicuous in organic life, Mr. Spencer has the courage to declare that 'no approach' to this kind of fitness 'presentable to the senses' is to be found in organisms which continue to live in virtue of special conditions. Where materials are so abundant it is hard to specify. But I am tempted to ask whether Mr. Spencer has ever heard of the ears, the teeth, above all the finger of the aye-aye, the wonderful beast that lives in the forests of Madagascar, and is very nicely fitted indeed to prey upon certain larvæ which burrow up the pith of certain trees? Here we see examples of fitting in a sense as purely mechanical as he could possibly select from human mechanism. The enormous ears are fitted to hear the internal and smothered raspings of the grub. The teeth are fitted for the work of cutting-chisels, whilst one finger is reduced to the dimension of a mere probe, armed with a hooked claw to extract the larvæ. The fitting of this finger-probe into the pith-tube of the forest bough is precisely like the fitting of a finger into a glove. It is strange indeed that Mr. Spencer should deny the applicability of the word fitness, in its strictest 'glove' sense, to adaptations

such as these. Yet he does deny it in words emphatic and precise. Neither the organic structures themselves—he proceeds to say—nor their individual movements are related in any analogous way to the things and actions in the midst of which they live. Having made this marvellous denial, he reiterates in another form his great confession—his *gran rifiuto*—that his own famous phrase, although carefully designed to express self-acting and automatic physical operations, is, after all, a failure. And this result he admits not only as proved, but as obviously true. His confession is a humble one. ‘Evidently,’ he says, ‘the word fittest as thus used is a figure of speech.’¹¹

This elaborate dissection and condemnation by Mr. Herbert Spencer of both the two famous phrases which have been so long established in the world as expressing the Darwinian hypothesis—his emphatic rejection of the claim of either of them to represent true physical causation—his sentence upon both of them that they are mere figures of speech—is, in my judgment, a memorable event. As regards Mr. Spencer himself, it is a creditable performance and an honourable admission. It is one of the high prerogatives of the human mind to be able to turn upon its own arguments, and its own imaginings, the great weapon of analysis. There are in all of us, not only two voices, but many voices, and splendid work is done when the higher faculties call upon the lower to give an account of what they have said and argued. Often and often, as the result of such a call, we should catch the accents of confession saying, ‘We have been shutting our eyes to the deepest truth, keeping them open only to others which were comparatively superficial. We have been trying to conceal this by the invention of misleading phrases—full of loose analogies, of vague and deceptive generalities.’

Most unfortunately, however, the special peculiarity of Mr. Spencer’s introspection appears to be that it is the lower intellectual faculties which are calling the higher to account. The merit of Darwin’s phrase lay in its elasticity—in its large elements of metaphor taken from the phenomena of mind. Mr. Spencer’s phrase had been carefully framed, he tells us, to get rid of these. His great endeavour was to employ in the interpretation of nature only those faculties which see material things and the physical forces. Those other faculties which see the adjustments of these to purpose—to the building up of structures yet being imperfect, and to the discharge of functions yet lying in the future—it was his desire to exclude or silence. This was his aim, but he now sees that he has failed. In spite of him the higher intellectual perceptions have claimed admittance, and have actually entered. He now calls on the humbler faculties to challenge this intrusion, and to assert their exclusive right to occupy the field. The ‘survival of the fittest’ had

¹¹ P. 751.

been constructed to be their fortress. But the very stones of which it is built—the very words by which the structure is composed—are themselves permeated with the insidious elements which they were intended to resist. The ‘survival of the fittest’ is a mere redoubt open at the back, or a fort which can be entered at all points from an access underground. And so, like a skilful general, Mr. Spencer has ordered a complete evacuation of the works.

But in giving up this famous phrase Mr. Spencer does not give up his purpose—which, indeed, is one of the main purposes of his philosophy—namely, to build up sentences and wordy structures which shall eliminate, as far as it is possible to do so, all those aspects of natural phenomena which are human, that is to say, those aspects which reflect at all an intellectual order analogous with or related to our own. ‘I have elaborated this criticism,’ he says, ‘with the intention of emphasising the need for studying the changes which have gone on, and are ever going on, in organic bodies from an exclusively physical point of view.’¹² And so, new formulæ are constructed to explain, and to illustrate how this is to be done. ‘Survival’ suggesting the ‘human view’ of life and death, must be dismissed. How, then, are they to be described? They are ‘certain sets of phenomena.’ Their true physical character is ‘simply groups of changes.’ In thinking of a plant, for example, we must cease to speak of its living or dying. ‘We must exclude all the ideas associated with the words life or death.’¹³ What we do know, physically, is thus defined: ‘That there go on in the plant certain interdependent processes in presence of certain aiding or hindering influences outside of it; and that in some cases a difference of structure or a favourable set of circumstances allows these interdependent processes to go on for longer periods than in other cases.’ How luminous! Milton spoke of his own blindness as ‘knowledge at one entrance quite shut out.’ But here we have a specimen of the verbal devices by which knowledge at all entrances may be carefully excluded. Life is certain ‘interdependent processes.’ Yes, certainly. But so is death. And so is everything else that we know of or can conceive. The words devised by Mr. Herbert Spencer to represent the ‘purely physical’ view of life and death, are words which present no view at all. They are simply a thick fog in which nothing can be seen. Except in virtue of this character of general opacity, they are wholly useless for Mr. Spencer’s own purpose as well as for every other. He seeks to exclude mind. But he fails to do so. He seems to think that when he has found a collocation of words which do not expressly convey some particular idea, he has therein found words in which that idea is excluded. This is not so. Words may be so vague and abstract as to signify anything or nothing. If under the word ‘fitness’ human ideas of adjustment and design are apt to insinuate themselves, assuredly the same ideas

¹² P. 751.¹³ P. 751.

not only may, but must, be comprehended under such a phrase as 'interdependent processes.' Painting, for example, is an interdependent process, and both in its execution and results its interdependence lies in purely physical combinations of visible and touchable materials. Yet Sir Thomas Lawrence spoke with literal truth when he snubbed a questioner as to the mechanics of his art by telling him that he mixed his colours with brains. The whole of chemical science consists in the knowledge of interdependent processes which are (what we call) purely physical, whilst the whole science of applied chemistry involves those other interdependent processes which involve the co-operation of the human mind and will.

We have, then, in this new phrase a perfect specimen of one favourite method of Mr. Herbert Spencer in his dealing with such subjects; and the weapon of analysis which he turns so successfully against his own old phrase when he wishes to abandon it, can be turned with equal success not only against all substitutes for it, but against the whole method of reasoning of which it was an example. The verbal structures of definition which abound in his writings always remind me of certain cloud-forms which may sometimes be seen in the western sky, especially over horizons of the sea. They are often most glorious and imposing. Great lines of towers and of far-reaching battlements give the impression at moments of mountainous solidity and strength. But as we gaze upon them with wonder, and as we fix upon them a closely attentive eye, the edges are seen to be as unsteady as at first they appeared to be enduring. If we attempt to draw them we find that they melt into each other, and that not a single outline is steady for a second. In a few minutes whole masses which had filled the eye with their majesty, and with impressions as of the everlasting hills, dissolve themselves into vapour and melt away.

Such are the cloud-castles which mount upon the intellectual horizon as we scan it in the representations of the mechanical philosophy. Nothing can be more fallacious than the habit of building up definitions out of words so vague and abstract that they may signify any one of a dozen different things, and the whole plausibility of which consists in the ambiguity of their meanings. It is a habit too which finds exercise in the alternate amusement of wiping out of words which have a definite and familiar sense, everything that constitutes their force and power. Let us take for example the word 'function.' There is no word, perhaps, applicable to our intellectual apprehensions of the organic world, which is more full of meaning, or of meaning which satisfies more thoroughly the many faculties concerned in the vision and description of its facts. The very idea of an organ is that of an apparatus for the doing of some definite work, which is its function. For the very reason of this richness and fulness of meaning, in this word conjoined with great precision,

it is unfitted for use in the vapoury cloud-castles of definition which are the boasted fortresses of ideas purely physical. And yet function is a word which it is most difficult to dispense with. The only alternative is to reduce it to some definition which wipes out all its special signification. Accordingly, Mr. Herbert Spencer has defined function as a word equivalent to the phrase 'transformations of motion'¹⁴—a phrase perfectly vague, abstract, and equally applicable to function or to the destruction of it, to the processes of death or the processes of life, to the phenomena of heat, of light, or electricity, and completely denuded of all the special meanings which respond to our perception of a whole class of special facts.

Of course the attempt breaks down completely to describe the facts of nature in words too vague for the purpose, or in words rendered sterile by artificial eliminations. It is not Darwin only, who had at least no dogma on this subject to bind him—it is Mr. Spencer himself who continually breaks down in the attempt, far more completely than he now admits he failed in the 'survival of the fittest.' The human element involved or suggested in the idea of fitness is nothing to the humanity, or 'anthropocentricity,' of the expressions into which he slips, perhaps unawares, when he is face to face with those requisites of language which arise out of the facts of observation, and out of the necessities of thought. Thus in the midst of an elaborate attempt to explain in purely chemical and physical aspects the composition and attributes of protein, or protoplasm—assumed to be the fundamental substance of all organisms—he breaks out into the following sentence, charged with teleological phraseology: 'So that while the composite atoms of which organic tissues are built up possess that low molecular mobility fitting them for plastic purposes, it results from the extreme molecular mobilities of their ultimate constituents, that the waste products of vital activity escape as fast as they are formed.'¹⁵ Now, what is the value of sentences such as this? As an explanation, or anything approaching to an explanation, of the wondrous alchemies of organic life, and especially of the digestive processes—of the appropriation, assimilation, and elimination of external matter—this sentence is poor and thin indeed. But whatever strength it has is entirely due to its recognition of the fact that not only the organism as a whole, but the very materials of which it is 'built up,' are all essentially adaptations which are in the nature of 'purposes,' being indeed contrivances of the most complicated kinds for the discharge of functions of a very special character.

What, then, is the great reform which these new papers are intended to effect in our conception of the factors in organic evolution? The popular and accepted idea of them has been largely founded on the language of Darwin and of Mr. Spencer himself. But

¹⁴ *Principles of Biology*, vol. i. p. 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 24.

that language has been deceptive. The needed reform consists in the more complete expulsion of every element that is 'anthropocentric.' In order to interpret Nature we must stand outside ourselves. The eye with which we look upon her phenomena must be cut off, as it were, from the brain behind it. The correspondences which we see, or think we see, between the system of things outside of us and the system of things inside of us, which is the structure of our own intelligence, are to be discarded. This is the luminous conception of the new philosophy. Science has hitherto been conceived to be the reduction of natural phenomena to an intelligible order. But the reformed idea is now to be that our own intelligence is the one abounding fountain of error and deception. It is not merely to be disciplined and corrected, but it is to be eliminated. It is to be hounded off and shouted down.

It is very clear what all this must end in. The demand made upon us in its literal fulness is impossible and absurd. We cannot stand outside ourselves. We cannot look with eyes other than our own. We cannot think except with the faculties of our own intellectual nature. It is impossible, and if it were possible, it would be absurd. We are ourselves a part of nature—born in it, and born of it. The analogies which the disciplined intellect sees in external nature are therefore not presumably false, but presumably true, or at the least substantially representative of the truth.

But the new veto on anthropocentric thought, although helpless to expel it, is quite competent to cripple and degrade it. It cannot exclude our own faculties; but it may select and favour the lowest, the humblest, the most elementary, the most blunt, the least perceptive. It may silence the highest, the acutest, the most penetrating, the most intuitive, those most in harmony with the highest energies in the world around us. All this the new doctrine may do, and does.

Accordingly the very first instance given to us of the new philosophy is a striking illustration of its effects. It fixes the attention on mere outward and external things. It seeks for the first and best explanation of organic beings in the mere mechanical effects of their surroundings. The physical forces which act upon them from outside—the water or the air that bathes them—the impacts of etherial undulations in the form of light, the vibrations of matter in contact with them in the form of heat—these are conceived of as the agencies principally concerned. The analogies suggested are of the rudest kind. Old cannon balls rust in concentric flakes. Rocks weather into such forms as rocking stones.¹⁶ But the grand illustration is taken from the pebbles of the Chesil beach.¹⁷ These are to introduce us to the true physical conception of the wonderful phenomena of organic life. May not the unity of the vertebrate skeleton, through

¹⁶ P. 755.

¹⁷ P. 752.

an immense variety of creatures, be typified by the roundness and smoothness common to the stones rolled along the southern beaches of England from Devonshire to Weymouth? The diversities of those creatures, again, however multitudinous in character, may they not all be pictured as analogous with the varying sizes into which water sifts and sorts the sizes of rolled stones?

But presently we see in another form the work of 'natural selection' by a mind deliberately divesting itself of its own higher faculties, and choosing in consequence to exert only those which are simple and almost infantile. The question naturally arises—what is the most universal peculiarity and distinction of organic forms? When we get rid of ourselves, when we stand outside of our own anthropocentric position, and consult only the faculties which are most purely physical, we shall be compelled to reply that the great speciality of organic forms is the 'differentiation of their outside from their inside.'¹⁸ They have all an outside and an inside, and these are different. They begin with a cell, and a cell is a blob of jelly with a pellicle or thin membrane on the outside. Do we not see in this the mechanical action of the surrounding medium? The skin may come from a chill on the outside, or the pressure of the medium. Does not a little oil form itself into a sphere in water, or a little water into a drop in air? And so from one step to another, cannot we conceive how particles of protein become cells, and how one cell gets stuck to another, and the groups to groups—all with insides and outsides 'differentiated' from each other, and so they can all be pressed and compacted and squeezed together until the organism is completed?¹⁹

Such or such like are the images presented to enable us to conceive the purely physical view of the beginnings of life. Their own genesis is obvious. It is true that all or nearly all organisms have a skin. Most if not all of them begin, so far as seen by us, in a nucleated cell. The external wall of these cells is often a mere pellicle. It is true also that one essential idea of life is separation or segregation from all other things. This is an essential part of our ideas of individuality and of personality. If a pellicle or skin round a bit of protein be taken as the symbol of all that is involved in this idea of life, then 'outness' and 'inness' may be tolerated as a very rude image of one of the great peculiarities of all organic life. It may even be regarded as a symbol of the thoughts expressed in the solemn lines:—

Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside.

But if 'outer' and 'inner' are used to express the idea of some essential mechanical separation between different parts of the same organism, so that one part may be represented as more the result of

¹⁸ P. 755.

¹⁹ Pp. 756-8.

surrounding forces than another—then this rude and mechanical illustration is not only empty, but profoundly erroneous. The forces which work in and upon organic life know nothing of outness and inness. They shine through the materials which they build up and mould, as light shines through the clearest glass. Even the most purely physical of those concerned are independent of such relations. Gravitation knows nothing of inness and outness. The very air, which seems so external to us, does not merely bathe or lave the skin, but permeates the blood, and its elements are the very breath of life in every tissue of the body. The more secret forces of vitality deal at their will with outness and inness. The external surfaces of one stage are folded in and become most secret recesses at another. Organs which are outside in one animal, and are conspicuously flourished in the face of day with exquisite ornament of colour and of structure,²⁰ are in another animal hid away and carefully covered up. Nay, there are many cases in which all these changes are conducted in the same animal at different periods of life, and during conscious and unconscious intervals the whole creature is reformed to fit it for new surroundings, for new media, and with new apparatuses adapted to them.

If Mr. Spencer wishes to cast any fresh light upon those factors of organic evolution respecting which he now confesses that Darwin's language and his own have been alike defective, he must fix our attention on something deeper than the differences between every organism and its own skin. His selection of this most superficial kind of difference as the first to dwell upon, is not merely wanting—it is erroneous. It hides and leads us off the scent of another kind of outsideness and insidiness which is really and truly fundamental; namely, the insidiness, the self-containedness, of every organism as a whole with reference to all external forces. Nobody has pointed this out more clearly in former years than Mr. Spencer himself. The grand distinction between the organic and the inorganic lies in this—that the organic is not passive under the touch or impact of external force, but responds, if it responds at all, with the play of counterforces which are essentially its own. Organic bodies are not simply moved. They move themselves. They have 'self-mobility.'²¹ They are so constituted that even when an external force acts as an excitement or a stimulus, the organic forces which emerge and act are much more complex and important—so much so that as compared with the results produced by these organic forces the direct results of the incident forces are 'quite obscured.'²² Mr. Spencer even confesses that these two kinds of action are so different in their own nature that in strictness they 'should not be dealt with together.' But he adds that 'the impossibility of separating them

²⁰ As in the nudibranchiate mollusca.

²¹ P. 757.

²² *Principles of Biology*, vol. i. p. 43.

compels us to disregard the distinction between them.' This is a most lame excuse for the careless—and a still worse excuse for the studied—use of ambiguous language which confounds the deepest distinctions in nature. It cannot be admitted. All reasonings on nature would be hopeless unless we could separate in thought many things which are always conjoined in action; and this excuse is all the more to be rejected when the alleged impossibility of separation is used to cover an almost exclusive stress upon that one of the two kinds of action which is confessedly by far the feeblest, and of least account in the resulting work.

It seems to me, further, that there is another fatal fault in this attempt of Mr. Spencer to reform the language, and clear up the ideas of biological science. Besides the method of habitually using words so abstract as to be of necessity ambiguous—besides the further method of habitually expelling from definite words the only senses which give them value—Mr. Spencer often resorts, and does so conspicuously in this paper, to the scholastic plan of laying down purely verbal propositions and then arguing deductively from them as if they represented axiomatic truth. By the schoolmen this method was often legitimately applied to subjects which in their own nature admitted of its use, because those subjects were not physical but purely moral or religious, and in which consequently much depended on the clear expression of admitted principles of abstract truth. I will not venture to say that such verbal propositions embodying abstract ideas have absolutely no place in physical science. We know as a matter of fact that they have led some great men to the first conception of a good many physical truths; and it is a curious fact that Dr. Joule, who in our own day has been the first to establish the idea of the doctrine of the conservation of energy by proving through rigorous experiment the mechanical equivalent of heat, has said that 'we might reason *à priori* that the absolute destruction of living force cannot possibly take place because it is manifestly absurd to suppose that the powers with which God has endowed matter can be destroyed, any more than they can be created, by man's agency.'²³

Believing as I do in the inseparable unity which binds us to all the verities of nature, I should be the last to proscribe the careful use of our own abstract conceptions. But it is quite certain and is now universally admitted that the methods of Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa* are full of danger when they are used in physical investigation. Yet as regards at least the tone of dogma and authority, and also as regards the method of reasoning, we have from Mr. Spencer in this paper the following wonderful specimen of scholastic teaching on the profoundest questions of organic structure: 'At first

²³ In a lecture delivered at Manchester, April 28, 1847. See *Strictures on the Sermon &c.* by B. St. J. B. Joule, J.P., a pamphlet published 1887 (J. Heywood, Manchester).

protoplasm *could have* no proclivities to one or other arrangement of parts; unless indeed a purely mechanical proclivity towards a spherical form when suspended in a liquid. At the outset it *must have been* passive. In respect of its passivity, primitive organic matter *must have been* like inorganic matter. No such thing as spontaneous variation *could have* occurred in it; for variation implies some habitual course of change from which it is a divergence, and is therefore excluded where there is no habitual course of change.' What possible knowledge can Mr. Spencer possess of 'primitive organic matter'? What possible grounds can he have for assertions as to what it *must have been*, and what it *must have done*? Surely this is scholasticism with a vengeance; its words, its assumptions, and its claims of logical necessity being all equally hazy, inconclusive, and absolutely antagonistic to the spirit of true physical science.

There is a passing sentence in one of Darwin's works²⁴ which will often recur to the memory of those who have observed it. Speaking of the teleological or theological methods of describing nature, he says that these can be made to explain anything. At first sight this may seem a strange objection to any intelligible method—that it is too widely applicable. But Darwin's meaning is in its own sphere as true as it is important. An explanation which is good for everything in general, is good for nothing in particular. Explanations which are indiscriminate can hardly be also special and distinguishing. In their very generality they may be true, but the truth must be as general as the terms in which it is expressed. Thus the common phrase which we are in the habit of applying to the wonderful adaptations of organic life when we call them 'provisions of nature,' is a phrase of this kind. It satisfies certain faculties of the mind, and these the highest, but it affords no satisfaction at all to those other faculties which ask not why, but how these adaptations are affected. It is an explanation applicable to all adaptations equally, and to no one of them specially. It takes no notice whatever of the question, How? It does not concern itself at all with physical causes.

Darwin saw this clearly of such methods of explanation. But he did not see that precisely the same objection lies against his own. The great group of ideas metaphorically involved in his phrase of natural selection, and not successfully eliminated in the summary of it—survival of the fittest—is a group of the widest generality. It may be used to account for anything. The successful application of it to any organic adaptation, however special and peculiar, is so easy as to become a mere trick. We have only to assume the introduction of some primordial organisms—one or more—already formed with all the special powers and functions of organic life; we have only to assume the inscrutable action of heredity; we have only to assume, further, that it originates difference as well as transmits like-

²⁴ I have mislaid the reference, and quote from memory.

ness; we have only to assume, still further, that the variations so originated are almost infinite in variety, and that some of them are almost sure, at some time or another, to 'turn up trumps,' or in other words to be accidentally in a useful direction; we have only to assume, again, that these will be somehow continued and developed through embryotic stages until they are fit for service; we have only to assume, again, that there are adjustments by which serviceability, when transmuted into actual use, has power still further to improve all adaptations by some process of self-edification; then, making all these assumptions, we may explain anything and everything in the organic world. But in such a series of assumptions we do not speak the language of true physical causation. This is what Mr. Spencer now confesses. 'Natural selection,' he says, 'could operate only under subjection.'²⁵ This is a prolific truth. It might have been discovered sooner. Natural selection could only select among things prepared for and presented to its choice. How—from what physical causes—did these come? Mr. Spencer's reply is, historically speaking, retrograde. He goes back to Lamarck, he reverts to 'use and disuse,' to 'environment'—to surroundings—to the 'medium and its contents.'²⁶ These again are mere phrases to cover the nakedness of our own ignorance. But I for one am thankful for the conclusion arrived at by a mind so acute and so analytical as that of Mr. Spencer, that 'among biologists the beliefs concerning the origin of species have assumed too much the character of a creed, and that while becoming settled they have been narrowed. So far from further broadening that broader view which Darwin reached as he grew older, his followers appear to have retrograded towards a more restricted view than he ever expressed.' The evil must have gone far indeed when this great apostle of Evolution has to plead so laboriously and so humbly 'that it is yet far too soon to close the inquiry concerning the causes of organic evolution.' Too soon indeed! That such an assumption should have been possible, and that it is virtually made, is part of the Great Confession to which I have desired to direct attention. I hope it will tend to redeem the work of the greatest natural observer who has ever lived from the great misuse which has been often made of it. There is no real disparagement of that work in saying that the phrase which embalmed it is metaphorical. The very highest truths are conveyed in metaphor. The confession of Mr. Spencer is fatal only to claims which never ought to have been made. Natural selection represents no physical causation whatever except that connected with heredity. Physically it explains the origin of nothing. But the metaphorical elements which Mr. Spencer wishes to eliminate are of the highest value. They refer us directly to those supreme causes to which the physical forces are 'under subjection.' They express in some small degree that inexhaustible wealth of

²⁵ P. 788.²⁶ *Ibid.*

primordial inception, of subsequent development, and of continuous adjustment, upon which alone selection can begin to operate. These are the supreme facts in nature. When this is clearly seen and thoroughly understood, Darwin's researches and speculations will no longer act as a barrier to further inquiry, as Mr. Spencer complains they now do. They will, on the contrary, be the most powerful stimulus to deeper inquiry, and to more healthy reasoning.

ARGYLL.

They express in some small degree that inexhaustible wealth of superior causes to which the physical forces are under subjection. I estimate are of the highest value. They refer us directly to those things. But the metaphysical elements which Mr. Spencer wishes to connect with heredity. Physically it explains the origin of no- selection represents no physical causation whatever except that fatal only to claims which never ought to have been made. Natural truths are conveyed in metaphor. The expression of Mr. Spencer is that the phrase which explained it is unobjectionable. The very highest words of it. There is no real displacement of that work in saying objects who has arrived from the great masses which has been often that I hope it will lead to redeem the work of the greatest natural part of the first Confession to which I have desired to direct attention. Assumption should have been possible, and that it is virtually made. the cause of organic evolution. Too soon indeed! That such an anomaly, that it is yet far too soon to close the inquiry concerning what this great episode of evolution has to teach so laboriously and view than he ever expressed. The evil must have gone far indeed. But the following appear to have returned towards a more restricted perspective that broader view which Darwin reached as he grew. I have reached too much the character of a creed, and that while that "superstition" the beliefs concerning the origin of species arrived at by a blind and so analytical as that of Mr. Spencer, my own experience. But I for one am thankful for the conclusion contents. These again are most curious to cover the nakedness of distant, to environment. — an [unclear] — to the [unclear] and his [unclear]. He has look to himself, he refers to [unclear] and [unclear] and these come. Mr. Spencer's reply is [unclear] and [unclear] presented for and presented to his choice. How — from what [unclear] covered [unclear]. Natural selection could only select among things subjected. This is a [unclear] truth. It might have been [unclear]. Natural selection, he says, "co-ordinates only under the language of true physical causation. This is what the [unclear] organic world. But to such a state of [unclear] we do not [unclear] these assumptions, we may explain anything and everything in the [unclear] by some process of self-organization; then making all who is admitted into a [unclear] and has power still further to improve

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*THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE:
A PROGRAMME.*

THE vast and varied procession of events which we call Nature affords a sublime spectacle and an inexhaustible wealth of attractive problems to the speculative observer. If we confine our attention to that aspect which engages the attention of the intellect, nature appears a beautiful and harmonious whole, the incarnation of a faultless logical process, from certain premisses in the past to an inevitable conclusion in the future. But if she be regarded from a less elevated, but more human, point of view; if our moral sympathies are allowed to influence our judgment, and we permit ourselves to criticise our great mother as we criticise one another;—then our verdict, at least so far as sentient nature is concerned, can hardly be so favourable.

In sober truth, to those who have made a study of the phenomena of life as they are exhibited by the higher forms of the animal world, the optimistic dogma that this is the best of all possible worlds will seem little better than a libel upon possibility. It is really only another instance to be added to the many extant, of the audacity of *à priori* speculators who, having created God in their own image, find no difficulty in assuming that the Almighty must have been actuated by the same motives as themselves. They are quite sure that, had any other course been practicable, He would no more have made infinite suffering a necessary ingredient of His handiwork than a respectable philosopher would have done the like.

But even the modified optimism of the time-honoured thesis of physico-theology, that the sentient world is, on the whole, regulated by principles of benevolence, does but ill stand the test of impartial confrontation with the facts of the case. No doubt it is quite true that sentient nature affords hosts of examples of subtle contrivances directed towards the production of pleasure or the avoidance of pain; and it may be proper to say that these are evidences of benevolence. But if so, why is it not equally proper to say of the equally numerous arrangements, the no less necessary result of which is the production of pain, that they are evidences of malevolence?

If a vast amount of that which, in a piece of human workmanship, we should call skill, is visible in those parts of the organisation of a deer to which it owes its ability to escape from beasts of prey, there is at least equal skill displayed in that bodily mechanism of the wolf which enables him to track, and sooner or later to bring down, the deer. Viewed under the dry light of science, deer and wolf are alike admirable; and if both were non-sentient automata, there would be nothing to qualify our admiration of the action of the one on the other. But the fact that the deer suffers while the wolf inflicts suffering engages our moral sympathies. We should call men like the deer innocent and good, men such as the wolf malignant and bad; we should call those who defended the deer and aided him to escape brave and compassionate, and those who helped the wolf in his bloody work base and cruel. Surely, if we transfer these judgments to nature outside the world of man at all, we must do so impartially. In that case, the goodness of the right hand which helps the deer, and the wickedness of the left hand which eggs on the wolf, will neutralise one another: and the course of nature will appear to be neither moral nor immoral, but non-moral.

This conclusion is thrust upon us by analogous facts in every part of the sentient world; yet, inasmuch as it not only jars upon prevalent prejudices, but arouses the natural dislike to that which is painful, much ingenuity has been exercised in devising an escape from it.

From the theological side, we are told that this is a state of probation, and that the seeming injustices and immoralities of nature will be compensated by-and-by. But how is compensation to be effected, in the case of the great majority of sentient things, is not clear. I apprehend that no one is seriously prepared to maintain that the ghosts of all the myriads of generations of herbivorous animals which lived during the millions of years of the earth's duration before the appearance of man, and which have all that time been tormented and devoured by carnivores, are to be compensated by a perennial existence in clover; while the ghosts of carnivores are to go to some kennel where there is neither a pan of water nor a bone with any meat on it. Besides, from the point of view of

morality, the last state of things would be worse than the first. For the carnivores, however brutal and sanguinary, have only done that which, if there is any evidence of contrivance in the world, they were expressly constructed to do. Moreover, carnivores and herbivores alike have been subject to all the miseries incidental to old age, disease, and over-multiplication, and both might well put in a claim for 'compensation' on this score.

On the evolutionist side, on the other hand, we are told to take comfort from the reflection that the terrible struggle for existence tends to final good, and that the suffering of the ancestor is paid for by the increased perfection of the progeny. There would be something in this argument if, in Chinese fashion, the present generation could pay its debts to its ancestors; otherwise it is not clear what compensation the *Eohippus* gets for his sorrows in the fact that, some millions of years afterwards, one of his descendants wins the Derby. And, again, it is an error to imagine that evolution signifies a constant tendency to increased perfection. That process undoubtedly involves a constant re-adjustment of the organism in adaptation to new conditions; but it depends on the nature of those conditions whether the direction of the modifications effected shall be upward or downward. Retrogressive is as practicable as progressive metamorphosis. If what the physical philosophers tell us, that our globe has been in a state of fusion, and, like the sun, is gradually cooling down, is true; then the time must come when evolution will mean adaptation to a universal winter, and all forms of life will die out, except such low and simple organisms as the Diatom of the arctic and antarctic ice and the *Protococcus* of the red snow. If our globe is proceeding from a condition in which it was too hot to support any but the lowest living thing to a condition in which it will be too cold to permit of the existence of any others, the course of life upon its surface must describe a trajectory like that of a ball fired from a mortar; and the sinking half of that course is as much a part of the general process of evolution as the rising.

From the point of view of the moralist the animal world is on about the same level as a gladiator's show. The creatures are fairly well treated, and set to fight—whereby the strongest, the swiftest and the cunningest live to fight another day. The spectator has no need to turn his thumbs down, as no quarter is given. He must admit that the skill and training displayed are wonderful. But he must shut his eyes if he would not see that more or less enduring suffering is the meed of both vanquished and victor. And since the great game is going on in every corner of the world, thousands of times a minute; since, were our ears sharp enough, we need not descend to the gates of hell to hear—

sospiri, pianti, ed alti guai,

Voci alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle.

It seems to follow that, if this world is governed by benevolence, it must be a different sort of benevolence from that of John Howard.

But the old Babylonians wisely symbolised Nature by their great goddess Istar, who combined the attributes of Aphrodite with those of Ares. Her terrible aspect is not to be ignored or covered up with shams; but it is not the only one. If the optimism of Leibnitz is a foolish though pleasant dream, the pessimism of Schopenhauer is a nightmare, the more foolish because of its hideousness. Error which is not pleasant is surely the worst form of wrong.

This may not be the best of all possible worlds, but to say that it is the worst is mere petulant nonsense. A worn-out voluptuary may find nothing good under the sun, or a vain and inexperienced youth, who cannot get the moon he cries for, may vent his irritation in pessimistic moanings; but there can be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that mankind could, would, and in fact do, get on fairly well with vastly less happiness and far more misery than find their way into the lives of nine people out of ten. If each and all of us had been visited by an attack of neuralgia, or of extreme mental depression, for one hour in every twenty-four—a supposition which many tolerably vigorous people know, to their cost, is not extravagant—the burden of life would have been immensely increased without much practical hindrance to its general course. Men with any manhood in them find life quite worth living under worse conditions than these.

There is another sufficiently obvious fact which renders the hypothesis that the course of sentient nature is dictated by malevolence quite untenable. A vast multitude of pleasures, and these among the purest and the best, are superfluities, bits of good which are to all appearance unnecessary as inducements to live, and are, so to speak, thrown into the bargain of life. To those who experience them, few delights can be more entrancing than such as are afforded by natural beauty or by the arts and especially by music; but they are products of, rather than factors in, evolution, and it is probable that they are known, in any considerable degree, to but a very small proportion of mankind.

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that, if Ormuzd has not had his way in this world, neither has Ahriman. Pessimism is as little consonant with the facts of sentient existence as optimism. If we desire to represent the course of nature in terms of human thought, and assume that it was intended to be that which it is, we must say that its governing principle is intellectual and not moral; that it is a materialised logical process accompanied by pleasures and pains, the incidence of which, in the majority of cases, has not the slightest reference to moral desert. That the rain falls alike upon the just and the unjust, and that those upon whom the

Tower of Siloam fell were no worse than their neighbours, seem to be Oriental modes of expressing the same conclusion.

In the strict sense of the word 'nature,' it denotes the sum of the phenomenal world, of that which has been, and is, and will be; and society, like art, is therefore a part of nature. But it is convenient to distinguish those parts of nature in which man plays the part of immediate cause, as something apart; and, therefore, society, like art, is usefully to be considered as distinct from nature. It is the more desirable, and even necessary, to make this distinction, since society differs from nature in having a definite moral object; whence it comes about that the course shaped by the ethical man—the member of society or citizen—necessarily runs counter to that which the non-ethical man—the primitive savage, or man as a mere member of the animal kingdom—tends to adopt. The latter fights out the struggle for existence to the bitter end, like any other animal; the former devotes his best energies to the object of setting limits to the struggle.

In the cycle of phenomena presented by the life of man, the animal, no more moral end is discernible than in that presented by the lives of the wolf and of the deer. However imperfect the relics of prehistoric men may be, the evidence which they afford clearly tends to the conclusion that, for thousands and thousands of years, before the origin of the oldest known civilisations, men were savages of a very low type. They strove with their enemies and their competitors; they preyed upon things weaker or less cunning than themselves; they were born, multiplied without stint, and died, for thousands of generations, alongside the mammoth, the urus, the lion, and the hyæna, whose lives were spent in the same way; and they were no more to be praised or blamed, on moral grounds, than their less erect and more hairy compatriots.

As among these, so among primitive men, the weakest and stupidest went to the wall, while the toughest and shrewdest, those who were best fitted to cope with their circumstances, but not the best in any other sense, survived. Life was a continual free fight, and beyond the limited and temporary relations of the family, the Hobbesian war of each against all was the normal state of existence. The human species, like others, plashed and floundered amid the general stream of evolution, keeping its head above water as it best might, and thinking neither of whence nor whither.

The history of civilisation—that is of society—on the other hand, is the record of the attempts which the human race has made to escape from this position. The first men who substituted the state of mutual peace for that of mutual war, whatever the motive which impelled them to take that step, created society. But, in establishing peace, they obviously put a limit upon the struggle for existence. Between the members of that society, at any rate, it was not to be

pursued à outrance. And of all the successive shapes which society has taken, that most nearly approaches perfection in which the war of individual against individual is most strictly limited. The primitive savage, tutored by Istar, appropriated whatever took his fancy, and killed whomsoever opposed him, if he could. On the contrary, the ideal of the ethical man is to limit his freedom of action to a sphere in which he does not interfere with the freedom of others; he seeks the common weal as much as his own; and, indeed, as an essential part of his own welfare. Peace is both end and means with him; and he founds his life on a more or less complete self-restraint, which is the negation of the struggle for existence. He tries to escape from his place in the animal kingdom, founded on the free development of the principle of non-moral evolution, and to found a kingdom of Man, governed upon the principle of moral evolution. For society not only has a moral end, but in its perfection, social life, is embodied morality.

But the effort of ethical man to work towards a moral end by no means abolished, perhaps has hardly modified, the deep-seated organic impulses which impel the natural man to follow his non-moral course. One of the most essential conditions, if not the chief cause, of the struggle for existence, is the tendency to multiply without limit, which man shares with all living things. It is notable that 'increase and multiply' is a commandment traditionally much older than the ten, and that it is, perhaps, the only one which has been spontaneously and *ex animo* obeyed by the great majority of the human race. But, in civilised society, the inevitable result of such obedience is the re-establishment, in all its intensity, of that struggle for existence—the war of each against all—the mitigation or abolition of which was the chief end of social organisation.

It is conceivable that, at some period in the history of the fabled Atlantis, the production of food should have been exactly sufficient to meet the wants of the population, that the makers of artificial commodities should have amounted to just the number supportable by the surplus food of the agriculturists. And, as there is no harm in adding another monstrous supposition to the foregoing, let it be imagined that every man, woman, and child was perfectly virtuous, and aimed at the good of all as the highest personal good. In that happy land, the natural man would have been finally put down by the ethical man. There would have been no competition, but the industry of each would have been serviceable to all; nobody being vain and nobody avaricious, there would have been no rivalries; the struggle for existence would have been abolished, and the millennium would have finally set in. But it is obvious that this state of things could have been permanent only with a stationary population. Add ten fresh mouths; and as, by the supposition, there was only exactly enough before, somebody must go on short rations. The Atlantis

society might have been a heaven upon earth, the whole nation might have consisted of just men, needing no repentance, and yet somebody must starve. Reckless Istar, non-moral Nature, would have riven the social fabric. I was once talking with a very eminent physician about the *vis medicatrix natura*. 'Stuff!' said he; 'nine times out of ten nature does not want to cure the man; she wants to put him in his coffin.' And Istar-Nature appears to have equally little sympathy with the ends of society. 'Stuff! she wants nothing but a fair field and free play for her darling the strongest.'

Our Atlantis may be an impossible figment, but the antagonistic tendencies which the fable adumbrates have existed in every society which was ever established, and, to all appearance, must strive for the victory in all that will be. Historians point to the greed and ambition of rulers, to the reckless turbulence of the ruled, to the debasing effects of wealth and luxury, and to the devastating wars which have formed a great part of the occupation of mankind, as the causes of the decay of states and the foundering of old civilisations, and thereby point their story with a moral. No doubt immoral motives of all sorts have figured largely among the minor causes of these events. But, beneath all this superficial turmoil, lay the deep-seated impulse given by unlimited multiplication. In the swarms of colonies thrown out by Phœnicia and by old Greece; in the 'ver sacrum' of the Latin races; in the floods of Gauls and of Teutons which burst over the frontiers of the old civilisation of Europe; in the swaying to and fro of the vast Mongolian hordes in late times, the population problem comes to the front in a very visible shape. Nor is it less plainly manifest in the everlasting agrarian questions of ancient Rome than in the Arœoi societies of the Polynesian Islands.

In the ancient world and in a large part of that in which we now live, the practice of infanticide was or is a regular and legal custom; the steady recurrence of famine, pestilence, and war were and are normal factors in the struggle for existence, and have served, in a gross and brutal fashion, to mitigate the intensity of its chief cause.

But, in the more advanced civilisations, the progress of private and public morality has steadily tended to remove all these checks. We declare infanticide murder, and punish it as such; we decree, not quite successfully, that no one shall die of hunger; we regard death from preventible causes of other kinds as a sort of constructive murder, and eliminate pestilence to the best of our ability; we declaim against the curse of war, and the wickedness of the military spirit, and we are never weary of dilating on the blessedness of peace and the innocent beneficence of Industry. In their moments of expansion, even statesmen and men of business go thus far. The finer spirits look to an ideal 'civitas Dei'; a state when, every man having reached the point of absolute self-negation, and having nothing but

moral perfection to strive after, peace will truly reign, not merely among nations, but among men, and the struggle for existence will be at an end.

Whether human nature is competent, under any circumstances, to reach, or even seriously advance towards, this ideal condition, is a question which need not be discussed. It will be admitted that mankind has not yet reached this stage by a very long way, and my business is with the present. And that which I wish to point out is that, so long as the natural man increases and multiplies without restraint, so long will peace and industry not only permit, but they will necessitate, a struggle for existence as sharp as any that ever went on under the *régime* of war. If Istar is to reign on the one hand, she will demand her human sacrifices on the other.

Let us look at home. For seventy years, peace and industry have had their way among us with less interruption and under more favourable conditions than in any other country on the face of the earth. The wealth of Cræsus was nothing to that which we have accumulated, and our prosperity has filled the world with envy. But Nemesis did not forget Cræsus; has she forgotten us?

I think not. There are now 36,000,000 of people in our island, and every year considerably more than 300,000 are added to our numbers.¹ That is to say, about every hundred seconds, or so, a new claimant to a share in the common stock of maintenance presents him or herself among us. At the present time, the produce of the soil does not suffice to feed half its population. The other moiety has to be supplied with food which must be bought from the people of food-producing countries. That is to say, we have to offer them the things which they want in exchange for the things we want. And the things they want and which we can produce better than they can are mainly manufactures—industrial products.

The insolent reproach of the first Napoleon had a very solid foundation. We not only are, but, under penalty of starvation, we are bound to be, a nation of shopkeepers. But other nations also lie under the same necessity of keeping shop, and some of them deal in the same goods as ourselves. Our customers naturally seek to get the most and the best in exchange for their produce. If our goods are inferior to those of our competitors, there is no ground compatible with the sanity of the buyers, which can be alleged, why they should not prefer the latter. And, if that result should ever take place on a large and general scale, five or six millions of us would soon have nothing to eat. We know what the cotton famine was; and we can therefore form some notion of what a dearth of customers would be.

¹ These numbers are only approximately accurate. In 1881, our population amounted to 35,241,482, exceeding the number in 1871 by 3,396,103. The average annual increase in the decennial period 1871-1881 is therefore 339,610. The number of minutes in a calendar year is 525,600.

Judged by an ethical standard, nothing can be less satisfactory than the position in which we find ourselves. In a real, though incomplete, degree we have attained the condition of peace which is the main object of social organisation; and it may, for argument's sake, be assumed that we desire nothing but that which is in itself innocent and praiseworthy—namely, the enjoyment of the fruits of honest industry. And lo! in spite of ourselves, we are in reality engaged in an internecine struggle for existence with our presumably no less peaceful and well-meaning neighbours. We seek peace and we do not ensue it. The moral nature in us asks for no more than is compatible with the general good; the non-moral nature proclaims and acts upon that fine old Scottish family motto 'Thou shalt starve ere I want.' Let us be under no illusions then. So long as unlimited multiplication goes on, no social organisation which has ever been devised, or is likely to be devised; no fiddle-faddling with the distribution of wealth, will deliver society from the tendency to be destroyed by the reproduction within itself, in its intensest form, of that struggle for existence, the limitation of which is the object of society. And however shocking to the moral sense this eternal competition of man against man and of nation against nation may be; however revolting may be the accumulation of misery at the negative pole of society, in contrast with that of monstrous wealth at the positive pole; this state of things must abide, and grow continually worse, so long as Istar holds her way unchecked. It is the true riddle of the Sphinx; and every nation which does not solve it will sooner or later be devoured by the monster itself has generated.

The practical and pressing question for us just now seems to me to be how to gain time. 'Time brings counsel,' as the Teutonic proverb has it; and wiser folk among our posterity may see their way out of that which at present looks like an *impasse*.

It would be folly to entertain any ill-feeling towards those neighbours and rivals who, like ourselves, are slaves of Istar; but, if somebody is to be starved, the modern world has no Oracle of Delphi to which the nations can appeal for an indication of the victim. It is open to us to try our fortune; and if we avoid impending fate, there will be a certain ground for believing that we are the right people to escape. *Securus judicat orbis*.

To this end, it is well to look into the necessary conditions of our salvation by works. They are two, one plain to all the world and hardly needing insistence; the other seemingly not so plain, since too often it has been theoretically and practically left out of sight. The obvious condition is that our produce shall be better than that of others. There is only one reason why our goods should be preferred to those of our rivals—our customers must find them better at the price. That means that we must use more knowledge, skill,

and industry in producing them, without a proportionate increase in the cost of production; and, as the price of labour constitutes a large element in that cost, the rate of wages must be restricted within certain limits. It is perfectly true that cheap production and cheap labour are by no means synonymous; but it is also true that wages cannot increase beyond a certain proportion without destroying cheapness. Cheapness, then, with, as part and parcel of cheapness, a moderate price of labour, is essential to our success as competitors in the markets of the world.

The second condition is really quite as plainly indispensable as the first, if one thinks seriously about the matter. It is social stability. Society is stable when the wants of its members obtain as much satisfaction as, life being what it is, common sense and experience show may be reasonably expected. Mankind, in general, care very little for forms of government or ideal considerations of any sort; and nothing really stirs the great multitude of mankind to break with custom and incur the manifest perils of revolt except the belief that misery in this world or damnation in the next, or both, are threatened by the continuance of the state of things in which they have been brought up. But when they do attain that conviction, society becomes as unstable as a package of dynamite, and a very small matter will produce the explosion which sends it back to the chaos of savagery.

It needs no argument to prove that when the price of labour sinks below a certain point, the worker infallibly falls into that condition which the French emphatically call *la misère*—a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to bestiality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave.

That a certain proportion of the members of every great aggregation of mankind should constantly tend to establish and populate such a *Malebolge* as this is inevitable, so long as some people are by nature idle and vicious, while others are disabled by sickness or accident, or thrown upon the world by the death of their bread-winners. So long as that proportion is restricted within tolerable limits, it can be dealt with; and, so far as it arises only from such causes, its existence may and must be patiently borne. But, when

the organisation of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it; when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. The animal man, finding that the ethical man has landed him in such a slough, resumes his ancient sovereignty and preaches anarchy; which is, substantially, a proposal to reduce the social cosmos to chaos and begin the brute struggle for existence once again.

Any one who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that, amidst a large and increasing body of that population, *la misère* reigns supreme. I have no pretensions to the character of a philanthropist and I have a special horror of all sorts of sentimental rhetoric; I am merely trying to deal with facts, to some extent within my own knowledge, and further evidenced by abundant testimony, as a naturalist; and I take it to be a mere plain truth that, throughout industrial Europe, there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it by any lack of demand for their produce. And, with every addition to the population, the multitude already sunk in the pit and the number of the host sliding towards it continually increase.

Argumentation can hardly be needful to make it clear that no society in which the elements of decomposition are thus swiftly and surely accumulating can hope to win in the race of industries.

Intelligence, knowledge, and skill are undoubtedly conditions of success; but of what avail are they likely to be unless they are backed up by honesty, energy, good-will, and all the physical and moral faculties that go to the making of manhood, and unless they are stimulated by hope of such reward as men may fairly look to? And what dweller in the slough of *misère*, dwarfed in body and soul, demoralised, hopeless, can reasonably be expected to possess these qualities?

Any full and permanent development of the productive powers of an industrial population, then, must be compatible with and, indeed, based upon a social organisation which will secure a fair amount of physical and moral welfare to that population; which will make for good and not for evil. Natural science and religious enthusiasm rarely go hand in hand, but on this matter their concord is complete; and the least sympathetic of naturalists can but admire the insight and the devotion of such social reformers as the late Lord Shaftesbury, whose recently published 'Life and Letters' gives a vivid picture of the condition of the working classes fifty years ago, and of the pit which our industry, ignoring these plain truths, was then digging under its own feet.

There is perhaps no more hopeful sign of progress among us in the last half-century than the steadily increasing devotion which has been and is directed to measures for promoting physical and moral welfare among the poorer classes. Sanitary reformers, like most other reformers whom I have had the advantage of knowing, seem to need a good dose of fanaticism, as a sort of moral coca, to keep them up to the mark, and, doubtless, they have made many mistakes; but that the endeavour to improve the condition under which our industrial population live, to amend the drainage of densely peopled streets, to provide baths, washhouses, and gymnasia, to facilitate habits of thrift, to furnish some provision for instruction and amusement in public libraries and the like, is not only desirable from a philanthropic point of view, but an essential condition of safe industrial development, appears to me to be indisputable. It is by such means alone, so far as I can see, that we can hope to check the constant gravitation of industrial society towards *la misère*, until the general progress of intelligence and morality leads men to grapple with the sources of that tendency. If it is said that the carrying out of such arrangements as those indicated must enhance the cost of production, and thus handicap the producer in the race of competition, I venture, in the first place, to doubt the fact: but if it be so, it results that industrial society has to face a dilemma, either horn of which threatens impalement.

On the one hand, a population whose labour is sufficiently remunerated may be physically and morally healthy and socially stable, but may fail in industrial competition by reason of the dearness of its produce. On the other hand, a population whose labour is insufficiently remunerated must become physically and morally unhealthy, and socially unstable; and though it may succeed for a while in industrial competition, by reason of the cheapness of its produce, it must in the end fall, through hideous misery and degradation, to utter ruin.

Well, if these are the only possible alternatives, let us for ourselves and our children choose the former, and, if need be, starve like men. But I do not believe that a stable society made up of healthy, vigorous, instructed, and self-ruling people would ever incur serious risk of that fate. They are not likely to be troubled with many competitors of the same character, and they may be safely trusted to find ways of holding their own.

Assuming that the physical and moral well-being and the stable social order, which are the indispensable conditions of permanent industrial development, are secured, there remains for consideration the means of attaining that knowledge and skill, without which, even then, the battle of competition cannot be successfully fought. Let us consider how we stand. A vast system of elementary education

has now been in operation among us for sixteen years, and has reached all but a very small fraction of the population. I do not think that there is any room for doubt that, on the whole, it has worked well, and that its indirect no less than its direct benefits have been immense. But, as might be expected, it exhibits the defects of all our educational systems—fashioned as they were to meet the wants of a bygone condition of society. There is a widespread, and I think well-justified, complaint that it has too much to do with books and too little to do with things. I am as little disposed as anyone can well be to narrow early education and to make the primary school a mere annexe of the shop. And it is not so much in the interests of industry as in that of breadth of culture, that I echo the common complaint against the bookish and theoretical character of our primary instruction.

If there were no such things as industrial pursuits, a system of education which does nothing for the faculties of observation, which trains neither the eye nor the hand, and is compatible with utter ignorance of the commonest natural truths, might still be reasonably regarded as strangely imperfect. And when we consider that the instruction and training which are lacking are exactly those which are of most importance for the great mass of our population, the fault becomes almost a crime, the more that there is no practical difficulty in making good these defects. There really is no reason why drawing should not be universally taught, and it is an admirable training for both eye and hand. Artists are born, not made; but everybody may be taught to draw elevations, plans and sections; and pots and pans are as good, indeed better, models for this purpose than the Apollo Belvedere. The plant is not expensive; and there is this excellent quality about drawing of the kind indicated, that it can be tested almost as easily and severely as arithmetic. Such drawings are either right or wrong, and if they are wrong the pupil can be made to see that they are wrong. From the industrial point of view, drawing has the further merit that there is hardly any trade in which the power of drawing is not of daily and hourly utility. In the next place, no good reason, except the want of capable teachers, can be assigned why elementary notions of science should not be an element in general instruction. In this case, again, no experience or elaborate apparatus is necessary. The commonest thing—a candle, a boy's squirt, a piece of chalk—in the hands of a teacher who knows his business may be made the starting points whence children may be led into the regions of science as far as their capacity permits, with efficient exercise of their observational and reasoning faculties on the road. If object lessons often prove trivial failures, it is not the fault of object lessons, but that of the teacher, who has not found out how much the power of teaching a little depends on knowing a great deal, and that thoroughly; and that he has not made that discovery

is not the fault of the teachers, but of the detestable system of training them which is widely prevalent.²

As I have said, I do not regard the proposal to add these to the present subjects of universal instruction, as made merely in the interests of industry. Elementary science and drawing are just as needful at Eton (where I am happy to say both are now parts of the regular course) as in the lowest primary school. But their importance in the education of the artisan is enhanced, not merely by the fact that the knowledge and skill thus gained—little as they may amount to—will still be of practical utility to him; but further, because they constitute an introduction to that special training which is commonly called ‘technical education.’

I conceive that our wants in this last direction may be grouped under four heads: (1) Instruction in the principles of those branches of science and of art which are peculiarly applicable to industrial pursuits, which may be called preliminary scientific education. (2) Instruction in the special branches of such applied science and art, as technical education proper. (3) Instruction of teachers in both these branches. (4) Capacity-catching machinery.

A great deal has already been done in each of these directions, but much remains to be done. If elementary education is amended in the way that has been suggested, I think that the school-boards will have quite as much on their hands as they are capable of doing well. The influences under which the members of these bodies are elected do not tend to secure fitness for dealing with scientific or technical education; and it is the less necessary to burden them with an uncongenial task as there are other organisations, not only much better fitted to do the work, but already actually doing it.

In the matter of preliminary scientific education, the chief of these is the Science and Art Department, which has done more during the last quarter of a century for the teaching of elementary science among the masses of the people than any organisation which exists either in this or in any other country. It has become veritably a people’s university, so far as physical science is concerned. At the foundation of our old universities they were freely open to the poorest, but the poorest must come to them. In the last quarter of a century, the Science and Art Department, by means of its classes spread all over the country and open to all, has conveyed instruction to the poorest. The University Extension movement shows that our older learned corporations have discovered the propriety of following suit.

Technical education, in the strict sense, has become a necessity

² Training in the use of simple tools is no doubt very desirable, on all grounds. From the point of view of ‘culture,’ the man whose ‘fingers are all thumbs’ is but a stunted creature. But the practical difficulties in the way of introducing handiwork of this kind into elementary schools appear to me to be considerable.

for two reasons. The old apprenticeship system has broken down, partly by reason of the changed conditions of industrial life, and partly because trades have ceased to be 'crafts,' the traditional secrets whereof the master handed down to his apprentices. Invention is constantly changing the face of our industries, so that 'use and wont,' 'rule of thumb,' and the like, are gradually losing their importance, while that knowledge of principles which alone can deal successfully with changed conditions is becoming more and more valuable. Socially, the 'master' of four or five apprentices is disappearing in favour of the 'employer' of forty, or four hundred, or four thousand 'hands,' and the odds and ends of technical knowledge, formerly picked up in a shop, are not, and cannot be, supplied in the factory. The instruction formerly given by the master must therefore be more than replaced by the systematic teaching of the technical school.

Institutions of this kind on varying scales of magnitude and completeness, from the splendid edifice set up by the City and Guilds Institute to the smallest local technical school, to say nothing of classes, such as those in technology instituted by the Society of Arts (subsequently taken over by the City Guilds), have been established in various parts of the country, and the movement in favour of their increase and multiplication is rapidly growing in breadth and intensity. But there is much difference of opinion as to the best way in which the technical instruction, so generally desired, should be given. Two courses appear to be practicable: the one is the establishment of special technical schools with a systematic and lengthened course of instruction demanding the employment of the whole time of the pupils. The other is the setting afoot of technical classes, especially evening classes, comprising a short series of lessons on some special topic, which may be attended by persons already earning wages in some branch of trade or commerce.

There is no doubt that technical schools, on the plan indicated under the first head, are extremely costly; and, so far as the teaching of artisans is concerned, it is very commonly objected to them that, as the learners do not work under trade conditions, they are apt to fall into amateurish habits, which prove of more hindrance than service in the actual business of life. When such schools are attached to factories under the direction of an employer who desires to train up a supply of intelligent workmen, of course this objection does not apply; nor can the usefulness of such schools for the training of future employers and for the higher grade of the employed be doubtful; but they are clearly out of the reach of the great mass of the people, who have to earn their bread as soon as possible. We must therefore look to the classes, and especially to evening classes, as the great instrument for the technical education of the artisan. The utility of such classes has now been placed beyond all doubt;

the only question which remains is to find the ways and means of extending them.

We are here, as in all other questions of social organisation, met by two diametrically opposed views. On the one hand, the methods pursued in foreign countries are held up as our example. The State is exhorted to take the matter in hand, and establish a great system of technical education. On the other hand, many economists of the individualist school exhaust the resources of language in condemning and repudiating, not merely the interference of the general government in such matters, but the application of a farthing of the funds raised by local taxation to these purposes. I entertain a strong conviction that, in this country, at any rate, the State had much better leave purely technical and trade instruction alone. But, although my personal leanings are decidedly towards the individualists, I have arrived at that conclusion on merely practical grounds. In fact, my individualism is rather of a sentimental sort, and I sometimes think I should be stronger in the faith if it were less vehemently advocated.³ I am unable to see that civil society is anything but a corporation established for a moral object—namely, the good of its members—and therefore that it may take such measures as seem fitting for the attainment of that which the general voice decides to be the general good. That the suffrage of the majority is by no means a scientific test of social good and evil is unfortunately too true; but, in practice, it is the only test we can apply, and the refusal to abide by it means anarchy. The purest despotism that ever existed is as much based upon that will of the majority (which is usually submission to the will of a small minority) as the freest republic. Law is the expression of the opinion of the majority, and it is law, and not mere opinion, because the many are strong enough to enforce it.

I am as strongly convinced as the most pronounced individualist can be, that it is desirable that every man should be free to act in every way which does not limit the corresponding freedom of his fellow-man. But I fail to connect that great induction of sociology with the practical corollary which is frequently drawn from it: that the State—that is, the people in its corporate capacity—has no business to meddle with anything but the administration of justice and external defence.

It appears to me that the amount of freedom which incorporate society may fitly leave to its members is not a fixed quantity, to be determined *à priori* by deduction from the fiction called 'natural rights;' but that it must be determined by, and vary with, circumstances.

³ In what follows I am only repeating and emphasising opinions which I expressed, seventeen years ago, in an Address to the members of the Midland Institute (re-published in *Critiques and Addresses* in 1873). I have seen no reason to modify them, notwithstanding high authority on the other side.

I conceive it to be demonstrable that the higher and the more complex the organisation of the social body, the more closely is the life of each member bound up with that of the whole; and the larger becomes the category of acts which cease to be merely self-regarding, and which interfere with the freedom of others more or less seriously.

If a squatter, living ten miles away from any neighbour, chooses to burn his house down to get rid of vermin, there may be no necessity (in the absence of insurance offices) that the law should interfere with his freedom of action. His act can hurt nobody but himself; but, if the dweller in a street chooses to do the same thing, the State very properly makes such a proceeding a crime, and punishes it as such. He does meddle with his neighbour's freedom, and that seriously. So it might, perhaps, be a tenable doctrine, that it would be needless, and even tyrannous, to make education compulsory in a sparse agricultural population, living in abundance on the produce of its own soil; but, in a densely populated manufacturing country, struggling for existence with competitors, every ignorant person tends to become a burden upon, and, so far, an infringer of the liberty of, his fellows, and an obstacle to their success.

Under such circumstances an education rate is, in fact, a war tax, levied for purposes of defence.

That State action always has been more or less misdirected, and always will be so, is, I believe, perfectly true. But I am not aware that it is more true of the action of men in their corporate capacity than it is of the doings of individuals. The wisest and most dispassionate man in existence, merely wishing to go from one stile in a field to the opposite, will not walk quite straight—he is always going a little wrong, and always correcting himself; and I can only congratulate the individualist who is able to say that his general course of life has been of a less undulating character. To abolish State action, because its direction is never more than approximately correct, appears to me to be much the same thing as abolishing the man at the wheel altogether, because, do what he will, the ship yaws more or less. 'Why should I be robbed of my property to pay for teaching another man's children?' is an individualist question, which is not unfrequently put as if it settled the whole business. Perhaps it does, but I find difficulties in seeing why it should. The parish in which I live makes me pay my share for the paving and lighting of a great many streets that I never pass through; and I might plead that I am robbed to smooth the way and lighten the darkness of other people. But I am afraid the parochial authorities would not let me off on this plea; and I must confess I do not see why they should.

I cannot speak of my own knowledge, but I have every reason to believe that I came into this world a small reddish person, certainly

without a gold spoon in my mouth, and in fact with no discernible abstract or concrete 'rights' or property of any description. If a foot was not, at once, set upon me as a squalling nuisance, it was either the natural affection of those about me, which I certainly had done nothing to deserve, or the fear of the law which, ages before my birth, was painfully built up by the society into which I intruded, that prevented that catastrophe. If I was nourished, cared for, taught, saved from the vagabondage of a wastrel, I certainly am not aware that I did anything to deserve those advantages. And, if I possess anything now, it strikes me that, though I may have fairly earned my day's wages for my day's work, and may justly call them my property—yet, without that organisation of society, created out of the toil and blood of long generations before my time, I should probably have had nothing but a flint axe and an indifferent hut to call my own; and even those would be mine only so long as no stronger savage came my way.

So that if society, having—quite gratuitously—done all these things for me, asks me in turn to do something towards its preservation—even if that something is to contribute to the teaching of other men's children—I really, in spite of all my individualist leanings, feel rather ashamed to say no. And if I were not ashamed, I cannot say that I think that society would be dealing unjustly with me in converting the moral obligation into a legal one. There is a manifest unfairness in letting all the burden be borne by the willing horse.

It does not appear to me, then, that there is any valid objection to taxation for purposes of education; but, in the case of technical schools and classes, I think it is practically expedient that such taxation should be local. Our industrial population accumulates in particular towns and districts; these districts are those which immediately profit by technical education; and it is only in them that we can find the men practically engaged in industries, among whom some may reasonably be expected to be competent judges of that which is wanted, and of the best means of meeting the want.

In my belief, all methods of technical training are at present tentative, and, to be successful, each must be adapted to the special peculiarities of its locality. This is a case in which we want twenty years, not of 'strong government,' but of cheerful and hopeful blundering; and we may be thankful if we get things straight in that time.

The principle of the Bill introduced, but dropped, by the Government last session, appears to me to be wise, and some of the objections to it I think are due to a misunderstanding. The Bill proposed in substance to allow localities to tax themselves for purposes of technical education—on the condition that any scheme for such purpose should be submitted to the Science and Art Department, and declared by that Department to be in accordance with the intention of the Legislature.

A cry was raised that the Bill proposed to throw technical education into the hands of the Science and Art Department. But, in reality, no power of initiation, nor even of meddling with details, was given to that Department—the sole function of which was to decide whether any plan proposed did or did not come within the limits of ‘technical education.’ The necessity for such control, somewhere, is obvious. No Legislature, certainly not ours, is likely to grant the power of self-taxation without setting limits to that power in some way; and it would neither have been practicable to devise a legal definition of technical education, nor commendable to leave the question to the Auditor-General to be fought out in the law courts. The only alternative was to leave the decision to an appropriate State authority. If it is asked, what is the need of such control if the people of the localities are the best judges, the obvious reply is that there are localities and localities, and that while Manchester, or Liverpool, or Birmingham, or Glasgow, might, perhaps, be safely left to do as they thought fit, smaller towns, in which there is less certainty of full discussion by competent people of different ways of thinking, might easily fall a prey to crotcheteers.

Supposing our intermediate science teaching and our technical schools and classes are established, there is yet a third need to be supplied, and that is the want of good teachers. And it is necessary not only to get them, but to keep them when you have got them.

It is impossible to insist too strongly upon the fact, that efficient teachers of science and of technology are not to be made by the processes in vogue at ordinary training colleges. The memory loaded with mere bookwork is not the thing wanted—is, in fact, rather worse than useless—in the teacher of scientific subjects. It is absolutely essential that his mind should be full of knowledge and not of mere learning, and that what he knows should have been learned in the laboratory rather than in the library. There are happily already, both in London and in the provinces, various places in which such training is to be had, and the main thing at present is to make it in the first place accessible, and in the next indispensable, to those who undertake the business of teaching. But when the well-trained men are supplied, it must be recollected that the profession of teacher is not a very lucrative or otherwise tempting one, and that it may be advisable to offer special inducements to good men to remain in it. These, however, are questions of detail into which it is unnecessary to enter further.

Last, but not least, comes the question of providing the machinery for enabling those who are by nature specially qualified to undertake the higher branches of industrial work, to reach the position in which they may render that service to the community. If all our educational expenditure did nothing but pick one man of scientific or inventive genius, each year, from amidst the hewers of wood and

drawers of water, and give him the chance of making the best of his inborn faculties, it would be a very good investment. If there is one such child among the hundreds of thousands of our annual increase, it would be worth any money to drag him either from the slough of misery or from the hotbed of wealth, and teach him to devote himself to the service of his people. Here, again, we have made a beginning with our scholarships and the like, and need only follow in the tracks already worn.

The programme of industrial development briefly set forth in the preceding pages is not what Kant calls a 'Hirngespinnst,' a cobweb spun in the brain of a Utopian philosopher. More or less of it has taken bodily shape in many parts of the country, and there are towns of no great size or wealth in the manufacturing districts (Keighley for example) in which almost the whole of it has, for some time, been carried out so far as the means at the disposal of the energetic and public-spirited men who have taken the matter in hand, permitted. The thing can be done; I have endeavoured to show good grounds for the belief that it must be done, and that speedily, if we wish to hold our own in the war of industry. I doubt not that it will be done, whenever its absolute necessity becomes as apparent to all those who are absorbed in the actual business of industrial life as it is to some of the lookers-on.

T. H. HUXLEY.

MORE AIR FOR LONDON.

THE need of open spaces for the inhabitants of our large towns has been so often brought before the public, that it is difficult now, in urging that they should be provided, to use any arguments that are new ; so that advocates must base their claims to attention on the fact that the reasons they use are self-evident. ‘ Why, then, write an article on the subject ? ’ readers may well ask.

I answer, first, because it is one thing to know theoretically and scientifically that they are needed, and it is another to live, as it were, side by side with those who need them ; to realise, in regard to this man and that woman, how far their home is from any summer outdoor sitting-room, from any refreshing lane or field for Saturday afternoon walk ; to know little children who can never, from year’s end to year’s end, be taken by their mother to the nearest park ; to see the little pale face and shrivelled form of invalid children who cannot be laid down on the grass in the sunlight to be healed and cheered, but must sit the whole summer day through in the hot room in court or alley ; to watch the big lads who get into mischief because they have no scope for their energies, no space for game at hare and hounds, no opportunity for leaping ditches, or climbing hills, or skating, or taking a refreshing walk ; to watch the fresh air diminished in one neighbourhood after another, taller houses being built, and more of them, yard and garden more and more built over year by year, forecourts covered and the country retreating, as it were, further and further from within walking distance of one and another of my working friends. This is different from reason and science : this is life, and this is pain. This urges me to speak, making it my duty to speak, and that before it is too late.

Secondly, I write because to those of us who are watching and knowing all this, and who have been trying, here and there, to save this or that small space where we could, a great hope has arisen that at last, if we can get others to realise the facts, there is a possibility that something may be done to save open spaces for London, on a scale in some degree commensurate with its needs. This possibility has providentially arisen just in time to enable us, if we are wise, to save the most valuable spaces—namely, those nearest to the dwellings of Londoners.

The City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883 provides for the future application by the Charity Commissions of funds to the amount of 50,000*l.* a year. Certain objects, among them the provision of open spaces, are enumerated, from any of which they are to select those which seem of most importance and to prepare schemes which will then come before Parliament. The Kyrle Society and the Commons' Preservation Society have just presented a memorial (supported also by the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association) to the Charity Commissioners, embodying the reasons which lead them to think that open spaces are, to say the least, among the most pressing of the objects to which the money could be devoted; and also containing statistics and other facts with regard to the open spaces already preserved, and sketching outlines of schemes for providing additional space.

The collection of facts for this memorial has occupied me for a portion of the autumn, and there are several of them which I think would be interesting to readers in general, especially to those who are occupying themselves about the welfare of London. Our first step was to prepare in clear tabular form a list of the spaces now secured, their acreage, and the quantity of space in each district as compared with the population. We took one of Stanford's maps, such as accompanies this article. We struck two circles each with centre at Charing Cross, one with a radius of four miles, one with a radius of six miles. We divided these circles into quadrants. We then coloured green, not (as is usual on maps) the spaces unbuilt upon, but those really secured to the people. We marked the number of acres on every such place. When the spaces were too small to be given on a map of this scale, which was the case with some of the smaller churchyards, we still chronicled their existence and added their acreage to that of the larger spaces shown by figures on the map. We thus got the total number of acres preserved for, and open to, the public in each quadrant, with the following very remarkable result:—

In the four-mile radius the number of acres preserved is :

In South-Western Quadrant	945	} Total in Western half, 1,701.
„ North-Western „	756	
„ North-Eastern „	126	} Total in Eastern half, 223.
„ South-Eastern „	97	

Showing nearly eight times as much in the one semicircle as in the other.

These figures in themselves seemed to us very important, and readers who will glance at the map will get a bird's-eye view of the condition of things which will strike them forcibly.

But the figures become even more striking if we consider them in relation to the statistics of population. In the eastern semicircle

there is a population in the four-mile radius of 1,160,173, while the Western contains 1,668,412.

Thus we have in the Western semicircle one acre of preserved open space to every 682 people, and in the Eastern one acre to every 7,481 people.

In the six-mile radius the number of acres preserved is:

In South-Western Quadrant	1,878
„ North-Western „	1,304
„ North-Eastern „	644
„ South-Eastern „	601

But now translate all that from tables of statistics and map back into life. Remember that your Western population, not only in the main takes flight in July to country estate, or Switzerland; that after an illness the children can mostly go to the sea; but that, while in London, many of them have perambulators and nurses with time to take them to the parks, even if they have not ponies or carriages; that they have airy bedrooms, and day nurseries, and that the streets round them are cleaner, and the closed squares give air to their neighbourhood. Then cast your eye on the Eastern semicircle of the map, and transform the darkened surface which shows where the houses are back into reality. Few squares you see, and the majority of houses, please remember, are let in floors or couples of rooms. Fancy a working-woman carrying a baby from, say Hoxton, to the nearest park on a hot summer day with a child of four and one of six toddling beside her. Think how far people must walk from Clerkenwell to get any wide view of the sky. Picture the clergyman or overworked clerk, wanting a refreshing walk from Spitalfields, what vistas of streets to pass through, and always more of them as the suburban fields get covered! Yet these are the people who stay in town most, if not all, of the year, whose rooms are most crowded, and whose facilities for getting about are least. This is what that map means to anyone who knows real men and women living in different parts of London, and who sees in the names on the maps real places. A man once said to me, looking out from Carlton House Terrace over the park, that he thought London a very pleasant place to live in, and could not understand why I talked about want of open spaces; and there rose before me recollections of other parts of London so vividly that I had almost said ‘Come and see.’ There are indeed many good things in life which may be unequally apportioned and no such serious loss arise; but the need of quiet, the need of air, the need of exercise, and, I believe, the sight of sky and of things growing, seem human needs, common to all men, and not to be dispensed with without grave loss. Look well then at the map and realise what the facts there shown mean.

With regard to the future, one thing will strike you at once if

you look at the map—namely, that (setting aside the S.-W. quadrant, which is so much richer in space than all the rest that it may for the moment be kept out of the question) there is within the four-mile radius little or no space of any size which can any more be saved, except Clissold Park and Parliament Hill, both of which, you will see, lie partly within it. The white space intersected by railways near Deptford, which strikes the eye as unbuilt over, is since the map was published nearly all covered by multitudes of small houses; there are still a few fields there, but they are low, flat and damp—moreover, they apparently will be covered with houses almost at once. Near Herne Hill and Denmark Hill there still appears on the map a certain amount of land unbuilt over; but it is, so far as I know, nearly all attached to gentlemen's houses, is not in the market—moreover, it is near the S.-W. quadrant, so that it is less likely anyone would buy for the people just there. Fix, then, in your minds with regard to any general scheme that Clissold Park and Parliament Hill are in the four-mile radius the main things still possible to be secured, and, in as far as they are nearer the people's homes, are of more value than any others. Clissold Park is in one of the Eastern quadrants which are, as the above figures show, most poorly supplied. Parliament Hill is in the North-Western quadrant, about which it should be pointed out that, though well supplied in the four-mile radius, it is remarkably poorly provided in the suburbs. Right out, as far as the twelve-mile circle, there is little common or secured land at all; so that, as London extends out towards Kilburn, Willesden and Harrow, it comes on no large spaces such as are found in all the other three quarters of London; therefore Parliament Hill, which enlarges Hampstead Heath, is specially important, even were it not so from its being of peculiar beauty, of a hilly form, and lying within the four-mile radius. Acts of Parliament have been passed specially authorising the Charity Commissioners to make grants to assist in purchasing Parliament Hill and Clissold Park.

It should be borne in mind in considering this question that there are four distinct kinds of open spaces needed by residents in large towns. There are the small central ones, which may be described as open-air summer sitting-rooms. These, it may be hoped, will now be preserved wherever they can be secured. Then there are the larger parks, of which, when Parliament Hill and Clissold Park are obtained, there is little or no chance of increasing the number, quite near the centres of population. The North-East and South-East are, as has been shown, badly supplied; but it is too late to save any more large spaces in them. But, besides these two kinds of garden or park, I have always felt that working-men wanted good walks, and whenever I thought about buying land in the suburbs, it always seemed to me that money would go much further if, instead of buying a large square area for a park, one could buy a field path with

a good space on each side of it. If this were done, the approach to the commons and parks, the forest, or the heath, might still be by these pleasant walking ways which are so much healthier and more refreshing than the train or the omnibus, and bring the sense of country much nearer to the town. 'Would it not be possible,' I asked myself, 'now, if the Charity Commissioners see their way to devoting a really large sum to this great need of open space, which must be met now or never, to get them to buy some of the field ways, and to mark on a map the most important walks which yet remain, choosing—

'A, those which form radiating lines from nearest the central populous districts, out to, or towards, the heaths and commons already secured; and,

'B, those which form lines connecting the various heaths with one another, or with railway stations, or roads traversed by trams or omnibuses?

'Might it not also be possible to secure sometimes a green belt to a road newly cut across the country, plant it with trees, and make of it a walking and riding way?'

Still, as I know well, on the outskirts, those working-men who love a country walk, turning up some narrow way, can find a few fields to wander over; there you may see them on Sunday or Saturday with the sturdier children, or perhaps with wife and baby too, taking a happy stroll; the little ones with pleasure gathering buttercups, or running merrily on the grass. But year by year these field ways are being turned into forty-foot roads, and houses come and the walk is gone; the weary pavements afford no rest or pleasure, and the country walk becomes impossible. If anything is to be bought, these field ways now seem to me among the best investments possible for the future of London walkers. We could not in the autumn complete exhaustive maps of these, but obtained and recorded much valuable information, and handed in to the Commissioners one or two detailed accounts, with maps of such possible schemes. Then, fourthly, among valuable kinds of open space we knew well the hill-tops must be reckoned. How well we knew it! The sense of fresher air, the sight of sky, the feeling of space, the little effort of the climb, the fun to the children of the run down the hill, the wider view, the beauty of the slope, the sight from a distance, the way the air blows down among the houses—all make the hill of special value if it can be saved. Therefore we first marked on maps, and then visited, all the near hill-tops not yet covered, in hopes that at least some might be secured. Specially did we look on the South-East and North-East, of course, and most interested were we to find in the former, just outside the four-mile radius, that there still remained some acres of Telegraph or Pepys Hill unbuilt over. It is now a few years since a number of the working people of the neighbourhood

implored us to try and save these hilly fields. We did our best, but at that time it was impossible to rouse people to care to dedicate such land or to purchase ground for the poor, and there was no fund like this of the Parochial Charities available. So the houses have crept up the hill; and broad roads cross it, and it is being parcelled out for building. But as we climbed it we found there was still a good deal of open ground. There the hill stands, like a little promontory in the sea of small Deptford houses, a green oasis to which men might climb after their work was done, a little above the smoke and dirt and noise of Deptford, and see the sun go down over great London, and the bend of the river and the tall masts; the hill might lift itself green and steep within sight of many a little house, and every tree planted on it stand visible to thousands up against the sky; there near to their homes children might run and play, and the fresh pure air blow down all over the plain of small houses, the inhabitants of which go neither to sea-side nor country when the August holidays come, if only, and that in time, we save them the crest of the hill. It belongs to the Haberdashers' Company; they have a memorial from the Kyrle Society now before them asking them to devote at least some part of the hill to the public.

It would be unadvisable to give here the details of the schemes which we submitted to the Commissioners; they were samples—good ones, we think—of the sort of work we hope they may see their way to take up. We did not go to ask support for this scheme or that scheme, for a few thousands more or less, but to urge the importance of their considering the propriety of devoting some really large sum to the adequate provision of open spaces for Londoners. We hold that there are many reasons why the Parochial Charity Fund should be devoted to open spaces. Not only will it be impossible to secure the most valuable unless they are saved at once, but also, as Lord Hobhouse so well expresses it—

1. They cannot be procured in crowded parts of the town, where they are especially wanted, except by the application of large sums of money at a time.

2. They are the constant source of health and of innocent enjoyment to all within their reach.

3. It is difficult to conceive any lapse of time or change of circumstance which shall take away their value.

4. They are available, if properly placed, to the very poorest classes.

5. They are a kind of charity which cannot demoralise and cannot be abused or jobbed.

6. They do not require any great amount of labour or wisdom for their management, which is the point at which endowments for other purposes are apt to break down after their first founders are gone.

We feel that the intelligent support of the public in favour

of a large and thoughtful scheme for meeting London needs is of the greatest importance at this moment. Sometimes I think that God has ordered that this great gift from the generous men of old should become available just when the people have wakened up to the need of space, and will ask to have the money thus spent, and sometimes I think that the great opportunity now offered may pass away, and, like the Sibylline books, the fields for those who come after us may have to be bought, fewer of them, at tenfold cost, when the world is wiser, and that they will be for ever farther from the people's homes, the near ones irrecoverably lost where now they might be saved.

When I think this, I ask myself, and I think each of my readers will do the same, 'What can I myself do? have I any duty with regard to the matter?' In reply, let me point out that each of us can in a measure influence public opinion, and that much will depend on public opinion in the next few months with regard to any schemes for saving or purchasing. In many districts of London questions relating to open spaces are coming before vestries, and men, at any rate, might help on the cause largely by supporting wise measures of purchase. St. Pancras, Hampstead, Marylebone, Islington, South Hornsey, and Stoke Newington have lately made votes which do them great credit with the object of securing valuable space. Just now there is before the Lambeth vestry the question of purchasing the Lawn, eight and a half acres of ground really in the heart of our city, and in the South-East quadrant of it; the place is moreover associated with Professor Fawcett's life.

There come too, now and again, questions of actual purchase of land by private subscription. The only one I know of now before the public is that of the extension of Hampstead Heath by the purchase of Parliament Hill.¹ I have said here, and elsewhere, why I feel this Hill to be of vital importance to Londoners, precisely *the* most important place to secure that I know. The rich people of London were asked to give 52,500*l.* towards the purchase. This would have met other funds, and so have secured 265 acres of land. The scheme has been before the public for some nine weeks, and 7000*l.* of that money is still not given. Many have given generously, many have made great sacrifices to help—but where are the rest? Surely there must be more who could easily contribute, and who should be proud to join in so splendid a gift to their fellow-citizens. It is a gift that almost must bring blessing; for it is, as it were, a giving back to men that which God gives most freely and generally to all His children—blue sky, pure earth, bright water, green grass. And more than this. Do you think these are only earthly gifts, and do you aspire to grant spiritual ones? Pause a minute, and think.

¹ Since this was written, an appeal has appeared for money to purchase North Woolwich Gardens.

In the houses of the poor are multitudes who from birth onwards have never been alone, day or night; the room is always full; others are round them; not for five minutes have they the sense of being alone with God. When sorrow comes, when joy comes, it is all the same: no quiet for the still small voice to whisper. There are women, nervous and worn, who never have rest all day from the tramp of the little feet on the noisy boards or the sense of continual movement all round. Think of the ceaseless echo, the shout, the scream, the bustle in the narrow court. Ask yourself whether it would not help you to be your best self, to realise that your Father was speaking to you, if, in such a life, there came some day when you sat silent alone under the trees, could look up into the lovely sky, or see far away the stretch of distant blue.

OCTAVIA HILL.

ES FROM CHARING CROSS.

No. of acres secured in 4 mile radius, 126

” ” 6 ” 644



No. of

No. of Acres secured in 4 mile radius 97

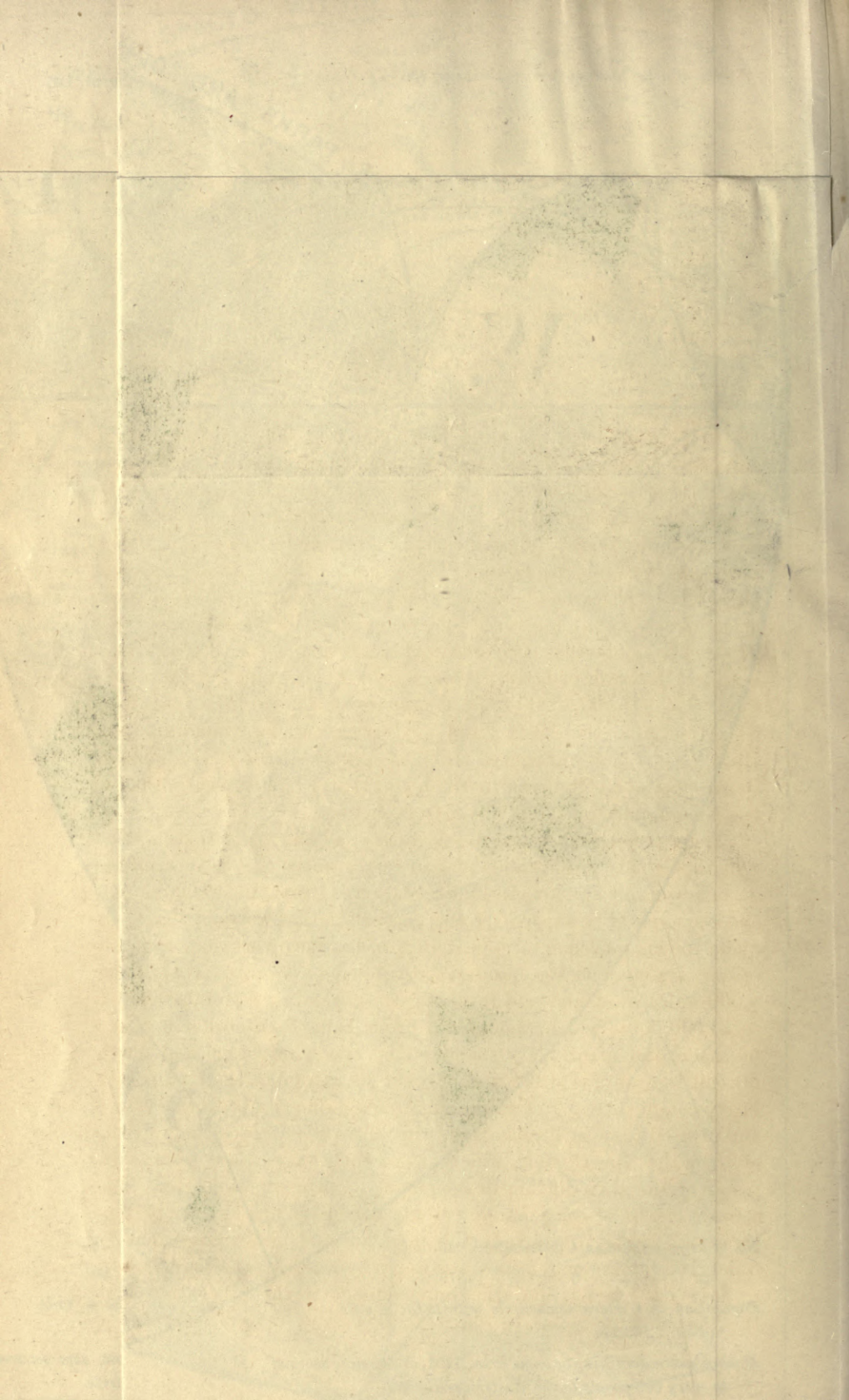
” ” 6 ” 601

Popu

Population in Eastern semi-circle in the 4 mile radius, 1,668,412

Acree

Acreege secured in the same area, 223, or one acre secured to every 7481 people in the Eastern semi-circle.



THE PANAMA CANAL AND ITS PROSPECTS.

FOR some years past, the world has heard from time to time strange stories concerning that narrow belt of land which divides the Pacific Ocean from the Atlantic. There is perhaps no similarly narrow piece of soil in the world that has loomed more largely in the annals of adventure, of diplomacy, of engineering failures and triumphs, of broken hopes and defeated aspirations. No other equally limited section of the world's surface has held, or is likely to continue to hold, so great an influence over the destinies of nations and the commerce of mankind. For more than two hundred years, plans and projects have been put forward for constructing across the isthmus a great waterway, which should enable the commerce of the world to pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and *vice versâ*, without rounding Cape Horn. It is now announced that one project—that of the Panama Canal—may be completed in 1890, and that a rival project—that of the Nicaraguan Canal—is about to be begun.

There is nothing in the recent history of the world that is more remarkable than the formidable and costly works that have been undertaken in our age to annihilate space and time, and promote ease and economy of transport. Every modern nation has contributed its quota to this movement. Great Britain has been the pioneer of the railway system, and has, besides, constructed a system of canals, some 4,000 miles in extent, and involving an expenditure of 60,000,000*l.* to 70,000,000*l.*, which, though far from being as useful as it might be made, and greatly overshadowed by the omnipotent and omnipresent iron way, is still found of great advantage in the transport of heavy commodities. In France, canal navigation is much more valued and utilised than in England, and the water-ways are specially looked after by the Government, which has recently undertaken a large expenditure for their further development. Germany, like France, has a canal system of considerable extent, and has in hand at the present time two important links in the chain of such communications—a canal 163 miles long, from Dortmund to Emden harbour, which is to cost 3,233,000*l.*; and the improvement of the navigation from the Oder at Fürstenberg to the Upper Spree at Berlin, a distance of

54 miles, at an estimated cost of 630,000*l.* Further east, the Isthmus of Corinth has almost been pierced by a canal which connects the Mediterranean and the Adriatic with the Archipelago and the Black Sea, thus shortening the distance between the Piræus and Marseilles by 11 per cent., while Genoa is brought nearer by 12, Venice and Trieste by 18, and Brindisi by 32 per cent. The length of this canal is, however, only 4 miles, the greatest depth of cutting being 285 feet, and the total amount of excavation being estimated at 13,000,000 cubic yards. Russia, again, has recently completed a maritime canal between Cronstadt and St. Petersburg, 18 miles in length, and 22 feet in depth, over a floor 276 feet in width. This canal, however, was a comparatively easy undertaking. It was cut through the submerged delta of the Neva, in a depth of water varying from 8 feet near St. Petersburg to 20 feet near Cronstadt.

In the United States, and in Canada, a really magnificent system of canals is in operation, some of them being of large extent and importance. The Erie, for example, between Buffalo and Albany, is 360 miles in length, and cost, with its ultimate enlargement, \$46,000,000. The Miami Canal, in Ohio, connects Cincinnati and Toledo, a distance of 291 miles, and cost \$7,500,000. In the same state, another canal, 332 miles in length, runs from Cleveland to Portsmouth, and cost some \$5,000,000. Pennsylvania has fifteen different canals, the most important being that known as the Schuylkill Coal and Navigation, which runs from Mill Creek to Philadelphia, 108 miles, and involved an outlay of \$13,250,000. In Maryland, again, there is the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, connecting Georgetown with Cumberland, Md., 184½ miles in length, on which \$11,500,000 were expended; and in Virginia there is that important undertaking, the James River and Kanawha Canal, 196 miles long, which is set down as having cost \$6,500,000—about the same cost, by the way, as that of the Wabash and Erie Canal in Indiana, which, however, is 374 miles in length, or nearly double the extent. Altogether, the United States can boast of rather over the canal mileage of the United Kingdom, notwithstanding the magnificent lake and river resources with which nature has so bountifully endowed the whole continent, and to which, indeed, the canals are in every respect subordinate. On the system, as a whole, the United States have expended over \$160,000,000, besides having made grants of land to the extent of 4,500,000 acres.

But the United States have not hitherto given practical expression to the importance of ship canals on a large scale, as they seem to have been appreciated in other countries, and especially do they appear to have come short in their appreciation of the vast importance to their trade and commerce of obtaining a water-way between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, which would enable their shipping to avoid the infinitely long and tedious journey round Cape

Horn. This, however, has often been put forward, both in the United States and in Europe, as a desideratum of the first importance.

Since the date when Paterson was beguiled by the buccaneers into the confident belief that the Isthmus of Darien was an Eldorado, fertile and arable, abounding in gold, silver, and precious stones, and marked out by nature for the highway of the commerce of the world, the comparatively narrow strip of land which connects the two oceans at this point has been regarded by states, potentates, projectors, engineers, and navigators alike, as the key to the future intercourse of the nations on either side.

The Isthmus of Panama is only about 114 miles wide from sea to sea at its widest part. In some parts, however, and following the line of the Panama Railway, it is only about 45 miles wide. When it is recollected that the Suez Canal is 100 miles in length, that many of the canals in the United States are over 200 miles in length, that the proposed ship canal from Manchester to the Mersey will be 60 miles long, and that some very important canals in continental Europe and India are from 50 to 100 miles in extent, it would not appear, on the face of it, as if there were any insuperable obstacles in the way of crossing the isthmus at Panama by a water-way adapted for the passage of ships. But unfortunately there are natural barriers opposed to the Panama project that do not apply in any of the other cases quoted. The isthmus is traversed by a chain of mountains, the highest peak of which—that of Picacho, in the Department of Chiriqui—is 7,200 ft. above sea-level, while no fewer than 149 streams fall into the Atlantic from the dividing ridges of the isthmus, and 326 into the Pacific. These interpose formidable obstacles in the way of a canal, which, until the problem was tackled by M. de Lesseps, were deemed to be practically insurmountable.

The climate is another obstacle that has hitherto acted as an effectual deterrent to so important a work. Paterson's idea was that the range of mountains which traverse the isthmus would elevate it from the midst of tropical heats into a temperature healthy and habitable to northern constitutions, and when the colony of Darien was established in the year 1698 this was the prevailing opinion. Even now there are medical men who pronounce the climate to be comparatively healthy, and who assert that the miasmatic fever of the isthmus is a mild form of febrile disease, perfectly controllable by quinine. But the experience of 200 years does not confirm this judgment. Paterson's expedition was struck down and decimated by the fever and ague. Every attempt made since his time to import outsiders into the locality, whether for railway, canal, or other purposes, has equally failed from the same cause. Since the canal now being constructed by M. de Lesseps was commenced, the most doleful accounts have been published of the mortality that has occurred among the *employés* on the works.

These accounts have from time to time been either flatly contradicted or described as gross exaggerations. But, however this may be, there is every reason to believe that a torrid climate, in which rain falls for eight months of the year, can hardly be the best suited to human constitutions.

In face of all the difficulties and obstacles, natural and otherwise, it appears to be little more than problematical whether within the next three or four years the Panama Canal will become a *fait accompli*. It is remarkable that the French, who scarcely appear to have any business in this part of the world, have always cast longing eyes upon the isthmus. In 1847 a charter was granted by the Government of New Granada to a French company for a railway from ocean to ocean. This railway was, however, ultimately carried to completion by an American syndicate.¹ Again, in 1843, on the representations of Humboldt and M. Alphonse Morel, the French Government sent out two engineers, Messrs. Garella and Coustines, to make an examination and report, with a view to a canal across the isthmus. On their return they made a favourable report, not only declaring a canal feasible, but recommending that it should pass under the dividing ridge of Ahogayegua by a tunnel 120 feet in height and 17,390 feet in length. Nothing came of the matter for a time, although in subsequent years it was one that greatly interested the late Emperor of the French. In 1876 another French company was organised for the purpose of reviving the canal scheme, and, under the command of Lieutenant Wyse, an expedition was sent out to make a further examination and report. This expedition was the stepping-stone to the ultimate formation of the 'Civil International Inter-oceanic Canal Society,' which, formed in 1878, secured the services of M. de Lesseps as their engineer in the following year, and commenced the actual construction of the canal in 1881.

Of the engineering and structural features of the canal, it is hardly necessary to say much. Its length will be under fifty miles, or just about one half the length of the Suez Canal. A remarkable feature of the work is that the canal will be about twenty-eight feet below the mean ocean level, throughout its entire length. The width of the canal will be 72 feet at the bottom and 160 feet at the top. This is much the same design as that which was adopted by M. de Lesseps for the Suez Canal, despite the advice of the English members of the International Commission, who favoured the idea of having the canal twenty-five feet *above* sea-level, and connected, with the Bay of Pelusium at one end and the Red Sea at the other, by means of locks, similar to the sea entrances to the Caledonian Canal. The two works, however, can hardly be compared in any other point of detail. The Suez Canal passed almost entirely through lakes, marshes, and swamps,

¹ The Panama Railway has been acquired by, and now belongs to, the Canal Company.

while the Panama Canal has to be cut through the Cordilleras, and has to cross several times the bed of the river Chagres, the flood waters of which present most serious obstacles. Again, the total quantity of excavation in the construction of the Suez Canal was 130,000,000 cubic metres, while the quantity of excavation required in the case of the Panama Canal is estimated at nearer 200,000,000 cubic metres, of which more than 130,000,000 were still to be excavated at the commencement of the past year. The necessary capital for the Suez Canal was about 20,000,000*l.* When the Panama Canal was commenced, it was calculated that an outlay of 32,000,000*l.* would see it completed. It is now admitted that this sum will be largely exceeded. In a recent report by the United States Consul at the Canal it was stated that the 100,000,000 cubic metres still to be excavated would involve an average outlay of a dollar per metre, and this, of course, would mean a prospective outlay of about 20,000,000*l.* for excavations alone, in addition to the sum already expended, which is variously put at 25,000,000*l.* to 30,000,000*l.* It may, perhaps, be safe to say that the canal will not be fully completed under an outlay of 50,000,000*l.* to 60,000,000*l.*, which is more than double the cost of the Suez Canal for only one half the length.² If the major figure should be reached, the average cost per mile will be a million and a quarter sterling, a figure quite unexampled in the history of canal construction, although not more than that which has been incurred in some railway works.³

As far as ways and means are concerned, the prospects of the Panama Canal are generally regarded as far from favourable. The intrepid engineer, in a letter which he addressed, on the 15th of November 1887, to the Premier of the French Republic, stated that the sum at the disposal of the Canal Company, on the 18th of January 1888, would be 110,000,000 francs, or 4,400,000*l.*, after the payment of all expenses to that date. He asked, at the same time, for the payment of the sum of 265,000,000 francs, or 10,600,000*l.*, which had then to be issued out of the 600,000,000 francs, or 24 millions sterling, authorised by the shareholders, and for other financial assistance. By way of guaranteeing the execution of the programme in respect of which this sum was required, M. de Lesseps offered to place at the disposal of the French Parliament all the contracts and documents in the possession of the company. The modified plans of M. de Lesseps, as they are now proposed to be carried out by M. Eiffel, of Eiffel tower celebrity, at his own risk, provide for the extraction of only forty millions of cubic metres addi-

² In a report which he has recently presented to the Colombian Government, Señor Armero states that the ultimate cost of the canal will exceed 153 millions sterling, but this appears to be a very high estimate indeed. He also estimates that 120 millions sterling will be required to complete the work.

³ In the case of the Metropolitan Railway, the line from Aldgate to South Kensington cost 772,000*l.*, while the City lines extensions cost 1,264,000*l.* per mile.

tional to what has already been done. This appears, on the face of it, to bring us within 'measurable distance' of practical results.⁴

In making the Suez Canal, the chief difficulty encountered was the formation of the channel through Lake Menzaleh, which extended twenty-one miles from Port Said to Kantara. In this necessary operation, thousands of natives had to be employed to form a dyke, by throwing up, *with their bare hands alone*, banks of 'black slush,' until clear water began to flow in. In crossing the Isthmus of Panama, the most serious work to be undertaken is the construction of a huge dam or reservoir, near the influx of the river Obispo, which will be 960 metres long at the bottom and 1,960 at the top, with a height of 45 metres. This, which will be the largest dyke in the world, has been found necessary in order to meet the inequalities of the rise and fall of the tides at each end of the canal. Again, there has been nothing in the Suez Canal works, or indeed anywhere else, corresponding to the cutting through the Culebra Col, in the Cordilleras, an excavation 350 feet in depth.

There are many other striking features of difference between these two great works, which are such as to suggest a contrast rather than a comparison. In the case of the Suez Canal, the whole of the Powers of Western Europe were interested in obtaining a short cut to the East, and thus avoiding the previously unavoidable voyage by the Cape. The enterprise had a great deal of direct encouragement, and not a little support, from the Emperor of the French and the Khedive of Egypt; and although it involved engineering and other problems difficult of solution, these were neither complicated by climatic drawbacks nor affected by the supply and cost of labour. In the case of the Panama Canal, however, the circumstances are entirely different. The States most directly interested in the undertaking give no direct help to it, and their encouragement is limited to the provision contained in the treaty made in 1846, by which the Governments of New Granada and the United States undertook to guarantee 'the perfect neutrality of the isthmus, with a view that the free travel from one sea to the other may not be embarrassed or interrupted in any future time.' America, indeed, looks coldly on the enterprise. The United States have 'their own axes to grind.' Not only are they directly promoting the Nicaraguan Ship Canal, which, it is reported, is to be the joint property of the United States and the republic of Nicaragua—and of which we shall have more to say by-and-by—but they have been partial to the project of the Tehuantepec Ship Railway, which is designed to convey ships bodily from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. If one of these rival and competitive

⁴ On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Señor Armero, in his report made last October, estimated that 129 millions of cubic metres of excavation had still to be done, which is more than three times the quantity provided for by M. de Lesseps.

schemes—for such they really are—should ultimately be carried out, either it or the Panama Canal must suffer, since they would be striving to secure the same traffic. At present, the Panama Canal appears to ‘hold the field.’ It is actually a long way towards completion, and, if its further progress should be anything like reasonable, it may easily be finished before either of the other schemes is begun, in which case it may very well happen that it will be left without a rival for many years to come.

Among the many interesting problems connected with the undertaking at Panama that were more or less involved in doubt and obscurity when the works were commenced was that of the probable velocity of the tides of the Pacific and of the Caribbean Sea, and of its effects on navigation. This question was necessarily dependent on, and associated with, that of the height of the tides at Panama and Colon, respectively. A report made to the French Academy of Sciences during the past year appears to furnish an adequate assurance that there is no trouble or danger to be apprehended on this score. It is calculated by the author of the report that, assuming the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans to be of the same level, the velocity of the tides in the canal cannot exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ knots, and that this rate can only last for a few hours. It is therefore concluded that the navigation of steamers is not likely to be affected by tidal influence. This is a point of vast importance. The range of tides in the Atlantic is calculated at from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 19 inches, whereas at Panama it varies from 8 to $21\frac{1}{4}$ feet, whence a considerable and troublesome tidal current in the latter direction has been anticipated.

The proposed canal, commencing in the Bay of Limon, or Navy Bay, on the Atlantic, is to proceed by the river Chagres, as far as Matachin on that river, and afterwards, traversing the valleys of Obispo and Rio Grande, will enter the Pacific at the Bay of Panama.

The Nicaraguan Canal, a rival scheme, which appears to be approved in the United States, and has received the sanction of the New York Chamber of Commerce and other important bodies, is intended to connect the port of San Juan, or Greytown, on the Atlantic, with that of Brito, on the Pacific Ocean. Its total length is estimated at about 170 miles, of which, however, only about forty miles are canal proper, the remaining 130 miles being formed by channels in the Nicaragua Lake, the rivers San Juan and San Francisco, and their several tributaries. It has been calculated that the time of passage through the canal and locks will occupy about thirty hours, giving an average speed of 5.7 miles per hour, and that the canal will admit of a traffic of twenty millions of tons per annum, assuming the average tonnage of the vessels passing through to be the same as that of the vessels passing through the Suez Canal. The scheme does not appear to present or involve any remarkable engineering features. The mean water-level of Lake Nicaragua is taken as the

summit level of the canal, whence there is a considerable fall to the Pacific Ocean, which is to be got over by four locks, each with lifts of twenty-five to thirty feet. The proposed works involve two dams of large dimensions—one 420 yards long and 52 feet high, just below the point where the canal takes off from the San Juan; and the other 2,000 yards long and 51 feet high, across the San Francisco valley. The surveys already made indicate an ample water supply. The locks proposed are to be wide enough to admit the largest size of vessels, being 650 feet by 65 feet by 29 feet over the sills. There will be seven locks in all, each provided with iron sliding gates, retreating into a lateral recess when open. The cost has been variously estimated at from \$50,000,000 to \$64,000,000 or 10,000,000*l.* to 12,000,000*l.* sterling; but last year the cost was put at nearly double this amount by Commander Taylor, of the U.S. Navy, in a lecture before the New York Geographical Society.

It appears that there is some diplomatic difficulty in the way of this undertaking. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, concluded in 1850, provided certain mutual guarantees between the United States and the United Kingdom for the protection and control of this canal, and the Cabinets of London and Washington have had some correspondence relative thereto. For this and other reasons, President Cleveland, in his message to Congress in 1885, stated that an attentive consideration of the Nicaraguan Canal Treaty led him to withhold it from submission to the Senate. This treaty was signed in 1884, the contracting parties being the United States on the one hand, and the Republic of Nicaragua on the other. It stipulated that the new water-way should be the property of the two Governments; but the United States claimed to select the land route, to make a railway as part of the canal, and to have free use of the land and water required for purposes of construction. A joint management of three was proposed, and it was suggested that Nicaragua should take one-third, and the United States two-thirds of the proceeds. The enterprise has repeatedly been mentioned since, both in the Senate and in Congress, but its practical realisation does not appear to be much nearer than it was when the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was concluded thirty-seven years ago. Of the proposed ship railway little need be said, since it is not being pressed forward by any party at present.

It may be useful to recall the fact that the schemes which have been put forward from time to time with a view to establishing communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans include—

1. A canal across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec *viâ* the rivers Chicapa and Coatzacoalcos.
2. A canal through Lake Nicaragua, terminating either in Brito or San Juan del Sur.
3. A canal across the Isthmus of Chiriqui.
4. A canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

5. A canal from San Miguel to Caledonia Bay.

6. A canal from San Miguel to the Gulf of Darien, crossing the valley of the Atrato.

7. A canal across the Isthmus of Darien, *viâ* the rivers Tuyra, G. Urabá, or the Atrato.

These, however, are very far from exhausting the list, which embraces no less than twenty-six different routes, including canals and roads. The Panama route has always attracted most attention, chiefly, no doubt, because it is much shorter than any other, its estimated length of about fifty miles being little more than one-fourth of that of the Nicaraguan route. As to the ship railway scheme projected by the late Mr. Eads, we have never seen any very reliable estimate of its probable cost put forward, and it is perhaps hardly one that the public would take kindly to, however ingenious and feasible from an engineering point of view.

On the other hand, there are those who hold that the Nicaraguan scheme, which does not involve very heavy cuttings, and which has the advantage of making use for some 130 miles of the Nicaragua Lake and the San Juan River, is likely to be much less costly, and in the long run more easy to maintain, than the Panama Canal. The latter is an important consideration, as the shareholders of the Suez Canal have found to their cost. But, however this may be, the Nicaraguan Canal Association is now a veritable entity, and the promoters of the scheme evidently mean business.

It is not a little remarkable that the Nicaraguan route, which is now apparently being hailed with great approval by the people of America, was emphatically condemned by a Commission which investigated the question, under instructions from the Senate, in 1866. Their report, however, was founded on the project put forward in 1850-51 by Messrs. Childs and Fay, who proposed that the descent from the lake to the Pacific should be made by fourteen locks, and that fourteen more should accomplish the descent to the Caribbean Sea. The total length of the line was estimated at 194 miles, and it was proposed that the seaports of Greytown and Brito, at the two ends of the canal, should be provided with extensive, and necessarily costly, piers, harbours, jetties, breakwaters, &c. On this scheme the Commission referred to reported that 'no enterprise presenting such formidable difficulties will ever be undertaken with even our present knowledge of the American isthmuses.' This prophecy appears likely to be falsified by the lapse of events.

To Europe, the construction of a water-way across the Isthmus of Darien or Panama is of much less importance than it was before the Suez Canal was opened. But it is still of very great consequence, and that for several manifest reasons. To begin with, the Suez Canal is a monopolist route, with monopolist charges and monopolist arbitrariness of control. The heavy imposts which are levied for the

passage of ships through that water-way largely limit its use, and especially by sailing vessels, which still, in many cases, prefer to take the far longer passage round the Cape, and so escape the petty difficulties and annoyances of the canal. What the extent of the trade carried round the Cape may now be we cannot accurately say, but it must be very considerable. India alone has now 7,250,000 tons of shipping entering and clearing from her ports annually. Australasia has about 16,000,000, Hong Kong 7,000,000, and the Straits Settlements about 7,000,000 tons. Altogether, then, our Indian and Colonial possessions in the East have 37,000,000 to 40,000,000 tons of shipping every year entering and clearing, almost wholly from and to the United Kingdom. The value of this trade is colossal and portentous. Taking the year 1884 as a fairly average one, it was ⁵—

For Australasia	£ 118,573,000
„ India	157,343,000
„ Straits Settlements	35,936,000
„ Ceylon	7,900,000
„ Hong Kong.	30,000,000

Here, then, we have a total value of about 350 millions, represented by the trade of the British possessions in the East, chiefly with our own country. The rate of the growth of this trade has been its most marked characteristic. Since 1872 the imports and exports of our Australian colonies have about doubled. Those of the Straits Settlements and India have increased by over sixty per cent. Cheapen the cost, and increase the facilities of transport, and it is impossible to forecast the possible limits, or the rate of development of the trade that may be opened up.

It is, however, to the United States that the opening of a water-way across the Isthmus of Panama is likely to be of the greatest advantage and importance. The greater part of the trade between the ports of that country and the Orient has now to pass over from 5,000 to 12,000 miles of ocean that would be entirely obviated by the operation of piercing the isthmus. This necessity has no doubt acted in restraint of American trade with Australasia, India, China, and, indeed, Asiatic countries generally. In spite, however, of the serious embargo thereby imposed, the trade between those countries and America has advanced with remarkable strides. The countries on both sides of the isthmus are the countries of the future—possessed of unlimited resources, virgin soil of rare fertility, dominated by the energy, enterprise, and high capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race, and easily able to support twenty times their present population without any danger of pressing on the means of subsistence. With these countries the trade of the United States during the last financial year appears to have been as follows:—

⁵ The values are taken from the Colonial Year-book, issued by the Board of Trade.

Statement showing the number and tonnage of ships that entered and cleared from the Ports of the United States during the year ending June 30, 1887.

	Entered		Cleared	
	Vessels	Tonnage	Vessels	Tonnage
Central American States	280	110,000	263	94,821
China	38	39,879	26	28,914
Japan	41	53,973	41	61,849
Peru	17	14,010	16	13,868
Mexico (one-half)	201	91,300	223	191,000
British East Indies	117	152,313	79	107,039
French East Indies	1	194	7	7,111
Australasia	289	348,509	170	154,769
Hawaiian Islands	191	101,153	186	99,030
Hong Kong	81	140,491	48	90,321
Chili	85	68,676	64	61,606
Total	1,341	1,120,498	1,123	919,328

According to this showing, the foreign trade of the United States, at the present time, could provide the canal with a traffic of 2,464 vessels, of rather over 2,000,000 tons, which, assuming an average of 10s. per ton, would, of course, give a gross revenue of about 1,000,000*l.* sterling. This, of course, comes very far short of the revenue that accrues from the Suez Canal, which now amounts to about 3,000,000*l.* sterling per annum. But the trade is not likely to be limited to the United States alone. On the contrary, it is believed that a very considerable English tonnage may probably make use of the canal, and then there is the enormous local, or internal, commerce of the United States that passes to California round Cape Horn. Finally, there is the rapid expansion of the American trade with the whole of the Pacific to be taken into account. That this will continue to expand as hitherto, and perhaps even in an accelerated ratio, there is little reason to doubt. A few typical examples will best show what has happened in the past, and the consequent promise for the future. The *imports* of merchandise into the United States from Mexico advanced from \$1,500,000 in 1868 to \$10,500,000 in 1886, while within the same interval the *exports* from the United States to Mexico rose from under \$5,000,000 to over \$16,000,000. Taking the Central American States, the *imports* from the United States rose from \$725,000 to over \$6,000,000, and the *exports* from \$500,000 to over \$3,000,000. The fact is that there does not appear to be any measurable limit to the possible growth of trade in these regions.

If either England or America were told that they were losing largely every year by their neglect of opportunities that were perfectly open to them, they would perhaps hardly understand what was meant. And yet this is unquestionably the fact. Both countries appear to have failed to appreciate the importance, from an economic point of

view, of the great work of connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans in such a way as to avoid the very protracted and expensive voyage round Cape Horn. They have often enough discussed the subject; commissions and special reporters have been sent out again and again to inquire into the merits of different schemes projected for the purpose of bridging over this splendid obstacle to international intercourse, concessions have been granted, plans have been prepared, presidents, senators, secretaries of state, aye, and even emperors, have sat in council on the scheme, but all in vain. For thirty or forty years the Anglo-Saxon race have been content to look on, and France has again 'belled the cat,' and 'made the running.'

There is, however, in the minds of many people who are entitled to weight a serious doubt whether the vast sum of money that seems to be necessary to the completion of the canal will ever be raised. Already the prospect in view appears to be that the cost will largely exceed that originally contemplated, and the immediate outlook, in reference to dividends, is probably not of the best. But this is not the worst of it. If the United States should proceed with their Nicaraguan project, or if the now dormant ship railway should be revived, the outlook would become much darker, unless, indeed, there were to be quite a phenomenal development of commerce. On the other hand, we must not forget that M. de Lesseps carries the French people with him. They make it a matter of *amour propre* to stand by their darling engineer, for has he not enabled them to obtain *la gloire* in the eyes of the world, and has he not also triumphed over the unbelieving and boastful English, who scoffed at his scheme for crossing the Isthmus of Suez? The remarkable success of the Suez Canal is alone sufficient to draw forth from the *bourgeoisie* of France the hoards of a million stockings, for they believe in M. de Lesseps as firmly as he believes in himself. Under these circumstances, the canal will most probably be carried to completion. This is the view even of those who do not otherwise say much for the project. Señor Armero, whose recent report has already been quoted, says that too much work has been done, and too much money expended, to permit of the abandonment of the canal, not to mention the fact that the honour of France is at stake.

It is, nevertheless, a matter for regret that the Panama Canal scheme is likely to be hampered at the outset for want of adequate resources. This will probably compel the adoption of measures which, although tending to economise in the meantime, will ultimately be costly, and possibly ruinous. The experience of the Suez Canal should 'point a moral' in this regard. The great pressure entailed upon that undertaking by a traffic many times in excess of what was originally calculated, has compelled the enlargement of the canal, at an estimated cost of over 8,000,000*l.* This work, which has been recommended by the Commission appointed in 1884 to determine what

measures should be undertaken to enable the canal to meet fully the exigencies of a traffic exceeding 10,000,000 tons per annum, will enable ships to increase the present average speed of $5\frac{1}{3}$ knots to 8 knots per hour, will facilitate steering, and will enable vessels to avoid stranding on the canal banks, besides offering some collateral advantages. But it is probable that much expense would have been saved, and it is certain that much delay, danger, and inconvenience would have been avoided, if the canal had originally been constructed on a sufficiently large scale. A similar danger now threatens the Panama undertaking. Within the last few weeks, M. de Lesseps has proposed to emasculate his great project by providing in the meantime for a traffic of 7,500,000 tons—the present anticipated limit⁶—and reserving for the future the completion of the works, as originally or recently planned, by means of small levies raised on the profits of the enterprise.

It is not an easy matter to frame anything like a correct estimate of the actual position of the undertaking at the present time. According to the best information we can command, the financial history of the canal is set forth in the following statement:—

Date	Amount and Rate of Issues	Cash received	
		Francs	£
1880	Original capital	300,000,000	= 12,000,000
1882	250,000 shares, 5%, sold at 437½ fr. on 500 fr.	109,375,000	= 4,375,000
1883	600,000 3% bonds, sold at 225 fr. on 500 fr.	135,000,000	= 5,400,000
1884	409,667 4% bonds, sold at 333 fr. on 500 fr.	136,419,111	= 5,456,764
1886	500,000 shares, of which 453,802 were taken at 450 fr. on 1000 fr.	206,460,900	= 8,256,436
1887	500,000 shares, of which 280,887 were taken at 440 fr. on 1000 fr.	113,910,280	= 4,556,411
	Totals	1,001,165,291	= 40,044,611

According to this showing the total sum raised up to the present time has been over 40,000,000*l.* sterling, or more than twice the total cost of the Suez Canal. Of this amount, about 33,000,000*l.* sterling had been expended to September last.

The most conflicting statements are in circulation, and have for the last year or more been appearing from day to day, as to the amount of work which this vast expenditure represents. The work is, of course, chiefly excavation, and the recent report of Señor Armero, already mentioned, states that in September last—since which comparatively little has been done—only 40,000,000 of cubic metres, or about 21 per cent. of the excavations necessary, had been accomplished. The same reporter states that the remaining four-fifths of the work will be much more troublesome and expensive than that

⁶ This is rather more than the gross tonnage of the vessels using the Suez Canal over the last three or four years.

already done, being nearer the water-level and below it. Of the sum still to be expended, it is estimated that about 19,000,000*l.* sterling will be required to control the waters of the Chagres river. The works on this river have hardly been begun. As these works involve turning the river from its channel, and constructing a dam, 1,200 metres in length, 430 in width, and 45 in height, behind which there will be 3,000,000 cubic metres of water backed up, it is probable that no equally remarkable work has ever been attempted. The construction of this dam alone is estimated by competent engineers at 471,000,000 francs, or nearly 19,000,000*l.* sterling—in other words, if this estimate is anywhere near the mark, a single dam on the Panama Canal is to cost practically as much as the Suez Canal did from first to last, and a great deal more than some of our great railways. In view of these considerations, we are told that the Panama Canal will still involve an expenditure of 2,541,000,000 francs or over 100,000,000*l.* sterling, not to speak of interest on capital, which has been put at another 1,000,000,000 francs or 40,000,000*l.* sterling. These figures seem to be little short of fabulous. They are probably verging on the extreme limit of the actual cost required. Nor is this remarkable, when we remember how very much under the actual results all previous estimates have been. It appears, indeed, as if engineers were incapable of providing reliable estimates in regard to works of this description. The Suez Canal was originally estimated to cost 6,480,000*l.* Its actual cost, as we have already seen, was about 20,000,000*l.* In the early stages of the Panama Canal project, its probable cost was estimated by M. Wyse, the surveyor of the Company, at 30,000,000*l.* sterling, and M. Lesseps himself subsequently put it at the much higher sum of 48,000,000*l.* The most experienced of our English engineers have apparently been content to accept these estimates, and it appears to have been assumed by more than one President of the Institution of Civil Engineers that the larger sum named would see the canal completed. The results accomplished up to the present time have been so very greatly in excess of all responsible estimates that if the work is to be carried out it would probably be well to have a commission of experts from the countries chiefly interested—say, England, France, and the United States—appointed to examine and report upon the project, with a view to giving reliable information as to whether it is feasible, how far the work has proceeded, what sum is really required to complete it, and the financial prospects of the undertaking.

The Panama Canal is chiefly interesting from an engineering and a commercial standpoint; but its completion is also likely to involve some curious, and possibly rather troublesome, political problems. If France should undertake the construction of the canal as a national work, and should expend upon it anything like the sum of 153,000,000*l.* sterling—its estimated cost, according to Señor Armero—the French

people would not unnaturally look to the acquisition of a preponderating influence in the isthmus. This would be likely to lead to complications. There are those who believe that the ultimate result of the Panama Canal project will be the transformation of Colombia into a French dependency. In any such event, the United States would be likely to interfere. In the case of the Suez Canal, which was by no means so serious or so costly an undertaking, the preponderating interest acquired by France induced in many minds the idea that French interests in Egypt generally should be paramount, and the probability is that they would have become so but for Arabi's rebellion and the action of England. France will neither construct nor hold the Panama Canal for the sake of her own commerce. Her shipping and commercial interests in that part of the world are 'a mere flea-bite' compared with those of England and the United States. The canal will be built and carried on as a commercial undertaking pure and simple; and it is inevitable that its vast importance should give to its owners and managers a powerful, if not a controlling, voice in the affairs of the State through which it runs.

In this emergency it might be worth the while of the United States to come to the rescue. Their interest in the completion of the Panama Canal is infinitely greater than that of France, as measured by the use that they are likely to make of it when completed; and they seem to be at their wits' ends at the present time to know how to dispose of their surplus revenue. The surpluses of two such financial years as 1887-88 would enable the United States to finish the canal, even if its ultimate cost were to exceed the highest figure at which it has hitherto been officially estimated.

There is still another eventuality that is not only possible, but even highly probable. The concession granted by the Colombian Government for the construction of the canal will expire in 1892—that is to say, the existing company have only four more years within which to complete their great work. Should the terms of the concession not be complied with, the concession would, of course, lapse. It would then presumably be for the Colombian Government to withdraw the concession from M. de Lesseps and his friends, and transfer it either to a new company or to another country. In either event the sum expended on the canal by the existing company would be a subject for negotiations of a difficult and delicate character. If the Colombian Government were disposed to behave in a high-handed manner, they might simply clear the French out 'bag and baggage,' which would certainly be resented by France, and not unlikely made the occasion of a war, in which the United States of North America would find neutrality difficult. Nor is this quite a remote possibility. M. de Lesseps is in dire straits for

funds. His last loan is said to be little more than half taken, although issued at a discount of 56 per cent., and if the lottery scheme should fail he may become hopelessly involved. If, on the other hand, the French Government, as a government, countenance the canal project by a State lottery, they will give an official sanction to it which, while it will probably ensure the provision of the necessary ways and means, will impose upon the State the obligation of seeing that the enterprise is carried to a successful issue at whatever cost.⁷ These and other issues involved in the undertaking invest it with an interest for the jurist, as well as for the engineer and financier; and it may very well happen, after all, that knotty points of international law will have much to do with the ultimate fate of the contemplated water-way.

The construction of a ship canal across the American isthmus has been described as 'the mightiest event, probably, in favour of the peaceful intercourse of nations which the physical circumstances of the globe present to the enterprise of man.' The economic advantages, and the ultimate political and commercial results, of such a conquest over matter are certain to be important and far-reaching. The work will tend to the quicker and more substantial development of both the continents of America and Asia, by abridging the distance that now divides them. There is a very considerable trade springing up between the United States, British India, China, and Australia. Between New York—the greatest port and *entrepôt* of the United States—and Calcutta the distance is 17,500 miles *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope, and 23,000 miles *viâ* Cape Horn. By the Panama Canal, however, the voyage *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope would be shortened by 4,100 miles, and by Cape Horn by 9,600 miles. Again, the distance between New York and Canton is 19,500 miles by the Cape of Good Hope, and 21,500 miles by Cape Horn, whereas the proposed canal would reduce the former voyage by 8,900 miles, and the latter by 10,900 miles. In the case of the voyage from New York to Shanghai the saving is still more considerable, being 9,600 miles over the Cape of Good Hope route, and 11,600 over that of Cape Horn.

⁷ It is probably not generally known that Napoleon the Third took a very lively interest in the various schemes proposed for bridging the American isthmus, and in 1846 wrote a pamphlet on the subject, which, however, was never published. While the Emperor (then Prince Louis Napoleon) was a prisoner in the fortress of Ham, he received overtures from some persons of influence in Central America, proposing that he should proceed thither for the purpose of promoting the construction of a canal *viâ* the Lake of Nicaragua. The refusal of the French Government to liberate him prevented the realisation of this project, although it went so far that the then Minister of the Central American States in Paris notified that the Government of Nicaragua had conferred on the Prince full powers to carry out the enterprise. These negotiations do not appear to have been renewed after the Prince made his escape, although the pamphlet which he wrote shows that he thought very favourably of the project. Fate had other ends in view for this remarkable man. The author of the *coup d'état*, and the man of Sedan, was not destined to become a canal promoter, although he seems to have come very near it.

But the canal is not less important to the United States from the point of view of giving access between one part of their own vast dominions and another. At the present time there is a very large trade carried on between New York and San Francisco. A great part of that trade now goes overland, in consequence of the time and cost incurred in sending it by sea. Vessels trading between the two ports are compelled to go round Cape Horn, a distance of some 19,000 miles, whereas, if the Isthmus route were opened, the distance would be reduced to 5,000 miles; in other words, the journey would be shortened by some 14,000 miles. It is quite true that vessels are not very largely employed in this trade at the present time, and that the competition between the various trans-continental railways for the traffic between the Atlantic and the Pacific slopes is such as to give great facilities to commerce, and make it almost independent of the sea. But if the sea journey were made, as it could be made, only some 2,000 miles longer than the railway journey, instead of being, as it now is, about six times as long, there is no saying how the channels and development of the trans-continental traffic may vary and change. Already New York is one of the most important export and import ports in the whole world. The value of the imports into that port in 1886 amounted to not less a sum than \$419,500,000, and the exports were as much as \$314,500,000, so that the total trade of the port for 1886 was \$734,000,000 or 147,000,000*l.* sterling. This was more than one-half of the total foreign trade of the United States in the same year. On the Pacific side the trade was little more than a fraction of these figures, the exports from San Francisco amounting to \$30,250,000, and the imports to \$37,250,000. But there is, in the opinion of the highest authorities, a magnificent future for California. There are even those who predict that the City of the Golden Gates will one day rival New York in the extent of its internal wealth and external commerce. However this may be, San Francisco is the key of the Pacific, and is the threshold of territories of unlimited dimensions, wealth, and natural attractions. It is therefore, of very great importance to the trade and commerce of our own country, as well as of the United States, that by the Panama Canal the distance between London or Liverpool and San Francisco will be shortened by some thousands of miles, while a great part of the western area of British America and the United States, as well as Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and, indeed, the vast territories of South America generally will be brought within much more easy access. The opening up of these territories, and the advancement of their intercourse with the rest of the world, will be infinitely nearer to a consummation when the Cape Horn voyage is no longer necessary to their approach by sea.

If it were given to us to cast the horoscope of the future, we should almost stand appalled at the vast changes that its womb may

hold as the pregnant results of this achievement. At the present time England has the lion's share of the world's trade; and the commerce carried on between England and the United States is larger than that of any other two countries on the face of the globe. It is, however, impossible, in the course of nature, that this supremacy can endure for all time. 'The old order changes, yielding place to new.' The past was for Greece and Rome, the present is for England, Germany, and France; the future is undoubtedly for those countries that offer facilities for the development of commerce and industry, with which the limited area of Europe and the redundant population of these islands cannot successfully compete. Macaulay's New Zealander will not in our time be found sitting on a broken arch of London Bridge, while he sketches the ruins of St. Paul's. But that time is not unlikely to come in the long run. England has not found any elixir of life whereby she is to 'flourish in immortal youth.' The battle of the future must be to the strong, and the time is not likely to be far off when the sceptre of empire, of commerce, of wealth, and of industry, will be largely, if not wholly, transferred to those countries which are to be joined together by one or other of the water-ways that are now being projected across the American isthmus.

J. STEPHEN JEANS.

A COUNTER CRITICISM.

WHILE I do not concur in sundry of the statements and conclusions contained in the article entitled 'A Great Confession,' contributed by the Duke of Argyll to the last number of this Review, yet I am obliged to him for having raised afresh the question discussed in it. Though the injunction 'Rest and be thankful,' is one for which in many spheres much may be said—especially in the political, where undue restlessness is proving very mischievous—yet rest and be thankful is an injunction out of place in science. Unhappily, while politicians have not duly regarded it, it appears to have been taken to heart too much by naturalists; in so far, at least, as concerns the question of the origin of species.

The new biological orthodoxy behaves just as the old biological orthodoxy did. In the days before Darwin, those who occupied themselves with the phenomena of life passed by with unobservant eyes the multitudinous facts which point to an evolutionary origin for plants and animals; and they turned deaf ears to those who insisted upon the significance of these facts. Now that they have come to believe in this evolutionary origin, and have at the same time accepted the hypothesis that natural selection has been the sole cause of the evolution, they are similarly unobservant of the multitudinous facts which cannot rationally be ascribed to that cause; and turn deaf ears to those who would draw their attention to them. The attitude is the same; it is only the creed which has changed.

But, as above implied, though the protest of the Duke of Argyll against this attitude is quite justifiable, it seems to me that many of his statements cannot be sustained. Some of these concern me personally, and others are of impersonal concern. I propose to deal with them in the order in which they occur.

On page 144 the Duke of Argyll quotes me as omitting 'for the present any consideration of a factor which may be distinguished as primordial;' and he represents me as implying by this 'that Darwin's ultimate conception of some primordial "breathing of the breath of life" is a conception which can only be omitted "for the present."' Even had there been no other obvious interpretation, it would have been a somewhat rash assumption that this was my meaning when

referring to an omitted factor; and it is surprising that this assumption should have been made after reading the second of the two articles criticised, in which this factor omitted from the first is dealt with: this omitted third factor being the direct physico-chemical action of the medium on the organism. Such a thought as that which the Duke of Argyll ascribes to me, is so incongruous with the beliefs I have in many places expressed that the ascription of it never occurred to me as possible.

Lower down on the same page are some other sentences having personal implications, which I must dispose of before going into the general question. The Duke says 'it is more than doubtful whether any value attaches to the new factor with which he [I] desires to supplement it' [natural selection]; and he thinks it 'unaccountable' that I 'should make so great a fuss about so small a matter as the effect of use and disuse of particular organs as a separate and a newly recognised factor in the development of varieties.' I do not suppose that the Duke of Argyll intended to cast upon me the disagreeable imputation, that I claim as new that which all who are even slightly acquainted with the facts know to be anything rather than new. But his words certainly do this. How he should have thus written in spite of the extensive knowledge of the matter which he evidently has, and how he should have thus written in presence of the evidence contained in the articles he criticises, I cannot understand. Naturalists, and multitudes besides naturalists, know that the hypothesis which I am represented as putting forward as new is much older than the hypothesis of natural selection—goes back at least as far as Dr. Erasmus Darwin. My purpose was to bring into the foreground again a factor which has, I think, been of late years improperly ignored; to show that Mr. Darwin recognised this factor in an increasing degree as he grew older (by showing which I should have thought I sufficiently excluded the supposition that I brought it forward as new); to give further evidence that this factor is in operation; to show there are numerous phenomena which cannot be interpreted without it; and to argue that if proved operative in any cases, it may be inferred that it is operative on all structures having active functions.

Strangely enough, this passage in which I am represented as implying novelty in a doctrine which I have merely sought to emphasize and extend, is immediately succeeded by a passage in which the Duke of Argyll himself represents the doctrine as being familiar and well established:—

That organs thus enfeebled [i.e. by persistent disuse] are transmitted by inheritance to offspring in a like condition of functional and structural decline, is a correlated physiological doctrine not generally disputed. The converse case—of increased strength and development arising out of the habitual and healthy use of special organs, and of the transmission of these to offspring—is a case illustrated by many examples in the breeding of domestic animals. I do not know to what else we can attribute the long slender legs and bodies of greyhounds so manifestly adapted to

speed of foot, or the delicate powers of smell in pointers and setters, or a dozen cases of modified structure effected by artificial selection.

In none of the assertions contained in this passage can I agree. Had the inheritance of 'functional and structural decline' been 'not generally disputed,' half my argument would have been needless; and had the inheritance of 'increased strength and development' caused by use been recognised, as 'illustrated by many examples,' the other half of my argument would have been needless. But both are disputed; and, if not positively denied, are held to be unproved. Greyhounds and pointers do not yield valid evidence, because their peculiarities are more due to artificial selection than to any other cause. It may, indeed, be doubted whether greyhounds use their legs more than other dogs. Dogs of all kinds are daily in the habit of running about and chasing one another at the top of their speed—other dogs more frequently than greyhounds, which are not much given to play. The occasions on which greyhounds exercise their legs in chasing hares occupy but inconsiderable spaces in their lives, and can play but small parts in developing their legs. And then, how about their long heads and sharp noses? Are these developed by running? The structure of the greyhound is explicable as a result mainly of selection of variations occasionally arising from unknown causes; but it is inexplicable otherwise. Still more obviously invalid is the evidence said to be furnished by pointers and setters. How can these be said to exercise their organs of smell more than other dogs? Do not all dogs occupy themselves in sniffing about here and there all day long: tracing animals of their own kind and of other kinds? Instead of admitting that the olfactory sense is more exercised in pointers and setters than in other dogs, it might, contrariwise, be contended that it is exercised less; seeing that during the greater parts of their lives they are shut up in kennels where the variety of odours, on which to practise their noses, is but small. Clearly if breeders of sporting dogs have from early days habitually bred from those puppies of each litter which had the keenest noses (and it is undeniable that the puppies of each litter are made different from one another, as are the children in each human family, by unknown combinations of causes), then the existence of such remarkable powers in pointers and setters may be accounted for; while it is otherwise unaccountable. These instances, and many others such, I should have gladly used in support of my argument had they been available; but unfortunately they are not.

On the next page of the Duke of Argyll's article (page 145), occurs a passage which I must quote at length before I can deal effectually with its various statements. It runs as follows:—

But if natural selection is a mere phrase, vague enough and wide enough to cover any number of the physical causes concerned in ordinary generation, then the whole of Mr. Spencer's laborious argument in favour of his 'other factor'

becomes an argument worse than superfluous. It is wholly fallacious in assuming that this 'factor' and 'natural selection' are at all exclusive of, or even separate from, each other. The factor thus assumed to be new is simply one of the subordinate cases of heredity. But heredity is the central idea of natural selection. Therefore natural selection includes and covers all the causes which can possibly operate through inheritance. There is thus no difficulty whatever in referring it to the same one factor whose solitary dominion Mr. Spencer has plucked up courage to dispute. He will never succeed in shaking its dictatorship by such a small rebellion. His little contention is like some bit of Bumbledom setting up for Home Rule—some parochial vestry claiming independence of a universal empire. It pretends to set up for itself in some fragment of an idea. But here is not even a fragment to boast of or to stand up for. His new factor in organic evolution has neither independence nor novelty. Mr. Spencer is able to quote himself as having mentioned it in his *Principles of Biology*, published some twenty years ago; and by a careful ransacking of Darwin he shows that the idea was familiar to and admitted by him at least in his last edition of the *Origin of Species*. * * * Darwin was a man so much wiser than all his followers, &c.

Had there not been the Duke of Argyll's signature to the article, I could scarcely have believed that this passage was written by him. Remembering that on reading his article in the preceding number of this Review, I was struck by the extent of knowledge, clearness of discrimination, and power of exposition, displayed in it, I can scarcely understand how there has come from the same pen a passage in which none of these traits are exhibited. Even one wholly unacquainted with the subject may see in the last two sentences of the above extract, how strangely its propositions are strung together. While in the first of them I am represented as bringing forward a 'new factor,' I am in the second represented as saying that I mentioned it twenty years ago! In the same breath I am described as claiming it as new and asserting it as old! So, again, the uninstructed reader, on comparing the first words of the extract with the last, will be surprised on seeing in a scientific article statements so manifestly wanting in precision. If 'natural selection is a mere phrase,' how can Mr. Darwin, who thought it explained the origin of species, be regarded as wise? Surely it must be more than a mere phrase if it is the key to so many otherwise inexplicable facts. These examples of incongruous thoughts I give to prepare the way; and will now go on to examine the chief propositions which the quoted passage contains.

The Duke of Argyll says that 'heredity is the central idea of natural selection.' Now it would, I think, be concluded that those who possess the central idea of a thing have some consciousness of the thing. Yet men have possessed the idea of heredity for any number of generations and have been quite unconscious of natural selection. Clearly the statement is misleading. It might just as truly be said that the occurrence of structural variations in organisms is the central idea of natural selection. And it might just as truly be said that the action of external agencies in killing some individuals and fostering others is the central idea of natural selection.

No such assertions are correct. The process has three factors—heredity, variation and external action—any one of which being absent the process ceases. The conception contains three corresponding ideas, and if any one be struck out the conception cannot be framed. No one of them is the central idea, but they are co-essential ideas.

From the erroneous belief that ‘heredity is the central idea of natural selection’ the Duke of Argyll draws the conclusion, consequently erroneous, that ‘natural selection includes and covers all the causes which can possibly operate through inheritance.’ Had he considered the cases which, in the *Principles of Biology*, I have cited to illustrate the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications, he would have seen that his inference is far from correct. I have instanced the decrease of the jaw among civilised men as a change of structure which cannot have been produced by the inheritance of spontaneous, or fortuitous, variations. That changes of structure arising from such variations may be maintained and increased in successive generations, it is needful that the individuals in whom they occur shall derive from them advantages in the struggle for existence—advantages, too, sufficiently great to aid their survival and multiplication in considerable degrees. But a decrease of jaw, reducing its weight by even an ounce (which would be a large variation), cannot, by either smaller weight carried or smaller nutrition required, have appreciably advantaged any person in the battle of life. Even supposing such diminution of jaw to be beneficial (and in the resulting decay of teeth it entails great evils), the benefit can hardly have been such as to increase the relative multiplication of families in which it occurred generation after generation. Unless it has done this, however, decreased size of the jaw cannot have been produced by the natural selection of favourable variations. How can it then have been produced? Only by decreased function—by the habitual use of soft food, joined, possibly, with the disuse of the teeth as tools. And now mark that this cause operates upon all members of a society which falls into civilised habits. Generation after generation this decreased function changes its component families simultaneously. Natural selection does not cover the case at all—has nothing to do with it. And the like happens in multitudinous other cases. Every species spreading into a new habitat, coming in contact with new food, exposed to a different temperature, to a drier or moister air, to a more irregular surface, to a new soil, &c., &c., has its members one and all subject to various changed actions, which influence its muscular, vascular, respiratory, digestive, and other systems of organs. If there is inheritance of functionally-produced modifications, then all its members will transmit the structural alterations wrought in them, and the species will change as a whole without the supplanting of some stocks by others. Doubtless in respect of certain changes natural selection will cooperate. If the species, being a predacious

one, is brought, by migration, into the presence of prey of greater speed than before; then, while all its members will have their limbs strengthened by extra action, those in whom this muscular adaptation is greatest will have their multiplication furthered; and inheritance of the functionally-increased structures will be aided, in successive generations, by survival of the fittest. But it cannot be so with the multitudinous minor changes entailed by the modified life. The majority of these must be of such relative unimportance that one of them cannot give to the individual in which it becomes most marked, advantages which predominate over kindred advantages gained by other individuals from other changes more favourably wrought in them. In respect to these, the inherited effects of use and disuse must accumulate independently of natural selection.

To make clear the relations of these two factors to one another and to heredity, let us take a case in which the operations of all three may be severally identified and distinguished.

Here is one of those persons, occasionally met with, who has an additional finger on each hand, and who, we will suppose, is a blacksmith. He is neither aided nor much hindered by these additional fingers; but, by constant use, he has greatly developed the muscles of his arm. To avoid a perturbing factor, we will assume that his wife, too, exercises her arms to an unusual degree: keeps a mangle, and has all the custom of the neighbourhood. Such being the circumstances, let us ask what are the established facts, and what are the beliefs and disbeliefs of biologists.

The first fact is that this six-fingered blacksmith will be likely to transmit his peculiarity to some of his children; and some of these, again, to theirs. It is proved that, even in the absence of a like peculiarity in the other parent, this strange variation of structure (which we must ascribe to some fortuitous combination of causes) is often inherited for more than one generation. Now the causes which produce this persistent six-fingeredness are unquestionably causes which 'operate through inheritance.' The Duke of Argyll says that 'natural selection includes and covers all the causes which can possibly operate through inheritance.' How does it cover the causes which operate here? Natural selection never comes into play at all. There is no fostering of this peculiarity, since it does not help in the struggle for existence; and there is no reason to suppose it is such a hindrance in the struggle that those who have it disappear in consequence. It simply gets cancelled in the course of generations by the adverse influences of other stocks.

While biologists admit, or rather assert, that the peculiarity in the blacksmith's arm which was born with him is transmissible, they deny, or rather do not admit, that the other peculiarities of his arm, induced by daily labour—its large muscles and strengthened bones—are transmissible. They say that there is no proof. The Duke of

Argyll thinks that the inheritance of organs enfeebled by disuse is 'not generally disputed;' and he thinks there is clear proof that the converse change—*increase of size consequent on use*—is also inherited. But biologists dispute both of these alleged kinds of inheritance. If proof of this is wanted, it will be found in the proceedings at the last meeting of the British Association, in a paper entitled 'Are Acquired Characters Hereditary?' by Professor Ray Lankester and in the discussion raised by that paper. Had this form of inheritance been, as the Duke of Argyll says, 'not generally disputed,' I should not have written the first of the two articles he criticises.

But supposing it proved, as it may hereafter be, that such a functionally-produced change of structure as the blacksmith's arm shows us is transmissible, the persistent inheritance is again of a kind with which natural selection has nothing to do. If the greatly strengthened arm enabled the blacksmith and his descendants, having like strengthened arms, to carry on the battle of life in a much more successful way than it was carried on by other men, survival of the fittest would ensure the maintenance and increase of this trait in successive generations. But the skill of the carpenter enables him to earn quite as much as his stronger neighbour. By the various arts he has been taught, the plumber gets as large a weekly wage. The small shopkeeper by his foresight in buying and prudence in selling, the village schoolmaster by his knowledge, the farm-bailiff by his diligence and care, succeed in the struggle for existence equally well. The advantage of a strong arm does not predominate over the advantages which other men gain by their innate or acquired powers of other kinds; and therefore natural selection cannot operate so as to increase the trait. Before it can be increased, it is neutralised by the unions of those having it with those having other traits. To whatever extent, therefore, inheritance of this functionally-produced modification operates, it operates independently of natural selection.

One other point has to be noted—the relative importance of this factor. If additional developments of muscle may be transmitted; if, as Mr. Darwin held, there are various other structural modifications caused by use and disuse which imply inheritance of this kind; if acquired characters are hereditary, as the Duke of Argyll believes;—then the area over which this factor of organic evolution operates is enormous. Not every muscle only, but every nerve and nerve-centre, every blood-vessel, every viscus, and nearly every bone, may be increased or decreased by its influence. Excepting parts which have passive functions, such as dermal appendages and the bones which form the skull, the implication is that nearly every organ in the body may be modified in successive generations by the augmented or diminished activity required of it; and, save in the few cases where the change caused is one which conduces to survival in a pre-

eminent degree, will be thus modified independently of natural selection. Though this factor can operate but little in the vegetal world, and can play but a subordinate part in the lowest animal world; yet, seeing that all the active organs of all animals are subject to its influence, it has an immense sphere. The Duke of Argyll compares the claim made for this factor to 'some bit of Bumbledom setting up for Home Rule—some parochial vestry claiming independence of a universal empire.' But, far from this, the claim made for it is to an empire, less indeed than that of natural selection, and over a small part of which natural selection exercises concurrent power, but of which the independent part has an area that is immense.

It seems to me, then, that the Duke of Argyll is mistaken in four of the propositions contained in the passages I have quoted. The inheritance of acquired characters *is* disputed by biologists, though he thinks it is not. It is not true that 'heredity is the central idea of natural selection.' The statement that natural selection includes and covers all the causes which can possibly operate through inheritance, is quite erroneous. And if the inheritance of acquired characters is a factor at all, the dominion it rules over is not insignificant but vast.

Here I must break off, after dealing with a page and a half of the Duke of Argyll's article. A state of health which has prevented me from publishing anything since *The Factors of Organic Evolution*, now nearly two years ago, prevents me from carrying the matter further. Could I have pursued the argument it would, I believe, have been practicable to show that various other positions taken up by the Duke of Argyll, do not admit of effectual defence. But whether or not this is probable, the reader must be left to judge for himself. On one further point only will I say a word; and this chiefly because, if I pass it by, a mistaken impression of a serious kind may be diffused. The Duke of Argyll represents me as 'giving up' the 'famous phrase' 'survival of the fittest,' and wishing 'to abandon it.' He does this because I have pointed out that its words have connotations against which we must be on our guard, if we would avoid certain distortions of thought. With equal propriety he might say that an astronomer abandons the statement that the planets move in elliptic orbits, because he warns his readers that in the heavens there exist no such things as orbits, but that the planets sweep on through a pathless void, in directions perpetually changed by gravitation.

I regret that I should have had thus to dissent so entirely from various of the statements made and conclusions drawn by the Duke of Argyll, because, as I have already implied, I think he has done good service by raising afresh the question he has dealt with. Though the advantages which he hopes may result from the discussion are widely unlike the advantages which I hope may result from

it, yet we agree in the belief that advantages may be looked for. How profound and wide-spreading are the consequences which may follow from the answer given to the question—‘Are acquired characters hereditary?’ I have pointed out in the preface to *The Factors of Organic Evolution* in its republished form; and perhaps I may be excused if I here reproduce the essential passages for the purpose of giving to them a wider diffusion:—

‘Though mental phenomena of many kinds, and especially of the simpler kinds, are explicable only as resulting from the natural selection of favourable variations; yet there are, I believe, still more numerous mental phenomena, including all those of any considerable complexity, which cannot be explained otherwise than as results of the inheritance of functionally-produced modifications. . . .

‘Of course there are involved the conceptions we form of the genesis and nature of our higher emotions; and, by implication, the conceptions we form of our moral intuitions. . . .

‘That our sociological beliefs must also be profoundly affected by the conclusions we draw on this point, is obvious. If a nation is modified *en masse* by transmission of the effects produced on the natures of its members by those modes of daily activity which its institutions and circumstances involve; then we must infer that such institutions and circumstances mould its members far more rapidly and comprehensively than they can do if the sole cause of adaptation to them is the more frequent survival of individuals who happen to have varied in favourable ways.

‘I will add only that, considering the width and depth of the effects which acceptance of one or other of these hypotheses must have on our views of Life, Mind, Morals, and Politics, the question—Which of them is true? demands, beyond all other questions whatever, the attention of scientific men.’

HERBERT SPENCER.

*THE REIGN OF PEDANTRY IN
GIRLS' SCHOOLS.*

I HAVE felt considerable hesitation in attempting to criticise the system of modern education, or, as it should more strictly be called, instruction for girls, not only because what I have to say must run counter to the opinions and the practice of many of the most influential thinkers and teachers of the day, but also because I cannot feel that I have a sufficient acquaintance with facts to justify an absolute conviction of the truth of my impressions. But it may do no harm to the upholders of the plans at present acted upon to learn how they appear to one who was born in an age when the necessity for the careful teaching of girls was only beginning to dawn upon the public mind, and who has watched the development of modern theories with attention, and to a great degree with sympathy.

If I cannot bring myself to believe that the instruction which girls are now receiving is the best that could be provided for them, it is because it sometimes strikes me that in fleeing from Scylla we are likely to fall into Charybdis; in seeking to avoid ignorance based on superficiality, we are in danger of falling into ignorance based on narrowness.

We English certainly are a very singular people. We clamour for freedom, we profess to worship liberty, and yet at the very same time we voluntarily place ourselves under the strictest laws, and yield with abject submission to the Frankensteins, social, political, and educational, which we have ourselves created. The despotism of fashion is universally admitted, but who imposes it upon us? The tyranny of democracy we are all learning to dread, yet from whence does democracy derive its power? And the tyranny of educational systems—is there such a thing? That is the question into which I propose to inquire.

We will look into the schools for girls of the educated classes in England at this present time. They are multitudinous, and of various grades: High Schools, embracing children of every class and priding themselves upon it; private schools—for young ladies, as they are especially designated; educational homes—as I see it is becoming customary to define a very small circle of what used to be

termed private pupils, living as one family. What are the young people in these schools doing? What are they learning? Reading, writing, spelling, and elementary arithmetic of course. But would any one who had not inquired into the matter readily believe that they are, with very few exceptions, studying precisely the same period of English history, or at least that they have only a choice between two periods? Would it be credited that one specified play of Shakespeare or one poetical subject is put before all?—that the quick and the stupid alike are to be required to enter into abstruse questions as to the derivation of obsolete words, and to explain recondite allusions to old-world customs?

Would it be considered natural and necessary that hours and hours should be devoted to advanced arithmetic and algebraic calculations by girls who may have naturally no aptitude for figures, and may probably never be called upon to calculate more than ordinary sums of compound interest? Would it be thought the best possible use of time—so inestimably valuable in these early years—to spend it in learning the names which grammarians have affixed to the different parts of a sentence, and determining whether ‘co-ordinate sentences are of the copulative, adversative, or causative (illative) class’?

I speak in ignorance, and am honestly open to correction and conviction, but I confess that this species of instruction to me savours strongly of pedantry. M. Jourdain spoke French fluently (at least we may take it for granted he did) before he knew that his sentences were thrown into a form called prose; and as we all—if we are sane—have the power of reasoning logically, though we may never have heard of the ‘mood Barbara,’ so educated persons have the power of speaking grammatically, though they may have never been called upon to write ‘ten complex sentences with an adjective sentence qualifying the subject, and ten more with an adjective sentence qualifying the object.’

I trust I may not be misunderstood. No doubt grammatical analysis is good as a mental exercise, but does it do more than enable us to affix certain technical names to certain portions of a sentence? Will not young people as they grow up—if they have been perfectly grounded in the simple elementary parts of grammatical knowledge, and have a taste for languages—study these distinctions and definitions for themselves, and learn in a few days what in childhood and early youth it would have taken weeks and months to acquire? And if they have no taste for languages, will not the terms they have learnt—often with sorrowful hearts and red eyes, and many reproofs and reproaches—be put aside, like a worn-out book, upon those dusty shelves of the mind which are devoted to useless memories?

Personal experience tells more than argument or reasoning with most of us; and as I was not taught upon the modern system, but learnt my lessons in a way so primitive that it would make a teacher

in a High School hold up her hands in horror, I cannot be called a good judge of the usefulness of this complicated grammatical instruction. All I can say is that carefully defined rules upon points which common sense will make clear have been to myself a hindrance rather than a help. As an instance of this, when I first ventured to write a sentence for publication, having a deep sense of my profound ignorance of the rules of punctuation, I applied myself to the study of Lindley Murray's grammar—then the one accepted authority for English people. He gave seventeen rules for the right placing of the comma, and I thought it my duty to endeavour to master them. But my patience did not hold out. Like the American who put no stops in his book, but filled a page with them at the end that every reader might take which he pleased, I threw aside the seventeen rules of punctuation, and in their stead placed on one mental page the simple definitions of the respective value of periods, colons, semicolons, and commas which I had learnt as a child, and then took whichever common sense and observation pointed out as suitable to my purpose; and in the end I found that I escaped any special criticism.

But I have another complaint. This modern fashion of treating noble thoughts, feelings, and principles, set forth in prose or verse, merely as the material for grammatical analysis, appears to my prejudiced mind to be a kind of intellectual vivisection. The life is destroyed in the act of discovering and distinguishing the elements of which its body is composed. A young friend of mine said to me the other day that she had 'done' the story of Margaret, in the *Excursion*, with notes, for a correspondence class, questions being given upon the notes. All that she had retained from this 'doing' was, as far as I could gather, nothing but the fact that she had 'done' it. Feeling, admiration, there was none. The poetry had been a lesson to be 'got through.' The language was to be mentally dissected, and then the lesson was finished, and the story of Margaret need never be thought of more.

No doubt we must teach young people the rules of grammar, but why should we for this purpose degrade the most elevating, imaginative, rhythmical of English writings? Do we suppose that the young minds which have been laboriously concentrated on the grammatical analysis of a difficult passage of *Paradise Lost* will leave their work with a high appreciation of Milton's poetical powers? We may as well think that religious impressions will be deepened by making the Bible—as was proposed to me many years ago—the vehicle for arithmetical calculations. A gentleman of my acquaintance, anxious to make the Scriptures a matter of constant daily study, said to me that the Bible ought, he thought, to be connected with other lessons. As regarded arithmetic, it would be easy to make sums—there were the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, &c. He spoke quite gravely, and I

have no doubt did really believe that by adding together, multiplying, or dividing numbers which had sacred associations, some spiritual effect would be produced. The suggestion is not to be wondered at, for in those days we all thought it well to teach children of seven years old to read from the Scripture Parables, because the words were so easy and at the same time so sacred and instructive.

But what is the use of making this protest? If girls are to teach in High Schools they must learn what is required in High Schools. If a certificate is essential in order to procure a situation, they must be put in the way of getting a certificate. If the knowledge of certain subjects is required by the University examiners, it must be obtained, or the poor girls will be hopelessly stranded on the educational shore. We, women belonging to the past rather than the present generation, may nevertheless have some misgivings as to the wisdom shown in the choice of these subjects. It may appear to us (at any rate it appears to me) that Milton's *Areopagitica*, one of the lately selected subjects for the literature examination, is rather abstruse; and that girls of sixteen and seventeen, possessing only ordinary abilities, are not likely to be greatly edified by arguments against the censorship of the press. The profit to be gained from this study appears more likely to be appreciated by the gentleman who prepared the edition of the *Areopagitica* with notes which the young students were obliged to purchase, than by the girls themselves or their parents.

And so again, after devoting a year to the reign of Charles the First and the Commonwealth, it would seem to an outside observer that to give up another year, as I understand has lately been arranged, to a minute study of the last book of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is, to say the least, unnecessary, when the whole course of European history is demanding attention. Clarendon's *History* is an expensive work, it could not be bought by every candidate for examination; but the last book, printed separately with notes, will secure a most advantageous sale, and here also the editor is likely to be more profited than the student.

But whether or not the particular subjects chosen for study are desirable, one thing is certain—the girls at the majority of English schools, even if they do not all present themselves for examination, are compelled to give their attention to the special period of history or literature marked out by the examiners for the year, because the governesses and teachers are not, as a rule, able to carry on different sets of lessons and different classes, some for the young people who are to be examined, and others for those who are not. The ability of the governesses must be concentrated upon one object—a successful examination. They may have individual opinions as to the usefulness of any particular study, or the best mode of acquiring it; but the laws under which they find it necessary to place

themselves are exact in their limitations and stern in the punishment of disobedience. No one, indeed, says, 'Unless you can declare that your pupils in sufficient number pass the Local examinations with credit, you will not be recognised as holding a good place in the teaching profession;' but the fact is not the less true because it is not stated in so many words. There may be a free-lance here and there brave enough to defy the giant power of the intellectual despotism which just now governs England; but, speaking generally, there can be little hope of success in the combat.

And yet this stereotyped system is not the mode in which it has pleased the great Creator of the human race to work. Looking round at mankind, the first thing which is likely to strike a thoughtful mind is the way in which to every individual is apportioned different capacities and different gifts; and in watching the education carried on by the circumstances of life, we cannot but see that, whilst there are grand general laws underlying the course of events, there is infinite variety in the methods by which those laws are developed. Uniformity is the work of man.

When shall we learn to take our instruction from the Providence and the Wisdom of God instead of from the confused feeble conceptions of our own minds?

The root of this singular despotism and (as I venture to call it) this great mistake can, I think, be clearly traced to a disregard of the primary distinctions which it has pleased God to make between the sexes—a distinction scarcely perceptible in infancy, but widening and deepening year by year unto maturity.

Let us just think of the condition of two babies, one a boy, the other a girl. We scarcely recognise any difference. They need the same incessant care, they are nourished by the same food, they require the same nursery training. A little further on a distinction begins to show itself. The boy is probably sturdy and noisy, the girl slight and gentle; the boy is fond of out-of-door games, the girl interested in a doll; and thus, year by year, the distinction increases, and the roads taken by each sex diverge, in accordance with the laws of God's creative Power, which no one in his senses can ignore. And as the roads are different so are the terminations to which they lead different. The man goes into the world and becomes a soldier, a sailor, a lawyer, a surgeon, a mason, a carpenter, or whatever else it may be that is open to him in the way of employment. The woman—married or unmarried—occupies herself in domestic duties, the instruction of young children and of elder girls, the innumerable offices of benevolence, the nursing of invalids, and, when she has an independent position, the intercourse with her fellow-creatures usually designated society. Everything connected with her own sex belongs to her especial province.

As regards her relation to man, she is not called upon to be his

slave—very far from it—she has her own sphere, in which she may and ought to be supreme; but she is unquestionably formed by nature, or rather (speaking more truly and reverently) by God, to be man's comfort, the sharer of his interests, the supporter of his highest aims, the solace of his labours, the adornment of his daily existence. To carry out this view of duty she must be able to understand something of the objects to which men's lives are devoted—to understand, not necessarily to share them. The man's work is essentially action; the woman's, sympathy and suggestion. She can and ought often to check, when she has no power to control. Is it necessary for this purpose that her studies should be the same as man's, and that her education should be based on the same system? This is the question of the day. I venture to say 'No.' The most influential leaders of education at the present time say 'Yes,' or rather the difference between myself and them begins farther back. I doubt very much whether they would agree with me in the definition of a woman's sphere and consequent duties. But I give my opinion. It is for them to give theirs.

Acting, then, upon the guidance which we derive from the fundamental laws of nature, I would say—confining myself to secular subjects—that the very early education of English boys and girls must be alike. All must learn reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic, the primary rules of grammar, the outlines of geography, and of the history of their country, and all must be taught to spell correctly. When we go beyond this the divergence seems to me to begin; but according to modern theories the instruction essential for boys up to eighteen or twenty is equally essential for girls.

My own old-fashioned experience naturally comes to me as an illustration of the views which I hold. At thirteen, after having been taught in the most primitive way, in the strictest of schools, I could write neatly, spell correctly, and parse easily. I was well acquainted with the outlines of geography, and could find places in maps and work simple problems on the globe. I knew thoroughly the multiplication table, and the tables of weights and measures, and had attempted the working of sums in fractions. As regards history, I had learnt absolutely perfectly the chief events in the reigns of the English kings given in Pinnock's *Catechism*, and could go through the dates without a mistake. In Scripture, I think I knew the Old Testament history up to the time of the Captivity. The Gospels were as familiar to me as the Lord's Prayer and the Catechism; almost too familiar indeed, for I read them day after day as a lesson, and thus in a certain degree lost the sense of their meaning. The Epistles might be classed with the Prophecies as beyond me.

In French I had taken lessons from a most polished old gentleman, an abbé who had emigrated to England in the first Revolutionary days, and who showed his pupils every possible way of con-

jugating French verbs, and impressed upon them that adjectives and nouns must agree as well as nominatives and verbs, but beyond this gave them very little instruction. Elementary lessons in geometry were given us in the holidays by the master who taught our brothers.

It had also been a favourite idea of my mother's that her girls should learn Latin, and she engaged an old schoolmaster living in a back street in our native town to give my eldest sister and myself lessons when we were about ten and eight years of age; and a great mystery and event it was, for in those days it would have been thought absurd to teach little girls Latin. But the lessons did not last long. The tears I shed over the difficulties of the first verse of the second chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, which was the material for our first Latin lesson, were so bitter that they were too much for my mother's tender heart, and I was allowed to give up the study with only one most alarmingly long word and its translation remaining in my memory—*Hierosolyma, Jerusalem*. The failure of this attempt, which was never renewed, has been a regret to me all my life.

Now in this review of my early instruction it appears that my sister and I had acquired very much what carefully taught children of the present day acquire now, except that some of them know a little Latin, can analyse grammatically a simple sentence, and are practised in mental arithmetic. Probably also some might have a quicker comprehension than we had of French when spoken, whilst, on the other hand, I imagine that we had a better acquaintance with the 'use of the globes' than girls have now. Boys of thirteen would, I suppose, be as well acquainted with the Latin grammar as we were with the French grammar. In other respects there would scarcely be much difference in the instruction given to the two sexes.

We come now to the season of more advanced instruction, and here the divergence of the present from the past is marked, especially as regards history. The High School pupil proceeds on the same lines as before—more English grammar, analysis, and composition, more English history and English literature, more mathematics and algebra, more geography, some special subject of natural science, and periods of Grecian and Roman history; and as regards languages, a choice between Latin, Greek, French, German, and Italian. But when, more than fifty years ago, my sister and I left our first primitive school, and were sent to another which was considered more enlarged and advanced, we entered as it were upon a new world.

At this second school there were indeed no examinations, and scarcely any inquiry was made as to how much work we did in the course of the day, or how much we knew at the end; but our subjects of study included—besides English history and exercises in grammar—lessons in mythology and upon the English Constitution

learnt by heart from Mangnall's *Questions*, the outlines of the rise of nations, with Roman, Grecian, and French history (the latter read in French), Mrs. Marcet's *Conversations on Chemistry and Political Economy*, and Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues*. We were required also to write themes on any special subject given us, and on Sundays we took notes of the sermon heard in church, and were expected to write out the substance of it afterwards. In arithmetic no one thought of going beyond decimal fractions, interest, and proportion. The lessons were given by a master who taught us the elements of astronomy, and I think there were some lessons in geometry. French we learnt, of course, and Italian; but German was unthought of. Choice selections from the best poets were learnt and repeated weekly.

This kind of instruction continued for two years and a half, and then, when I was little more than fifteen, we returned home. What had we gained from our school life? The answer is easy—a deep and increasing knowledge of our own ignorance. That was an acquisition which could not be too highly prized. We had come in contact with girls more widely instructed than ourselves, we had learnt that the history of other countries was as important as our own; and the conviction that we were only at the threshold of such history, and of geography, art, science, and languages, that we had been permitted to look through the doors, but had never really entered the treasure chambers, was a mental stimulus better than the best educational lectures. From that time we set to work to educate ourselves, always lamenting how little we knew, though gratefully acknowledging that a foundation of elementary facts had been carefully laid.

In contrast to this, what is the result of the High School course of study? The object set before the young pupil is a Pass; a certificate of acquaintance with certain portions of specified subjects. Her interest is concentrated upon the work marked out for her with the view of gaining the coveted honour, and when it is hers she has reached the goal of her ambition, and probably sees no reason for going further. This at least is the only explanation I can give of a fact which is from time to time brought before me. I hear it said, 'These High School girls, unless they go in for the women's examination, spend their time, just like other girls, in playing lawn tennis and reading novels. They have no more pleasure in study than the half-educated sentimental young people of the last generation.'

But how should they have an interest in it? That is the problem to me. Latin and Greek, grammatical analysis, algebra and mathematics are most excellent for the improvement of the mind, but they do not 'tell,' if one may use the expression, in society. Whatever a girl may know upon these subjects she will instinctively bury in her own breast. If the studies have interested her she will

pursue them perhaps, but only in private. Sympathy in regard to them she is not likely to find in the general circle of her acquaintance, such sympathy I mean as will lead to their cultivation almost as an amusement; and it is only in this way that girls and women mixing in ordinary society cultivate any subject. They have no profession, and are not likely to have one, however widely the doors may be opened to them. The number of those who wish or strive to be physicians or lawyers is now infinitesimally small, and I confess I think it likely to remain so. Whilst girls are often wives at twenty, and have at that early age to undertake personally the care of a household, the interest of life must lie in the domestic direction. All may not indeed marry, but all must share the objects and employments of married life. What would parents and wives do without daughters, sisters, and aunts? This home life is in some form or another a woman's sphere, her profession, and it is for this she has to be educated; and I do not myself believe that any system of instruction will in the end be recognised as successful which does not as distinctly prepare girls for home and social life as Sandhurst and Woolwich prepare boys for the army, or Queenborough prepares them for farming.

Does the circle of subjects at present studied in High Schools with the object of gaining a University certificate do this? I question it. Even more, I question whether the majority of thoughtful women who are at the head of these schools would not to a great extent agree with me.

We have placed ourselves under the dominion of a Frankenstein, and we submit. If we do not we run the risk of being crushed, but in our secret hearts many of us rebel, and even make efforts to escape. We introduce lectures on various subjects, but our sphere is limited. The strict requirements of the University examiners must still be our first aim. Success in their estimation is a matter of life and death with the schools; or, in other words, of pounds, shillings, and pence. So many pupils passed, so many honour certificates gained, so much reputation for the school, so many additional pupils obtained, and so much greater financial prosperity.

I have occasionally ventured to raise an objection in private to the present range of subjects for girls' examination on the score that it has been too narrow, but the answer has been, 'Oh! remember the young people can go in for the women's examination, and then they can take up any subject they like.' Can! but will they? Or perhaps the inquiry may even be brought nearer—Do they? Can we not each of us count up on our fingers the number of young girls of our acquaintance who have gone, or are proposing to go, to a ladies' college, or who are studying at home in preparation for an examination? Do the generality of parents wish their daughters so to study? Are they willing to bear the expense? If the answer

must be in the negative, then upon the most self-evident principles of reason and common sense surely it is unwise to form plans for a future which will never be realised.

To live for our generation! It sounds a poor thing to do. But it is God's order. Human society in its best form is what He has made it, and, looking at it as we find it, it may be well to inquire what are the subjects (apart from religion and accomplishments) an acquaintance with which is most likely to render girls not only useful at home but also interesting and interested abroad.

I leave the home question. We are all agreed that cooking classes are useful, and that arithmetic is absolutely needful, and needlework is taking its right place as part of a woman's profession, and works of benevolence are universally popular. The home teaching has advanced upon the whole satisfactorily. But society? We cannot ignore it. What does it require.

I will state what I think myself. French, conversational and grammatical, of course, and German, if possible; then the main facts of English history, and the outline of the rise and fall of nations, leading to Continental history, especially that of France, the German Empire, and the kingdom of Naples and Sicily—the latter a perplexing maze, but giving the clue to modern politics. Without such knowledge the changes in foreign affairs, which so intimately affect ourselves, and form the topics of common conversation, cannot be properly understood, whilst travelling loses half its interest and use.

Then Literature and Biography—by which I do not mean a minute acquaintance with any one work, but a general idea of the lives of the chief writers of separate periods, and an actual acquaintance with their standard productions. For instance, Chaucer's prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Shakespeare's historical plays, and the most important of those which are not historical; portions of *Paradise Lost*, *Samson Agonistes*, *Comus*, and the *Sonnets*. Portions of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*, Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, and the *Essay on Man*. Specimens of Cowper, Burns, Coleridge, parts of Wordsworth's *Excursion*, and selections from his other poems. Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and *Marmion*. Selections from Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, and Browning. Some knowledge of these writers may, I think, be expected from a really well-educated girl, but I give the list merely as suggestive; many others might be added.

And in connection with poetry I would mention especially the power of reading clearly, understandingly, and feelingly;—not reciting, not attempting to give the precise expression which may be demanded by strict laws, but just the simple, natural accent which betokens the comprehension of the intellect and the sympathy of the heart.

Further, Art—a knowledge not only of the names of the great painters, but of their chief works and their distinctive styles, as indica-

tive of the school to which they belong. This elementary knowledge is absolutely essential if young persons are to enjoy visits to foreign galleries; and our own National Gallery would be a much greater source of pleasure to girls in London, even when their tastes are not really artistic, if they knew anything of the artists who are represented in it, and the history of the pictures brought before them.

Then, connected with art, I must suggest Mythology, because I find that young people now scarcely know the stories which are alluded to at every turn by painters and poets. No doubt a number of the mythological fables are utterly unfit for a girl's reading, but it is quite possible to weed them, and there are valuable elementary books which give all that is needful without entering into offensive details.

Further, Architecture. To go over one of our beautiful cathedrals with real interest an acquaintance with the various styles is quite necessary, and technical terms must be understood; and if the subject is carried on further and connected with Greek architecture, Egyptian antiquities, and the late discoveries of Assyrian temples and palaces, a wide field of interest and information is opened to the young mind.

And this brings me to Ancient History, formerly considered essential, now deemed of secondary importance. When all girls read Rollin's *Ancient History* as a matter of course there was a certain acquaintance with the subject which, though not based on the true details of historical facts, nevertheless served the useful purpose of giving a general outline. I find now that young people of sixteen and seventeen often know nothing of the great monarchies before Rome, and as a necessary consequence they cannot trace the fulfilment of Scripture prophecies, and the marvellous testimony which late discoveries have given to the historical accuracy of the Bible is unknown to them.

Then as regards Science, including astronomy and geology. To learn the alphabet of science is essential for persons who wish to take part in the topics of the day. They may never be able to go further, but if they know the meaning of the terms used they may be led on to take an interest in the subjects referred to, and in this way books, lectures, discoveries, which would otherwise come before them like an unknown language, printed in unknown characters, will not only occupy their thoughts, but enable them to converse with intelligence, and thus gain a fund of most interesting information.

Now in answer to my assertion that an acquaintance with these subjects is necessary for a well-educated girl of eighteen, it may be said that such knowledge is provided for by lectures; but I greatly question whether a scientific lecture will be useful unless the subject to which it relates has been previously studied; technical terms will

probably be used which are not understood ; and in consequence of this ignorance difficulties will most likely suggest themselves which cannot be answered at the moment ; and then interest will flag, and the unsatisfactory notes which the young students may make will soon become in their minds a chaotic mass of undefined and imperfect information.

Science must be learnt, like everything else, from the commencement, and however desirous we may be of following the advice of the Irishman, 'Skip the first lesson and begin at the second,' we shall not find it answer. Therefore I would fain have all young people learn these primary terms and facts of science, just as they learn other elementary facts. No Oxford or Cambridge examiner, indeed, can be expected to devote his powers to an inquiry into such slight knowledge, but neither can he be expected to examine children of five years old in the alphabet ; yet the alphabet is not the less necessary for every one who means to read.

But here I shall probably be asked : 'What is the ultimate end of all this wide but shallow information ? These young girls, knowing nothing thoroughly well, have no deep interest in any one subject.' Exactly so, I doubt if they will ; but they may have some interest in many subjects, and possibly this may be better for them.

It must be remembered they are, we will say, eighteen. Look around and see what are the deep interests of either boys or girls of the cultivated classes of society at the age of eighteen.

The boys are preparing for college, for the army, the navy, the law, as it may be ; and, for the sake of the profession which lies before them, they apply themselves to certain studies. But it is not because they have a special liking for these studies. Their object is their profession. The number of those who really care to follow out any one branch of inquiry is extremely small. Circumstances may develop a special taste in after life, but the provoking thing with most men is that when they retire from their profession, or when it retires from them, they have no definite tastes or pursuits. They hunt and shoot, they are county magistrates, they dabble in politics, they form committees and employ themselves in useful works ; but special tastes, interests, where are they to be found ?

And in like manner with girls. They leave off their studies, in the technical sense of the word, just when boys are beginning to prepare for a profession.

Why should we think that to have devoted their attention to classics, algebra, and Euclid will be more inspiring to them than it has been to the boys ? I am speaking of girls in general. We cannot make laws or form systems for exceptions.

It is curious to remark that, at the very time when we have learnt that it was a great mistake to govern in the interests of the *classes* and leave the *masses* to their fate, we are forming our educational

schemes upon a plan which can only be fully applicable to a world in which the many shall have talent, leisure, and money, and the few shall be dull and commonplace; a world in which marriage shall be the exception, and single blessedness the rule; and in which parents shall be content to part with their girls at the very age when their deepening intellect and principles are becoming most valuable in home life, and when the freshness of youthful feelings and youthful attractions must necessarily make social intercourse a matter of importance and enjoyment.

That I am not so very singular in pleading for width rather than depth in early education may, I think, be proved by inquiring into the subjects selected by the examiners for the Indian Civil Service (and I believe also for the army and navy), when they desire to test the candidates brought before them. The young men are of course expected to know some particular subjects connected with the profession to which they desire to be admitted, but the examiners are not contented with this. They require an acquaintance with a number of other subjects at first sight having no connection with the profession. And outsiders are perplexed at this. They think it unnecessary. I marvelled myself when I was told by a young man, studying for the Indian Civil Service, that he was asked, among other questions, how the word 'tea' was pronounced in the reign of Queen Anne. There certainly was no definite connection between the obsolete pronunciation of an English word and an acquaintance with the Indian languages. But on thinking the matter over it occurred to me that when my young friend in reply quoted—

Here thou, great Anna! whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take—and sometimes *tey*,

he showed a quickness of comprehension and an acquaintance with literature which indicated a cultivated mind; and in dealing with civilised and thoughtful Indians these qualifications would be likely to be quite as necessary as the knowledge of Hindustani, Tamil, or Telugu.

It will be seen that I am not ambitious or sanguine as to the results of our educational efforts under any circumstances. Intelligent ignorance is, I believe myself, the utmost we can expect as a general rule. The words do not sound encouraging, but it may be well to consider what they imply.

To be intelligently ignorant a person must possess sufficient knowledge to perceive how little that knowledge is compared with the vast amount still to be acquired. And this is surely the one conviction essential for the cultivation of the mind, even as the consciousness of our moral imperfections is the one essential conviction for the cultivation of the heart.

Widen the sphere of information and we widen the conviction of

ignorance, and may venture to hope that our pupils will escape the snares of pedantry and conceit, and will be anxious by their own efforts to acquire further information.

Narrow them, and reward an acquaintance with a few subjects by certificates which may be displayed to the world, and I fear we shall find that, instead of training our girls to be large-minded, useful, agreeable women, we shall have trained them to have little or no real interest in anything, because the subjects they have studied do not meet them in life, and the object set before them for attainment has been not an acquaintance with the history of man, or the wonders of Nature, but to pass with credit in an examination.

Sir Isaac Newton, it is said, compared himself when studying the works of God to a child picking up pebbles on the sea-shore. Is this a comparison which a girl of eighteen, of ordinary talent, fresh from the routine of a High School, is likely to understand? And yet she will tell you, with the proud consciousness of truth (such at least as she understands it), that she has finished her education. She has passed the Senior Local Examination, and now she is ready to teach!

So this is all I have to say! The modern course of instruction does not appear to me in all respects perfect. What suggestions can I make as to any changes which may be desirable? Very few, and those very vague, and it must be remembered that I do not for one moment put them forth as being without doubt practical. Those only who have worked the machinery of the large modern schools can form a judgment upon this point. Yet I will state them, if only that they may be contradicted. I think—if I were left quite free to try experiments—I should begin

I. By raising the terms of certain schools in London, so as to set them on a different footing from the rest.

II. In these schools I should follow the present course of instruction up to the age of fifteen—not beyond.

III. After the age of fifteen I should offer instruction upon special subjects, to be given to classes not exceeding ten in number. These classes should provide fees for the special teachers. The amount of the fees would require careful consideration, but I do not think any fee should be less than three guineas a term for each pupil. The teachers should be women, and they should be *bonâ fide* teachers, not merely lecturers. They should look over the notes taken by their pupils, and should correct and explain the corrections.

IV. An examination in these special subjects should be required after a specified term of instruction, and a certificate should be given for accurate knowledge.

V. The subjects taken up for the junior examination, at the age of fifteen, should by no means be put aside, and if any pupil desired to study for the Senior Local Examination upon the present system

every opportunity should be given, but special fees should be required for the instruction.

This is an outline of my proposed change, but I would examine it a little more in detail. And first, an objection is likely to be made with regard to the raising of the fees for special schools. It may probably be said that one of the chief advantages of the present system is that it mingles classes. All pay alike; all are treated alike. The child of the nobleman sits in her class by the child of the tradesman, and thus they are taught to have common interests; and the exclusiveness which is the bane of our English society is thereby lessened.

But is it so? I appeal to persons who have been connected with High Schools. Do they find that social intercourse is really furthered by the participation in intellectual advantages? Is it not true that care is taken to prevent such intercourse? I am not asserting a fact. I am only uttering a suspicion based partly upon hearsay and observation, and partly upon the deductions naturally drawn from the experience which all have more or less of the tendencies of human nature. Are we all made equal? If by the subversion of society we could all start side by side in the race of life to-day, should we not have parted company and been left behind, or have outstripped others, to-morrow?

Equality before the law is one thing, social equality another. We make a grievous mistake when we confound them. Freedom and liberty in the social world are dependent upon an acquaintance with the limitations of our surroundings. The very essence of good breeding is the recognition of the small courtesies which are required by inequality of rank and age; and the greatest security for the friendly intercourse of all classes is that all should be well-bred.

Can we for a moment think that we should raise ourselves to the level of the Queen, whom we all delight to honour, by offering to shake hands with her?

But it may be said: 'You are wishing, then, to give special privileges to mere wealth, by offering higher education to those who can pay for it. As the case now stands the clever child of the poor man has the same prospect before her as the child of the rich man. Alter the scale of the fees, and the poor man's daughter will be placed at a disadvantage.'

Even so. But what is the ordering of the world? Does not money bestow privileges? With all our strivings after equality, do we not find that the rich have so-called 'good things' which those less wealthy cannot obtain? We shall never succeed in upsetting this fundamental fact of our present condition. We may modify and soften it, and I would desire to do so as much as possible in the case of education, by offering exhibitions to those who would work for them, and giving aid privately to others who really needed it; but I

cannot admit that to make some schools more expensive than others is in any way wrong or even undesirable.

But further, I should like to try the effect of having these more expensive schools removed from the examination of the Universities, and placed under that of cultivated women who have themselves proved their efficiency by obtaining certificates from men.

I admit fully that, as a rule, a man's instruction of women (not of mere girls) is invaluable. I am sure that it gives strength and depth to the knowledge which is sought and acquired. But there are many subjects needed for the development of a girl's mind which do not enter into the category of a University examination; and even those which do often require, I think, to be diluted before they can reach the *ordinary* capacity of young girls, and it is for such chiefly that (as it appears to me) we are called upon to legislate. The higher education of the few is distinct from the better education of the many. Perhaps it is here that a fundamental difference between persons equally anxious about education may be found. My own interest, I confess, lies with the many.

And for the many the University examiner is, I cannot but think, placed on too high a level, whilst, without in any way accusing him of neglect of the girls, there can be little doubt that his interest and the object of his work lies chiefly with the boys.

I once asked the head-mistress of a girls' school of high repute why in the University examinations English history was studied to the neglect of all other history. She replied: 'It is because of the boys. They learn but little English history at school, and therefore the examiners are obliged to enforce it.' This may or may not have been a correct explanation, but I am tolerably certain that the head-mistress had hit upon the weak point in our present system.

The boys and the girls have the same subjects brought before them for examination. For the boys these subjects are preliminary. For the girls they are for the most part final. Naturally the examiners consider the boys first. Girls are received by them, but their special needs are of secondary consideration.

I believe myself that the cultivated woman will instruct the ordinary girl more patiently, with a fuller comprehension of her difficulties, than the man. The books which she chooses will be more interesting to the girl's mind; the questions which she asks will be more within the girl's grasp. For we are working, be it remembered, for girls whose education has probably been put aside in order that their brothers may have the advantage of a good school or a University career, or may be started in a profession; girls whose physical strength is comparatively small and whose studies are often cut short because it is necessary to devote time to music and drawing.

It is for these I would plead. When we look at their difficulties and disadvantages I cannot but think that the satisfaction with

which we regard the road upon which we have entered will materially be lessened.

It may also be worthy of consideration that by taking the examination of girls out of the hands of the university examiners, and giving it to certificated women, we provide a new opening for the latter. And it is sorely needed. We urge girls to study, we advocate their obtaining a University certificate, and when they have obtained it what are they to do with it?

I am speaking of those whose education is a preparation for work. What prospects have they? A limited number may become head-mistresses of High Schools, but what of the rest? They have only subordinate positions open to them, and the salaries attached to such posts are, when board and lodging are deducted, miserably small. The experiment we are making is in its infancy. More and more women are crowding into the teaching profession; more and more, as we say exultingly, are striving to attain University honours. What is to become of them? Let them be recognised as the fitting examiners of girls' schools, whether High Schools or private schools, and the pressure will, at least in a measure, be relieved, and not, I think, by means injurious to the schools.

I have had a little experience in this matter myself. I have known a school in which I was greatly interested examined by an Oxford man on one occasion, and by a lady examiner on another. The gentleman in question had a high classical reputation; he entered the school in a spirit of condescension. What did he know about little girls or great girls? He had certain questions to ask, and he asked them. He had a fixed standard; his object was to find out how many fell short of it. And the discovery was easily made. He went into the lower school and examined the little ones and the dull ones. They looked at him with awe. His questions, clear to himself, were vague to them. He could not bring himself down to their level. But he was a University man, and it would have been presumptuous to criticise him. So he came, and went, and we sent him his fee, and waited with some anxiety for his report, which was received in due time and was made out in orthodox fashion, and proved fairly satisfactory; and then we forgot all about him, as no doubt he forgot all about us. Only when it came to the question of having him a second time, we said that 'really he was too dull; could we not find some one who would do better?'

Undoubtedly we could. First-rate examiners, University men, were to be had, not indeed for the asking, but for the paying. A large fee, and all expenses provided for, would secure us any inspection we might need.

Only, who was to find the money? We wanted every penny for the salaries of our governesses, and for the cases calling for reduced terms, which were always painfully pressing.

An examination would be inspiriting and reassuring, good both for teachers and pupils ; but our gentleman must come from a distance and could not travel third class, and he must go to an hotel, he must have his good dinner and breakfast, if not luncheon and tea, all paid for by us. It was too expensive a luxury.

So we pondered, and consulted, and inquired, and at last we found that we could have a lady examiner, that she would not require an enormous fee, that we could offer her hospitality without trouble and with very little expense, and we determined to make the trial.

The lady came, was pleasant and cordial in manner, much interested in the school, very pleasant as a guest, sympathetic with the teachers, attractive to the girls, kind, even tender, to the little ones, and encouraging to all. She became one of ourselves ; was a helpful friend at the time, and is likely to remain such ; and as regards her report, it was just as clear and satisfactory as that sent in by our clever Oxonian, and certainly it was given by one who knew more about the pupils and their capacities.

Since the experience I have described, the question whether it might not be wiser as an acknowledged rule to have schools examined as a whole, rather than tested by selected pupils, has often presented itself to my mind. It would certainly leave much more freedom to the teachers, and this would be a great advantage in many ways.

I believe Mr. Ruskin has given it as his opinion that it would be desirable when teaching girls to take some one great city, and make its history and topography, its treasures of art and learning, the subjects of careful study, so that the pupils might be thoroughly acquainted with it.

I have known the idea acted upon with girls of sixteen and seventeen with great success. Rome was chosen. Its ancient limits were marked out, its more modern buildings noted. The dates of the principal events were connected with the most important ruins. Notes were taken by the pupils from dictation. They were afterwards carefully learnt, and a regular examination followed. The result of this study was that in after years, when some of these young girls visited Rome, every place and every name was interesting and familiar to them, and, to use their own expression, they felt perfectly at home there. This is certainly in contrast to the confession made, as I have been told, by some clever governesses of large schools who, on visiting Rome, candidly confessed that they did not care much about it, as they knew nothing of the events of bygone days connected with it. The report may not be strictly correct, but such acknowledged ignorance of general history tallies singularly with a remark once made to myself by a clever young woman, who having passed the Senior Local Examination, and being especially well versed in mathematics, was acting as assistant-governess in a school in which I was interested. In the course of conversation with her I

discovered that her mind was almost a blank as regarded all history except certain English periods. She had heard of Romulus, and knew from the Bible the existence of Assyrian and Babylonian empires, but little or nothing beyond. Evidently feeling rather ashamed of her ignorance, she turned to me and said, 'The fact is I have been at school all my life, and therefore I know nothing of history.'

Now if the head-mistresses could form and carry out their own schemes of instruction under certain limitations they might adopt Mr. Ruskin's scheme, or any other which might seem to them desirable, and certainly they might enlarge the borders of the pupils' historical knowledge.

The lady examiner would no doubt require to be told beforehand the subjects which had been prepared, and this presupposes that different examiners will take special subjects in addition to those which, being fundamental, are needed by all schools; but the Oxford examiners are experts, so must the lady examiners be also. One person cannot be expected to be perfectly at home in Continental history, art, architecture, and general science. If the head-mistress were free to choose her own time and to work in her own way, she might select as the extra subject some branch of Science one year, and a portion of Continental or Ancient History another, whilst Art and Architecture might be taken in a third year. Having the choice of different examiners for different subjects, the same lady would not be engaged each year.

The names of the examiners, their qualifications and certificates, would require to be registered by some central body, but the Teachers' Guild would, it might be hoped, supply this need without difficulty.

If it should be asked, 'Where are the teachers as well as the examiners to be found for these extra subjects?—the head-mistress cannot undertake them all herself,' I have before suggested what I think may be done to meet the difficulty. There must be special instructors, lecturers, who not only lecture, but who also correct notes, themes, essays, or whatever may be the work deemed most likely to be useful; and these lecturers must be paid by additional fees.

The changes I have thus suggested in the working of schools generally could only be carried out by degrees; I should be the last to propose any violent alteration of present arrangements; in fact it would be absurd to attempt it; but possibly the day may come when some persons, younger than myself, and understanding the needs and feelings of their generation, may think the matter over, and, seeing that the present system is not faultless, may attempt alterations upon the lines which I have proposed, though in detail there may be many points of difference. If it should be so, I can from the bottom of my heart wish them 'God speed,' for so may we be relieved from the grasp of the Educational Frankenstein.

Of one thing I am certain : that cheap education, or, as I would rather call it, instruction, is as a rule a mistake, because it involves the insufficient payment of the teachers. This is a crying evil at the present day, or perhaps it may be said to be a silent evil now, but it must become a crying evil before many years have gone by.

A thoughtful, experienced lady examiner said to me the other day, when speaking of the young teachers in the High Schools, something to this effect : ‘ They require to be guarded against and protected from themselves. They work for salaries which do not admit of the strengthening food they really require. Bread and butter and an egg after a hard day’s work, and often the bread and butter without the egg, is not sufficient ; but they have to provide for holiday expenses, and they have too often friends—younger sisters, brothers, even parents—requiring their help.’ This is indeed painfully true. The more affectionate and energetic a girl is, the heavier is the burden likely to fall upon her when her relations are poor. I can say from my own knowledge, and I believe I shall be fully corroborated by persons of wider experience, that among the various classes of workers in England none are to be found more unselfish and high-principled than the young teachers in our large schools. They deny themselves and leave the thought of the future. But the future will not the less surely come ; and I appeal to those who are now giving their daughters the benefit of good instruction at a High School, as a preparation for the life of a teacher, whether it would not be far wiser to pay, say, five or even ten pounds a year more now, with the prospect of a sufficient salary when the young people enter upon their profession, than to save the few pounds at the present moment and leave their girls to work for years for salaries which scarcely enable them to live with ordinary comfort and entirely preclude the hope of providing for old age.

Still more earnestly would I appeal to the wealthy who are taking advantage of these schools. If my plan could be tried, a few schools in London would be started on a higher level of expense, because there would be a wider area of instruction. Those only would attend them who could afford to pay well, and who would not need the certificates of the University examiners. Good salaries would be attainable by the ladies who undertook special subjects, because each pupil would pay her separate fee. In a large school I will suppose that three classes, of ten pupils, each pupil paying three guineas a term, might be provided. This gives 90 guineas a term, or 270 guineas per annum. Out of this the teacher has to provide for the expenses of board and lodging, dress, travelling, &c. It must be remembered that she is working hard, and therefore requires good and sufficient food and a comfortable home for the time being. She will scarcely need less than 120*l.* for these and family claims. This leaves a surplus of 150*l.*, which I will suppose she can invest. After twenty years’ steady work with-

out drawbacks she will have saved, reckoning interest, rather more than three thousand pounds. The young woman entering upon her duties at five-and-twenty looks upon this as a dream of Eldorado. At five-and-forty she finds the young generation pressing forward, and begins to think it possible to take a little rest, and live upon her income. Three thousand pounds safely invested at 4 per cent. will bring her in 120*l.* per annum. This is her whole fortune, based on the most advantageous calculation. I ask, is it too great a reward for the struggle and energy and patience of the years past? The schools I am contemplating would be frequented by many girls whose parents reckon their yearly income by thousands. Would they really grudge the extra fees for the extra instruction of the special teachers? I do not for a moment believe they would, granted that the instruction is good and fitted for the sphere in which their daughters are to move. I believe they would be perfectly willing to pay well for it. And if such a scale of payment were adopted in London, it might, and probably would, by degrees influence the salaries given in other large towns, and so the present system of narrow teaching and underpaid teachers might in time be uprooted.

Yet further, I would suggest that in considering the claims of teachers for salaries which shall enable them to make provision for old age, we ought seriously to inquire whether some plan is not practicable which shall provide the grant of a small pension after a fixed age for those who have never been able to secure a sufficient income. This, I know, is a subject bristling with difficulties, and needing for its successful conclusion most careful statistics and calculations.

But it has occurred to me that a start might be made in two ways:—

First. By requiring an entrance fee, say of 1*l.*, for every child placed at a High School.

Secondly. By making application for a donation to the same amount from those who have already received their education at High Schools, or at any schools of the same kind.

The sum thus collected should, I think, be placed in the hands of responsible trustees, and, with the interest accruing, should be invested for ten years. During the same period any teachers who might hope ultimately to benefit from it should be called upon to subscribe 10*s.* per annum to the fund.

At the expiration of the ten years the interest of the sum total might be applied to the granting of pensions not exceeding 50*l.* for teachers who, after working for twenty years, and keeping up the yearly subscription, had been unable to make a provision for themselves to that amount.

If this plan could be carried out and still continued, the capital of the fund would go on increasing year by year, and thus a larger number of teachers might be benefited.

This is an outline of what seems to me possible for the future. The present, I fear, we must leave as only to be dealt with by the efforts of benevolence. The plan will not meet every case, for it could scarcely be extended to governesses in private families, who are too often as underpaid as the school teachers. But if we can only make a beginning we may be tolerably sure that the movement will spread and its sphere of usefulness be enlarged. Every one feels the need of some such provision for all teachers, and institutions like that of the Governesses' Benevolent Society have already been set on foot in recognition of the claims of private governesses.

The teachers who have regularly subscribed for twenty years to the fund, but who do not in the end profit by it, ought, I think, to receive their money back without interest, if they require it. But some who may be fortunate enough to find themselves placed beyond pecuniary need may be glad to leave their contributions as an assistance to those who are in a less satisfactory position. At the end of the first ten years pensions might begin to be granted to teachers who could show that they had been working for twenty years, and who had not only paid to the fund the required subscription of 10s. per annum from the time the plan was started, but were prepared by a payment of 5*l.* to make up the sum contributed by subscribers for twenty years.

One word in conclusion. It will be seen that in the previous criticisms and suggestions there has been no mention of definite religious teaching. The system I have been considering does not insist upon such instruction, though it recognises Scripture history. The programme of the Church Schools Company is an exception, but I have been obliged to make my remarks general.

Yet I should be untrue to my own deepest convictions if, looking at the object which all persons interested in the education of girls have at heart, namely the cultivation and deepening of the mind, I did not state, as a conclusion arrived at from long experience and observation, that earnest, sober, practical religion will ultimately do more to awaken the intellect than any secular instruction however valuable.

GOD, Infinity, Eternity, Immortality—unthinkable it may be, but not the less dread realities. Is it possible that the consideration of these mighty mysteries, and their recognition as the motive powers of human action, can fail to give strength and depth to the mind?

The old Hebrew poet asked a question which at this day we are all putting anxiously to ourselves, and his answer, transmitted to us through the long course of ages, still finds its echo in the heart and the intellect of thousands.

Where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding?

Man knoweth not the price thereof; neither is it found in the land of the living.

The depth saith, It is not in me: and the sea saith, It is not with me.
It cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.

God understandeth the way thereof, and He knoweth the place thereof.

For He looketh to the ends of the earth, and seeth under the whole heaven. . . .

And unto man He said, Behold, the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.—Job xxviii. 12-28.

ELIZABETH M. SEWELL.

HOW TO LIVE ON £700 A YEAR.

THIS is a question which has to be solved by many a young couple who have been brought up in luxury—and who have to live in London. It is rather a fashion amongst the bachelors of clubland to say that it is an impossibility to begin married life respectably on less than a thousand a year. Now, the importance of early marriage to the majority of young men as well as for the wellbeing of future generations is so universally admitted, that a fallacy such as this, if fallacy it is, should be at once exposed. Of course it will be understood that, in saying that it is impossible to live on less than a thousand a year in London, absolute want is out of the question. What is really meant is that a young man and a girl, both of whom have been accustomed to all the ordinary luxuries of the upper middle classes, he to a share in the use of his father's stable, the drinking of good wines, the smoking of good cigars, the luxuries of clubland and such like; she to driving in her mother's carriage, wearing of nice frocks, nice gloves, and neat hosiery, stalls at the opera, popular concerts, and so on—that such a young man and young woman cannot, without an undue relinquishment of such advantages, venture upon a joint existence with less than the said sum as a settled income. Nor must it be for a moment supposed that it *can* be done without a partial renunciation of the enjoyments of a bachelor existence. What we have to show is that the aggregate of those things which go to make life satisfactory and enjoyable to the ordinary mortal is increased by the marriage of a well-suited pair, who have both been reared in the state of luxury above mentioned, on 700*l.* a year. It will be clear that in trying to impress the truth of this upon the ordinary individual it would be useless to point out the advantages which would accrue to the race as a whole by the general practice of early marriage. We must not argue from the high platform of the greatest good for the greatest number, or the resulting good to the body politic. We must use the *argumentum ad hominem*, and show him the advantages that will appeal to his selfishness. And here we would point out that we address ourselves specially to men, because of what appears to be an undoubted fact—namely, that, for various reasons, it is the male creature who holds back from the contemplation of marriage in the present day.

The fact, as pointed out by Mr. Goschen in his now historical address as President of the Royal Statistical Society, that the number of incomes between 1,000*l.* and 500*l.* per annum, between the years 1877 and 1886, shows no fluctuation seems roughly to suggest that between these two amounts may lie the happy mean in the enjoyment of which, in the present condition of the wealthy classes, a man may be looked upon as neither too rich nor too poor. This stationary body, he pointed out, is being reinforced from below as well as from above, but it is with the descending body that we are at present concerned, since the tastes of the ascending body would naturally be limited rather than extravagant.

To return then to our immediate consideration, 'How to live on 700*l.* a year;' and we must, for its proper consideration, be careful to bear in mind this postulate: that it is with the descending body that we have to deal, which involves another—namely, that the individuals composing this body have, by their bringing up, acquired extravagant tastes.

Now, it would hardly be well, even were it possible, to catalogue on the one side all the advantages of bachelorhood, and on the other all the advantages of matrimony, adding to the former the disadvantages of the latter and to the latter the disadvantages of the former, and then seeing which will turn the scale.

The matter is not within the scope of mathematics, nor is it capable of solution by *avouirdupois*. The tastes of every individual differ both in kind and in quantity, and after all each must be the final judge of what is best in his individual case. All that we can do is to point out what can be done on 700*l.* a year, and leave each and every that it concerns to decide whether he is prepared to take these in exchange for what he sacrifices, always bearing in mind, of course, *facilis descensus—sed revocare—*

Before entering into particulars it will be well at once to say that no counting of every penny is to be tolerated, although ordinary caution and carefulness of money must be practised.

At the end of this article we propose to tabulate, under their special headings, the different items of expenditure, to which we shall add such remarks as may seem necessary for their elucidation. But before doing so it may be as well to point out some of those particulars in which considerable saving may be effected, by a little consideration or management, and in this connection we shall find in truth that the most expensive habit which we have acquired is false pride. If we are prepared to put down this, as some people put down their carriages, we shall find at once a surprising reduction in our expenditure.

Take local travelling for example. What is it but pride that makes us on a fine day prefer a hansom cab to the box seat of an omnibus or the garden-seated top of a road-car? Unless, of course, we

are in any special hurry to get to our destination. Again, who will contend that it is pleasanter to travel in a growler than inside an improved omnibus or tram-car? And, even were this not conceded, we must not forget that two shillings a day in cabs—and this is a very small allowance—against twopence a day in omnibuses, makes the difference of 33*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* at the end of the year. Again, if travelling is done day by day on the Metropolitan and District Railways, consider the saving that putting our pride into our pockets and taking out a third, instead of a first-class, fare effects by the end of the year. Say it is a daily journey from Notting Hill Gate to the Mansion House and back. Here we have a saving of 9*l.* 5*s.*; so that, presuming that a wife and husband between them do the aforesaid amount of omnibus and third-class travelling—by no means an unusual quantity—against the same amount of cab and first-class travelling, a saving is accomplished on local travelling alone of 42*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* The amount thus spent may also be largely diminished by encouraging a habit of walking—a practice which all dwellers in London, if strong enough, should adopt for reasons of hygiene. This mode of locomotion, of necessity, being slower, may require a corresponding readjustment of the breakfast hour, where the man has any regular business to attend to; but against this small inconvenience, a smaller doctor's bill is surely a good set-off, besides other evident moral advantages.

Take again the habit of smoking. The Benedict will not in all probability be called upon by a wife of the present day to eschew 'that noxious weed called nicotine' altogether; but he must be aware, if he has ever kept any accounts, what an appalling amount a regular expediture on cigars will reach at the end of a year. Here, again, all that is wanted is a pocketing of his pride. For nine smokers out of ten will tell you that a pipe is the pleasantest of all 'smokes,' and no one can doubt that it is the most wholesome.

Let us see here again what the saving may be put at. A moderate smoker will consume three cigars a day at sixpence a-piece. Let him exchange this for half an ounce of tobacco at fivepence an ounce—an advantageous bargain, if we may judge by the amount of smoke produced. Here then we have a yearly saving of 23*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.*, the reward of pocketing our pride; and since it would not do to smoke a pipe in the park or walking with a lady, a pound or two might well be afforded to provide a supply of good cigarettes.

Again in the case of amusements. A half-guinea stall at the theatre is an expensive luxury; but stalls for two cost just double, for we must remember that the wife requires recreation as well as the husband. Here, again, pride is all that has to be sacrificed, and an ascent must be made to the upper circle—a front seat in which is, in most theatres, the very best place from which to view a performance. These seats cost about four shillings a-piece. Thus for eight shillings two people may see the same show as one in a half-guinea stall,

besides the inestimable advantage of having a sympathetic companion. Front seats, it may be mentioned, may be invariably secured by taking the trouble to settle on an evening a week or so in advance. Thus also much pleasure is gained in anticipation. And in this connection it will not be out of place to point out that the domestic hearth affords a great counter-attraction to the evening amusements considered almost essential in days of bachelorhood. The inclination to turn out after dinner decreases and the expenditure on entertainments accordingly shows a corresponding tendency.

For the first year of married life a girl will, in the majority of cases, find the day-time hang heavily upon her hands, until her husband returns home towards evening. How can she better employ her mornings than by doing her marketing herself? By this means she becomes informed of the proper value of groceries, meat, fish, game, *et hoc genus omne*, and when the time comes, as it probably will, that she is laid up and has to leave the housekeeping temporarily in the hands of her cook, she will have the satisfaction of knowing that on resuming the reins of government she will be able to recognise whether she has been robbed or not. Realising, too, that the food supply is her special province, she will take a pride in keeping down the expenses in this respect. And there are many ways in which this may be done, to the mutual advantage both of the supplier and supplied. Take one example: fishmongers constantly find themselves burdened with splendid food which must be destroyed because it will not keep fresh. If a standing arrangement be made for, say, sixpennyworth of fish to be sent, in time for late dinner, every alternate day, it will be found that two or three times the market value will be supplied, as the dealer is actually glad to rid himself of his surpluse.

Referring back to the suggestion that a mistress may find herself robbed when temporarily incapacitated, it is unnecessary here to make more than a passing reference to the system of *bonuses* which is known to be adopted by a large class of tradesmen. From long usage town-bred servants are more likely to fall in with arrangements of this kind without much pricking of their consciences. It is therefore most advisable that a young wife should provide herself, if possible, with country-bred servants of good character. If she can procure them from the village where her parents or her husband's parents may live, so much the better. The possible feelings of respect and affection, besides the knowledge that any dishonesty discovered would become known at home, undoubtedly will act as powerful checks on any tendency to any deterioration of character.

Again a systematic keeping of accounts will be found to be a strong hindrance to reckless, thoughtless, and extravagant expenditure. No one knows until he acquires the habit of observing his daily expenses how money is frittered away with a wholly inadequate return.

Both husband and wife should daily make up their separate accounts. The trouble of doing so is reduced to a minimum by the excellent diaries which are now published with columns for every item clearly marked. This habit soon becomes confirmed, and is practised as naturally and with hardly more trouble than winding one's watch before getting into bed. Then, at the end of every week, these separate accounts should be entered into the general account book. The emulation of each to keep their expenditure low, and the little triumphs of ways and means, help to make interesting a practice which, to those who have not experienced it, may appear sordid and devoid of charm. And, in this connection, it must be insisted upon that bills, large and small, should be always promptly paid. Thus will be avoided the otherwise inevitable 'bilious fever' which becomes epidemic at Christmas-time, and which is not conducive to the goodwill and peace which should be looked for.

Such methods of checking unnecessary expenditure might be multiplied almost *ad infinitum*; but the foregoing examples will suffice to suggest the principles that must be adopted by our luxuriously inclined couple who have to start life on 700*l.* a year.

We now proceed, in accordance with our promise in the early part of this article, to schedule the actual expenses incurred in the second year of marriage by just such a young couple as we have had in our mind:—

	£	s.	d.
Rent	105	0	0
Rates and taxes (including gas)	38	18	10
Coals	12	8	6
Wages	48	2	1
Food: Butcher	46	9	11
Baker	9	8	8
Dairyman	35	4	8
Grocer	38	8	10
Greengrocer	10	6	0
Poulterer	10	3	7
Dress: Wife	35	8	4
Husband	29	17	3
Washing	34	14	9
Doctor and chemist	33	1	0
Travelling and tips	43	7	5
Local travelling	19	17	9
Stamps	7	16	7
Stationery	8	1	3
Pleasures, presents, smoking	35	18	2
Wine	15	0	8
House repairs, &c.	26	12	10
Garden	4	13	9
Balance	50	19	2
	700	0	0

It is obvious that the above schedule will be of little value unaccompanied by some short notes on the particular items, for before

our gentleman can decide on making the exchange of freedom for the bonds of matrimony he will require to know what he may expect to get in return.

Under the first two headings—rent, rates and taxes—it may then be noted that our model pair pay 105*l.* rental, rates and taxes being something under 40*l.* per annum. Their house is situated close to Kensington Gardens in a cheerful terrace upon sandy soil, in a thoroughly respectable, if not fashionable, neighbourhood. It has a small garden in the rear, and stands back about ten yards from the roadway. It comprises kitchen, scullery and servants' hall, with separate entrance in the basement; dining-room and drawing-room on the ground floor, four large bedrooms, two small, a dressing-room and a bath-room, as well as an ample supply of offices. The household, besides *Monsieur et Madame*, consists of one child and three servants—nurse, cook, and house-parlourmaid—the wages of these amounting, as above appears, to nearly 50*l.* per annum. And here it may be remarked that another advantage in the employment of country servants is the lower rate of wages that they are willing to take.

Under the heading of food it will not be necessary to say more than that dinner or luncheon parties are of course out of the question; for, although 'pot luck' may at any time be offered, people do not expect extravagant entertainments from those living in small houses.

In the matter of dress false pride is at the bottom of large expenditure, and, if our bachelor is not prepared to sacrifice this, then, as we have before pointed out, he must not venture on the connubial experiment. As for the wife, a very small amount will suffice if she knows how to put on her clothes. If she does not, no expenditure of money will make up for the deficiency.

Under the heading of 'travelling and tips' we may mention that the expenditure includes hotel charges and rent of lodgings for a month at the sea-side, besides expenses incidental to numerous visits to the country extending over six weeks or more. As to local travelling we have spoken above.

In fact, the only other item that need be mentioned is 'garden.' With a little management, and a good deal of manual labour, a most wholesome antidote to a lazy London life, much enjoyment may be obtained, despite the ravages of sparrows and the revels of midnight cats.

The balance of 50*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* is a most satisfactory one, and should be guarded religiously against a possible rainy day, though it must not be forgotten that a certain portion of every income should be spent in assisting our poorer neighbours in their hard battle with want.

GEORGE SOMES LAYARD.

CHATTER OR BUSINESS?

IN November 1788, three days before the meeting of Parliament, an anonymous pamphlet was published which considerably stirred and amused the town. It was entitled 'Anticipation; containing the substances of His M——y's most gracious speech to both H——s of P——l——t on the opening of the approaching session, together with a full and authentic account of the debate which will take place in the H——e of C——s on the Motion for the Address and the Amendment.' The author of the pamphlet, which very speedily passed through four editions, was the unfortunate Richard Tickell, who was the grandson of Thomas, Addison's protégé and eulogist, and who gave final expression to his disgust at human life by throwing himself out of a window of Hampton Court Palace. The pamphlet is entitled to an honourable place among the productions of perhaps the most brilliant period of English political satire, which towards the close of the eighteenth century includes the *Pleasures of Literature*, the *Rolliad* and the *Probationary Odes*, the works of Peter Pindar and the *Anti-Jacobin*, and which extended itself into the nineteenth in the *New Whig Guide*. The satire is still readable; its wit survived the occasion of it. Its author expresses the hope that the gentlemen from whose manuscripts he has copied verbatim will not be deterred by the fact that the speeches are printed before they are spoken 'from delivering them with their usual appearance of extempore eloquence.' There have been instances in our own time of speeches which have been faithfully delivered after their accidental appearance in print. Tickell's anticipations were, it is said, to a considerable degree realised. He had so accurately caught the modes of thought and the tricks of speech of contemporary Parliament men, that when the debate which he foreshadowed actually took place, many of the orators seemed really to be delivering what he had set down for them beforehand. In their nervous anxiety to avoid the mannerisms which he had signalised, they fell into them more and more hopelessly, and seemed to be parodying their parodist. The materials are copious, and the provocation is great to a similar satire now, if the satirist could be found; but the result would be unfortunate if it should confirm our present Parliament men in the oratorical habits

which they have acquired. An Anticipation of the approaching debate on the Address and Amendment which should set down for members what they ought to say, and the manner in which they ought to say it, and which should induce them to better the instruction given them, would do a public service. Passion might become reason, sophistry might be converted into logic, diffuseness might become succinct, sterility copious, languor force, and rusticity urbane. Violent methods have been proposed at different times for an abatement of oratorical and factious extravagancies. The proposal of the political projector in Laputa for mingling the brains of opposed partisans gave an acknowledged occasion to a *jeu d'esprit* in the *New Whig Guide*, the authorship of which is attributed to the late Sir Robert Peel, whose name is mentioned in the paper in a manner which somewhat confirms the supposition. The staid decorum which marked the maturity of the great Minister was not foreshadowed in any remarkable degree by the gravity and stillness of his youth; and one of the ablest parliamentary observers of the early years of the present century associates him with Mr. Canning in his rebukes of the flippant youth of the House of Commons, and contrasts their light impertinences with the manly dignity and straightforwardness of Mr. Frederick Robinson, destined to become a transient and perplexed phantasm on the public stage. The describer in the *New Whig Guide* of 'An Extraordinary Parliamentary Debate,' supposes the appointment of a Craniological Committee, the report of which recommends that 'with a view of procuring unanimity in this difficult crisis of the country, and of effecting a solid union of parties and persons on both sides of the House, a mutual interchange should take place between the several leading men of a part of their skulls, by which, as the report stated, there would be effected a union of organs, and of course of feelings and opinions, which could not but conduce to harmony by creating coincidence of temper and judgment between persons however opposite to each other they might have previously been.' Three eminent surgeons occupy the place of the three clerks at the table. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Tierney are first submitted to the operation, and exchange occiputs. The result is that Mr. Tierney becomes candid and straightforward in temper, though perplexed in style, and Lord Castlereagh acquires lucidity of speech at the expense of trickiness and disingenuousness in argument. Corresponding operations are performed with corresponding results, among others upon Canning and Ponsonby, on Vansittart and Grattan, on Horner and Brougham, on Lord Palmerston and Lord Folkestone. Finally, Mr. Peel and Lord Althorp are paired off for an exchange of occiputs, but the hardness of Lord Althorp's skull prevents the operation being performed upon him, and Mr. Peel, putting the back of his head on again, resumes his seat in possession of his undivided brains. The satire is not very happily conducted,

for each speaker is made wholly to exchange characters with his partner, instead of blending his original with his acquired qualities. The art of surgery has made great progress during the past half-century, but we fear that such an operation as Swift and Sir Robert Peel suggested is not yet practicable. Otherwise, if Mr. Gladstone could make a partial exchange of brains with Mr. W. H. Smith, Lord Hartington with Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Goschen with Mr. John Morley, Sir William Harcourt with Lord John Manners, Sir Wilfrid Lawson with Mr. Chaplin, and Mr. Healy with Mr. Whitbread, the level of debate would be more uniform, parliamentary manners would be softened, and the extravagancies of partisanship abated.

Short of this heroic and for the present impracticable remedy, it is possible that some reform may take place. In the minds of most members of Parliament, and especially of most of the leading members, there is, it may be hoped, a sense of shame, reinforced by a healthy public indignation, at the transactions of the last session; and a disposition to ensure that whatever may be the parliamentary character of the present year, it shall be as unlike as possible to its predecessor.

Eighteen hundred and eighty-seven was a year of chatter; eighteen hundred and eighty-eight will, it may be hoped, be a year of business. There is some danger lest a passing malady should be treated as if it were an organic disease, and that violent counteractives may be too ruthlessly applied. A false antithesis between speech and work is gaining hold of the public mind. Mr. Froude, in his brilliant work on the West Indies, pushes the matter, as is perhaps his habit, somewhat to an extreme. He regards the doers and the talkers as two distinct classes, separated by a gulf which neither of them can pass. The instances which he selects show a confidence in his theory which is courageous to the verge of audacity. 'Warren Hastings,' he says, 'wins India for us; the eloquent Burke desires and passionately tries to hang him for it.' The speeches of Demosthenes and of Cicero have passed into literature, but neither Demosthenes nor Cicero, Mr. Froude tells us, understood the facts of his time, and each of them mischievously misled his countrymen. Mr. Froude is on the side of the gods, and not of Cato, in preferring the winning to the conquered side. Burke did not succeed in hanging Hastings, but his speeches laid the foundation of the better government of India. Demosthenes and Cicero succumbed in the contest with the member for Macedon, as Horace Walpole calls Philip, and with Antony. But their speeches kept alive some flame of noble sentiment among their countrymen, and have been torches from which an enthusiasm for freedom has in all ages been kindled. Talk and work are not rivals. Debate is essential to the satisfactory conduct of business. Thought is the essential condition of wise

action, and clear thinking is impossible apart from articulate speech, which is as necessary to its distinct apprehension by the mind which originates it as it is to its conveyance to others. The great evil of our present parliamentary habits is not that there is too much eloquence, but that there is too little; not that discussion is in excess, but that there is scarcely any discussion at all. The debate is swallowed up in the speeches, as the wood in the old saying was hidden by the trees; and what is necessary is not to cut down the forest but to clear it, to remove the jungle and the undergrowth, and to make paths through it leading somewhere and somewhither. A country in which popular government exists can be ruled only by the freest practice of the arts of public persuasion and discussion. Democracy was described, we think, by Hobbes, as an aristocracy of orators occasionally interrupted by the monarchy of a single orator; but the corrupt form of a democracy is an ochlocracy, and instead of a system of aristocratical or monarchical eloquence we have simply a shouting parliamentary mob. Almost every member of the House of Commons insists on having a speaking part. He is not content to be a walking or sitting gentleman, and the result is a confusion of inarticulate voices of which the Tower of Babel was but a feeble foreshadowing. The evil against which a struggle has to be made is twofold. It consists in the length of individual speeches, and in the multiplicity of speakers. When Lord Chatham made the longest speech which is on record against him, he was hailed by the crowd outside the doors of Parliament with enthusiastic cries of 'Three hours and a half! Three hours and a half!' as if, Lord Chesterfield observed, any human being could speak well for three hours and a half. Lord Brougham's eight hours 'improving' was then still in the womb of time. It is perhaps the greatest feat of longiloquence on record in our Parliamentary history, though near approaches have been made to it in our own time.

There are few speeches of five hours which would not have been better if they had been compressed into two, and few speeches of two hours which would not have been improved if they had been restricted to one. The impulse of self-display is at the bottom of most of these extravagant demands on parliamentary time and attention. The end is sacrificed to the means, and the House of Commons is in danger *propter loquendum loquendi perdere causas*. Hume somewhere contrasts the eagerness with which people gathered to Athens from all parts of Greece to hear a speech of Demosthenes, with the preference which the House of Commons sometimes showed for the acting of old Cibber to the debates of the evening. But to enter into rivalry with the theatre is not the business of Parliament; and an orator who in our day should pit himself against Mr. Irving in attractiveness would mistake his function, and in succeeding he would only accomplish splendid failure. The longiloquence of indi-

vidual speakers is however of necessity the fault of but a few. Still it is a depraving example, and leads men to eke out the poverty of their own matter by extracts from blue-books. A member who has sense and knowledge for ten minutes, prefers to be foolish and ignorant in twenty. Probably in the last session of Parliament this evil attained greater dimensions than it has ever reached before, to the great waste of the public time, and to the ruin of the health of many members. The House of Commons, it has been computed, during the session of 1887, sat 274 hours, or more than eleven days, after midnight. It is a partial compensation for this fact that there were 485 divisions, consuming 120 hours, or five days, in walking through the lobbies. It is probably owing to this peripatetic exercise that the strength of members was in some degree maintained. One evil, while in part aggravating, in part compensated the other. But it must be remembered that neither the Speaker nor the Chairman of Committees can take part in the divisions. Mr. Peel's position is more trying than that which the authors of the *Rolliad* commiserated in one of his least distinguished predecessors.

There Cornwall sits, and oh! unhappy fate
Must sit for ever through the long debate.

Painful pre-eminence, he hears, 'tis true,
Fox, North and Burke, but hears Sir Joseph too.

Like sad Prometheus, fastened to his rock,
In vain he looks for pity to the clock.

He stands gazing at the turbid flood of talk which flows past him voluble to eternity. The result of this merciless torture of dripping words was that midway in the last session Mr. Peel became completely exhausted, and was obliged to absent himself from the House for four days, and that it has taken him a considerable portion of the recess to recover from the perfectly gratuitous and wantonly imposed fatigues of the session. What those fatigues were is apparent from a statement made by the leader of the House, who had his full share of them. Mr. Speaker and Mr. Courtney had to listen, each of course relieving the other, to 11,468 speeches. No one will contend that this amount of talk is not immeasurably in excess of the work done; and, as a matter of fact, the speeches were made not by the responsible doers but by the irresponsible talkers. The followers of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell made 7,300 of these speeches; the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists made only 4,100, though there are in round numbers 390 Unionist members in the House and only 280 Gladstonians and Parnellites. For every ten speeches made by supporters of the Government, who form four-sevenths of the House, twenty-nine speeches were made by Gladstonians and Parnellites, who form three-sevenths of it. Lord Salisbury truly denounces this as killing work. He has been censured for saying that

he estimates any one of his colleagues as worth all the eighty-five Irish Home Rulers. It is not necessary to discuss the precise accuracy of this scale of numerical equivalents. The eighty-five Irish Home Rulers and their friends cannot be expected to share it; but it is not unnatural in Lord Salisbury. There is a parliamentary precedent for it, if a precedent is necessary, Lord Thurlow having once declared that one Hastings was worth twenty Macartneys.

It is not essential here to consider whether the waste of time which is beyond dispute was due to deliberate obstruction or to other causes. Mr. Smith and his friends say that there was deliberate and systematic obstruction on the part of the Gladstone-Parnell Opposition. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell reply that the Government obstructed themselves. The distribution of speeches between the two parties, and the number of divisions forced upon the Ministry, are not easily reconcilable with the latter contention; and this presumption in favour of the Government is not rebutted when we look a little more closely into the procedure of the session. The debate on the Address, which according to the old parliamentary usage is ordinarily a formal business, and on which a question of confidence, if it is raised, should be settled by a single division on a single motion, occupied sixteen days, being protracted by a number of trivial amendments, breaking it into secondary discussions on third-rate topics. On the principles on which it was conducted it might have gone on for ever, and it was brought to a close only by the declaration of the Speaker, that in his opinion it was the evident sense of the House that the address had been adequately discussed. The debate on the first Procedure resolution, the only one which the House succeeded in dealing with, occupied fourteen days. The Government thus gained possession of the Closure, though in an imperfect form, which prevented its efficient use. Ordinarily, the introduction and first reading of a Bill take place without debate. Five days were spent on the question whether precedence should be granted to the Crimes Bill, five more days were occupied on the first reading. The application of the Closure was necessary to bring to an end the discussion on this stage of the measure, Mr. Gladstone thinking it necessary to protest against what he called the extreme and unprecedented pressure applied to very large bodies of members of the House. At this period of the session the Speaker succumbed under the extreme and unprecedented pressure applied to his mind and body, and Mr. Courtney occupied his place during the four following parliamentary days. There were seven days' debate on the second reading of the Crimes Bill, and three days on the motion for going into committee. Of the twenty clauses of the measure, only six had been disposed of in discussions extending from the 29th of April to the 17th of June; and the committee stage was brought to an end by the application of the Closure, and the passing without debate of the remaining clauses. On the report of the Crimes Bill there were four

more days' debate, and the Closure was again applied. This brought Parliament down to the 4th of July; and on that day, when more than five months of the parliamentary session, which ordinarily occupies only six, had been spent, Mr. Gladstone unsuccessfully resisted the motion of the First Lord of the Treasury for giving precedence during the remainder of the session to Government business. There remained the third reading of the Crimes Bill, on which there were two days' discussion. The Irish Land Bill had just come down from the Lords, Committees of Supply on the Navy, Army, Civil Service and Irish Estimates remained over. The House continued sitting till the 16th of September—more than a month beyond the usual date of prorogation. In virtue of the transfer to the Government of the whole time of the House, several important measures—the Allotments Act, the Mines Act, the Crofters' Holdings Act for Scotland, the new Land Law Act for Ireland, the Margarine Act, the Merchandise Marks Act among them—became law. But others not less important, for which a session conducted in the ordinary way would have afforded ample time, were dropped; among them the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill, the Lord Chancellor's important Land Transfer Bill, the Tithe Rent Charge Bill, and the Technical Education Bill.

Whether the statement which has preceded confirms Mr. Gladstone's imputation of extreme and unprecedented pressure applied by the Government to very large bodies of members, or shows extreme and unprecedented pressure applied by very large bodies of members to the Government, is a question which may be safely left to the decision of the country, and even to the maturer and repentant second thoughts of that three-sevenths of the House which made two-thirds of the speeches, and enforced nine-tenths of the divisions. If there was deliberate obstruction, the argument is strong for taking out of the hands of a minority powers of hindrance and delay which are absolutely inconsistent with parliamentary government, and are fatal to the very principle of representative institutions. If there was no wilful obstruction the case for a reform of procedure is even stronger, for it shows that without fault attributable to any leader or any party, the whole machinery of legislation and of public business, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, is out of order, and requires to be readjusted to new conditions.

It is not necessary to discuss here the rules of procedure which the Government proposed last session. The substitution of day for night sittings would abolish the waste of time during what is now called, by a very improper and minimising use of the singular number, the dinner hour, and stop the tedious flow of the 'wish-wash that from five to eight'—or rather from seven to ten, for modern customs have shifted the time—'lags in small Lethes through the dull debate.' The abolition of the committee and report stages on the Address will not be practicable in the approaching session. The arrangements for checking

frivolous and repeated motions of adjournment and wanton divisions, for giving priority after Whitsuntide to the measures which are most advanced, and the appointment of Grand Committees on law, trade and agriculture, might profitably be left over, after the example set by Mr. Gladstone in 1882, for a separate winter session. The reform of the clumsy and inefficient Closure rule of last session is the business to which the Government, if it wishes to be sure of doing any business at all, will do well first to address itself. The complicated arithmetical rule that in order to give effect to the Closure it must be supported by more than two hundred members, or, if opposed by less than forty members, must be supported by more than a hundred members, was found during last session inconveniently to impede its operation, and at the close of the session, when the attendance of Members is scanty it was not easy to ensure the attendance requisite for its enforcement. Closure by a bare majority is, we believe, the rule in the legislative assemblies of all countries, except Switzerland, in which Closure exists at all; and proportional majorities are a novelty in our parliamentary system which has not justified itself by its working in this particular case. The previous assent of the Chair to the motion for Closure would prevent snap divisions, by which conceivably a debate might be prematurely brought to an end. If it should be thought desirable to relieve the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees of the somewhat invidious discretion imposed upon them by the existing rule, a proviso requiring that a certain term of notice—twenty-four or even forty-eight hours beforehand—shall be given, would prevent surprises, and would ensure that the deliberate sense of the House was truly taken. The principle of the Closure by a bare majority is indeed not free from difficulty. The House of Commons is becoming more and more the one governing chamber in the country, and it is quite possible that a despotic Minister, commanding a subservient majority, might use his power to force measures through the House without adequate discussion, under circumstances in which the House of Lords might find it difficult to exercise its power of resistance and delay. But we have to meet a present difficulty and danger; and the Parliament of the morrow will deal as circumstances require with the procedure of the morrow. There is little profit in forecasting the shadows of uncertain evils, especially as political prognostics are almost invariably wrong, and the mischief seldom comes in the form in which it is foreseen. If purposed obstruction or purposeless waste of time should disappear, the Closure rule will become a dead letter or may be repealed.

Besides the dilatory habits or tactics which marked the last session of Parliament, the House of Commons cannot avoid discussing the means of checking such outrageous violations of political decorum, and indeed of ordinary social and personal decency, as those which have made the English Parliament a by-word wherever its

proceedings are known. It is possible to be too punctilious and sensitive on this matter. The House of Commons is a public meeting, and the etiquette of the drawing-room would be out of place there. A good deal of rough language may very well be borne with, and it may be occasionally desirable for the Speaker or the Chairman of Committees to have ears which hear not, and eyes which see not. A formal and ceremonious politeness has never been a characteristic of the House of Commons, and a new Parliament representing social classes not formerly included in our representative system, and consisting in a large degree of members of a type not hitherto seen there, is likely to fall into excesses of which longer experience will correct it. Sir Thomas Erskine May points out that in the sessions which immediately followed the Reform Act of 1832 the disorder and violence were extreme; but that the members soon acquired the parliamentary instinct and breeding, and the reformed Parliament between 1832 and 1868 was a great deal more orderly than any of its predecessors, or even than the House of Lords. What happened under the representative system of 1832 may happen also under the representative system of 1885. Even the worst outbreaks of last session have their precedents in what are regarded as the noblest periods of our parliamentary history. Mr. Philip Stanhope was called to order by the Speaker for describing Mr. Balfour as a man of whimsical and lackadaisical mind. But Mr. Philip Stanhope's description of Mr. Balfour's mind was politeness itself compared with Burke's description of Lord North's body, when he spoke of him as 'extending his right leg a full yard before his left, rolling his flaming eyes and moving his ponderous frame.' Mr. Harrington reproached the Speaker with being perpetually 'on the pounce' for him. In 1808 Mr. Tierney directly challenged Mr. Speaker Abbot's conduct to himself, charging him with improperly stopping him from proceeding, and with habitual unfairness. 'Sir,' said Mr. Ley, the deputy clerk, to Abbot, 'did you see? Mr. Tierney falls upon you like an assassin.' It was said of Lord Chatham that, like the husbandman in Virgil, he scattered his dirt with dignity and grace; but that cannot be said of many eminent members. On the 9th of March, 1769, Burke charged the Speaker of that day with partisanship, recalled the time when it was said by one of his predecessors, 'My eyes are dim, I have no tongue to speak,' and added sarcastically 'that though some gentlemen thought the Chair was in the debate, yet they were wrong; if all their senses interposed they were wrong; the Chair was not in the debate.' Fox, Lord John Cavendish, George Grenville, and other leaders of the Opposition joined in the wrangle with scarcely less intemperance. About a month later, when amid great confusion a member was whispering to the Speaker, Burke cried, 'I will be heard; I will throw open the doors and tell the people of England that when a man is addressing the Chair on their behalf, the

Speaker is engaged.' On a motion for the attendance of a certain printer for breach of privilege, an amendment was moved that 'Thomas Evans do attend the House together with all his compositors, pressmen, correctors, blockers and devils,' which Burke supported, insisting especially on the devil, as being the most material personage in the whole business. Colonel Barré, who frankly announced, 'We get up to spin out time,' alleged that he had been in the Speaker's eye, adding, 'How I got out of your eye, and the honourable gentleman in, I cannot conceive.' Burke denounced what he called the 'novel doctrine of the Speaker's eye now growing up into an order as improper, irregular and unparliamentary,' adding with an obvious insinuation of unfairness, 'The Speaker may have his eye on one side of the House rather than the other.' In 1795, General Tarleton, who afterwards apologised, denounced the Speaker (Mr. Addington) for calling the Opposition side to order when the other side was in a greater uproar, and exhibiting partiality. In the early years of the reformed Parliament matters were much not better. On the 6th of May, 1834, Mr. Ronayne charged Mr. Stanley (the late Lord Derby) with smiling contemptuously, and throwing his legs on the table like a man in an American coffee-house; and O'Connell accused him of habitual disregard of veracity. In the same session Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, accused Mr. Sheil of publicly denouncing the Irish Coercion Bill which was then before the House, while in private conversation he expressed his conviction that it was absolutely necessary if Ireland was to be a country to live in; and matters went so far that both members, one of them the leader of the House, were committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and only released on the promise that the dispute should not be carried out of doors. In the following session, Mr. Hume and Mr. Charlton told each the other that he was an impudent fellow, and that he would make him hold his tongue.

It would be easy, with a little research, to add to these instances of parliamentary bad manners. A remarkable circumstance about them is that they were exhibited, for the most part, by men of the highest parliamentary position, instead of being confined to the lower order of members; though this peculiarity may, in some degree, be accounted for by the fact that only men of some parliamentary standing usually took part in the debates at the periods in question. Even making allowance for the softening and refinement of manners within the past century, and most of all during the latter half of it, the excesses of recent sessions cannot be described as worse in their character than those which marked the unreformed Parliament before 1832, and the partially reformed Parliament since. The notable feature in the case is that what was exceptional then has become, on the part of very large bodies of members, habitual now, and is an ordinary instrument of disorder and violence. That experience

of parliamentary life and familiarity with social usages may reform some of the members of the existing Parliament, may fairly be hoped, but in the case of many of the more outrageous offenders license is habitual and persistent. It has endured during many years, and been carried over from one Parliament to another. It is necessary that measures should be taken for its repression. The mere rebuke of the Speaker, followed by suspension for a short time, has little effect with the more obstinate offenders. The suggestion has been made that the suspension, under certain aggravating conditions, should be for the whole session of Parliament, and that fines of a substantial amount should be imposed upon erring members. Possibly pecuniary penalties might be effective; but possibly, too, a fund would speedily come into existence which would make a fine sit very lightly and impose but slight restraint on unruly tongues. If outbreaks, such as those to which we have referred, were seriously discountenanced and even openly rebuked by the Ministers and Privy Councillors of the front Opposition bench who are in political alliance with the disorderly elements, English, Scotch, and Irish, below the gangway, something might be done to check the evil. But unfortunately the influences which pass and re-pass across the gangway are reciprocal, and to a considerable degree counterbalance each other, and English political leaders playing to the Irish gallery and courting its applause, insensibly adapt themselves to its taste and adopt its manners. While supporters of the Government were called to order sixty-four times last session, Gladstonian and Parnellite members were called to order 612 times.

The questions of order and procedure, of the limitation of debate to the purposes of genuine discussion, the efficient conduct of business, and of the re-establishment of parliamentary decorum naturally have precedence of actual legislation. The instrument must be fitted for its work before the work can be done. In this matter there is not likely to be any difference between the two sections of the Unionist Party, which together possess a majority of a hundred in the House; nor ought reasonable Home Rulers, whether of Mr. Gladstone's following or of Mr. Parnell's, to find it hard to come into accord with the general sentiment of Parliament and the country.

While professing not to have examined the matter with historic care, Lord Salisbury states his impression that the present Ministry is in a position which no Government has ever occupied before. The disease, he says, of grouping, by which sooner or later all representative bodies are affected, has laid hold of the House of Commons, and parties are there so divided that there is no one party in the House strong enough to outweigh the others. This phenomenon is not, we imagine, so unprecedented in our parliamentary

history as Lord Salisbury supposes it to be. In 1782, the coalition of Fox and North was necessary in order to give them a working majority over the alliance of the Shelburne Whigs and the Court party among the Tories. When Mr. Pitt resumed office in 1804, his followers, according to Lord Colchester, numbered only 230, and were liable to defeat by the coalesced forces of Addington, Grenville, and Fox. It was this state of things which led to the negotiations which Pitt opened with Fox, towards the close of his life, for a coalition Ministry. Two years later, when the Grenville-Fox administration was formed, the inclusion of Addington, who commanded forty votes, in the Cabinet, was necessary to give the Government a safe majority. The Ministry of Mr. Canning was maintained in the House of Commons, against the hostility of Peel and the less liberal Tories, by the admission into it of a large Whig element, which gained for it the support of such men as Brougham and Sir Francis Burdett outside the Cabinet. A similar remark may be made of the coalition of Whigs, Radicals and Liberal Conservatives in the administration of Lord Aberdeen. The phenomenon which Lord Salisbury seems to think unique is rather periodic. Instead of being a disease of the parliamentary system, it is a necessity from time to time of its healthy working. Grouping may sometimes be a sign of political disintegration, but groups may, on the other hand, be simply the elements of new parties in the process of formation, disentangling themselves from old connections which have ceased to be natural, and forming new and healthier organisms. Whenever a great controversy is started, its first effect is almost invariably disuniting. Resistance to the personal pretensions of the Sovereign separated the Fox from the Shelburne Whigs, and brought about, and in some partial degree justified, the otherwise discreditable coalition with North. Burke and the old Rockingham Whigs split off from Fox on the issues raised by the French Revolution, and the reconstituted Ministry of 1793 was really a coalition Ministry. The Catholic Question brought about a combination of the Canning Tories with a section of the Whigs, and the question of Free Trade or Protection produced a similar rupture and recombination of parties under Lord Aberdeen. The maintenance of the parliamentary union with Ireland is a not less legitimate basis of common action, whether it take the form of alliance or coalition. Macaulay says, 'Twice in the course of the seventeenth century the two parties suspended their dissensions, and united their strength in a common cause. The first coalition restored hereditary monarchy; the second coalition rescued constitutional freedom.' A coalition, or an alliance, or whatever be the name given to it, which shall save the parliamentary union on which the existence of the United Kingdom depends, will render a service not less signal to England and to the world. We have no fear that the discharge of this great task will be

endangered by any minor differences, and compared with it all differences are minor. The strength, moreover, of the Government as a Unionist Government is greater than the combined strength of the two parties which support it. It has behind it that general sense of the country which is superior to and independent of any party or combination of parties, which is even numerically stronger than they, and which moves now to this side and now to that as its perception of the public welfare determines. Whatever concessions may be made at some future day to the principle of Home Rule in the several parts of the United Kingdom must be compatible with the maintenance of the Parliamentary union, as disestablished and defined in the Act of Union.

FRANK H. HILL.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE MEDICAL SCHISM.

RECENT events have brought the subject of rival schools of medical practice into such prominence as to render the present time especially suitable to a review of the situation. It must be conceded on all hands that the existence in a profession so eminently philanthropic as that of medicine of two opposing schools, one of which refuses to hold any kind of professional intercourse with the other, is under any circumstances a public calamity. I propose in the present article to examine and inquire into the origin of this schism and the grounds upon which it is at present maintained, in the hope that a candid and dispassionate consideration thereof may do something, if ever so little, towards the healing of the breach.

In the early part of 1887 seven members of the medical staff of an old-established medical charity resigned their posts on the ground that 'a vote of the governors . . . which enables professed homœopaths to hold office on the medical staff . . . has left them no alternative.' The vacancies thus created were speedily filled up, the new-comers being drawn from both sections of the medical profession, thus presenting the (in this country at least) unprecedented spectacle of homœopaths and regulars co-operating harmoniously in the same medical institution. The medical press, which had laid its ban upon those who should dare to fill the vacancies occasioned by the seceders, of course took the non-homœopathic section to task; whereupon statements were published by two of these latter in justification of their 'new departure.' Briefly summarised, these statements are as follows:—

The presence of homœopathists on the staff is either prejudicial to the interests of the patients or it is not. If the former, then the action of medical men—not avowed homœopathists—in joining the staff deserves your approbation, since by diluting homœopathic influence and diminishing homœopathic practice, they would tend, *ex hypothesi*, to augment the advantages and lessen the risks of the patients. If, on the other hand, homœopathists do *not* imperil the welfare of the patients, there is no justification for your condemnation of those who choose to serve in the same charity as they. You may hold that I have not stated the real point at issue, and maintain that it is professional honour which is at stake; in which case it appears to me you would exalt the importance of boycotting certain members of the profession above the needs of those for whose benefit the charity exists. Doctors

are made for man, not man for doctors. Supposing every member of the profession who is not a homœopathist, avowed or otherwise, had abstained from applying for a vacant post, one of two things must have happened—either the vacancies would have been filled by homœopathists, or not filled at all. I have dealt above with the question of a homœopathic staff as affecting the patients; and as regards the other alternative, of the posts being left vacant, it comes to this: that the leading journal of a so-called noble profession—a profession which is supposed to embody some of the grandest instincts of humanity—by implication advocates that patients should be left destitute of advice until certain offending brothers, guilty of the unpardonable sin of differing from the majority respecting therapeutic doctrine, shall be excommunicated. The interests of the poor are to be sacrificed in order that professional prejudice may be satisfied.¹

In order to comprehend the depth of the prejudice displayed by the above recital of facts, and to arrive at a just estimate of the present relations of the two schools, it is necessary that we should briefly review the four objections which have been successively urged by the mass of the medical profession against the homœopathic body. Of these, two relate to matters of medical theory and practice, and two belong to the domain of medical politics and ethics.

I. The foundation of the so-called homœopathic system of therapeutics was the enunciation at the beginning of the present century by Hahnemann, a German physician of high standing as a scholar and a scientist, of the miscalled 'law'—in reality a mere rule of practice—*similia similibus curantur*, 'likes are cured by likes.' This is how it is commonly but erroneously stated, the real formula being *similia similibus curentur*, 'let likes be treated by likes.' Being definitely stated, this means that, given a drug which produces a certain set of morbid symptoms when taken in sufficient quantity by a person in health, that same drug has a curative tendency if not given in too large a quantity in a disease characterised by the presence of similar morbid symptoms. Paradox as it seems, the rule was a generalisation from certain observed facts, and to be admitted as a practical rule, there is no necessity that it should be susceptible of a clear explanation, though such would be undoubtedly desirable. Now, owing to its paradoxical nature, this rule was at the time of its enunciation, and until comparatively recently, proclaimed an axiomatic absurdity and its possibility was held to be quite out of the question, save by those members of the profession who, in consequence of the opposition with which they were encountered, took their stand upon it as *the* leading principle of therapeutics with a certain amount of defiance. In such a state of things it is obvious that no good could arise from professional intercourse between adherents of this school and their opponents. A consultation under these circumstances could only end in one of two ways—either in hopeless disagreement, or in the complete sacrifice of principle on one side or the other. In either case the expense and burden of a

¹ Letter by Dr. Beckett in *Lancet*, April 23, 1887.

consultation would be a useless and unnecessary tax upon the patient ; and in the latter case, such a consultation could be nothing but a sham and a fraud.

It is true that all through the controversy a few great minds, rather more catholic than their fellows, conceived it possible that there might be an element of truth even in what they could not understand, and of these I may mention Trousseau in France, the author of those classical lectures on clinical medicine which are among the most highly esteemed works of the profession ; and Liston, one of the most eminent surgeons of his time, with Sir John Forbes, a firm opponent of homœopathy as a *system*, in England. These are Trousseau's words :—

The homœopathic doctrine, considered in its general fundamental idea, certainly does not deserve the ridicule which the therapeutic applications made by the homœopaths have provoked.²

And again :—

Experience has proved that many diseases are cured by therapeutic agents which seem to act in the same manner as the morbid cause to which we oppose them.

Sir John Forbes's opinion is expressed in the following terms :—

No careful observer of his [Hahnemann's] actions, or candid reader of his writings, can hesitate for a moment to admit that he was a very extraordinary man, one whose name will descend to posterity as the exclusive excogitator and founder of an original system of medicine as ingenious as many that preceded it, and destined probably to be the remote, if not the immediate, cause of more important fundamental changes in the practice of the healing art than have resulted from any promulgated since the days of Galen himself.³

In a lecture published in the *Lancet* of April 16, 1836, Liston records the result of his treatment of erysipelas with belladonna, a method then as now in common use among homœopaths, and claimed by them as an instance of the application of the 'law of similars.' In this lecture he says :—

I believe in the homœopathic doctrines to a certain extent, but I cannot as yet, from inexperience on the subject, go to the length its advocates would wish in so far as regards the very minute doses of some of their medicines. The medicines in the above cases were certainly given in much smaller doses than have hitherto ever been prescribed. The beneficial effects, as you witnessed, are unquestionable. . . . Without adopting the theory of this medical sect, you ought not to reject its doctrines without close examination and inquiry.

But this contention of the axiomatic absurdity and utter impossibility of the rule can only hold good so long as we are prepared to deny that such a case of the cure of morbid symptoms by a drug producing similar symptoms on the human body in health ever takes place. Prove one single instance, and the *a priori* objection vanishes. If it can and does occur in one case, there is no special reason why it

² *Treatise on Therapeutics*, ninth ed. vol. i. p. 274.

³ *Brit. and For. Med. Review*, vol. xxi. p. 226.

may not occur in two, or ten, or a thousand. The whole field of argument has changed, and instead of denying the rule as an impossibility, we can only say that its general application is not proved to our satisfaction. To that it may fairly be retorted by the homœopaths 'Have you tried it?' It is now no longer a theory to be reasoned about in the abstract, but a question purely of experience. And questions of experience are about the most variable of things.

Of late, therefore, the objection to homœopathy and through it to its professors has been remodelled, though our conduct towards the latter remains the same. The rule *similia similibus curantur* is now admitted by 'men of light and leading' in the profession to be partially true. In evidence of this may be quoted the following explicit statements from the preface by Dr. Lauder Brunton, F.R.S., to the third edition of his laborious *Text-book of Pharmacology, Therapeutics, and Materia Medica*. On page x thereof he says:—

This rule [*similia similibus curantur*] was known to Hippocrates [to whom he elsewhere refers as the Father of Medicine] and the rule *similia similibus curantur* was recognised by him as true in some instances.

Again, on page xii:—

The only difference between them [those homœopaths who have discarded the absurdities of infinitesimal dosage, to be subsequently referred to] and rational practitioners lies in the fact that the latter regard the rule as only of partial application.

Once more:—

It is not the use . . . of a drug which may produce symptoms similar to those of the disease that constitutes homœopathy.

The preface from which these quotations are made received the unqualified approval of the *Lancet* (one of the two best known and most widely recognised organs of the profession), in a leading article on the 16th of April 1887.

But that this rule is no longer held to be absurd *per se*, there is ample evidence scattered piecemeal throughout our whole practical therapeutics, as exemplified more particularly in the standard works of Dr. Ringer, F.R.S., Dr. Phillips, and Dr. Lauder Brunton, F.R.S. The first-named holds the post of Professor of the Principles and Practice of Medicine at University College, London; the second is late Lecturer on *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics at the Westminster Hospital; while the third not only holds a like post at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, but is in addition an examiner in these subjects at the Royal College of Physicians, at the Universities of London and Manchester, and until recently at the University of Edinburgh. He therefore is in some sense an official judge of what constitutes the therapeutics of the present day.

Not to enter more than is absolutely essential into any technical matters, it may suffice to quote one passage each from their works on

therapeutics, giving in juxtaposition their statements as to the physiological effects of some drug upon the healthy human body, and certain indications for its use in disease.

To begin with Dr. Ringer. I quote his remarks upon amyl nitrite, a comparatively new therapeutic agent, from his *Handbook of Therapeutics* (eighth edition, 1880).

Of the physiological effects of this drug on the healthy he says:—

In thirty to forty seconds, whether inhaled, subcutaneously injected, or swallowed, it *flushes the face* and increases the heat and *perspiration* of the head, face, and neck.

Sometimes the increased warmth and perspiration affect the whole surface; or while the rest of the surface glows, *the hands and feet may become very cold*. . . . It causes the heart and carotids to *beat very strongly*, and the head to *feel full and distended*, 'as if it would burst,' or 'as if the whole blood were rushing to the head.' . . . It often causes slight *mental confusion, giddiness*, and a *dreamlike state*.

Thus one woman, after a drop dose, turned *deadly pale, felt giddy*, and then became *partially unconscious*, remaining so for ten minutes.

As to its therapeutic action, he has used this remedy with considerable success in cases of the following kind:—

From various causes, 'a woman . . . suffers from frequent attacks of *flushings* or "*heats*" starting from various parts as the *face, epigastrium, &c.*, thence spreading over the greater part of the body.' These heats 'are generally followed by *perspiration*, often very profuse. . . . The heats are often accompanied by great *throbbing* throughout the whole body, and followed by much prostration, the patient seeming *scarcely able to rouse herself*. After the heats pass away the skin sometimes becomes *cold and clammy* and may turn *very pale*. . . . Such a patient generally complains of *cold feet* and sometimes of *cold hands*. . . . Nitrite of amyl will prevent or greatly *lessen these flushings or heats*, and *avert the profuse perspiration, throbbing of vessels, and great prostration*. Sometimes it *warms the feet and hands*. . . . Amyl will also remove the *giddiness, confusion of mind, heaviness in the head*, and even headache.'

As an example from Dr. Phillips I will take aconite, and I quote from his *Materia Medica and Therapeutics*, 1886.

Physiological Effects.

In the early stage of aconite poisoning the *pulse* may be *quickened* for a time, and the *face flushed* with a feeling of *heat and fullness in the head*. . . . On several occasions I have seen *epistaxis* occur. . . . I have myself experienced great *palpitation of the heart*, with much precordial oppression one hour and a half after taking twenty minims of the tincture. . . . After full doses there may be *headache*. . . . In mammals the *breathing becomes slow and laboured*, with spasmodic attacks of partial *apnoea* from inability to *inspire*.

Therapeutical Uses.

He has known aconite useful 'in cardiac disorder, non-inflammatory, but characterised by increased *pulsation*.

'I have known it control *epistaxis*.

'Dr. Fleming found it act well in all forms of *functional palpitation*.

'In different varieties of *headache* I have found aconite useful.

'Nine of the cases [of pneumonia] not selected, showed the value of the drug at the commencement of the disease. They were characterised by rigors, dry cough, *dyspnoea*, &c.

There is, however, frequently a harassing *dry cough*.

In toxic cases there is generally much *restlessness*.

'In the same stage of bronchitis it... alleviates the *dry teasing cough*.

'In membranous laryngitis it has relieved the hard *dry cough*.

'In several cases I have seen acute *quiet* the disturbing *restlessness* or "fidgets" which affects men as well as women.'

Dr. Lauder Brunton shall bear testimony concerning ipecacuanha (*Handbook of Pharmacology, Therapeutics, and Materia Medica*, 3rd edition).

Physiological Action.

In some persons it has a peculiarly irritating action on the respiratory tract, so that almost infinitesimal quantities of the powder cause *running at the nose* and sometimes asthma.

When taken internally it is an irritant to the mucous membrane of the stomach and acts as a prompt *emetic*.

Emetine (the alkaloid) produces in dogs, both when injected under the skin and when administered internally, *diarrhœa, which is sometimes bloody*.

Therapeutic Uses.

Ringer strongly recommends the spray of ipecacuanha wine in... bronchial asthma... It is used in catarrhs.

In small doses it is often useful in *vomiting* from various causes.

Ipecacuanha is very useful as an anti-dysenteric, especially in the acute *dysentery* of the tropics.

It would be easy to multiply such instances as these, but as my object is merely to show that we have abandoned the objection to homœopathy founded upon the absolute absurdity of the 'law of similars,' one instance is as good as a thousand. It may not be consonant with facts to assert that a particular association of phenomena is sufficiently common to enable us to state it as a general fact or law; but we have clear ground for stating from the one verified instance that such a law is neither impossible nor absurd.

Therefore this proof of the fact that like *sometimes* cures like, coupled with the admission that the law *is* of partial application, shows that the question as between 'homœopathic' and other practitioners in reference to a particular rule of drug selection is no longer one of kind (as it would be were the doctrine attacked held to be a scientific nullity) but one of degree, viz. to what extent the rule is available as a therapeutic aid. But this by itself would not justify the ostracism of either party, because differences concerning the degree of application of *any* law are always liable to modification as the result of extended experience. Wherefore, from the point of view of medical practice the objection to mutual intercourse based upon the scientific absurdity of the 'law of similars' may be discarded, though, as we shall see, that law will recur as a source of objection with greater show of reason when we come to the domain of medical politics.

II. The next objection, based upon a matter of medical theory and practice, refers to the doctrine of infinitesimal dosage. Briefly stated, the principle amounts to this: that an organ in a morbid condition, or temporarily unbalanced, will respond to the stimulus of a much smaller dose of a given drug endowed with a special action upon it than would be requisite to influence it in health. On this principle, the 'homœopathic' practitioners are accustomed to subdivide their drugs on a decimal scale, and I am bound to admit that with some this principle is carried to, in my opinion, an absurdly ridiculous extent. But then let us remember that we smell by the contact of material particles with the sensitive nerve-network spread out on the nasal mucous membrane. How infinitesimal must be the particles a man leaves behind him as he journeys; yet they are sufficient to enable the bloodhound to track him by the smell, even through a confused trail of many mingled scents. So that here again the essential difference between the 'homœopathic' and the ordinary practitioner is a matter, not of kind, but of degree—a proposition which I will now endeavour to illustrate.

First: as to the principle of small doses, witness Dr. Lauder Brunton in the preface above referred to:—

We are not homœopaths because . . . we use small doses.

It is not the use of . . . a small dose . . . that constitutes homœopathy.

The *Lancet* also, in a leading article in its issue on the 16th of April 1887, states:—

The ordinary practitioner differs from the homœopathic in being free to use any drug which he knows to be of use in the case, and *that in any quantity experience shows to be best.*

As to the disability of the 'homœopath' implied in this passage, I shall have more to say under the next heading. It suffices here to show that a small dosage is not necessarily peculiar to the 'homœopath,' of whom, indeed, Dr. Brunton says in the paragraph quoted just now, 'But the infinitesimal doses are so absurd that I believe they have been discarded by many homœopaths.'

Now for practical facts. While, as Dr. Brunton testifies, we have on the part of many of the leading lights of 'homœopathy' a tendency to discard the extremes of smallness, and to return to a tangible, if diminutive, dose, we find the ordinary practitioner learning to utilise smaller and smaller doses of drugs; so that quantities are now commonly prescribed which would, forty years ago, have been regarded (and as a matter of fact are still so regarded by many veteran practitioners who were educated in the old school) as almost equally ridiculous with those of the 'homœopaths' themselves. Witness 'a third of a grain of grey powder,' 'a single grain of bichloride (of mercury) dissolved in a pint of water and a teaspoonful of this solution given each hour,' *i.e.* $\frac{1}{160}$ grain for a dose;

' $\frac{1}{36}$ to $\frac{1}{48}$ grain of tartar emetic ;' 'half a drop, or a drop, of the tincture (of aconite) in a teaspoonful of water ;' drop doses of the tincture of nux vomica, of ipecacuanha wine, and a host of other similar novelties in dosage, recommended by Dr. Ringer in his *Handbook of Therapeutics*, a manual deservedly in the hands of almost every student of medicine. These points are, I think, enough to show that there is a gradual drawing together of the two schools on the subject of dosage, and that the difference between them is one, not of kind, but of degree : a difference, moreover, which is slowly, but surely, diminishing in extent.

Thus far, therefore, it seems to me that we have arrived at the following position : There is no longer that primary and fundamental difference between the two schools, based upon an essential incompatibility of tenets, such as existed when by the 'orthodox' school the practical rule *similia similibus curentur* was held to be, not merely not proven, but altogether impossible and absurd, and entirely devoid of foundation in fact. On the contrary, there are many conceivable instances where the practice of the two schools would overlap as regards drug treatment, not to mention such common ground as electricity, hydropathy, massage, hygiene and regimen, preventive medicine, and surgery, particularly the local treatment of special diseases.

Neither is the question of dosage now so essential a distinction. It is now quite conceivable that a 'homœopathic' practitioner and Dr. Ringer, Dr. Phillips, Dr. Lauder Brunton, or any of the vast numbers of 'ordinary practitioners' who follow them, might meet in consultation if they felt so inclined, and be in entire harmony, without any sacrifice of principle on either side, not only as to the drug to be administered, but even as to the dose : and this not in an exceptional case or two, but in a very large number, if not the majority, of cases.

That being so, it is as much as can be expected from any consultation ; for we of the 'orthodox' school have not the reputation of being unanimous to a fault in our recommendations for treatment ; while among surgeons there are many of high repute who have never adopted, or, having adopted, have discarded, what is known as the Listerian method of antiseptic surgery ; while others, their compeers in every way, consider the neglect of Listerian precautions during and after operation an almost criminal offence. Yet admirable results are forthcoming from both sides, and neither section dreams of refusing to hold professional intercourse with the other.

It seems to me, therefore, that the wholesale ostracism of 'homœopathic' practitioners can no longer claim any justification from the plea of an essential incompatibility of methods of practice. While these points were regarded as absurd in themselves, unscientific, and untrue in every case, the 'orthodox' school (meaning thereby the majority) had some reason for holding aloof, and for stating that in

the nature of things all mixed consultations must prove futile. Once admit, however, as I have shown to be now admitted, that the 'homœopathic' rule is even to the slightest extent true, and it is no longer, as of old time, a foregone conclusion that such consultations cannot arrive at an harmonious result; but the possibility thereof depends (as in ordinary consultations between 'orthodox' practitioners) upon matters of detail and not of principle.

This brings me to the second division of the subject, viz. the objections based upon grounds of medical politics and ethics. And here, looking at the matter from the general point of view of the profession, I am free to admit that we of the majority have some *prima facie* ground for our action. I say *prima facie*, because I cannot but feel that calm and dispassionate consideration will lead us to the opinion that here, as in most polemics, the differences will be ultimately found to result from a misapprehension of the position actually taken by our opponents. Why this is so, it is easy to see. Truth is like a cube, and language is inadequate to depict, as the eye is unable to discern, all sides of this cube at once. Consequently that side which is attacked assumes for a time an undue prominence in the argument. The picture, therefore, which is presented to the eye of the opponent, though true in fact, is false in proportion, and, when wrested from its relation to the other sides of the cube of truth, ceases to be true.

III. The first objection on the new ground is this. It is admitted that *similia similibus* may be, nay is, true in some cases; and in those cases, therefore, there would not necessarily be any difference of opinion between the two schools as to what drug should be selected in the treatment of a given disease; but (in the words of Dr. Lauder Brunton)—

It is the falsity of the claim which homœopathy makes to be in possession, if not of the universal panacea, at least of the only true rule of practice, that makes homœopathy a system of quackery.⁴

And again :—

The essence of homœopathy as established by Hahnemann lies in the infinitesimal dose and the universal application of the rule *similia similibus curantur*. But the infinitesimal doses are so absurd that, I believe, they have been discarded by many homœopaths. To such men, all that remains of homœopathy is the universality of the rule *similia similibus curantur*.⁴

Here then, it would seem, are our adversary's articles of faith, viz. the doctrine of infinitesimal doses, and the *universal* application of the 'law of similars.' Before we proceed to confute them, let us be quite certain whether they are so, or are merely the product of our own imagination.

And first as to the infinitesimal dose. And, without going into

⁴ Preface to the third edition of *Pharmacology, Therapeutics, and Materia Medica*.

the question where the finite ends and the infinite begins, one may point to Dr. Lauder Brunton's admission that the doctrine has been discarded by many homœopaths. But that which is only held by a section can be no justification for a condemnation of the whole. On this score, therefore, such objection as there is to be made applies only to individuals, because of their adhesion to that doctrine, and should not be directed against the whole body indiscriminately. This point, I think, demands no further argument.

Before proceeding to discuss the second part of our present argument, I would repeat what I have said above about the tendency in all disputation to push into undue and inharmonious prominence the proposition attacked. On this account, therefore, some allowance must be made for exaggerated statements in the heat of argument, especially an argument which, owing to the excommunication it has entailed upon one of the parties, is almost of necessity wanting in calmness and judgment.

I have taken some pains among a number of representative 'homœopathic' physicians to ascertain what their views really are as regards the 'law of similars.' To take the negative side first, let us see what they are not. First, this so-called law is not a law at all, but a mere therapeutic rule, and its proper formula, as I have stated above, is not *similia similibus curantur*, 'likes are cured by likes,' but *similia similibus curentur*, 'let likes be treated by likes.' In the second place, it is not applied to all therapeutic measures, but merely at present to drug treatment. (I say 'at present,' for I learn that one homœopathic friend considers that he has succeeded in demonstrating some place for it in the domain of electro-therapeutics. That remains to be seen, and I shall be curious to know what treatment his ideas, and especially the facts he adduces in support of them, will receive when they are published.) In the third place, it is not claimed by 'homœopaths' as a body (and the opinions of some do not justify the condemnation of the whole), that even in the sphere of drug treatment the applicability of this law is universal. Starting with the admission of Dr. Lauder Brunton and the *Lancet*,⁵ that the rule is of partial application, the so-called 'homœopaths' present every degree of belief as to the extent to which it applies. There may perhaps be individuals who claim for it an absolute exclusiveness; all I can say is, that I have not met with such, that even if there are, their extravagance is no ground for other than their individual condemnation, and that the majority stop far short of this line.

Now for the positive aspect. What the 'homœopaths' as a body do claim amounts simply to this. '*Similia similibus curentur*,' they say, 'is a true therapeutic rule and should have its due place in the economy of medical practice. That you have granted. Then the

⁵ In its leading article of the 16th of April 1887, on the preface to his work above referred to.

difference is merely as to the extent of its application. You of the "orthodox" school allow it, say, ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. scope. We the so-called, not the self-called, "homœopaths" say that in our individual experience it is of still greater application, but as to the extent we, too, differ among ourselves according to our individual experience, agreeing, however, in this, that it covers the *majority* of cases. One thing further we are agreed upon, viz. that whatever future research and increased experience may ultimately show, it is not at present of universal application, as the greater or less frequency with which each one of us has at times to supplement it with other therapeutic measures amply testifies. Our relations as to drug treatment with "orthodox" physicians are parallel to those now obtaining among surgeons with reference to "antiseptic surgery." Sir Joseph Lister introduced a method of operating and dressing wounds under antiseptic conditions. It is claimed for this system that it promotes readier healing, and lessens, almost to the extent of abolishing, such complications as blood-poisoning, erysipelas, &c., thereby conducing enormously not only to the comfort but also to the safety of the patient. Yet, at the present moment, while it is not denied by any that this system has been of some service (if in nothing else, at any rate in instilling the necessity for careful attention to detail and absolute cleanliness), some do not use it at all, either having never tried it or having discarded it; some use it rigorously and exclusively; while between the two extremes there is every degree of compliance and non-compliance with its methods, according to the fancy and experience of the surgeon. And yet neither party feels called upon to ostracise the other. Whatever justification, therefore, the undue straining of the therapeutic rule may give for an ostracising policy directed against individuals, its mere acknowledgment as a therapeutic method, even of more or less general application, affords absolutely none for boycotting the whole "homœopathic" body *en masse*.'

I propose now to adduce evidence in support of my statement that universality is not an essential article of faith, nor exclusiveness a matter of practice, with the so-called 'homœopaths' as regards the 'law of similars.' I will oppose to the exaggerated assertions made in the heat of polemical discussion, the formal and *ex cathedra* statements of a few reputed 'homœopaths,' when speaking calmly and dispassionately in their capacity as teachers. The following are the words of Dr. Holcombe, a representative American 'homœopath,' delivered *ex cathedra* in an address to the Hahnemannian Medical Society of Cincinnati in 1875:—

Some people suppose that a physician professing belief in homœopathic law is obliged to limit his practice strictly to the application of that law. He is not to administer a purgative, or to give an opiate, or to prescribe quinine, or to recommend a mineral water under any circumstances, without in some way incurring the suspicion of sailing under false colours, or having deserted his creed and betrayed his

principles. To those who cannot rise above the mere partisan spirit of cliques and schools, this may seem to be a righteous judgment. The man, however, who is loyal only to nature and to truth regards such restrictions as sheer impertinence, and claims everything which *cures*, whether explainable or not, as inalienably his own.

Compare with the above the following remarks of Dr. Lauder Brunton in the preface to his book so frequently referred to.

As a medical man is bound to do his utmost for the good of the patient, it is obvious that although he may employ baths or packs as a mode of treatment, he cannot, without becoming untrue to his profession, throw aside all other means of treatment and become a hydropath: nor can he consult on equal terms with those who, either through ignorance or wilful blindness, deny the use of other means of cure, and limit themselves to the application of water. What is true of hydropathy is true of homœopathy.

What a hopelessly irreconcilable conflict of opinion between representative men of both schools, to be sure! Or is it just possible that we may have been bowling at imaginary ninepins after all?

Not to become wearisome with examples, I will content myself with one more quotation, this time from the *Eléments de médecine pratique* of Dr. Jousset, a leading Paris 'homœopathic' physician.

The indications [for the employment of medicines] are governed by two laws, *contraria contrariis* and *similia similibus*. *Contraria contrariis* is the law of the indications in old physic. It is directed to the proximate cause of the disease, and it is believed to destroy this cause by its contrary. It is an etiological therapeia; its axiom is *sublata causa tollitur effectus*. It is a law which is admirably adapted to diseases having an external cause. It is the therapeutics of surgery. . . . *Similia similibus* is directed to the symptoms and not to the cause; it may therefore be employed independently of any hypothesis. . . . The materia medica is still very incomplete. There are diseases which are not amenable to the known remedies employed in accordance with the law of similars. Empiricism is in such case the only method possible. . . . Finally, there are incurable diseases; the physician should remember that when he cannot cure, he ought to attempt to relieve suffering. This is the object of palliative medication.

IV. So much for the supposed exclusive application of the 'law of similars' among so-called 'homœopaths.' Let us now consider the final objection which is urged by the leaders of the 'orthodox' school as a justification for their policy of ostracism.

Here, again, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Lauder Brunton, and reinforce his statement with those of other authorities. In the preface to which I have had such frequent occasion to refer, he writes as follows:—

Yet this arrogant claim [viz. that of being in possession of the only true rule of therapeutics] constitutes the essence of the system, and the man who, leaving Hahnemann and going back to Hippocrates, regards the rule *similia similibus curantur* as only of partial and not of universal application, has no longer any right to call himself a homœopath.

Again:—

Yet we hear some leading homœopaths say, 'We do not claim any exclusiveness for our method,' and then complain that they are excommunicated by the medical

profession. If they have renounced the errors of Hahnemann's system, they ought not to retain its name, but frankly acknowledge their error and return to rational medicine, of which Hippocrates is regarded as the father.

In 1883 a discussion arose at the Medical Societies of New York on the subject of consultations between 'homœopathic' and 'orthodox' practitioners. In a paper on this subject contributed to the *New York Medical Journal* of the 7th of April 1883, Dr. Austin Flint, a highly-respected and well-known physician, and an opponent of 'mixed' consultations, writes:—

The objectionable point in the [old] code [of medical ethics] is that which makes 'a practice based on an exclusive dogma' the ground of a refusal to meet practitioners in consultation. This is not a valid objection. Any physician has a right either to originate or adopt an exclusive dogma, however irrational or absurd it may be. Dogmas have prevailed more or less in the past history of medicine. If in a consultation there be lack of agreement respecting either diagnosis or treatment, the code indicates in another article precisely the course to be pursued. The true ground for refusing fellowship in consultations, as in other respects, is a name and an organisation distinct from and opposed to the medical profession. Whenever practitioners assume a distinctive appellation, thereby assuming to represent an essentially distinct system of practice, taking an attitude of antagonism to the regular profession, seeking popular favour on the ground that they belong to a 'new school' based upon truth and productive of good, whereas the regular profession belong to the 'old school,' based on error and productive of harm, how can there be fellowship either in consultation or in other respects?

In a leading article of the 9th of March 1887, the *Medical Press and Circular* says:—

There is nowhere desire to impose any particular doctrine or mode of treatment; this is left to the conscience and skill of independent practitioners; what we deprecate is, in the language of the Royal College of Physicians, 'the assumption or acceptance of designations implying the adoption of special modes of treatment.' Homœopaths are not the only, though the most obvious, sinners in this respect.

And again:—

They [medical men] must convince the public that their attitude does not arise from any wish to restrict or limit the scope and field of practice, but simply and purely from a dislike for the use of designations which are misleading and contrary to the respect and dignity of the profession.

There is also a journal called the *Hospital*, which summarises the opinions more lengthily stated above when it says:—

The truth is that so-called 'homœopaths' cut themselves off from the great body of scientific practitioners by a voluntary and useless act of schism. If they were content to be medical men like others, they could practise according to any principle they pleased, and nobody would say a word.*

Thus, then, we have at last reached the real battle-ground of to-day. The 'law of similars' is admittedly to some extent true; to what extent, each practitioner is free to decide for himself as the

* *Hospital*, February 12, 1887.

result of his own experience. The question of dosage is also not an article of faith, but a matter to be decided by each one for himself. Even the confining of practice to a special or exclusive method is not universally admitted to be a valid objection, and indeed owns but one leading authority as its supporter. So long as the practitioner does not claim that his rule is the only true therapeutic rule, so long as he does not 'trade upon a name' implying such a claim, or, by the formation of organisations distinct from and opposed to those of the regular profession, take an attitude of antagonism thereto, there is no ground for refusing him the full rights of professional fellowship.

Now let us look back a little into the history of medicine. A therapeutic rule by no means novel, but which had for centuries remained practically buried, was unearthed as it were by a certain section of the medical profession and proclaimed afresh. That rule was the 'law of similars,' and the application of it is fitly called 'homœopathy,' and those who use it to any extent are *to that extent* 'homœopaths.' Its applicability, either partial or universal, was at first flatly denied and pronounced absurd by the mass of the profession; and it therefore not unnaturally came about that those who acknowledged it, independently of the extent of their claim, were dubbed 'homœopaths' *by their opponents*. They were also, as a matter of history, anathematised and excommunicated, were deprived of their posts in hospitals, of their chairs at universities, of membership of medical societies, and were thus in accordance with a law of nature driven into combination and organisation *in self-defence*. There was then no question of the ethical aspect as a ground of objection; it was purely and simply a refusal to recognise as professional brethren those whose practice was based to any extent at all upon the despised 'law of similars.' On that ground Dr. Rapp, Professor of Pathology and Therapeutics in the University of Tübingen, was dismissed from his chair; Dr. Keith was removed from the staff of the Aberdeen Infirmary; while virulent but unsuccessful attempts were made to deprive Dr. Henderson of his post as Professor of Pathology at the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. Tessier of his staff appointment in the Paris hospitals.

Moreover, to show that the present ground of objection is a complete change of front, I would point out that the Provincial Medical and Surgical Association—the progenitor of the present British Medical Association—passed in 1851, at Brighton, under the presidency of Dr. Horner of Hull (who, by the way, was a few years later deprived of his post in the Hull Infirmary and struck off the list of Vice-Presidents of the Association for becoming a 'homœopath'), resolutions stating that professional intercourse with 'homœopaths' was 'derogatory to the honour of members of the Association.' It then defined—

that there are three classes of practitioners who ought not to be members of this association, viz. 1st, Real homœopathic practitioners; 2nd, Those who practise homœopathy in combination with other systems of treatment; 3rd, Those who, under various pretences, meet in consultation, or hold professional intercourse with those who practise homœopathy.

The second of these classes clearly ostracises even those who acknowledge only a partial application of the 'law of similars,' while the third enunciates a course of bigotry and intolerance which I believe it was reserved for the year 1887; in spite of the much wider views we now hold, to attempt to put into action.

Now I am free to admit that had the separation originated as a consequence of the antagonistic organisations, instead of, as in point of fact, *vice versa*, no condemnation could have been too strong for those who thus wantonly destroyed the unity of the profession. But in the face of the facts I have just related, I would ask 'Ought we to complain, can we even be surprised, at the existence of a sectarian designation or of independent organisations?'

It may be objected that with reference to the differences of opinion above alluded to concerning the merits and extent of application of 'antiseptic surgery,' there are no Listerian hospitals or societies, no men who dub themselves or permit themselves to be dubbed Listerians or Antiseptists. Granted; but are we so certain there would not have been if Lister had been deprived of his chair at Edinburgh, and if those who did not believe in or use his method had cast out those who did from their societies, dismissed them from their posts in hospitals, and refused to hold any professional intercourse with them whatever?

And how stands the case now? Is there any justification, any excuse, for the maintenance of a designation, of special organisations, at the present time? We are told that if those whose practice is more or less based upon the 'law of similars' will only abstain from calling themselves 'homœopaths,' give up their special organisations, directories, and societies, and dismantle their hospitals, the hand of professional fellowship shall be once more extended to them. Individuals have tried it, and with what result? Why, that they are immediately accused of dishonourable conduct. Call yourself a homœopath and you are 'trading on a name' that is derogatory to the profession. Do not call yourself one, and you are sailing under false colours. 'Heads I win, tails you lose!'

What was the case with Dr. Kidd at the deathbed of Lord Beaconsfield? He had, I believe, discarded the appellation of 'homœopath,' and removed his name from the homœopathic directory, and he notoriously did not admit the universal application of the 'law of similars' nor the necessity for infinitesimal dosage. Yet Sir William Jenner felt it his duty to refuse to meet him, and Dr. Quain only felt

justified in so doing when armed with a special dispensation from the Royal College of Physicians!

Again, in the case of the institution with a reference to which I commenced this article, while the incriminated members certainly did offend by being connected with 'homœopathic' institutions, and figuring in the 'homœopathic' directory, the whole spirit of the complaint lay in the fact that their practice was at any rate to some extent based upon the application of the 'law of similars,' a law which is admitted (Dr. Lauder Brunton tells us) as of partial application by the ordinary practitioner, and about which the only dispute is to what extent it applies—a question of infinity, and one only to be determined by the possession of infinite knowledge. In evidence of this statement let me adduce facts.

In a circular addressed to the governors, the executive committee state that they have called upon the offending members not merely 'to remove their names from the homœopathic register' and 'to resign any appointment they may hold at any homœopathic institution,' but also 'to desist from the said practice [of homœopathy] in future.'

In a letter addressed by six members of the medical staff to the chairman of the executive committee they consider the fact 'that for some time past patients of the infirmary have been treated homœopathically' renders it 'highly desirable that an inquiry should be made into the matter.'

In a further circular addressed by a section of the executive committee to the governors, a complaint is made of 'the introduction of homœopathy as a method of practice by certain members of the medical staff,' which will induce 'a large majority of the medical staff to resign if such practice be continued.'

The resolution moved at the meeting of governors (the rejection of which resulted in the resignation of seven of the medical staff) calls upon the offenders, among other things, 'to cease from practising homœopathy.' I fail to see any compliance in these acts with 'the absence of any desire to fetter members of the profession in the theories of medical practice they may adopt.'⁷

The present writer, who happened at the time to be on the medical staff of another hospital, applied for and was appointed to one of the vacancies created by the resignations referred to above. Whereupon a committee meeting was called at the other institution and a resolution was passed in these terms:—

That no member of the staff of the Queen's Jubilee Hospital be connected with a homœopathic establishment, or with any institution in which homœopathy is either a recognised or an optional mode of treating the sick, or at which avowed or known homœopaths are office-holders.

On the strength of this resolution the writer was called on to resign, and refusing to do so was suspended; the subsequent events

⁷ Resolution of the Royal College of Physicians of London, December 27, 1881.

are on record in the Law Reports and the columns of the *Times* for December 1887 and January 1888.

Surely this case was the *reductio ad absurdum* of anti-homœopathic bigotry and intolerance. The writer did not acknowledge the homœopathic law as being one of general application any more than would Dr. Brunton or Dr. Ringer, yet, because he even chose to associate on the staff of a charitable institution with homœopaths, it was attempted to extend the boycotting principle to him.

In the face of evidence such as this, is it to be wondered at that the so-called 'homœopaths' hesitate to respond to the invitation to disorganise themselves, or to hasten with rapturous enthusiasm 'to frankly acknowledge their error and return to rational medicine, of which Hippocrates is regarded as the father'? What amount of credence can they place in the promises that are held out to them that if they disband their own organisations, dismantle their own special hospitals, discard their special designation and directories, they will once more be restored to full professional fellowship, or stand upon their individual merits when seeking public appointments?

To summarise: Objections to professional intercourse between the majority of the profession and so-called 'homœopaths' have been based on the following grounds:—

I. Their special method of treatment depends upon a rule which is an axiomatic absurdity.

II. They are essentially bound to a *reductio ad absurdum* in the question of dosage.

III. They claim an exclusive possession of the only true rule of practice.

IV. They trade upon a separatist designation, and form societies and organisations distinct from and opposed to those of the regular profession, and are thus the originators of a schism.

On the first two of these grounds it is alleged that professional intercourse must be futile; on the last, two that it is derogatory.

In reply I have attempted to show—

I. That the great authorities amongst the majority admit and prove the said rule *not* to be an axiomatic absurdity, but to some extent true; and that a mere difference of opinion as to the *extent* of its application does not destroy the possibility of an harmonious consultation.

II. That the *reductio ad absurdum* of dosage is not essential, and consequently cannot be a valid reason for ostracising homœopaths *en masse*; and, being a question of degree and not of kind, is always open to adjustment.

III. That the so-called homœopaths do not in theory claim possession of the only true rule of therapeutics, and do not in practice discard other methods, rules, and auxiliaries. That the exclusiveness, if exclusiveness there be, lies with those who practically admit every

method and rule *except* the 'law of similars,' which, however, they verbally accept as 'true to some extent.'

IV. That all those who admit the truth of and apply in practice—to whatever extent—the 'law of similars,' are to that extent *ipso facto* practising 'homœopathy,' and are therefore 'homœopaths.' No exception can, therefore, be justly taken to this appellation, unless it be held also to imply the rejection of all other rules and methods, which it is shown not to do; that the name was conferred, not assumed, at a time when even the partial truth and application of the 'law' were scouted as absurd and denied, and that the separate organisations were originated at the same time and solely as a means of self-defence; and, finally, that their present maintenance is excusable when we consider the fact, of which ample evidence has been supplied, that even now, in spite of liberal professions, and an acknowledgment of the partial truth of the homœopathic law by the leaders of the profession, there is still on the part of the rank-and-file a disposition to make its acceptance and application—nay, *even to make association with those who accept or apply it*—a ground of professional ostracism.

In a discussion in the *Times* in December of last year we were told by two of the writers, as certain medical journals never tire of telling us, and as the seceders from the Margaret Street Infirmary assured us, that the medical profession has long since 'definitively spoken' on the subject. It is just such absurd and pitiable dogmatism as this which does more harm to the medical profession than any amount of quackery. On how many subjects has the medical profession yet spoken 'definitively' in regard to which it has not seen fit to change its opinion in course of time? This attempt to bar appeal, to stop discussion, is a most narrow-minded policy, and one which has proved disastrous in all times to every organisation that has tried it.

KENNETH MILLICAN.

*THE DEATH OF
ABDUL AZIZ AND OF TURKISH REFORM.*

THE history of the attempt to establish constitutional government in Turkey in 1875 and 1876 is not known as it deserves to be ; and, indeed, it is doubtful whether even those who descanted most freely on the affairs of that country were at all aware of its existence. It was, however, in many respects a remarkable movement, which, but for a succession of disastrous fatalities, seemed likely to lead to results that would have changed the whole nature of the Turkish Government ; and it is not pleasant to remember how largely this country is answerable for its failure.

The position of England in the East was at that time very different from that which it became when the confidence that used to be felt in us as a friendly Power gave place to a distrust for which too much reason was afforded, and for long left our voice with scarcely more weight than that of a second-rate State ; and the reformers would hardly have ventured upon an undertaking full of difficulties and dangers unless they had believed that they could count upon receiving from the British people the moral support that would certainly not have been withheld if the nature of the movement had been understood. But, unfortunately, public opinion was then formed and guided by men animated by a blind hatred of everything Turkish, who represented the new constitution as a sham or 'paper' constitution, invented for purposes of his own by Midhat Pasha, whom they denounced as an unscrupulous impostor, actuated only by motives of personal interest and ambition.

It would not be easy for them to explain how popular institutions are ever to be established in a despotically governed country otherwise than by means of what must at first be a 'paper' constitution or charter ; and they must be difficult indeed to satisfy if they can require from any man greater proof of sincerity than was given by Midhat Pasha in the cause to which he devoted himself, and for which he risked and lost his life.

Their feelings are not to be envied if they reflect, as now perhaps they sometimes may, that by the merciless ridicule and contempt which they heaped on the constitution, emboldening the Sultan to

set aside the charter that had been obtained with so much difficulty, they did their part in again rivetting on Turkey the wretched arbitrary system of government from which she had so nearly been freed, and in sending the principal reformers into exile and to death.

To myself the collapse of the attempted reform was a deep mortification, for I had watched the development of the movement from its earliest beginning, and had followed its progress with extreme interest. As I had been long enough in Turkey to be well aware of the need for reform, and to be convinced that nothing effectual could be done till some control over the palace and the ministers was obtained, when Midhat Pasha took the matter in hand and endeavoured to secure this control, I gave him all the encouragement in my power, never doubting for an instant that he would be warmly applauded in England, whether he succeeded or failed in his attempt.

When I arrived in Turkey in 1867 Midhat Pasha was governor-general of the vilayet of the Danube, and when he left Rustchuk the following year our consul begged me to urge the Porte not to remove a man so unlike the ordinary Turkish vali, who was doing so much to develop the province, establishing schools, making roads, encouraging industries, and giving security to life and property by a firm and impartial administration of justice. Of the consular body the Russian alone saw him depart with pleasure, for his activity had paralysed the intrigues that were always carried on in the province.

At that time the direction of the government of Turkey was, and had long been, in the hands of Aali and Fuad Pashas, two extremely able men, who, by holding together, had succeeded in acquiring over the Sultan an authority under which he chafed, but from which he could not liberate himself, as they had jealously kept in the background every man whose abilities and character seemed likely to make him a dangerous rival to themselves.

When Aali died in 1871—Fuad having also died a short time before—the Sultan did not conceal his delight at becoming, as he declared, at last a free man; and from that time the government of the country was directed from the palace by the Sultan and the court favourites, instead of from the Porte by the Grand Vizier and the ministers, and the result was deplorable in every branch of the administration.

He made Mahmoud Nedim Pasha his Grand Vizier, and the event proved that he had rightly judged his man, and that he would be safe from being thwarted in any whim or extravagance; for Mahmoud was absolutely indifferent to the public interests, and thought of nothing but how to maintain himself in power. To secure this end he was careful never to oppose the Sovereign's wishes or to suggest difficulties in their fulfilment; and he courted the

favour and won the support of the harem by a ready compliance with the unceasing demands for money by the sultanas and their ladies, and by the promotion and advancement of their relatives or favourites.

Appointments of all kinds, high and low, were purchased through the imperial harem; governors and governors-general were shifted or replaced every few months or weeks for the sake of the customary presents given by them on receiving an appointment, and, while the more honest of them were ruined by the expenses of their constant transfers, the unscrupulous, who formed by far the greater number, took care to repay themselves by exactions extorted from their unfortunate provinces, which were being rapidly ruined.

At last, the continued demands for the millions, which were squandered on imperial palaces and gardens, and in every sort of extravagance, brought the finances to such a condition that it was impossible to provide for the salaries of the officials, the pay of the soldiers and sailors, or even for that of the ordinary Government labourers, whose families were left destitute and clamouring for the payment of the arrears, till the distress and discontent of all classes brought into existence a large party calling for reform.

Midhat Pasha, after leaving Rustchuk, had been made President of the Council; but Aali Pasha, who was then Grand Vizier, seeing probably that his rapidly increasing influence might make him a dangerous rival, sent him, after a time, as governor-general to Bagdad, where he remained till after Aali's death.

Under Mahmoud's vizieriate the constant demands upon him for money diverted to the capital all the resources of the province, which Midhat, in consequence, found it impossible to administer satisfactorily, and throwing up his appointment in disgust he returned to Constantinople, where the liberal and reforming party, which had been gradually developing, at once hailed him as their leader. Mahmoud dreaded his presence, and on reaching Constantinople he found himself appointed governor-general of Adrianople, with orders to proceed at once to his post. This, however, he absolutely refused to do until he should have had the audience of the Sultan to which his position entitled him; and having carried his point, in spite of the opposition of the Grand Vizier, at the audience which ensued he insisted so strongly that the corruption and maladministration of Mahmoud were not only bringing the Empire to ruin, but were creating a dangerous spirit of discontent, that the Sultan took alarm and dismissed the favourite the very next day, and appointed Midhat Grand Vizier.

It was impossible, however, that his tenure of power should be a long one, for he had nothing of the courtier in his composition; being determined not to countenance irregularities or abuses, he had not the tact requisite in dealing with an imperious master too

long accustomed to have his own way to be ready now patiently to brook remonstrance.

The whole influence of the harem and of the corrupt officials of the Augæan stable which he wished to purify being against him, he was dismissed at the end of a few months, and the Grand Vizieratē, after a brief period, was again ultimately restored to Mahmoud Pasha, as the most docile instrument the Sultan could find.

Mahmoud, though hating Midhat, found it advisable to get him if possible into his Cabinet, and the latter was persuaded into accepting the office of President of the Council, in the hope that, with the assistance of several of his own friends among the ministers, he might be able to control the Grand Vizier, and prevent a return to Mahmoud's former evil ways.

When this proved impossible, and he found himself unable to do any good, he did not hesitate to take what was in Turkey an almost unknown step, by throwing up his appointment and declaring that he would serve no longer; a proceeding that enraged the Sultan, who could not admit the right of any man to refuse to serve in whatever office he thought fit to call him to.

But Midhat did not stop there. Though in disgrace, he carried his head high, and incurred still further displeasure by sending in a report in which he recapitulated the abuses that were going on, and warned the Sultan that he was drifting to the verge of an abyss. He then retired to a farm he had near Constantinople, where he remained out of sight but not idle; for it was there that, under his guidance, the projects of the reforming party were matured, till, at the beginning of December 1875, I was informed by one of his partisans, a pasha who had filled some of the highest offices of the State, that the object was to obtain a 'constitution.' This was the first time that I had heard the word pronounced; but it was more than a year before its promulgation, when it was declared to have been invented only to defeat the Conference then sitting at Constantinople! A few days later Midhat himself called upon me and explained his views more fully than he had ever done before, though I was well acquainted with their general tenor.

The Empire, he said, was being rapidly brought to destruction; corruption had reached a pitch that it had never before attained; the service of the State was starved while untold millions were poured into the palace, and the provinces were being ruined by the uncontrolled exactions of the governors, who purchased their appointments at the palace, and nothing could save the country but a complete change of system.

The only remedy that he could perceive lay, first, in securing a control over the Sovereign by making the ministers—and especially as regarded the finances—responsible to a national popular Assembly; secondly, in making this Assembly truly national, by doing away with

all distinctions of classes and religions, and by placing the Christians upon a footing of entire equality with the Mussulmans; thirdly, by decentralisation, and by the establishment of provincial control over the governors. It must surely be admitted that these were enlightened and statesmanlike views, deserving of every encouragement.

Midhat was not blind to the difficulties of the task he had undertaken, or to the risk to himself that it involved, for he well knew the resistance that the Sultan would be certain to offer to measures for the restriction of his own power, and that he would not readily forgive those who proposed them; but he did not despair of success, if, as he hoped, he could count upon the hearty sympathy of the British nation for an attempt to obtain something like an imitation of its own institutions. He dwelt repeatedly on the value of which this sympathy would be, and on the manner in which his countrymen were now looking to England as the example they hoped to follow.

I told him, in reply, that I could not doubt that measures framed upon the lines he had laid down must command the approval and insure the good wishes of every Englishman who, like myself, had faith in the advantages of constitutional checks upon arbitrary power. I gave him this assurance confidently and in good faith; for certainly the very last thing that I anticipated was that those who in this country make the greatest parade of their devotion to liberalism would be the first to heap contumely upon men who were trying to introduce it into theirs, and to hold up their proposals to ridicule.

About a week after this conversation with Midhat Pasha I happened to have an audience of the Sultan, when, being anxious to give the reformers every support, as well as being convinced that matters were becoming serious, I took the opportunity of urging him to carry out effective reforms, and, at the risk of giving him mortal offence, I added that among His Majesty's subjects 'a spirit had arisen of which every other European country had had experience; that the institutions of the past were no longer suited to the present age, and that everywhere the people were beginning to expect to have a certain control over those who conducted their administration.' The Sultan listened to me without any outward mark of displeasure, but I could not boast of any effect produced by my words.

During the next three months the discontent and agitation continued to increase, and a crisis was clearly impending. The softas, or law students, of whom there were a good many thousand in Constantinople, were known to be arming, and, the language of some of the fanatical Turks leading the foreign communities to believe that a massacre of the Christians was imminent, a complete panic

took possession of the colonies, although the native Christians remained without apprehension.

The information that I had obtained with respect to the movement made me feel certain that it was directed solely against the Government, and that the only risk to which the Christians might be exposed would be the occurrence of a great popular tumult and conflict between the progressive and reactionary parties; for I knew that the softas had fully accepted the principles of their leaders, and counted upon the co-operation of their Christian fellow-subjects in their efforts for the common good, and that there was more community and good-will between the two classes than had ever before existed. I could not, therefore, share in the smallest degree in the extreme alarm shown, at that time and on subsequent occasions, by some of my colleagues and many of the foreign residents.

The first of the many incidents which followed each other closely in the summer and autumn of 1876 took place on the 10th of May, when an assemblage of several thousand softas stopped Prince Izzedin, the Sultan's eldest son, on his way to the Ministry of War, desiring him to return to the palace and inform the Sultan that they demanded the dismissal of Mahmoud Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and of the Sheikh ul Islam.

The Sultan did not venture to reject the demand. Mahmoud and the Sheikh were dismissed, the latter being replaced by a Mollah belonging to the popular party. Instead, however, of Midhat, as had been hoped by the softas, the Sultan named as his Grand Vizier Mehemet Rushdi Pasha, an old man, who, though universally respected, was not possessed of the resolution requisite for a great crisis; but, as he insisted on having Midhat in his Cabinet as President of the Council, it was believed that he would be the guiding spirit, and general satisfaction was felt.

This, however, did not last long. The Sultan quickly showed his determination to resist all reform by appointing to high posts several of the worst of the old school of pashas, and it then became so evident to me that an attempt to depose him would certainly very shortly be made, that on the 25th of May I put my conviction upon record in a despatch, in which I wrote that the word 'constitution' was in every mouth; that the softas, representing the intelligent public opinion of the capital, knowing themselves to be supported by the bulk of the nation—Christian as well as Mahometan—would not, I believed, relax their efforts till they obtained it, and that, should the Sultan refuse to grant it, an attempt to depose him appeared almost inevitable; that texts from the Koran were circulated, proving to the faithful that the form of government sanctioned by it was properly democratic, and that the absolute authority now wielded by the Sovereign was an usurpation of the rights of the people, and not sanctioned by the Holy Law; and both texts and precedents were

appealed to, to show that allegiance was not due to a Sovereign who neglected the interests of the State.

The disaffection, I said, now ran through every class, and, from the pashas down to the porters in the streets and the boatmen on the Bosphorus, no one thought any longer of concealing his opinions. The same day I reported that I had ascertained that, notwithstanding the strict seclusion in which the Sultan kept his nephews confined, the leaders of the movement had contrived to communicate with Prince Murad, the heir-apparent, who had promised to proclaim a 'constitution' immediately on his accession. When the signs of what was impending seemed so evident to me, it is inconceivable that no alarm should have been felt at the palace, and no precautions taken, and that not one of my colleagues, including General Ignatiew with his innumerable spies and secret agents, should have had even a remote suspicion of what was going on; but within a week after my reports were written the deposition had been effected.

The only persons who took an active part in it were Midhat Pasha and Hussein Avni, the Seraskier, or Minister of War, and I never could ascertain for certain whether the Grand Vizier had previous knowledge of their enterprise or not; but I understood that, though three days before he had been persuaded to consent to it as indispensable for the salvation of the Empire, the two other ministers alone matured the plan, without any but themselves being dangerously compromised. The risk that they had to run was very great, for their heads were at stake; but they combined their project with skill, and executed it with courage and resolution. They passed the early part of the night of the 29th of May at Hussein Avni's konak at Beyler Bey, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and from there, an hour or two after midnight, when it was very dark and raining hard, they passed over to Constantinople in a small caique, attended by a single servant, and were landed at a spot where they expected to find carriages waiting for them, which, however, had not arrived. They were left standing in a drenching rain, exposed every moment to a discovery, which would have been fatal to their enterprise and no doubt to themselves, till at last their servant found and brought the carriages, which had gone to a wrong place.

Then, as had been arranged, Midhat Pasha proceeded to the Seraskeriat, while Hussein Avni went to the barracks near Dolma Baghtche, where, as Minister of War, he had no difficulty in bringing a regiment quartered in them to the palace, which he surrounded without any alarm being taken. He then knocked at the gates, and desired the Kisklar Agha, the chief official of the household, to inform the Sultan that he was a prisoner, and to urge him to put himself into the hands of the Seraskier, who answered for his safety. The Sultan's first and natural impulse was to resist, and it was not till Hussein Avni ap-

peared before him and convinced him that resistance was impossible that he could be persuaded to submit to his kismet. A guard was placed over him without a blow being struck, and, as had been agreed upon, a gun was fired to announce to Midhat Pasha at the Seraskeriat that the arrest of the Sultan had been successfully carried out.

In the meantime Midhat's position had been intensely critical. He had no authority over the troops, no right to give them orders, and he had to rely solely on the personal influence that he might be able to exercise. He had arrived at the Ministry of War under the most suspicious appearances, in the dark, unattended, and drenched to the skin; and it was with the utmost difficulty that, by representing himself as authorised by the Seraskier, he at last succeeded in inducing the commanding officer to call out his men and draw them up in the square. He had a long and anxious time to pass, during which at any moment, if sinister rumours arrived from the palace, the troops might assume a hostile attitude; for it was not till close upon daybreak that the signal gun put an end to the suspense, and announced the successful accomplishment of the enterprise.

Midhat then came out into the square to harangue the troops, and not a murmur of discontent was heard when he informed them of the step that had been taken, and explained the necessity for it. He was cheerfully obeyed when he ordered a guard of honour and an escort to proceed to the palace of Prince Murad to announce to him his accession to the throne, and to conduct him to the Seraskeriat, where he was at once proclaimed and saluted as Sultan by troops drawn up there, and by the people, who by that time had begun to assemble.

Abdul Aziz was first taken to the palace near the Seraglio Point; but he was soon removed from it at his own request, as I was told, though very possibly because it may have been thought that, if any strong party in his favour existed, it would most probably be found among the Mussulman population of Stamboul. He was then conveyed to Tehergian, where by lavishing on the palace millions of money diverted from the service of the State, and by pulling down and confiscating the houses of the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, he had largely added to the feelings which led to his overthrow.

Notification of the change of Sovereigns was at once telegraphed to every quarter of the Empire, and everywhere the news was received with unbounded satisfaction and rejoicing; but, till late in the afternoon, no messages were allowed to pass either from the embassies or from private persons, and our Government, having heard nothing from me and knowing nothing of what had occurred, telegraphed in some perplexity to ask me the meaning of a telegram received from the consul at Salonica reporting that 'the proclamation of Sultan Murad had given the greatest satisfaction there'! By

that time the telegraph offices were again open, and I was able to give the explanation.

One newspaper correspondent alone had contrived to send the news to his employers. He was at the head of the Turkish Post Office, and, with a view to some possible emergency, he had arranged a private code by which he could communicate political intelligence, while appearing to deal with purely private concerns, and he obtained permission to forward a message 'of an urgent private nature,' which ran as follows: 'The doctors have found it necessary to bleed (depose) poor Jane (Abdul Aziz). Grandmamma (the Validé) is with her, Cousin John (Murad) has taken charge of the business.' This ingenious telegram conveyed, I believe, the first intelligence of what had occurred that reached any European capital.

Although the deposition of the Sultan had been effected quietly and without resistance, it remained to be seen how the news of it would be received by the population of the capital, and whether, perhaps, a strong party might not be found ready to stand up for the deposed monarch, and to dispute the rights of his successor. But all anxiety on that head was quickly set at rest by the universal exhibition of rejoicing, which showed that the misgovernment of the last few years had left Sultan Abdul Aziz almost literally without friends among his subjects.

None regretted his fall except the immediate dependants and hangers-on of the palace, the satellites of Mahmoud Pasha, and the Russian party; but these were too few in number to venture to make a show against the overwhelming mass of public opinion arrayed on the other side.

In order to satisfy the scruples of the stricter Mahometans, questions had been laid before the Sheikh ul Islam, the highest authority on the Sacred Law. They ran as follows: 'If the first of the true believers gives signs of madness and of an ignorance of political matters, if he spends the public money on himself in excess of what the nation can grant him, will he not thus become the cause of trouble and of the public ruin? Ought he not to be dethroned?' To this the Sheikh ul Islam answered by a simple 'Yes,' signed with his name, Hassan Khairullah, and the questions and answer became a 'Fetwa,' of which every true Mussulman is bound to admit the authority.

But if the Mussulman population were in general well satisfied with what had been done, the Christians were still more exultant, because they knew that the leaders of the movement had adopted the absolute equality of all Turkish subjects as the fundamental principle of their reform.

The revolution which was being carried out differed essentially, and deserves to be distinguished, from those cases where, in despotically governed countries, the Sovereign has been deposed simply

because he had become unpopular or had made himself obnoxious to his people. The deposition of the Sovereign was not the object aimed at by those who carried it out. It was but a means to an end, that end being the establishment of constitutional freedom; and it was not resorted to till it became certain that the object could not be attained in any other way; but if ever the deposition of a Sovereign is justifiable, it certainly was so in the case of Abdul Aziz.

Everything had, so far, gone without a drawback of any kind; but this was not fated to last long, and there came a succession of unfortunate incidents, which shattered the hopes that had been raised, the first of them being the tragical death of the ex-Sultan. In England he is, I believe, universally supposed to have been murdered, and it is certainly not unnatural that this should be the case; for when, on the morning of June 4, five days after his deposition, it was announced that Abdul Aziz had committed suicide by opening the veins of his arms with a pair of scissors, there was probably not a person who doubted, any more than I did myself, that he had in reality been the victim of an assassination; and my suspicion of foul play was only removed in the course of the forenoon by the report of Dr. Dickson, the embassy physician, who made me acquainted with particulars and details which in this country are still almost, if not entirely, unknown.

Dr. Dickson was a man of great intelligence, of long experience in many parts of the East, where he had seen much of the secret and dark doings of the harems. He was of a suspicious rather than of a confiding character, little likely to shut his eyes to any evidence of a crime, and he certainly would not have concealed it from me, his ambassador, if he had entertained even the remotest doubt upon the case.

Dr. Dickson came to me at Therayia straight from an examination of the body, and declared in the most positive manner that there was not a doubt in his mind that it was a case of suicide, and that all suspicion of assassination must be discarded. He told me that early in the morning he had received a summons from the Government inviting him to go to the palace to examine the body of the ex-Sultan, and to ascertain the cause of his death. All the principal medical men of Constantinople had received a similar invitation, which eighteen or nineteen, including those of several of the embassies, together with Turkish, Greek, and Armenian physicians, had accepted.

Besides these there was another English doctor, an old Dr. Millingen, the same who was with Lord Byron when he died at Missolonghi, and who had ever since remained in the East, and was a medical attendant of the ladies of the imperial harem.

He and Dickson went together to the palace, but found on their arrival that the other doctors had finished their examination, and

Dickson told me that he and Millingen, being thus left alone, had made as complete an examination of the body as it was possible to make. He told me that they had turned it over and looked minutely at every part of it, to see what traces of violence could be found upon it, but there were absolutely none, with the exception of cuts in both arms, partly severing the arteries, from which the Sultan had bled to death. The skin, he said, was more wonderfully delicate than he had ever seen in a full-grown person, and was more like the skin of a child, but there was not a scratch, mark, or bruise on any part of it, and he declared that it was perfectly impossible that the force that would have been required to hold so powerful a man could have been employed without leaving visible marks. The artery of one arm was almost entirely and that of the other partially severed, the wounds being such, in Dickson's opinion, as would be made, not by a knife, but by sharp-pointed scissors, with little cuts or snips running in the direction that would be expected in the case of a man inflicting them on himself.

He had therefore no hesitation in accepting as correct the account that had been given of the manner of the Sultan's death. The wounds, moreover, if not made by himself, must have been made from behind by some one leaning over his chair, where no one could have taken up his position without a struggle, of which traces must have remained, or without a noise, that would certainly have been heard in the adjoining room, in which the ladies were collected. It further appeared that when the Sultan was seated in the chair in which the pools of blood proved him to have bled to death, the back of his head could be seen by the women who were watching at a flanking window in the next room, and to whom any one getting behind the chair would be distinctly visible.

From all this Dr. Dickson and Dr. Millingen concluded, as I have said, without hesitation, that the Sultan had destroyed himself; and when they went out and joined the other physicians who had examined the body before their arrival at the palace, they found that they also had been unanimous in arriving at the same opinion. Among them were foreigners whose independence of character was beyond dispute, and who would without hesitation have given a contrary verdict if there had been reason for it; but they one and all came to the same conclusion, and several years later Dr. Marouin, the eminent physician of the French Embassy, as well as Dr. Dickson, published a statement to the effect that nothing had in the slightest degree shaken the conviction originally arrived at by them. Even if the medical evidence stood alone, it would seem to be very conclusive; but it does not stand alone, and, taken in conjunction with the statements of the women of the harem, it appears quite irresistible.

Dr. Millingen, as medical attendant of these ladies, went into the

harem and questioned them immediately after examining the body. They told him that, in consequence of the state of mind into which the Sultan had fallen since his deposition, every weapon or instrument by which he could do himself or others an injury had been removed from his reach ; that in the morning he had asked for a pair of scissors to trim his beard, which were at first refused, but afterwards, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of the women, they were sent to him by the order of the Sultana Validé, who did not like to refuse him, and that as soon as he got them he made the women leave the room and locked the door. The women took their station at the projecting side window of the adjoining room, of which I have spoken, from whence they could look into the part of the room where the Sultan's chair stood, and could just see the back of his head as he sat in it. After a time they saw his head fall forward, and alarm being taken, the Validé ordered the door to be broken open, when the Sultan was found dead, with pools of blood on the floor and with the veins of both arms opened. When Dr. Millingen, hearing that the Validé was in a state of distraction, asked if she would see him, she exclaimed that it was not the doctor but the executioner who should have been sent to her, as it was she who had caused the death of her son.

All these details were given me by Dr. Dickson on coming straight from the palace, and nothing can be more certain than that the persons who would have been the very first to believe in an assassination, i.e. the Validé, the sultanas, and ladies of the harem, did not at the time entertain a suspicion of the Sultan having died otherwise than by his own hand.

Sultan Abdul Aziz had an undoubted predisposition to insanity in his blood ; the mind of his brother, Abdul Medjid, whom he succeeded, had broken down under his excesses while still a young man ; and his nephew, Murad, who succeeded him, became hopelessly insane immediately after his accession. He had himself, to my own knowledge, been out of his mind on several different occasions ; the first time as far back as the year 1863, when I find it mentioned in letters that I wrote from Athens, where I was on a special mission ; and on two later occasions, within eighteen months of his deposition, I had spoken of his insanity in my letters to Lord Derby, reporting that I had been told of it, as an undoubted fact, by one of the ministers with whom I was intimate, and mentioning some of the peculiarities by which it was exhibited. At one time he would not look at anything that was written in black ink, and every document had to be copied in red before it could be laid before him. Ministers appointed to foreign courts could not proceed to their posts, and were kept waiting indefinitely, because their credentials addressed to foreign sovereigns could not well be written in red ink, and he would not sign those that were written in black. At another

time, a dread of fire had got hold of him to such a pitch that, except in his own apartment, he would not allow a candle or a lamp to be lighted in the whole of his vast palace, its innumerable inmates being forced to grope about in the dark from sunset to sunrise; and in many other respects his conduct passed the bounds of mere eccentricity.

That such a mind as his should have entirely given way under the blow that had fallen upon him need hardly excite surprise; and under the circumstances there is nothing even improbable in the fact of his taking his own life, especially as he was known to hold that suicide was the proper resource of a deposed monarch. When the news of the abdication of the Emperor Napoleon was brought to him, his immediate exclamation had been, 'And that man consents to live!' When I first heard this story I did not know whether to believe it, but the truth of it was afterwards vouched for to me by the person to whom the Sultan said it, and he is not a man whose word need be doubted.

If at the time there was no ground for a suspicion of assassination, there was certainly no evidence deserving of the slightest attention brought forward at the iniquitous mock trial instituted three years later, when the ruin of certain important personages had been resolved upon. The fact that the charges against them could only be supported by evidence which could not by any possibility be true, and the falseness of which could easily have been exposed if, in flagrant defiance of the law, the accused had not been denied their right of cross-examining the witnesses, affords sufficient proof that no real evidence against them existed. As the disgraceful mockery of the whole proceedings was admitted universally, even by those who entertained no friendly feelings towards the accused, it is unnecessary to enter into an examination of them. The object, however, was attained, and eminent persons, who were considered dangerous, and who might stand in the way of the resumption of the absolute power of the palace, were effectually got rid of; while the men on whose perjured and suborned evidence the convictions were obtained, although they declared themselves to have murdered the Sultan with their own hands, at the instigation of the pashas, were not only not executed, but are believed to have continued in the enjoyment of comfortable pensions ever since.

There is no way of explaining why, after the lapse of three years, a wrestler and a gardener should come forward and declare that they had assassinated the Sultan, except by the assumption that they had been promised not only immunity but reward, if, while making their confession, they procured the conviction of Midhat and the other pashas as the instigators of their crime. They duly earned the promised recompense, and the Sultan secured an iniquitous conviction that enabled him to rid himself of the men whom he dreaded; but it was at the cost of an indelible blot upon his reign.

The tragical end of Sultan Abdul Aziz was destined to prove fatal to the hopes of the reformers. Murad was known at one time to have indulged in habits of intemperance, though he was supposed latterly to have overcome them ; but he was of weak character and devoid of personal courage, and when Abdul Aziz, about a month before his deposition, caused him to be closely confined in his apartment, under the continued fear that an order would be given for his assassination, he again reverted to stimulants more immoderately than ever, drinking largely of champagne 'cut' with brandy. While the conspiracy that was to place him on the throne was in progress he was in a state of terror, for he knew that its failure would cost him his life ; and the news of the death of his uncle, Sultan Abdul Aziz, gave him a shock that left him in a state of imbecility, which necessarily put a stop to all the measures which it had been intended immediately to carry out.

Sensational events had been succeeding each other with startling rapidity, but we were not yet at the end of them. Within ten days from the death of Abdul Aziz the calm which had followed it was again suddenly disturbed by the news that the ministers had been attacked while sitting in council, and that some of them were killed and others wounded.

It being naturally supposed that a counter-revolution was being attempted, a complete panic took possession of many people, and one of my colleagues, with a face as white as a sheet of paper and his teeth literally chattering, came into my room while I was dressing in the morning to ask what I proposed to do, and whether I intended at once to go on board the despatch-boat. Of course I said that I intended to remain quiet till I knew more of what was taking place, and that I certainly would do nothing likely to cause a panic or to make one spread.

It soon appeared that there was no cause for alarm, and that the outrage had been the act of a single man, who, without confederates or assistants, had carried it out with an audacity and resolution for which it would not be easy to find a parallel. He was a young Circassian officer, known as Teherkess Hassan, and there is reason to believe that he entertained no particular resentment against any of the ministers except Hussein Avni, the Minister of War ; but that, like an Indian 'running amuck,' he had maddened himself with 'hang,' or Indian hemp, and attacked every one within his reach. In confirmation of this view, it was proved that he had first looked for Hussein Avni at his own house, but, finding that he was attending a council, he at once followed him there.

Nothing can show more conclusively the perfect tranquillity and confidence prevailing in a town where a revolution had just been carried out than the fact that the ministers were sitting at night without a sentry or armed guards of any kind. Teherkess Hassan,

who was a noted pistol shot, saying to the doorkeepers that he was charged with a message to one of the ministers, walked without hindrance into the council room, and fired two shots in rapid succession, the first killing Hussein Avni Pasha, the Seraskier, and the second Rashid Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The other ministers rushed to the doors to escape, except the Minister of Marine, a gallant old seaman, who had given proofs of his courage on many previous occasions, and, amongst others, when he was blown up in his ship at Sinope at the beginning of the Crimean War. He got behind the assassin and tried to pinion him by holding his arms, till he was wounded with a yataghan, and being obliged to let go, slipped through a door into a room where the Grand Vizier had already taken refuge; when the two old men, between them, managed to draw a heavy divan across the door, which fortunately opened inwards.

Hassan, failing in all his efforts to force the door, addressing Mehemet Ruschdi, the Grand Vizier, in the most respectful terms, said, 'My father, I assure you that I have no wish to hurt you, but open the door and let me finish the Minister of Marine.' To this appeal Mehemet Ruschdi answered, 'My son, you are far too much excited for me to let you in while you are in your present state, and I cannot open the door.' While this strange colloquy was going on the unarmed attendants made an attempt to seize Hassan, but they were shot down one after another, and it was not till a soldier came and ran him through the body that he was effectually secured. He had brought four revolvers—two in his boots besides those he had in his hands—and with these he had succeeded in killing seven persons, including two ministers, and had wounded eight others, of whom one was the Minister of Marine.

He was hanged the next day, maintaining an undaunted bearing to the end, walking, in spite of his wound, to the gallows, where he helped to adjust the rope round his own neck, and died showing to the end the reckless courage with which he had carried out the vengeance he had resolved to take. It did not appear that political considerations, in addition to the grudge which he certainly bore to the Minister of War, had in any way actuated him; but if the attack was made with the view of setting on foot a hostile movement against the Government, it signally failed of its effect, for the first excitement caused by it almost immediately subsided.

If it had been Midhat Pasha, instead of the Seraskier, who had been killed it would have been very different, for it was in the former that the whole hopes of the constitutionalists were centred; and though Hussein Avni had played such an important part in the deposition of Abdul Aziz, he was never supposed to be, in his heart, devoted to the cause of reform. Indeed, his own administration of the War Office had not been so pure that he could wish to subject it to

the control of a National Assembly; and as it had always been feared that jealousy and rivalry might arise between him and Midhat, the public were inclined to consider his death a gain rather than a loss to the cause.

However, impatience began to be shown when day after day passed without any sign of the promulgation of the constitution so eagerly expected. It is true that it was explained as being caused by the Sultan's illness, but the nature and gravity of it were so carefully concealed as not to be suspected; and notwithstanding all the means of information that I possessed, it was a considerable time before I ascertained that it was his mind and not his body that was affected. It was not in fact till the 22nd of July that the Grand Vizier, perceiving that I was aware of the truth, ceased to attempt to conceal the state of the case, and spoke openly of the difficulties of the position.

There was a difference of opinion between him and Midhat as to the course that the Government should follow, for Mehemet Ruschdi recoiled from the adoption of any decisive step till he was satisfied that the condition of the Sultan was hopeless, which the doctors had not yet pronounced it to be. Midhat, on the contrary, considered that the Government were assuming too great a responsibility in continuing to conceal the Sovereign's condition from the nation, and that the state of the case should be laid before a Grand Council, which would determine the course to be adopted with respect to the Sultan.

His language to me at that time led me to conclude that he was even prepared to take a still more decisive step; for he spoke with despondency of the time that was passing without anything being done, and of the necessity of proving to the nation and to Europe that a new era was being inaugurated. As a Grand Council had already pronounced that an organic reform was necessary, he seemed ready to promulgate the measure on the authority of that national decision; and he was probably influenced in his desire to take that course by his ignorance whether Hamid, if called to the throne, would consent to the constitution on which he had set his heart. Murad had been pledged to grant it immediately on his accession; but Abdul Hamid, with whom Midhat was not even acquainted, would ascend the throne untrammelled by any such engagement. The objections urged by the Grand Vizier against the course advocated by Midhat were certainly forcible. The object of the proposed constitution was, he said, to limit or abolish some of the existing prerogatives of the crown, and could, he asked, such a measure be promulgated by the ministers while the Sovereign was not in a condition to understand the nature of the concessions he was making? Would not the validity of the new law be contested by those who were opposed to it, and possibly by the next Sovereign? The hesitation of Mehemet Ruschdi was very natural; but the bolder course,

instead of temporising, would probably have been better and safer, for the ministers were already obliged to exercise many of the attributes of the Sovereign, and had constantly to act upon their own authority in cases where an imperial irade was strictly requisite.

But the Grand Vizier had not the strength of character necessary for so great an emergency, and another month was allowed to pass. Even then his dread of assuming the responsibility for a step he knew to be inevitable was so great that he attempted to throw a portion of it on me; but it shows the estimation in which England was then held at Constantinople, when a Grand Vizier, to strengthen his own position among his countrymen, who are peculiarly sensitive to foreign interference in their domestic affairs, wished to support his action in such a matter by obtaining the previous approval of the British Ambassador.

Mehemet Ruschdi came to me at Therapia on the 25th of August for the purpose, as I reported the same day to my Government, of obtaining my opinion upon the course that should be followed with regard to the Sultan. He said he had lost all hope of His Majesty's recovery, and that the head of the lunatic establishment—whom I knew to be a very eminent authority—was of the same opinion; that Dr. Leidersdorff, the well-known 'specialist' in mental disorders, who had been summoned from Vienna, declared that it would only be after several months, during which he must be kept perfectly quiet, that it could be seen whether an ultimate cure might be possible. This treatment, however, could not possibly be followed, for we were drawing near the time of the Ramazan and of the festival of the Bairam, during which it was indispensable for the Sovereign to appear in public. At the same time the Grand Vizier could not get over the feeling that Murad might perhaps recover, and that it would be cruel for him to find that he had been put aside during a temporary incapacity, and he wished to have my opinion upon the matter, I answered that 'he must not expect me, as the Queen's ambassador, to express a direct opinion upon a question of such extreme delicacy; that he had two duties to bear in mind, the one to his Sovereign and the other to his country, and he must endeavour to reconcile the two as long as possible; but when he became convinced that the safety and welfare of the Empire were seriously endangered by the continued inability of the Sultan to take charge of its interests, that consideration must override all others. Whether that moment had come was a question for him, and not for me, to answer.' I added, in my report of this conversation, that 'although I was bound to speak with reserve and caution to the Grand Vizier, I must not conceal from your lordship my opinion that the change should be made with the least possible delay, and that the Empire should not be allowed to continue longer without a Sovereign.'

The next day Prince Hamid sent to me a person in his service, an Englishman who possessed his entire confidence, to bespeak the support of Her Majesty's embassy, and to inform me of his views and opinions. The Prince declared that his first wish was to be guided by the advice of Her Majesty's Government. He had had translations made of our blue-books, and he fully understood that the friendly feelings of England towards Turkey must naturally be estranged by what had taken place in Bulgaria, and the hard words that had been used in Parliament were not stronger than was warranted, if applied to those who were responsible for what had occurred. The credit of the State must be restored by a rigid economy, so that justice could be done to the public creditors; and a control must be established over the finances to put a stop to the corruption reigning in that department.

The professions of the Prince seemed fair enough; but I was anxious to learn something of his character which would enable me to judge of the course he was likely to follow better than from the mere words which he might think it desirable to employ; and upon that point the information I got from his envoy was not so satisfactory. It is true that, as was to be expected, he spoke in the highest terms of the Prince's capacity and disposition; but he added that he was determined not to put himself into the hands of any minister, and as soon as possible to get rid of those then in office.

It was evident, therefore, that he bore no good will to the reformers; and since he appeared to intend to continue the system of personal government, which it was their object to limit, it seemed probable that they would have difficulty in obtaining his consent to the measures by which the power of the Sovereign was to be restricted by a popular control, and which, if Murad had been able to reign, would have been at once secured.

So it proved. Abdul Hamid was proclaimed Sultan on the 31st of August, and six weeks later the increasing impatience of the people was quieted by the issue of a proclamation announcing a general scheme of reform for the whole Ottoman Empire, but the formal constitution that was to give effect to it was still withheld. It promised the establishment of a Senate and of a Representative Assembly to vote the budget and taxes; a revision of the system of taxation; the reorganisation of the provincial administration; the full execution of the law of the vilayets, with a large extension of the right of election, and other liberal measures, including most of those which the Porte had been urged to introduce into Bosnia and the Herzegovina. This proclamation was issued on the 12th of October, but, owing to the difficulties to be overcome at the palace, it was not till the 25th of January following that the long-expected instrument which was to be the charter of the freedom of the Turkish nation was officially proclaimed. Even then it was greatly modified in some essential particulars from Midhat's

original project, and disfigured by the omission of a clause, for which he had struggled in vain, under which no Ottoman subject could be exiled by the authority of the Sultan, or otherwise than by the sentence of a competent court.

When the constitution was proclaimed, Midhat proposed to communicate it, formally and officially, to the Conference which was then sitting, as providing for most of the reforms that had been called for in the disturbed provinces.

Had this offer been accepted, the Powers would have obtained a solemn engagement, little less binding than a formal treaty, that its provisions were to be respected, and would have secured the right of authoritatively insisting upon their observation; and though the Sultan might perhaps endeavour to evade it, he could not have ventured, as he afterwards did, openly to repudiate it. He would have known, not only that the Powers would sternly remind him of the engagement he had taken towards them, but that they would be supported in their protest by the immense majority of his own subjects. But Midhat Pasha's offer was not accepted by the Conference. If the members of it had been at all aware of the serious nature of the reform movement that was in progress, and of the earnestness of the men who were striving to carry it through, I do not doubt for a moment that they would have acted very differently, and would gladly have seized the opportunity of forwarding it; but most of them, being entirely ignorant of all that had been going on in the country before their own arrival, imagined the constitution to have been invented merely as a means of providing the Porte with a pretext for refusing to accept some of the proposals on which they were insisting. In their comments upon it, what was good was passed over with ungenerous silence, while its shortcomings were greedily dwelt upon, and insinuations were allowed to reach the palace that the Sultan would do well to be on his guard against Midhat Pasha, who had taken an active part in dethroning his two predecessors, and who was bent upon making himself Dictator. The Liberal party in England, unaccountably and little to its credit, adopted much the same tone, and thus did its best to defeat the efforts of the struggling Turkish reformers.

But incomplete and imperfect in many respects as the new charter was, it contained much of immediate value, and enough to open the way for further development. The two sessions of the Parliament held under it were most encouraging, and showed the members to be fully determined that their control over the Government should be a real one.

There was no jealousy between the different classes of which the Assembly was composed; turbaned Mollahs and dignitaries or representatives of the Christian Churches being equally bent upon making the new institution work for the regeneration of their common

country; criticising the acts of the Government with perfect freedom, making known the abuses going on in the provinces, and refusing to vote the money asked for when they deemed the amount excessive or the object unnecessary. Nothing, in fact, could be more promising; and many of those who, in their ignorance of Turkish character, had laughed at the notion of an Ottoman Parliament, prophesying that it would be wholly subservient to the Government and confine itself to approving and registering all the proposals submitted to it, now honestly expressed their surprise and their admiration of the fearless spirit that was exhibited.

I had then left Constantinople, and cannot speak of the proceedings from my own observation; but the *Times* correspondent (as well as those of other papers) bore testimony to the courage with which, at almost every sitting, the Chamber criticised the acts of the Government and called upon the different ministers to give explanations respecting their conduct of their departments; and he added that the House represented some of the best elements of the nation and that the present 'contest was one between the people and the pashas.' No doubt this was so. For two years the struggle of the people with the palace and pashas had been carried on, and the weight of England, unfortunately misled by those who ought to have been the first to welcome the dawn of freedom in another country, had been thrown into the scale of the pashas and against those who were labouring for the people.

How far they might have been successful if the support to which their gallant efforts were entitled had not been withheld, it is not possible now to say; but it may, at least, be affirmed that, if there is ever to be an efficient reform of the deplorable Turkish administration, it must be by means of some such popular control as it was then proposed to establish over the palace and the official classes.

Absolute rulers and their dependants do not readily reconcile themselves to the loss of any of their power, and the reformers would in any case have needed all their resolution in defending what they had won.

It was not, therefore, surprising that the aberration by which England was then possessed should have encouraged the Sultan quickly to set about the recovery of his authority, and he at once perceived that his first step should be to deprive the reformers of their leader. A blow might safely be struck at Midhat Pasha without the risk of a word of disapproval from either party in England. By the Liberals he had been mercilessly assailed and held up to execration; and he was scarcely better looked upon by the members of the Conference of Constantinople, who were irritated by his refusal to accept *en bloc* the whole of the proposals which, under the inspiration of the Russian Ambassador, had been submitted to him.

It is probably nearly forgotten by this time that there were only

two points of any importance upon which Midhat had shown himself intractable, and that one of these was the proposal that the appointments of the governors of the provinces should be made subservient to the approval of the Powers; but after the experience we have had of the working of that much vaunted panacea in Bulgaria and East Roumelia, it would be difficult now to maintain that the objections to it were as unreasonable as was represented.

The Sultan eagerly seized the opportunity of getting rid of the only man whose presence would make it difficult for him to recall the reforms; and every one knows how Midhat Pasha was sent to perish in exile; how Abdul Hamid was enabled to recover despotic power, unchecked by Parliamentary or other control; how the hopes of an improved government vanished into thin air, and how the prospects of Turkey are now more gloomy than at any previous time in her history.

HENRY ELLIOT.

*THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES.*

THE year that has lately closed has terminated the first century since the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. In the reckoning of history the period is not a long one. In the accelerated pace of modern times it has been long enough to form that instrument into a complete system of government, and to test pretty thoroughly its efficacy and value. In its origin it was a striking and in many respects an original experiment. In its republican form it was substantially without precedent. It was the product of conflicting opinion, proposed in doubt, ratified with hesitation. The States which adopted it were small and struggling, exhausted and impoverished by a long war, with no central government worth the name, no credit, no finance, no certain outlook for the future. The hundred years of its history have seen the civilisation, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, of the continent on the margin of which its administration began; the increase of its subjects from three millions to nearly sixty millions; the rise and maturity under its protection of a great and powerful nation, whose growth has been phenomenal, and whose future lies beyond the field of prediction. As its institutions have gradually taken shape, and as one after another of the dangers that menaced them has been overcome, it is natural that they should have attracted in an increasing degree the attention of mankind, and especially of the English-speaking race. The American nation is the first-born child of Great Britain, the first and greatest fruit of the characteristic power of the Anglo-Saxons for colonisation, and for going by the sea. The connection between the two countries grows constantly larger and more intimate. It is clearer day by day that the future of America, for better or worse, is to be the inheritance, not of a nation only, but of the race to which the nation belongs.

But it is probable that very few even among the best instructed Englishmen have a clear or accurate conception of the Government of the United States, as it actually exists. Some features of it are conspicuous, and some qualities obvious. He who runs may read them. The real working of its institutions, the exact relations of its system of dual sovereignty, apparently complicated, in reality

simple, are less easily apparent. Nor has a stranger the means of readily acquainting himself with the subject. The text of the Constitution, considering its scope, is singularly brief. Its language is terse and comprehensive. It enunciates general principles in the fewest words, and deals with details as little as possible. Its perusal is easy—even attractive—for its simplicity and dignity of expression, but leaves it obvious to the reader that its practical efficiency must depend altogether upon the construction that is given to its phraseology, and the manner in which its provisions are carried into effect by legislation.* An acquaintance with these results, as they have from time to time taken place, must be sought through many judicial decisions, Congressional debates, and legislative enactments; or at least, by study of the elaborate treatises in which they have been brought together by commentators, and which are written for the lawyer rather than for the general reader. A concise and accurate outline of the Constitution of the United States, and of the system of Federal government of which it is the foundation and the supreme law, may answer many inquiries, and may perhaps be found useful to those interested in political science, as well as to those who care to know more about that country. Government is only one factor in the life of a nation, but it is the most important. An acquaintance with it is a large advance toward a knowledge of its people.

It is necessary to a correct understanding of the Constitution of the United States, that some attention should be given to the national conditions which preceded its origin. At the close of the American Revolution, in 1783, the thirteen British colonies which under a loose and hasty association for that purpose had brought the war to a successful result, had become independent States, and had adopted separate constitutions of their own. Contiguous to each other, though extended along a very wide reach of coast from New Hampshire to Georgia, and inhabited by the same race, there was but little connection between them, except the bond of a common sympathy in a common cause. The attempt at a Union, formed during the progress of the war, under what were called the Articles of Confederation, was rather an association than a government. Its obligation was well described as 'a rope of sand.' The central organisation had no control over the States which formed it, no power to raise revenue, nor to assert any permanent authority. Trial had shown it to be destitute of the elements of self-preservation or of permanence, and had made it clear on all hands that it must be abandoned. It is unnecessary to recur to it further, since nothing came of it at last but the experience that pointed the way to a better system.

But that a union of some sort must be formed, and a government based upon it, was an obvious necessity. Neither of the States was strong enough to maintain its independence. Conflicting interests were likely to involve them in perpetual controversy among them-

selves. The vast territory behind them, when it should become occupied, was likely to develop into a multitude of small and independent republics, or perhaps provinces under foreign governments, and unavoidably to give rise to constant disputes between the States in regard to the possession of lands, in which some of them claimed rights indicated by vague and indeterminate boundaries, and others, without special title, would nevertheless have strong claims to share. There was no substantial hesitation therefore, among the people of the States or their leaders, touching the necessity of an alliance, and of a national government; but the gravest difference of opinion naturally arose as to the terms upon which they should be constructed. Jealous of their dearly purchased independence, the States were reluctant to part with a sovereignty which it was much easier to discard than to recall. It was under these circumstances, and in this condition of public sentiment, that a convention was finally summoned by Congress to meet at Philadelphia, in February 1787, to revise the Articles of Confederation, and to report to Congress and the several States, such amendments as should be adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the Union. To the meeting of this body came as delegates the most distinguished men in all the States except one, which was not represented. It was presided over by Washington, himself the most ardent advocate of union, and was an assembly of uncommon dignity and ability. Its discussions were protracted and earnest. A wide diversity of opinion appeared, principally between those disposed to conservative views, and those inclined toward democracy. There were also to be reconciled what were thought to be the conflicting interests of the different States. The Convention finally abandoned altogether the Articles of Confederation, as hopeless of amendment, and instead of them, on the 17th of September, 1787, adopted by a considerable majority the original Constitution substantially as it now stands, and submitted it to the people of the several States for ratification, under a proviso that the assent of nine States should be sufficient to render it binding between the ratifying States. Each State called a convention of its own to consider the proposal, in which prolonged discussions took place. There was more or less opposition in many quarters, and upon many grounds. But it was finally ratified and formally adopted by the thirteen States, at different times. Meanwhile, after eleven States had assented to it, and on the 30th of April, 1789, the Government it established was organised. The two remaining States ratified the Constitution and came into the Union—one in November 1789, the other in May 1790.

The State of Vermont, in which settlements had been begun before the revolution commenced, upon land titles acquired under the New Hampshire grants from the Crown, had fought through the war on the American side, without becoming a member of the Union

formed by the Articles of Confederation. At the close of the war, land titles were attempted to be asserted against those of the settlers, under the grant to the Duke of York, by which a large part of New York was held. The boundaries of both grants were so loosely defined, that each covered a part of what was embraced in the other. The Vermonters resisted these claims, set at defiance the legal process from the New York courts, and in defence of their lands maintained the independence of their State, under a constitution of their own, until 1791, when their titles having been conceded, they applied for admission, and were received into the Union.

All the territory now under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, and not embraced within these fourteen States, including that afterwards derived from France, from Spain, and from Mexico, became subject to the exclusive control of the Federal Government. As the various parts of it were occupied or acquired, territorial governments were from time to time organised by Congress and administered under the national authority, until such time as these Territories, or successive portions of them, were admitted by Congress into the Union as States, on the same footing, under the Constitution, with the original States. Texas alone was admitted as a State when it was first annexed to the United States, never having been made a Territory. There are now thirty-eight States in the Union, and seven organised Territories, which will in time, as their population becomes sufficient, be admitted as States. Each State has a constitution, and a complete system of government of its own.

From this meagre outline of a most interesting chapter in history, it will be perceived that the States which originally adopted the Constitution were independent and separate, and entered the Union voluntarily, on a footing of entire equality. There was no subordinate and no superior, nor any conquest or compulsion of one by the others. And the cardinal idea upon which the Constitution is founded, is that every State which becomes subject to it is independent of the other States, and retains its full sovereignty, except so far as by the express terms of the Constitution, or by necessary implication, certain powers are relinquished by the States, or conferred upon the Federal Government. In determining therefore, in which jurisdiction any governmental power resides, the inquiry is whether it has been parted with by the States, under the provisions of the Constitution, and if so, whether it has been granted to the National Government. There are certain powers that are prohibited to the States, but which that Government has not acquired.

The most serious question under the Constitution that has ever arisen, was that which involved the nature of the compact upon which it was founded—whether the Union thus formed could be dissolved by some of the States that were parties to it, and they allowed to withdraw without the consent of the others. No discus-

sion of a constitutional question in America, was ever so prolonged, so excited, and so bitter as this. It culminated finally in the civil war of 1861, and then received its final settlement. It was contended on the part of the Southern States, in which slavery existed when the Constitution was adopted, that the Union was virtually a partnership of States, voluntarily entered into, and depending for its existence upon the continued consent of the parties; that those who made the compact could dissolve it; and that no power was conferred upon the Federal Government by the Constitution, to compel States to remain under its authority, or to continue an alliance from which they found it their interest to withdraw. This view was urged with great earnestness by Southern statesmen, under the leadership of Mr. Calhoun. In the earlier stages of the discussion it was plausible, and not without force, and Southern sentiment was generally, though not universally, in its favour. But in the great debate on the subject in the United States Senate, in 1830, the answer to this construction of the Constitution was brought forward by Mr. Webster with extraordinary and convincing power. No speech in America was ever so widely read, so striking in its immediate effect, so lasting in its ultimate results. From that time there has been no difference in opinion among the Northern people, as to the question involved. It was shown that the compact of the Constitution was of a far higher and more enduring character than a mere dissoluble partnership, existing upon sufferance; that it was a National Government, permanent and perpetual in its nature, not contracted for by the States, but ordained by the people; that while the assent to it in the first instance was voluntary, and was expressed through the medium of the State Governments, it was an assent that once given and acted upon, could not be recalled; from which no power of recession was reserved, or could exist, consistently with the object of the contract, or the nature of the Government; and that the States, though retaining their independence and sovereignty in many particulars, had parted with their right to a political existence separate from the Government they had created.

When this question finally came to the arbitrament of arms, there was no hesitation in the minds of the Northern people touching the merits of the quarrel, or the indispensable necessity of maintaining it. Nor did the theory of the right of secession command universal acceptance in the Southern States. Four of them declined to join the Confederacy, and remained on the Union side through the war. Since the war, this question is at an end. It is not likely ever to recur. With the disappearance of slavery, no reason for asserting a right of secession remains. No respectable vote could be obtained in any Southern State to-day, in favour of a dissolution of the Union.

The Constitution of the United States reproduces under a dif-

ferent form of government, and under different conditions, all the principles of English liberty, and the safeguards of English law. These are the foundations upon which it rests, and the model upon which it is constructed. It affords the highest proof that those principles are neither local nor national in their character, nor dependent upon the form of government under which they exist, so long as it is in its nature a free government. Sovereignty is distributed, as in England, among three principal and independent departments—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial.

1. The President is the head of the Government, the chief executive officer, and the commander-in-chief of the army and the navy. He is required to be of American birth, to be not less than thirty-five years of age, and a resident of the United States for fourteen years when elected. He holds office for four years, and is constitutionally eligible to repeated re-elections. No President however, has been re-elected more than once; and political tradition, as well as general sentiment, is opposed to a second re-election. No Vice-President has ever been re-elected.

Both the President and Vice-President are elected by a College of Electors, chosen in each State in numbers corresponding to the number of senators and representatives in Congress to which the State is entitled, and in such manner as the State may by law provide. In South Carolina they have always been chosen by the legislature, and no popular election for Presidential Electors has ever been held there. In the other States they are elected by the people. The electors so chosen are required to meet in February following the election, in their respective States, and to cast their votes for President and Vice-President. The votes are transmitted to the seat of government, and are opened and counted by the president of the Senate, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives. The persons having the greatest number of votes are declared elected, provided they receive a majority of all the electoral votes, and they hold office from the 4th day of March next ensuing. If no person has a majority of votes for the office of President, the House of Representatives then elects the President from the persons—not exceeding three—who received the highest number. But in this election each State has but one vote, which is cast by the majority of its representatives. If no person has received a majority of electoral votes for the office of Vice-President, the Senate elects that officer from the two persons having the highest number. If the House fails to elect a President before the 4th of March next following, the Vice-President becomes the President.

It was intended by the Constitution that the President and the Vice-President should be chosen by the Electoral College, acting independently and in the exercise of their own judgment; but recent elections have proceeded upon the nomination in the

different States, as Electors, of persons pledged to the support of particular candidates for President and Vice-President, who have been proposed in party conventions. The election becomes therefore, to all intents and purposes, an election of these officers by the people, the Electors chosen being a mere medium for registering the popular vote, without any discretion of their own.

The Constitution contemplated the election of no Federal officer whatever by popular vote, except members of the House of Representatives in Congress, and in States where it should be so provided, members of the Electoral College. That office, originally a very important one, has become insignificant, and only formal in its duties.

The President appoints his own Cabinet, subject to confirmation by the Senate, which in the case of a Cabinet officer is never refused. They hold office during his pleasure, and irrespective of the majority in either House, or any vote it may adopt, and cannot be members of either House. The Cabinet consists of a Secretary of State (Foreign Affairs), of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, and of the Interior, an Attorney-General and a Postmaster-General. Each conducts, subject to the general direction of the President, his respective department, that of the Attorney-General being the Department of Justice.

The principal powers of the President, apart from his general conduct and supervision of the administration of the Government, are four—the veto, the appointment to public office, the making of treaties with foreign nations, and the pardoning power for offences against the Federal laws. And he is required, at the opening of each session of Congress, to transmit to that body a message informing them of the condition of public affairs, and recommending any subjects to their attention which seem to him to require it.

The exercise of the veto power is altogether in the President's discretion. All Acts that pass Congress are sent to him for signature, and if he approves, are signed accordingly. He may however, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after the reception of any such Act, return it without approval to the House in which it originated, with his objections in writing, which are required to be entered on the journal of the House. If he retains the Act beyond the ten days without signing or returning it disapproved, it becomes a law without his signature. If returned disapproved, it may be again passed and become a law without his approval, if a majority of two-thirds of both Houses can be obtained in its favour. The vote for that purpose must be taken by yea and nay, and the names of the voters for and against, recorded in the journal.

Treaties with foreign nations, when completed and signed, are transmitted by the President to the Senate with his recommendation, and must be ratified by a vote of two-thirds of that body in

order to take effect. There is no restriction upon the power of the President in making treaties, except the implied one that nothing can be done under it which changes the Constitution, or robs a department of the Government or any of the States of its constitutional authority. Legislation by Congress however, may often be necessary to carry the provisions of a treaty into effect.

The power of appointment to office, and of removal therefrom, is the heaviest tax which is imposed by the Constitution upon the attention of the President. All diplomatic, judicial, executive, and administrative officers of the United States Government, including those of the army and navy, are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, except a class of minor civil officers, who are authorised by law to be appointed by the heads of departments, or by other executive or judicial authority, and do not require confirmation. Vacancies in Presidential appointments occurring in the recess of the Senate, may be filled by commissions expiring at the end of its next session. Officers of the army and navy are usually appointed from the graduates of the military and naval academies respectively, promotion in both services being exclusively by seniority, except that general officers and officers in certain branches of the staff are appointed by the President by selection.

The Vice-President holds office for four years, and is president of the Senate, and except in case of the death or disability of the President, or of the failure to elect a President, has no other duty to perform. On the death or disability of the President, or if no President be elected, the Vice-President becomes the President. What constitutes 'disability' within the meaning of the Constitution, or how it shall be declared to exist, there has arisen no occasion to decide. It may be assumed to be a permanent disability, or what is regarded as such, and would probably be treated as within the determination of Congress. It seems clear that if such a disability be once declared, and the Vice-President thereupon becomes President, a recovery by the President from the disability would not restore him to office.

2. The legislative power of the United States Government is vested in Congress, which is composed of two Houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives. No Act can become a law until it has passed both. The Senate consists of two members for each State in the Union, irrespective of its size or population. They are elected by the legislatures of the respective States, hold office for six years, and are eligible for re-election indefinitely. To be eligible as senator a person must be thirty years of age, a citizen of the United States for nine years, and an inhabitant of the State from which he is elected. The Senate have also very important powers aside from the general duties of legislation. Beside the ratification of treaties, and the confirmation of appointments to office already mentioned,

all impeachments of officers of the United States Government who are subject to that process must be tried before it (specially sworn for that purpose), a vote of two-thirds being necessary for a conviction. In case of the impeachment of the President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States presides at the trial.

The House of Representatives has no other duty than that of general legislation, in which the concurrence of the Senate is requisite, except in the election of President, before referred to, and except that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives, though subject to amendment by the Senate. They have also the sole power to present articles of impeachment.

To be eligible as a member of the House of Representatives a person must be twenty-five years of age, seven years a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of the State from which he is chosen.

The representatives are apportioned to the several States upon the basis of population, except that each State is entitled to at least one member. They are chosen for two years. A new census is taken once in ten years, and a reapportionment of the representation is made accordingly.

Members of both Houses are paid a compensation for their services, of \$5,000 per annum and a travelling allowance, and are precluded from holding any office under the United States Government while members. Nor can any senator or representative be appointed, during the period for which he is elected, to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which is created or its emoluments increased during such time. They are privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace; and for speech or debate in either House cannot be questioned in any other place.

The legislative powers that may be exercised by Congress are those only that are specially conferred upon it by the terms or necessary implication of the Constitution. All others are reserved to the States, unless expressly prohibited to them in the Constitution. Those assigned to Congress comprehend generally all powers necessary for the Federal Legislature to possess, to enable the National Government to be maintained and carried on, and the duties and functions appropriate to it to be discharged. The line is so drawn as to give to the central authority all that is requisite, and nothing more. Whatever is within its sphere, the States are prohibited from interfering with. What is left to the States, the Federal Government is excluded from. The dual government thus created can therefore never be a conflicting one. And the Federal courts, and in the last resort the Supreme Court of the United States, as will be pointed out

hereafter, afford a tribunal in which any disputed question of jurisdiction finds its immediate solution.

Speaking comprehensively, the powers of legislation conferred upon Congress may be thus summarised: to collect revenue upon a uniform system for the general welfare and common defence; to borrow money; to regulate foreign and interstate commerce; to coin money and establish weights and measures; to maintain the post office; to establish naturalisation laws and a uniform system of bankruptcy; to constitute Federal judicial tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court; to grant patents and copyrights; to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures; to maintain an army and a navy; to provide for calling into service the militia of the States, when necessary to execute the laws of the United States, to suppress insurrection, or to repel invasion, and to regulate, officer, and govern the militia when in such service; to punish piracy, felony on the high seas, offences against the law of nations, and against the statutes of the United States; to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over territory acquired for the seat of Government, or for fortifications, navy yards, or necessary public buildings of the Federal Government; to organise and govern Territories and to admit them into the Union as States; and to make all laws necessary and proper to carry into execution these and other powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States. Congress has also authority, as will be more fully stated hereafter, to propose amendments to the Constitution.

The powers of Congress being confined to those which are thus specially conferred, it has no general legislative capacity outside of them, except so far as maybe necessary to enforce the Federal authority. What any branch of the Government is empowered by the Constitution to do, Congress may adopt the requisite legislation to enable it to carry out. The authority of Congress under this head has been liberally construed, and it is held to be its own judge as to the means proper to be employed for that purpose.

But the Constitution also contains certain special restrictions upon the power of Congress, in respect to matters that might otherwise be within its scope. It is provided that the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless in cases of rebellion or invasion; that no bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed; that no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census provided to be taken; that no tax or duty be laid on exports from any State; that no preference shall be given by commercial or revenue regulations to the ports of one State over those of another, nor vessels bound to or from one State be required to enter, clear, or pay duties in another; that no title of nobility shall be granted; that no laws shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or

prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of the press; that the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances, to keep and bear arms, to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be infringed; that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

Of these restrictions, the most important of all is that in respect to the deprivation of life, liberty, or property. By one of the amendments of the Constitution, noticed hereafter, this provision is extended in the same words to governmental action by the States. It applies, as many of the other restrictions above recited do, to all the departments both of State and Federal Governments, as well as to the legislative. It is contained in the few words above quoted, and there is no other allusion to the subject in the Constitution. Much discussion and many judicial decisions have taken place in regard to their true meaning and application. What is to be understood by the word 'property' as here employed, what is a 'deprivation' of it, and especially what is 'due process of law,' are questions that have been much and very carefully considered. The language has been held to be as comprehensive as it is concise. A broad and liberal and at the same time a just and consistent construction has been given to it, in favour and protection of the rights of the subject, and of a just limitation upon the powers of Government. It would be beyond the limits of this sketch, to indicate even the outline of the interesting process through which this significant clause of the Constitution has acquired a settled and well-understood meaning, not likely ever again to be challenged. It is enough to say that it results in this: no person in the United States can be deprived by any act or authority of government, either of life, of liberty, or of any lawful possession which the law recognises as the subject of private property, unless upon the judgment or decree of a court having competent jurisdiction of the subject matter, and of the parties affected, and acting in the regular course of judicial procedure. In other words, no property can be by governmental action taken from any person in possession of it, until it has been adjudged by the proper tribunal that it does not lawfully belong to him, and does belong to the party to whom it is adjudged.

To this proposition there are but two exceptions—(1) where property is sold for the payment of a tax legally assessed; (2) where real estate is taken for public use, in the exercise by the Government of the power of eminent domain. In the latter case, the use for which it is taken must be a public use in the true sense of the word—that is, an actual use by the general public. It cannot be taken

from one man and given to another, upon the ground that the public is to be incidentally or indirectly benefited. And the use by the public must also be a necessary use, though this term receives a liberal and reasonable construction. The necessity must either be declared by the legislature that authorises the taking, or it must be determined by a judicial or other tribunal authorised to decide the question. And in all cases where property is taken for public use, it must be paid for before it can be occupied. If the parties cannot agree upon the amount, it must be judicially ascertained.

The protection thus afforded to private property is not theoretical merely, but actual. It will be enforced by the courts of justice in all cases, at the instance of any party aggrieved. Any Act of Congress, or proceeding of the Government, which is found to be in conflict with these or any provisions of the Constitution, will be held void by the courts, so far as it so conflicts. A remedy is given for every invasion of private rights that may take place under the authority of such an Act or proceeding. And on a question whether it contravenes the Constitution, an appeal lies to the Supreme Court of the United States, which in these cases is the ultimate tribunal.

The Constitution also contains important restrictions upon the legislative power of the States. So far as powers have been conferred upon the Federal Government, they are, as a general rule, regarded as relinquished, and can no more be exercised by the States. In some minor matters it has been held that a State may legislate upon a subject which is within the control of the national authority, so long as that control is not actually assumed, and subject to the power of Congress, by taking action, to supersede the State legislation. This is a questionable construction, and not likely to be extended.

But aside from the implied abrogation of the right to exercise powers that have been conferred upon the National Government, it is expressly provided that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility; that no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; lay any duty of tonnage; keep troops or ships of war in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State or foreign power; or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay: that no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any

person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws; nor deny or abridge to citizens of the United States the right to vote, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude; nor assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of rebellion or insurrection against the United States, or any claims for the loss or emancipation of any slave.

It will be perceived that these restrictions upon the power of the State governments are principally of three classes; those which exclude the States from interference with subjects which are placed, and must necessarily be placed, within the control of the Federal authority; those which provide for the privileges of the citizens of one State in other States; and those which have reference to the protection of personal rights. Of the latter class, the clause in respect to the deprivation of life, liberty, and property, only extends to the action of the State governments the same safeguards raised by the Constitution against injustice by the Federal Government, and already referred to. The provision which prohibits a State from passing any law impairing the obligation of contracts is one which applies to the State legislatures only, and has proved of very great importance both to the maintenance of the Union, and to the preservation of personal rights. It has been the subject of much judicial discussion, and many decisions, from which it has derived a settled meaning. It would be interesting to review its history, but only the result of it can here be stated. No contract, whether executed or executory, express or implied, derived from State charter or from private agreement, can be affected by any subsequent legislation, either in any material feature of its obligation, or by depriving its parties of a remedy for its violation.

3. The judicial power of the United States Government is vested by the Constitution in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time establish. The number of the judges of the Supreme Court is also fixed by Congress. It consists at this time of a Chief Justice and eight associate justices. They are appointed by the President, confirmed by the Senate, hold office during good behaviour, and receive a compensation which cannot be diminished during their term of office. On attaining the age of seventy years, a justice of this court is entitled (if he has served ten years) to retire upon the same compensation during his life, which he has received while on the bench. The court sits at Washington, from October till May, with short intermediate recesses.

For the organisation of the inferior Federal courts, the United States are divided into circuits, in number equal to the number of the justices of the Supreme Court. To each of these circuits a justice of that court is assigned, and has usually a residence within it. In each circuit a circuit judge is appointed. The several circuits are again divided into districts, in proportion to the amount of

judicial business. Each State constitutes at least one district, and in the larger States there are several. In each district there is appointed a district judge. The circuit and district judges are appointed in the same manner, and are subject to the same provisions as to tenure of office and retirement, as apply to the justices of the Supreme Court. The courts held by these judges are circuit courts and district courts, sitting for the districts in which they are held. The circuit courts may be held by a justice of the Supreme Court, by the circuit judge of the circuit, or by a district judge within his own district, or in any other district of the same circuit to which he may be temporarily assigned, or by any of these judges sitting together. The district court can only be held by the district judge in his own district.

The jurisdiction of the Federal courts is extended by the Constitution to all cases in law and equity under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, or treaties made under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

The result is that the Federal courts have a general jurisdiction in two classes of cases, the first depending on the subject matter of the controversy, the second upon the character or residence of parties. Under the first class are comprehended all cases where the cause of action arises under the Constitution or laws of the United States, such as actions for infringements of patents or copyrights, all cases in admiralty, all cases in which the United States is a party, and all controversies between States. Under the second class are embraced all cases in law and equity in which an ambassador, minister, consul, or alien is a party; where the parties are citizens of different States, or of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, or where a State brings action against a foreign State, or against the citizens of another State or of a foreign State. Certain public officers of the United States are also authorised to cause to be removed into the Federal courts, actions brought against them for acts done in their official capacity.

In cases within the first class, the jurisdiction of the Federal courts is exclusive; in those of the second, it is concurrent with the jurisdiction of the State courts. In the latter class of cases, the action may be brought in the Federal courts in the first instance by the party entitled to sue there, or having been brought in the State

courts, it may be seasonably removed by such a party into the Federal courts.

In the exercise of the jurisdiction belonging to the Federal courts, the district courts have original jurisdiction in admiralty, in bankruptcy proceedings under the United States laws, and in various revenue and other cases over which jurisdiction is specially conferred upon them by Act of Congress; and an appeal lies from the district court to the circuit court sitting in the same district.

The circuit courts, besides this appellate jurisdiction from the district courts, have original and general jurisdiction in all cases in law and equity coming within either of the two classes above described. They have also jurisdiction in all criminal cases where the offence is crime on the high seas or against foreign nations, or is made criminal by statutes of the United States having reference to subjects within the control of the National Government. From the circuit courts an appeal or writ of error lies to the Supreme Court of the United States, in all civil cases in which the amount in controversy is \$5,000 exclusive of costs, and in all cases where a question material to the decision arises under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States. There is no appeal to the Supreme Court in criminal cases, though a *habeas corpus* may be applied for in that court where a person has been convicted and sentenced for crime in a circuit or State court, and is in confinement, if it is claimed that on his trial or sentence any provision of the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States have been violated. The courts will not, however, consider any other question upon such an application, nor take cognisance of any other error.

The Supreme Court has original jurisdiction in cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and in those wherein a State is a party. It also hears applications for *mandamus* and *habeas corpus* in certain cases. In all other cases its jurisdiction is appellate, and is subject to the regulation of Congress. It has been uniformly held by the Supreme Court that the jurisdiction authorised by the Constitution is permissive only, and requires to be made effectual by appropriate legislation. Congress has however, from the beginning, provided for the exercise by the Federal courts of all the jurisdiction contemplated by the Constitution, and there has never been any disposition to attempt to abridge it.

The Supreme Court, aside from the limited original jurisdiction before mentioned, and the large appellate jurisdiction from the various circuit courts, has another important power upon appeal or writ of error, in certain cases in the State courts. Whenever in an action in a State court a right is claimed on either side arising under the Constitution or laws of the United States, or any treaty with a foreign government, and the right so claimed is denied upon appeal to the

highest court in the State, the cause, so far as that question is concerned, may be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States for revision. No other point will, however, be considered in that court in such case. And if the question does not distinctly arise, or is not necessary to be decided in reaching a proper judgment, the appeal will not be entertained. It will thus be seen that no person claiming the protection of any provision of the Constitution of the United States, or of any of its laws or treaties, in any tribunal in the country, whether State or Federal, can be deprived of it short of a decision of the Supreme Court, if he chooses to invoke its judgment upon the question; while if a State court allows him the right he contends for, no appeal to the Supreme Court to reverse such a decision lies against him.

In the Territories organised under Acts of Congress but not yet admitted as States, the judicial power is exercised by Federal courts, the judges of which are appointed by the President for a fixed term, and confirmed by the Senate. From the judgment of these courts an appeal or writ of error to the Supreme Court of the United States lies in most cases. In some of the Territories, inferior local courts are also authorised by the Acts of Organisation. In the District of Columbia, in which the Federal seat of government is located, and over which permanent and complete jurisdiction has been ceded to the United States by the States from which that district was taken, there is a system of Federal courts having general civil and criminal jurisdiction, regulated by Acts of Congress. From their decision in most cases, except criminal cases, an appeal to the Supreme Court is allowed.

Applicable to all Federal courts in the United States, however constituted and wherever sitting, are certain general provisions in the Constitution, designed for the protection of accused persons against injustice, and for the ensuring of fair trials in all cases.

It is declared that no person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime but on the indictment of a grand jury, except in military or naval service; nor for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy, nor be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the district (previously ascertained by law) wherein the crime shall have been committed, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and the assistance of counsel; that excessive bail shall not be required, excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

The Constitution also provides that in suits at common law, where the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars, the right of trial by

jury shall be preserved, and that no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined than according to the rules of the common law. This provision has reference only to proceedings in the Federal courts; but a similar clause exists in all the State constitutions, applicable to all State courts.

Upon the subject of the judicial powers of the Federal Government it only remains to add, that in every State in the Union there is a complete system of courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice, including courts of highest appeal. These courts are independent of the courts of other States, and equally independent of the Federal courts, except in the particulars already mentioned—the right of certain parties to remove causes from the State to the Federal courts, and the right of appeal from the State courts to the United States Supreme Court when a right claimed under the Constitution or laws of the United States has been denied. And the jurisdiction of the State courts is universal, except in the limited class of cases already referred to, over which that of the Federal courts is exclusive.

In all courts in the United States, whether Federal or State (except the State courts of Louisiana), the common law of England is administered, so far as it is applicable to existing institutions, and consistent with the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, and modified by the provisions of the Acts of Congress and of the State legislatures, within the sphere of their respective authority. In Louisiana alone the civil law prevails, a tradition of its Spanish and French history. The common law as it existed at the time the Constitution was formed, was adopted by the States, or has been assumed by their courts and legislatures. The Federal courts however, have no common law criminal jurisdiction, and in civil cases administer the law prevailing in the States to which transactions before them are subject.

4. In respect to citizenship, there are no citizens of the United States except the citizens of the States and Territories. The right to vote is regulated altogether by the State laws, except that, as has been seen, it cannot be denied on account of race, colour, or previous servitude, and except also that the naturalisation of foreigners is regulated by the Federal law, so that it is uniform throughout. A vote is generally given to every man of good character, twenty-one years of age, of American birth or duly naturalised, who has resided in the State for the period required by its laws. In some States he must be a tax-payer, and in some States he must be able to read and write, in order to have a vote.

The Constitution provides that citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of the several States; that full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and that

Congress may prescribe the manner in which they shall be proved. The result of these provisions, as they have been given effect, is that the citizen of any State or Territory has all the privileges in the other States or Territories that he would have as a citizen there, except the right to vote and to hold office; and he can acquire full citizenship in any State or Territory, by simply taking up his residence within it, and remaining the length of time required by its laws; though he cannot be a citizen of more than one State or Territory at the same time.

In every State also, the legislative Acts, the judicial proceedings, and the records of other States are recognised, when proved in the manner required by the Act of Congress, and their correctness and validity are presumed. While neither the statutes nor the judgments of a State have any effect except upon those subject to its jurisdiction, as between or against those who are so affected, they will be enforced by the tribunals of any other State. Execution cannot be issued in one State upon a judgment rendered in another, nor can a judicial order extend beyond the limits of the jurisdiction in which it is made; but a judgment legally rendered can be enforced by action upon it in any other State where the defendant or his property may be found; and in such action the correctness of the judgment will not be allowed to be controverted, except on the single question whether the court in which it was recovered had jurisdiction of the subject-matter and of the parties.

The Constitution also requires that any person charged with crime in one State, and escaping into another, shall be delivered up by the government of the latter upon demand of the executive of the State in which the offence was committed, to be returned there for trial.

5. The Constitution makes provision for its own amendment. Two-thirds of both Houses of Congress may propose amendments, or on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, may call a convention for that purpose. Any amendment proposed by Congress, or by a convention so called, is submitted to the States for ratification. If ratified by votes of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States, or by conventions assembled in three-fourths of the States (according as Congress may direct), it becomes a part of the Constitution of the United States. But no amendment can be proposed which deprives a State, without its consent, of its equal representation in the Senate.

It will be observed that an amendment of the Constitution cannot be easily or hastily obtained. Two-thirds of both Houses of Congress and three-fourths of the States must concur in demanding it, and perhaps also an intermediate convention called by two-thirds of Congress.

While fifteen amendments of the Constitution have taken place within the first century of its history, these can only be justly reckoned as four. The first ten were adopted at one time, and soon after the ratification of the Constitution itself, and really constitute but one. They embrace what is known as the Bill of Rights, the various provisions of which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, in their proper connection. They declare in substance, that certain enumerated liberties of the people, and certain ancient muniments of liberty shall not be taken away; that the enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people; and that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, or prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. The provisions touching personal rights were omitted from the original Constitution, because they were not thought necessary to be inserted, though strongly urged. It was deemed that they were sufficiently implied and understood in any system of free government, to be recognised by all courts sitting under it. And that a re-enactment of them might appear to imply that they were derived from the Constitution, or from the authority of the Government, instead of being natural rights antecedent to it, and safeguards that had become an indefeasible part of the inherited common law. While this was undoubtedly true in theory, experience has shown the wisdom of the amendments, by which the protection of these cardinal rights was expressly provided for, and placed beyond cavil.

The other clauses of these amendments, concerning rights not specially referred to, and powers not delegated to the Federal Government nor prohibited to the States, while quite unobjectionable, do not seem to be necessary. They only mar the symmetry of a document which contains no other superfluous words. It needs no assertion to show that the Constitution confers no powers not expressed or by necessity implied, and that neither States nor people had parted, in adopting it, with any rights which are not therein surrendered.

The eleventh amendment simply provides that a State shall not be sued in the Federal courts by the citizen of another State, or of a foreign country. It was adopted in 1794 and is in conformity with the general principles of sovereignty.

The twelfth amendment changes the method of electing President and Vice-President, mainly in one particular, unnecessary to be here referred to.

The last three amendments, very important in their nature, were proposed at the same time, at the close of the civil war in 1865, and were declared adopted by the requisite number of States—the thirteenth in 1865, the fourteenth in 1868, and the fifteenth in 1870.

They embody certain important results of the war. They prohibit slavery or involuntary servitude except for crime, in the United States; provide that all persons born or naturalised in the United States shall be citizens; and contain other provisions for the protection of personal, civil, and political rights, and having reference to debts incurred in the prosecution of the war, which have been already mentioned.

The outline thus attempted to be given of the Constitution of the United States, has occupied so much space, as to exclude some observations upon its character, its history, and its leading features, that may perhaps form the subject of another paper.

E. J. PHELPS.

*The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake
to return unaccepted MSS.*

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MARCH: AN ODE.

I.

ERE frost-flower and snow-blossom faded and fell, and the
splendour of winter had passed out of sight,
The ways of the woodlands were fairer and stranger than
dreams that fulfil us in sleep with delight ;
The breath of the mouths of the winds had hardened off
tree-tops and branches that glittered and swayed
Such wonders and glories of blossomlike snow or of frost
that outlightens all flowers till it fade
That the sea was not lovelier than here was the land, nor
the night than the day, nor the day than the night,
Nor the winter sublimer with storm than the spring: such
mirth had the madness and might in thee made,
March, master of winds, bright minstrel and marshal of
storms that enkindle the season they smite.

II.

And now that the rage of thy rapture is satiate with revel
and ravin and spoil of the snow,
And the branches it brightened are broken, and shattered
the tree-tops that only thy wrath could lay low,
How should not thy lovers rejoice in thee, leader and lord of
the year that exults to be born
So strong in thy strength and so glad of thy gladness whose
laughter puts winter and sorrow to scorn?
Thou hast shaken the snows from thy wings, and the frost
on thy forehead is molten: thy lips are aglow
As a lover's that kindle with kissing, and earth, with her
raiment and tresses yet wasted and torn,
Takes breath as she smiles in the grasp of thy passion to feel
through her spirit the sense of thee flow.

III.

Fain, fain would we see but again for an hour what the wind
and the sun have dispelled and consumed,
Those full deep swan-soft feathers of snow with whose
luminous burden the branches implumed
Hung heavily, curved as a half-bent bow, and fledged not as
birds are, but petalled as flowers,
Each tree-top and branchlet a pinnacle jewelled and carved
or a fountain that shines as it showers,
But fixed as a fountain is fixed not, and wrought not to last
till by time or by tempest entombed,
As a pinnacle carven and gilded of men: for the date of its
doom is no more than an hour's,
One hour of the sun's when the warm wind wakes him to
wither the snow-flowers that froze as they bloomed.

IV.

As the sunshine quenches the snowshine ; as April subdues
 thee, and yields up his kingdom to May ;
 So time overcomes the regret that is born of delight as it
 passes in passion away,
 And leaves but a dream for desire to rejoice in or mourn for
 with tears or thanksgivings ; but thou,
 Bright god that art gone from us, maddest and gladdest of
 months, to what goal hast thou gone from us now ?
 For somewhere surely the storm of thy laughter that lightens,
 the beat of thy wings that play,
 Must flame as a fire through the world, and the heavens that
 we know not rejoice in thee : surely thy brow
 Hath lost not its radiance of empire, thy spirit the joy that
 impelled it on quest as for prey.

V.

Are thy feet on the ways of the limitless waters, thy wings
 on the winds of the waste north sea ?
 Are the fires of the false north dawn over heavens where
 summer is stormful and strong like thee
 Now bright in the sight of thine eyes ? are the bastions of
 icebergs assailed by the blast of thy breath ?
 Is it March with the wild north world when April is waning ?
 the word that the changed year saith,
 Is it echoed to northward with rapture of passion reiterate
 from spirits triumphant as we
 Whose hearts were uplift at the blast of thy clarions as men's
 rearisen from a sleep that was death
 And kindled to life that was one with the world's and with
 thine ? hast thou set not the whole world free ?

VI.

For the breath of thy lips is freedom, and freedom's the
 sense of thy spirit, the sound of thy song,
 Glad god of the north-east wind, whose heart is as high as
 the hands of thy kingdom are strong,
 Thy kingdom whose empire is terror and joy, twin-featured
 and fruitful of births divine,
 Days lit with the flame of the lamps of the flowers, and
 nights that are drunken with dew for wine,
 And sleep not for joy of the stars that deepen and quicken,
 a denser and fierier throng,
 And the world that thy breath bade whiten and tremble
 rejoices at heart as they strengthen and shine,
 And earth gives thanks for the glory bequeathed her, and
 knows of thy reign that it wrought not wrong.

VII.

Thy spirit is quenched not, albeit we behold not thy face in
 the crown of the steep sky's arch,
 And the bold first buds of the whin wax golden, and witness
 arise of the thorn and the larch :
 Wild April, enkindled to laughter and storm by the kiss of
 the wildest of winds that blow,
 Calls loud on his brother for witness ; his hands that were
 laden with blossom are sprinkled with snow,
 And his lips breathe winter, and laugh, and relent ; and the
 live woods feel not the frost's flame parch ;
 For the flame of the spring that consumes not but quickens
 is felt at the heart of the forest aglow,
 And the sparks that enkindled and fed it were strewn from
 the hands of the gods of the winds of March.

A PLEADING FOR THE WORTHLESS.

THE workless and thriftless have had their sentence. Let me plead now for the worthless. There was once a commonwealth in which every wrong against a neighbour was judged and punished, not only as a wrong against man, but also against a higher law. The lord of the harvest did not glean his fields, nor did the master of the vineyard and of the olive-yard go twice over the vines and the olive-trees. The gleaning and the after-gathering were for the poor, the widow, and the orphan. Usury was unlawful. The lender might take a pledge for repayment of a loan, but he might not take the stone by which the borrower ground his corn, nor the cloak in which he slept at night. If taken in pledge by day, it was to be restored by night-fall. Every fifty years all prison doors were opened, all debts absolved, all lands returned to the rightful heir. Even the lower animals shared in the generous equity of the common law. The ox was not muzzled when he trod out the corn, and he rested on the seventh day.

And yet this commonwealth was not Christian, nor the unconscious inheritor of Christian civilisation.

Does history tell us that such words as follow could, without aberration of mind, have been addressed to such a commonwealth?—

It seems almost incredible that in wealthy England, at the close of the nineteenth century, so much destitution should exist; and still more that vagrancy and mendicity should so prevail. It may be well asked, Is this the grand total result of the wisdom of our legislators, the efforts of our philanthropists, the Christianity of our churches: that our streets are infested with miserable creatures, from whose faces almost everything purely human has been erased, whose very presence would put us to shame but for familiarity with the sight—poor wretches, filthy in body, foul in speech, and vile in spirit—human vermin? Yes, but of our own manufacture; for every individual of this mass was once an innocent child. Society has made them what they are, not only by a selfish indulgence in indiscriminate almsgiving, but by permitting bad laws to exist, and good laws to be so administered as to crush the weak, and wreck the lives of the unfortunate.

But these words have been publicly written as an impeachment of Christian and civilised London. The justice of the impeachment cannot be denied.

I. My purpose is to trace out the causes of this monstrous wreck of humanity, and to see how far we are responsible for the creation of these dangerous and pitiable outcasts from our Christianity and our civilisation.

(1) The first cause of this social wreckage is the destruction of domestic life. A large proportion of the people in London are herded in places not fit for human habitation. While the 'Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor' was sitting, efforts were made again and again to set on foot an inquiry as to the number of the people who were thus inhumanly housed. Such an inquiry was held to be impossible. The reason of this reply I have never been able to ascertain. But Governments seem to shrink from the trouble or the expense of inquiry. If there be any impiety in numbering the people, as some good men said at the time of the first census, there can be no impiety in numbering the miserable. The number of families living in one only room is less indeed now than a few years ago; but the number of families of from five to ten persons living in two rooms—fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters, of all ages, and sometimes with lodgers—is still very great. I will not enter into details. Anyone who heard, or has even read, the evidence taken before the Housing Commission will never forget it. That which creates a people is domestic life. The loss of it degrades a people to a horde. The authority and the obedience, the duties and the affections, the charities and the chastities of home, are the mightiest and purest influences in the formation of human life. A good home is the highest and best school: it forms and perpetuates the character of a nation. What moral influence or formation of the life and character of children is possible in overcrowded dens where all is misery and confusion? I refer to the Report of the Commission, and to the evidence of Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Horsley, and gladly refrain from explicit details.

(2) The next cause of utter wreck is, I will not say intoxicating drink, but the drink trade. This is a public, permanent, and ubiquitous agency of degradation to the people of these realms. That foul and fetid housing drives men and women to drink, and that drink renders their dens sevenfold more foul and fetid, is certain. The degradation of men, women, and children follows by an inevitable law: but only those who are striving to save them have any adequate knowledge of the inhuman and hopeless state of those who have fallen into drunkenness. I am not going to moralise upon drunkenness. I will only say that the whole land is suffering from the direct or indirect power of the drink trade. In times of depression only one interest still prospers—its profits may be slightly lessened, but its gains are always large and safe: that is, the great trade in drink, which enriches half a million of brewers, distillers, and publicans, with the

trades depending on them, and wrecks millions of men, women, and children. This one traffic, more than any other cause, destroys the domestic life of the people. The evidence taken by the Housing Commission expressly shows that in the overcrowded rooms in Dublin the moral wreck wrought in London is not equally found. A counteraction or preservative is there present and powerful. This I can affirm also of a large number of homes in London. The same is affirmed on evidence of Glasgow. Nevertheless these exceptions only prove the rule. The drink trade of this country has a sleeping partner who gives it effectual protection. Every successive Government raises at least a third of its budget by the trade in drink. Of this no more need be said. It changes man and woman into idiocy and brutality. It is our shame, scandal, and sin: and unless brought under by the will of the people, and no other power can, it will be our downfall.

(3) A third cause of this human wreck is the absence of a moral law. It is materially impossible for one half of the population of London to set foot on a Sunday in any place of moral teaching or of Divine worship. If all the churches and places of worship were filled three times on Sunday, they would not, I believe, hold more than 2,000,000. But the population of London properly so called is 4,000,000. Of the remaining 2,000,000 of men, how many have received Christian education, or even Christian baptism or moral teaching? How far is God in all their thoughts? This may be an argument without weight to some of our social philosophers; but to those who still hold fast not only to faith, but to the intellectual system of the world, it is a fact of evil augury, as self-evident as light. They who think themselves able to live and die well without God will treat this assertion lightly: but they who believe, with St. Jerome, '*Homo sine cognitione Dei pecus*,' will be unable to understand how the moral life of men can be sustained without the knowledge of God. Where there is no legislator there is no law, and where there is no law each man becomes a law to himself: that is, the perversion and passions of his own will are his only rule of life. What ruin to himself and all depending on him comes from this needs no words. Look at our calendars of crime and our revelations of social vice. And yet every one of these human wrecks was once an innocent child.

From these three chief causes comes all personal demoralisation by immorality, intemperance, and ignorance, and therefore by poverty in its worst form. From these also come the greater enormities, as some appear to think—namely, imposture and idleness. Such are the social outcasts that form our criminal or dangerous class. And so long as they are born in dens, and live in drunkenness, and die without the light of God's law, they will multiply and perpetuate their own kind.

Multitudes are at this day in London in the abject poverty of moral degradation, and of reckless despair of rising from their fallen state. But these three causes are the direct results of the apathy or the selfishness of what is called Society, or more truly of our legislation or neglect to legislate, or of good laws inefficiently administered.

II. Some are of opinion that a great part of the crime in London springs from poverty. Others say that in times of distress the gaols are comparatively empty. This would seem to imply that want does not lead to crime. Both of these assertions are true. No one will say that poverty always leads to crime; much less that poverty never leads to crime. Therefore both sides admit that poverty sometimes leads to crime. This reduces the question to one of degree: how far is poverty a cause or motive to crime?

There is indeed no necessary connection between poverty and crime; for poverty is a state which may generate the highest human perfections of humility, self-denial, charity, and contentment in a hard lot and life. Such a lot may be the inevitable lot of some. It may be also voluntarily and gladly chosen by others who for many motives, not of this world, choose poverty rather than wealth.

But this is not our question. The poverty of which we speak is that into which the majority of poor men are born; in which they hardly earn bread for themselves and for their homes; a poverty always on the brink of want; to which they may be reduced in a day by no fault of their own: that is, by the ruin of their employer, the vicissitudes of trade, the suspension of work by natural causes such as winter, or the failure of the raw material of their labour. When once reduced to this state of want, there is nothing before them but the legal relief of the Poor Law, coupled with conditions which their highest and best instincts make them refuse, or doled out to them inadequately so as to give no real and lasting relief. This forms a pauper habit of mind: helplessness, hopelessness, and the loss of self-respect. Will any thoughtful man say that in such a state a father, seeing a wife sinking by want and toil, and his children famishing for lack of bread, is free from the strong temptation to find unlawfully the food which society refuses except on odious conditions to give him lawfully? Add to this the sense of injustice when, without fault of his own, he is brought down to want. And, as men are human, there comes in a sting of resentment when he sees on every side an abundance of food and clothing in those who never labour and never lack.

The ostentation of luxury is a sharp temptation to men in despair. It is not only the hunger that pulls down a man's own strength, but the cry of those who look to him for bread that sounds daily in his ears, and haunts him wherever he goes. This is true of

the most upright and honest man ; but all men are not honest and upright. Surely it is Pharisaism to preach to such men 'Go in peace ; be you warmed and filled ; yet give them not those things that are necessary for the body.' It is both injustice and hardness of heart to denounce almsgiving, to defeat the giving of work, and to offer nothing but the break-up of home as the condition of food necessary for life. If such a man begs, he may be taken up. If he can bear his miseries no longer and steals, his moral rectitude is broken down ; and once destroyed, all boundaries are gone.

They must know little of life who do not know what ruin of men and of women comes from the straits of poverty. Forgery, embezzlement, prostitution are brought on gradually, and after long resistance to temptation, even in the educated, by the desperation of want. Will anyone say : Yes, but they imply vice as the motive. I answer : And are the poor free from vice ? But again, vice is in such cases the consequence as well as the companion of crime. The moral nature has given way. The misery of want destroyed it before vice or crime was perpetrated. There was a time when forgers and prostitutes were as far from their fall as those who moralise about them when fallen. And if this be true of all men, how much more true of the worthless for whom I am pleading !

A student of crime the other day thought that he had disproved the proposition that poverty leads to crime by showing that in times of distress the prisons have fewer inmates ; and that the statistics of crime show a diminution of prisoners in the ten years from 1877 to 1886, which was a period of depression.

A little more thought would show that this is no disproof.

For, first of all, Sir Lyon Playfair some years ago exhibited in a tabular form, resulting from official inquiry, conclusive evidence to show that when wages are low drunkenness decreases, when wages are high drunkenness increases. Shall we then say that prosperity leads to crime ? If so, blessed indeed are the poor. Surely no man will maintain that prosperity is to be checked and deprecated, and that the duty of legislators and political economists is to reduce the prosperity of the country in order to check the crime.

Moreover, the proposition that poverty leads to crime, does not mean that poverty on Monday leads to crime on Tuesday, but that poverty leads to all manner of temptations. Sometimes the misery of innocent children will drive a man to do what his conscience condemns. Sometimes a daughter, to support an aged mother, will do what her whole soul abhors. They who live among statistics, and have seldom, if ever, lived among the poor, little know how poverty brings temptation, and temptation both vice and crime.

But as we have statistics, let us go to them, though they are like the quadrants and compasses by which the tailors in Laputa

measured their customers. The moral life of men cannot be measured by mere numbers. Nevertheless they are pointers.

And, first, it is beyond contention that the majority of our prisoners are of the poor. This fact alone proves at least the close relation of poverty and crime. It would be an affectation of scepticism to say that this close relation is not by way of cause and effect.

Secondly, the official statistics show this both directly and indirectly.

At page xxxix. of the Judicial Statistics for England and Wales in 1886-87, it is stated that, of the people committed for crime, 27·5 per cent. could neither read nor write, 70·0 could only read or write imperfectly, only 2·8 could read and write well, and only 0·1, or one in a thousand, had superior instruction.

If it be said that this proves ignorance to be the cause of crime, I answer that poverty was the main cause of this ignorance.

Thirdly, the occupation of prisoners gives the same indication. Of no occupation there were 10·5 per cent.; labourers, charwomen, and needlewomen, 52·0; factory workers, 6·0; skilled mechanics, 14·1; professional employment, 0·2 ($\frac{2}{1000}$); prostitutes, 3·3; domestic servants, 2·5.

These statistics prove beyond doubt that, in proportion as the criminals are further from poverty, the smaller the number; in proportion as they are nearer the greater the number; and that the vast majority are those who are absolutely poor, and live in all the vicissitudes of poverty. It is an old-world saw that half our virtues are from the absence of temptation.

But, lastly, the statistics of increase in indoor paupers and decrease in prisoners, in the years between 1877 and 1886, prove nothing. There are many explanations of this fact. I have it on high authority that thousands of adults who used to be imprisoned are now fined under the Amended Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879; and thousands of children who used to be sent to prison are now sent to reformatory or industrial schools, or let off with a reprimand. The Report of 1887 shows for Great Britain the number of children in industrial schools as follows¹:—

In 1877	12,555
„ 1880	15,136
„ 1886	20,688

These two facts fall precisely into the ten years from 1877 to 1886, and prove that a change both in the treatment of persons charged and in the tables of statistics had been made, which accounts for the decrease of prisoners.

¹ Report for 1886, p. 9.

III. From the change in the administration of the Poor Law two consequences have followed. First, a profuse almsgiving.

We have been told with great confidence that five millions of money were spent in a year in alms in London alone. Without doubt much was imprudently spent; and this imprudence caused many accidental evils of mendicity, mendacity, indolent dependence upon help, neglect of duty, wastefulness, and refusal to work for bread. But to affirm that this is the inevitable result of almsgiving is to condemn what the Author of Christianity enjoins. And there have not been wanting men of note and name who have censured His teaching as erroneous. The effect of these excesses is to provoke a reaction which is somewhat strong and vivid in certain minds. Again, to tell us that almsgiving springs from selfish indulgence of emotion, or of self-contemplation, is as shallow as the Hutchinsonian philosophy, which tells us that men do right only because it makes them happy; or the Benthamite, that they do so because it is expedient. Compassion has suffering for its proper object, as hunger has bread. These philosophies of the second syllogism are credible to those who know of no Divine commandments, but to those who know a higher law and a nobler lore they would be simply ridiculous if they were not mischievous. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the charity and generosity of individuals and of societies were profusely abused; and that the accidental evils of good things when abused were many. But it is to be borne in mind that this large almsgiving of five millions of money arose, not only from the promptings of charity, but from the constant sight of suffering unrelieved by the Poor Law. If it had been more compassionately administered, these five millions would in all likelihood have never been given. They rose to this vast sum by the daily sight of unrelieved want. It was so far a spontaneous return to the profusion of old days.

And here it may be well to call to mind the recommendations of the Poor Law Commissioners in 1834. They provided for loans to deserving men in time of distress, attaching the wages of the same on the return of work.² And, further, the Commissioners continued as follows:—

We recommend, therefore, that the Central Board be empowered to incorporate parishes for the purpose of appointing and paying permanent officers, and for the execution of works of public labour.³

Under the Executive Commission afterwards appointed, road work was provided for the outdoor relief of the Spitalfields weavers, which they largely undertook.

At the time of the cotton famine in Lancashire outdoor relief

² Report of Commissioners, &c., p. 337. Fellowes, 1834.

³ Report, p. 326.

was provided in the form of earth-works, as sanitary works, for the relief of 40,000 men. A million and a half of money was lent to the local authorities by the Government for the execution of remunerative sanitary work. Seven thousand took the work; and the rest, with the assistance of friends and relations, were otherwise provided for. A large part of sanitary drainage work is earth-work; and but for a change in the administration, such work to the amount of a million and a half of money would have been provided, and might now be provided by a return to the administrative principles formerly recommended.

A great amount of almsgiving, then, manifestly resulted from the refusal or discontinuance of such employment of labour.

But, further, there was a second consequence from the changed administration of the Poor Law. As the large return to almsgiving sprang from this change, so the existence of the Charity Organisation Society sprang from the profuse giving of alms. It was said that, of the five millions, two were devoured by the administrators or distributors; there was constant overlapping, so that money was given by several persons or societies to the same person or case, and to the most undeserving.

The Charity Organisation Society arose with these chief attributes. First, to promote correspondence and co-operation among the many beneficent societies, so that their alms should not be wasted by overlapping and relieving the same case twice over.

Secondly, for the detection of impostors who were obtaining help under false pretences; living as paupers and refusing to work for their bread.

Thirdly, to assist the deserving in time of transient distress, either by gift or by loan. This part of the Society's work is most wise and charitable. It is in the spirit of the Acts of Elizabeth and of the recommendations of the Commission in 1834.

Fourthly, to oversee the cases of poverty brought before them, and to aid both by help and by advice those who were striving to maintain or to retrieve their state.

All these are excellent offices, of true and prudent charity. There may be others unknown to me, but these were the motives which induced me to become a member of the Society at its outset. So long as it is coextensive with the whole field of poverty, and adequately supplied with means, large-hearted in promoting all prudent agencies of relief, and free from the narrowness of doctrinaires, it must be regarded as a valuable supplement of the legal and mechanical operation of the Poor Law. They are both needed, and neither without the other could cover the whole area of poverty. Moreover, it is necessary that voluntary and personal service without hire or reward should be added to the legal administration of relief.

In point of education, intelligence, and perseverance, the members of the Charity Organisation Society are of the highest efficiency.

The words 'I am a man, and everything human to me is as my own,' ran through the old Latin world like an electric spark. They were written by an emancipated slave who had known sorrow. 'Love your neighbour as yourself,' was spoken by One who made Himself a servant and the man of sorrows for our sakes. Compassion is fellow-feeling, and a share in the sufferings of others. If the commonwealth of Israel was pervaded by pity for poverty and compassion for sorrow, what ought to be the large and watchful compassion of England for its people? It is a Christian people. It believes in Him who said 'I have compassion on the multitude.' There is no doubt that in every great city there will be a refuse of the population who, through their own perverse will, blind conscience, and evil passions, gather together into a demoralised and dangerous horde. But it is also certain that each was once an innocent child. The bloated and brutal man, if he had been nurtured by a loving mother in a pure home fit for man to live in; if he had grown up in the consciousness of a Divine law and presence; if he had lived in honest labour, found as a rule in the labour market, or as an exception, in times of distress, provided by the compassion of a wise charity, or of a law wisely and charitably administered—he would not have become the wreck in body, mind, and speech, which we may see in our streets every day. If parents, teachers, pastors, had been faithful, if the legislation and administration of public and social law had been conceived and carried out, not with a view to money, or to enrichment, or to retrenchment, but for the moral and domestic life of the people, though some men will always wreck themselves, society would not be guilty of the ruin of its offspring. When society is sound, it sustains individuals who are falling. When society declines, it pulls down individuals in its fall. A commonwealth in which domestic life is perishing has a settlement in its foundations.

If, then, the worthless are what they are because the society of to-day has wrecked them, what is society doing or willing to do, to redeem and to save the worthless? None are so bad that there is not still a hope. But the class of men and youths who came into open day some weeks ago are not to be bettered by neglect, much less by defiance. Goodness will overcome evil, and kindness will break the hardest hearts. If the confidence of the worthless and dangerous could be won, it would be like the warmth of the sun breaking up a frost. The poor youths of eighteen and nineteen may be bad, but they are not yet hardened in evil. Are they to be left to become hopeless criminals? Surely there are men and women ready to go among them. Human sympathy, kind care, personal

service, patient good will, are powers which never fail. If through fault of ours, however remotely or indirectly, by commission or omission, they are outcasts, let us now begin and try to bring them back to what once they were. The memory of their childhood is not dead within them: if it be only as a gleam of innocence long-lost, it is also a throb of a higher life not yet extinct for ever.

HENRY EDWARD, Card. Archbishop.

THE SWARMING OF MEN.

READERS of *Sartor Resartus* will remember a great passage in which is pictured forth the march of men across the theatre of the world. The passage is famous. It has been quoted again and again as an expression of the highest genius of the writer. Those who have not been moved and carried away by it must needs be regarded as dead to Mr. Carlyle's power—as incapable of being fired by his inspiration. It is not needful to quote the pages anew. A phrase or two will recall them to those who have once felt their influence. By them, as the words are uttered, the vision will be seen. Generation after generation will again take to itself the form of a body and appear. Once more we emerge from the Inane, haste stormfully across the astonished earth, and plunge again into the Inane. I go back upon these well-known sentences, because through them the reader may be led to take the standpoint I would ask him to assume. The idealist shall help my prose. We too may try to survey, if in a different mood and for a different purpose, the pomp, the procession of life. Without straining our eyes unduly, we may assist at another and yet not wholly foreign review. We may see myriads of men rush into being; thronging, pressing, spreading wherever a point seems vacant of life, and then again passing out of being whilst new myriads swarm upon their traces before they have well disappeared. How this cloud of being comes and goes; why this spot is darkened with the thickening mass, whilst that other is covered with a thinner and ever thinner veil; in what way the moving particles of the stream of humanity contribute to shape its course and volume—these are the speculations one would fain pursue. The enterprise is ambitious, but the task is as fine as it is difficult, and however little may be accomplished, that little ought not to be without some value.

But first let me narrow the scope of the inquiry. In the historic retrospect of the movement of men we are continually presented with the spectacle of some new breed bursting in upon fields already occupied by fellow-creatures possessing feebler powers of resistance than they of onslaught; with the result that the new breed subjugates and enslaves their forerunners, or, as in some cases, pushes them wholly out of existence. The process may be repeated again and again, so that traces may be discovered of layer after layer of

victorious invaders; and those who were most successful and most thorough in the displacement of their predecessors are sometimes found clamouring against the displacement that visits them in turn, as though they were the aboriginal and exclusive occupants of the lands they inhabit. About these great migrations of force, which have descended so often torrent-like upon the wide Indian peninsula, and have more than once swept Europe from end to end, I have little or nothing to say. They run through history; they stretch back through prehistoric generations; they afford endless scope for most alluring and, what appears to my ignorance, most uncertain speculation; but, except as illustrations of the strength and energy of what may be called new tides of existence, I do not refer to them. They deserve to be remembered as such illustrations. The same passion of dominant being that worked its way in the past through the enforced servitude thus imposed upon others, may be driving its possessors to-day by more legitimate means to victory in the struggle for existence; but it is in this light only that we can regard such movements. My restricted inquiry, and it will be wide enough, must be limited to a survey of such migrations as have been, and are witnessed in our own times, and mainly among our own people and kinsfolk. Even in our own narrow isle we may see a pushing and crowding, a thickening and thinning of the mass of life, the swelling floods of being rising in strength, and the ebbing tide leaving shores vacant that were once overflowing; and if we turn to the continents, whither the English-speaking stream has been carried, we may see in yet more striking shape the movement of men. We need not concern ourselves with the march of military marauders. Though we may not venture to say that such a phenomenon of the past cannot recur, yet it is so foreign to our experience that it is enough for the present to follow the growth and outgrowth of a free industrial population. So also may we abstain from entering upon that speculation which has occupied so many minds of the analogy between the lives of nations and the lives of men. It may be that for the former as for the latter there is a term fixed. It may be that the energy of character of a breed must wear itself out. Perhaps the time must come when all the attributes of vitality of a national stock must dwindle. This has happened so often that, struggle against it as we may, the suspicion may be just, that there is a necessity compelling this conclusion; but we do not enter upon the inquiry here. It is of intensest interest, but must be left unattempted.

Let us turn then our eyes homeward, and see how our thronging population has grown and spread. England and Wales contained something less than nine millions in 1801. Then for the first time was there an accurate count. Proposals had been made before, and a Bill was brought into Parliament in 1753, for taking a census of the

kingdom, but the project was denounced and defeated as an insult to God and man. An attempt to number the people was a manifest impiety, and it was almost as clearly seen that it covered some iniquitous design of taxing anew a harassed nation. So the plan failed till in 1801 our forefathers were counted, and it was found that 8,892,536 persons were living in England and Wales. Less than nine millions then, it is certain that there are more than three times as many now. At the last counting there were close upon twenty-six millions (25,974,439), and that was made six years and three-quarters since. The present estimate is $28\frac{1}{4}$ millions. We have more than trebled during this century—a very small breadth in the life of a people. If we look back beyond 1801 we must trust to conjectures; but there was a rough calculation made just three centuries since, when England was threatened by the Spanish Armada, and the best estimate of the population of that time put it at about 5,500,000. People did not jostle one another much in 'the spacious times of great Elizabeth'; but indeed there was room enough to move about in 1801. The increase in 220 years was not much more than half, just 60 upon 100, whilst in the subsequent years two have been added to every one that existed before. In view of this disparity of increase, it is a natural question to ask whether the growth has been uniformly maintained since 1801, or whether our numbers are continually increasing at a faster ratio? The answer may be unexpected: We grew most at the beginning of the century. The first decade was a period of practically continuous war, but yet the numbers added exceeded 14 to the 100. The second half of the next ten years was a time of peace, and the numbers swelled so that more than 18 were added to every 100 counted at the beginning of this decade. But that proved to be the top of the tide. Although the addition in the next ten years was nearly 16 per cent. there was a decline, and every successive period showed a less and less rate of increase till 1851–61, when it fell below 12 per cent., and then, taking a turn, it ran to 13·19 per cent. in 1861–71, and to 14·36 in the years 1871–81. The maximum was 1811–21, the minimum 1851–61, from which it has been rising to another maximum not yet ascertained, although indeed it may be overpast. The mass has always been growing, but not with the same intensity; the rate fell away, it recovered, and there may be some reason to think it has again declined. But has the increase all come from within? Is this triplification of numbers wholly due to the growth of the English people, or is it in any, and, if so, in what, measure borrowed from immigration from many lands, or at least from other portions of the United Kingdom? The hospitality of our shores is great—we sometimes hear it muttered nowadays that it is too free; and De Foe proved long ago that the true-born Englishman was a mongrel product of many breeds. Do our numbers come from such importations? We are not

without the means of answering the question. Although we number the population only once in ten years, we are day by day numbering domestic additions and subtractions—the births and deaths, the difference between which is the first great element affecting the total. Adding to the population at the beginning of a decade the births in that interval, and subtracting from the sum the recorded deaths, we might expect to find a result not far different from the population at the end. In truth this result is always greater than the population we do ascertain by counting. Some have disappeared. It might be thought they had died without their deaths being recorded, but this is not a probable explanation. Error is easier and more likely in the omission to register births than to register deaths, and we fall back on a second explanation that there has been a balance of emigration from the kingdom. And this we know to be the fact. Records are kept, though necessarily not perfectly, of those who leave and arrive at our ports; and they show a continuous outpouring of life. This rate also has not been uniform. It has risen and fallen; but the flow, though varying in volume, maintains the same direction. There is yet another light in which this can be tested. We know the number of persons found living in England and Wales on the census-day of 1881 who were not born within the frontier (1,118,617); we know the number of English found on the same day in the other parts of the United Kingdom (178,191); we know the number of English and Welsh in the United States at their census in 1880 (745,978), and similarly in Canada in 1881 (169,504) and in the Australian Colonies in the same year (499,922); and a comparison of these figures, in which the European Continent, Asia, and Africa are wholly disregarded, shows that far more English-born people are found out of England than out-born people are found within it. The difference would be much more startling if we extended the comparison to the immigrants and emigrants of the United Kingdom, but, remembering that we are speaking at present of England and Wales only, it must be repeated that, while within the narrow limits the quantity of human life has been multiplied threefold, our overplus has flowed over and beyond them to the uttermost parts of the earth.

I turn to another question. This multiplication of men has proceeded at varying rates of increase, but always producing an increase, till we have three nations where we had one. Every one knows that this increase has not been uniformly spread over England and Wales. There has been the greatest possible range of variation in the life-growth of different divisions of the ancient kingdom; and it may be asked whether any method can be discovered amid these differences. Let us turn to the differences between town and country, and especially between our biggest town and the rest of the country. There is some advantage in looking at London first, because, whilst its boundaries have varied from census to census, they have been fairly

well defined at each numbering, whereas there is some confusion as to the definition of country towns at different times. But take London alone. When the population of England in 1801 was under nine millions, that of London was 958,863. The capital and the kingdom have grown together, but the former has always grown faster; so that while England (including London) mounted from nearly 9 millions in 1801 to nearly 26 in 1881, London grew from 958,863 to 3,816,483 in 1881. London more than quadrupled its people, while England (including London) did not quite triple it; England (excluding London) advanced in a still smaller proportion; and it will be seen that England, excluding all its big towns, exhibits a still feebler advance. But note this point about London. Its limits increase. If we had a series of maps shaded so as to show the population, we should see the black central spot of London getting bigger and bigger—the wen which Cobbett detested and denounced growing more and more portentous in size—but though the black spot grew bigger, yet its centre grew lighter and lighter; and by the centre is not meant that strictly limited area called the City, but something more like what London was when the century began. Take, in fact, the area occupied by the mass of those 958,863 who constituted the population of London in 1801, and fewer persons will be found living upon it, while around it lies a widening ring, growing blacker as the centre whitens. Whilst, however, London has grown so enormously in population and in so great a proportion compared with the rest of the kingdom, its rate of increase has not been at all commensurate with that of many provincial towns, nor has it been equal to that of the towns of England as a whole. Speaking of these towns as a whole, it seems a fair estimate to say that of the nine millions living in England and Wales in 1801, three millions lived in towns. This errs, if at all, in making the town population too large a proportion of the whole. Of the twenty-six millions of 1881, nearly fifteen and a half millions lived in towns; or, if we follow the Registrar-General in ranking as townsmen all who live in urban sanitary districts, more than seventeen and a half millions were townsmen. The inhabitants of towns have increased at least fivefold; the inhabitants of the country at the most by 75 per cent. The town population was one-third of the whole; the Registrar-General's calculation would make it two-thirds. Diverging for a moment from the proper order of inquiry, it may be remarked that this phenomenon of the relative increase of the town population is not confined to England. It may not have reached the same proportion of the whole in any other country, but it has grown at an even greater rate elsewhere. Two examples may suffice. In Norway the town population was 9 per cent. in 1801; this had grown to 18·1 per cent. in 1875, and it is now 22 per cent. In the United States the proportion was only 3·9 per cent. of the whole in 1800; it was 22·5 per cent. in 1880

Thus in Norway, which practically receives no immigrants, the proportion of the town population had increased somewhat more than in England, while in the United States, instead of doubling, it had multiplied $5\frac{3}{4}$ times. If, passing from the town population of England and Wales as a whole, attention is directed to the movement of increase of the separate towns, constant fluctuations will be found in the rate of growth, each successive decade bringing some different centre to the front as the scene of greatest relative increase. It would be tedious to go through many illustrations of this in detail, and it would be difficult, for the arbitrary boundaries of our towns confuse inquirers and tax the patience and ingenuity of the Registrar-General and his assistants. In some cases the examination would be misleading. Birkenhead, for example, is often cited as an instance of most rapid expansion, and indeed it numbered something like 700 inhabitants in 1801 and 84,000 in 1881, a number since largely increased; but Birkenhead is properly a suburb of Liverpool, and should not be considered apart from it. An examination of true centres of life leads us inevitably to connect the shifting of points of maximum increase with the development of some industry, the discovery of some local springs of activity, a new appreciation of previously unrecognised facilities for the application of more efficient processes of labour. Some change makes it possible for more life to be sustained at a given spot, or to be more favourably sustained than elsewhere, and immediately more life appears there. In one decade the hosiery district of Leicester leads the van; in another the maximum growth may shift to the homes of the cotton industry; in another the black country is foremost; or, again, the shipping ports, the colliery centres, the fields of rich iron deposits compete with one another as points about which there is the most rapid accumulation of human life. But here we must note a difference. When the population of England and Wales was regarded as a whole, and the question asked whether its growth was due in part to immigration or arose from its own powers of increase, the answer was, that in spite of a large inflowing, mainly from other divisions of the kingdom, England gave forth more than it received, and on the balance lost population through the migrating of men. This cannot be said of the towns. They owe much of their increase to a perpetual movement from the country. Certain forces of attraction are seen to be always in operation, drawing life away from where it came into existence to expend its activity elsewhere. As it matures it moves from a birth-place to a work-place. Sometimes, as in London, it is a hiding-place which is sought; but even in London those who wish to conceal past errors (and too commonly follow them up with worse) are but a small part of the invading army. This internal mobility is a phenomenon worth attention.¹ It becomes more and more developed as the century

¹ This subject was very well examined and illustrated in a paper by Mr. Ravenstein (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, June 1885).

advances ; the facility of movement being notoriously greater, and the spirit of movement growing apace with facility. There is not a county in the kingdom the population of which would not increase if those who were born in it remained there. Everywhere births outnumber deaths, and the census might be expected to reveal an increase. Not indeed always at the same rate. In some (Glamorganshire, Durham) this unchecked growth would be double, or more than double, what it would be in others (Devon, Cornwall, Cardigan, &c.) But to those that have it shall be given. In those countries where the Registrar-General looked for the greatest natural increase he found it swollen by an abundant immigration ; where the increase was naturally least, it was diminished or had been turned into a decrease by emigration. In 1881 it was found that twelve counties (calling the metropolis one)—and these being precisely the counties of big towns—had added to their own increase by absorption from without, twenty-six had kept a part only of the additions due to the overplus of births, and in thirteen the birth growth and more had gone, leaving an actual decline in numbers. Lancashire kept the largest proportion of its natives at home, yet received largely from without, and it was consequently among those that showed the greatest increase ; Cornwall received the fewest from without and parted largely with its natives, and it showed the greatest decline (nearly 9 per cent.) It has been already said that there were twelve other counties showing an absolute decline in numbers, and it may be added there were eight others that barely kept up their population. If we run over the list of names we should say that, with the exception of that which heads it, they may all be called agricultural counties. We are here opening new ground. The population of England and Wales has multiplied threefold. The town population has multiplied fivefold, the inhabitants of the country not more than 75 per cent. Does the declining population of a dozen agricultural counties and the stationary population of another eight indicate an actual decline of the agricultural population, and a transfer of force to other industries ?

Turning to the enumeration of occupations made at the census we find this had happened. The agricultural population had fallen off some 8 or 9 per cent., and the Registrar-General pointed out that, while the total land under cultivation had increased in the decade by more than a million acres, the arable had decreased by nearly a million, and the number of owners and workers of agricultural machines had doubled. In the years which have since elapsed there has been a still further conversion of arable into pasture (600,000 acres), and there has doubtless been a further increase in agricultural machinists. The internal movement of the people is thus associated with and in part produced by a shifting of occupations, implying as much a decline in the opportunities of occupation in one direction as an increase of them in another. As the new generation rises and becomes a power, it seeks its work and finds it, sometimes at

home, sometimes further afield, sometimes pursuing the work of the preceding generation, sometimes new work, and, whether pursuing new work or old, sometimes shifting the scene of its labours. The movement so far contemplated does not indeed go beyond the five seas; but we cannot forget that outpouring of English life which has been mentioned as more than counterbalancing all importations; and in this connection one word more may be forgiven in reference to that county in which I own a particular interest, where the decrease of population, begun in 1861-71, was most marked in the decade 1871-81. The other declining counties may be agricultural, but Cornwall is better known as a mining area, and an examination of details proves that it is the mining population which most diminished in it. According to the Registrar-General the tin miners fell off one-third in the ten years ending 1881; he does not mention the reduction in copper miners, but the production of British copper fell off from 21,294 tons in 1855 to 1,471 tons in 1886; and the present boom can scarcely reverse this decline. The process of diminution of the mining population has been continuously maintained; and the point for consideration is whether this outgoing flood of men has been directed to other than ancestral employments in other parts of England or has passed to employment such as their fathers practised, but on foreign shores. Are we face to face with expatriation consequent on the decline of a special occupation at home? The answer is that the attraction of a similar employment has been most potent; it has been irresistible where the emigrant has been fully trained to pursue it. Our Cornish miners are found wherever mines are being newly worked all over the globe, and the same fact which has led to their removal from the country has led to their removal from England. Tin and copper, once worked almost exclusively in Cornwall, have been found in greater abundance and freer accessibility elsewhere, and to the richer deposits the men have moved. The phenomenon may be better realised if for a moment we convert the Cornish peninsula into an island, and then summarise the situation. Here, it would be said, is a sea-girt spot where men settled and thrived and multiplied because it possessed almost a monopoly of one mineral and a great superiority in the production of another most serviceable to man. So its population prospered and multiplied until it was discovered that these metals could be mined with no more, and even with less, labour elsewhere, and the pre-eminence became an equality or an inferiority, and the population dwindled as it had multiplied, until it reached proportions more agreeable to its diminished pretensions. But though the population sank as it had risen, it did not pass out of existence into nothingness as it had come from non-existence into being. It sprang into life to fulfil a service to man. It flitted away because that service could be more easily fulfilled elsewhere, and if the dwellers within the little isle were fewer, there was more without it. If we have to contemplate a similar

movement in other islands, we may remember its compensations as well as its penalties.

If the movement of population in Scotland be examined it will be found to exhibit precisely the same characteristics as in England. The proportional increase during the century has not been so great, but there has been a continuous increase there as here, and that in the same varying fashion. The rate was highest in the decade 1811-21, when it was nearly 16 per cent.; it was lowest in 1851-61, when it was no more than 6 per cent. There has been the same growth of town population over that of the country; the same influx to industrial districts, whether manufacturing towns or coal fields; and the same recession from purely agricultural counties. So, again, there has been the same outflow from Scotland as a whole, so that the total population enumerated at each census has never been as much as the excess of births over deaths would have indicated. The decline of population in the rural counties set in earlier and extended over a larger area than in England; but, as the movement began earlier, so it abated in the last decade, when that of England went on increasing. It may be said that the tide took some time to travel; it flowed in Scotland first, it passed on southwards; but as far as can be discovered the same forces were at work in both North and South Britain, producing phenomena identical in character.

Are the forces different that have been at work in Ireland? There are obvious and striking differences in the range and intensity of the phenomena exhibited. In each division of Great Britain there has been an increase of population in every successive census. In Ireland every enumeration from 1851 downwards has shown a diminution. The numbers were first accurately taken in 1821, when they were 6,800,000; they had certainly risen since 1801, probably from about 5,500,000, and they continued to rise so that they were more than 8,000,000 in 1841; but they fell off nearly 20 per cent. in the next ten years, and have declined, though with diminishing intensity, ever since. In 1881 they were but 5,175,000 and are now estimated at 4,853,000. And, turning to details, it appears that this decline in the population of the island as a whole arises from a diminution in nearly every part. Since 1841 there has been a falling off in the population of every county except Antrim and Dublin; in the decade 1841-51 Dublin was the solitary county that maintained its numbers. Those years of visitation were indeed years of the severest experiences. There was not in those days any general system of registration of births and deaths in Ireland, but the conclusion seems inevitable that in the year 1846, and perhaps for some months before, the deaths exceeded the births. A large emigration followed the famine, but, great as were its dimensions, it does not account for all the diminution of population during the critical time. The falling off of subsequent years is fully explained by the outflow

of life. The births have always exceeded the deaths, but the balance has been more than taken away by the outgoing tide. Apart from the special and immediate consequences of the potato famine, the movement has been similar in kind to that observed in the agricultural counties of Great Britain. The difference lies in the number of the counties that are agricultural. If in imagination we abolished the dissociable sea, and made the sister-island the flank of our own, the outflow in the counties thus added would be deemed a more violent form of the movement of the agricultural population of the rest of the island, especially as manifested in the counties immediately adjacent. To the fact that Ireland is almost exclusively agricultural must be ascribed the comparatively small dimensions of the internal movement of its population. There is indeed some flow towards the towns. Belfast and Dublin have swollen in numbers, and the inhabitants of what are called by the Irish Registrar-General the civic towns (places with 2,000 and upwards) very slightly increased during 1871-81; though, as has been said, the population of the island declined. But even with this liberal interpretation of a town the civic population is not one-fourth of the whole, instead of being two-thirds as in England. It is an illustration of the same truth, that of the Irish-born persons in Ireland barely one-tenth live out of the counties in which they were born. The counties around Dublin have parted—presumably to Dublin—with a large proportion of their natives, rising in the case of Wicklow to more than 40 per cent.; but when the inhabitants of Connaught or Munster leave the counties of their birth they leave Ireland altogether. Out of every 100 persons in Ireland hailing from Mayo or Kerry 95 or 96 are at home, and out of every 100 living in these counties 95 or 96 were born there. They are counties that receive no immigrants, and those they send forth go beyond seas. But before massing this outflow a curious fact may be mentioned which seems to require explanation. The inhabitants of Ireland not Irish born are relatively very few, but they have been steadily increasing, while the inhabitants as a whole have been diminishing. There are now three times as many English and Scotch, and more than four times as many foreigners, in Ireland as there were in 1841. This continuous increase is remarkable in the face of the enormous outpouring of Irishmen themselves. This latter movement has been continuous, it has varied in degree, and with a declining population its absolute force has declined, but it has never ceased; and it is at first a little surprising that outsiders should appear to find better means than before of living in a country whence the natives are flying. The explanation probably is that the outgoing army consists for the most part of labourers little trained for anything beyond unskilled work, and moving away to fields where unskilled work is more efficient and commands a better reward; and the exodus, beneficial to those who go, is beneficial also to those that

remain, and by raising the general standard opens the way to incomers with specially skilled qualifications. But to revert to the overflow. The following figures unfortunately do not proceed upon the same lines, for official statisticians have varied in their methods, but they reveal the volume of the issuing stream. The current to Great Britain may fairly be regarded as part of that domestic movement which we have traced in England and in Scotland. Unfortunately no attempt was made to discriminate it from the migration beyond the four seas before 1876, and of subsequent experience we can only say that, whilst it has been subject to variations, it has been comparatively stable compared with the outflow to the United States. This outflow has varied enormously. It was, for example, six times as great in 1880 as in 1877, and it is not believed that there was any difference in the circumstances of Ireland sufficient to account for the change. We may suspect the cause of variation to be in the States, and, as we shall find the same rising and falling in the outflowing stream from other European countries, the suspicion will become a certainty. The greatest torrent of emigration has been from Munster, the least from Dublin and the adjacent counties; while the ages of two-thirds of the outgoing crowd lie between 20 and 45.

POPULATION		EMIGRATION	
1841	. . . 8,175,000	1841-51	. . . 1,240,000 ³
1851	. . . 6,552,000	1851-61	. . . 1,149,000 ⁴
1861	. . . 5,798,000	1861-71	. . . 769,000 ⁴
1871	. . . 5,412,000	1871-81	. . . 619,000 ⁴
1881	. . . 5,175,000	1881-86	. . . 460,000 ³
1887	. . . 4,853,000 ²		

Throwing our vision back over the different parts of the United Kingdom we see everywhere a continual tendency to increase; the births exceed the deaths, and the mass of life naturally multiplies in every division and every county; but as we look we see that when the added force matures, much of it moves away to centres of industry within the realm, where growing capabilities sustain larger masses of men, and large spaces are left no more peopled than before. Nay, as we look further, we see the process going beyond this. There are diminishing as well as increasing centres of life and of work. Occupations dwindle or disappear. In many quarters there is an absolute decrease of men. The shifting of life has resulted in a diminution of the mass throughout the agricultural counties, and in at least one mining district; and the forces which cause the movement, no longer confined within the narrow limits of the kingdom, lead whole armies to new settlements across wide oceans. We grew aware of this trans-oceanic movement in Great Britain, but it was most strongly forced upon us in Ireland. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to suppose that it has been confined to the sister isle. In

² Estimated. ³ Beyond Europe. ⁴ Including emigrants to Great Britain.

the fifteen years 1872-86 some 3,000,000 natives left our shores, and although nearly 1,000,000 came back in the same period, there was a net outward movement of 2,000,000. But out of the 3,000,000 that went something like 1,760,000 were English, more than 300,000 Scotch, and 930,000 Irishmen. The proportion of the last to the population at home was the greatest of the three, but the other migrating armies are significant. Lastly, of the 3,000,000, more than three-fifths went to the United States, about one-ninth to Canada, and less than a fifth to the Australian colonies.

Nowhere in Europe has the movement of men during this century been so marked as among ourselves. In the United Kingdom as a whole, there has been the greatest relative increase; here there has been the greatest eddying and flowing from part to part; Ireland has witnessed the greatest displacement and outgoing of humanity. There are some obvious circumstances contributing to the grandiose character of these phenomena. If we claim for ourselves a more exuberant energy of life, we must also allow that from our shores the facilities of flight to new fields have been greatest, whether we regard the distance to be traversed, or the practical identity of origin of character and of institutions of the new companions sought across the seas. But if, taking a review of the century, the outflow is most marked here, we may find that in recent years it has assumed proportions relatively as great elsewhere. Turning to Norway, we see something to indicate that the same forces are at work there as in Ireland. I have already mentioned that the town population of Norway has grown faster than the rural population. What about the movement out of Norway altogether? It is intermittent, and its variations do not appear to depend upon variations in Norway itself. The stream is almost exclusively directed to North America, and mainly there to the United States, and it rises or falls according to the varying force of invitation in the States. After the termination of the Civil War an outward movement set in. In 1869 more than 18,000 persons left Norway; in the years 1869-73 more than 60,000. Then the stream dwindled down till it rose again in 1880, and in the years 1880-83 nearly 100,000 went away. More than three-fourths came from the country parts. The total population of Norway is under two millions; and it is not surprising that with such a tide of emigration the increase in numbers which had been continuous during the century was arrested, and that for a year or two (1881-83) there was an arrest and decline. In the rural districts the diminution was severe. The movement during the period 1880-83 was proportional to the Irish movement; it apparently proceeded from like causes; it produced the same results. After 1883 there was an abatement in the strength of the stream, but the tide has again arisen, it attained a great height last year, and will probably mount higher

this year, and continue rising for some years to come. Precisely similar phenomena are to be noted in Sweden. The population of Sweden may be taken at $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and it will be seen that the relative volume of movement is somewhat less than in Norway, but consider what the figures are. In the ten years 1851-60 the whole outflow to America was under 15,000; in the single year 1869 it was 32,000; in the years 1868-72 it was 97,000; and, after a decline, it was in the years 1880-84 nearly 165,000. The Scandinavian movement, though comparatively recent in origin, has attained proportions commensurate with our own, and it is apparently destined to grow larger. Such a movement, once begun, is more easily maintained and developed. The forerunners in it not only send home the means of migration to their friends; they have prepared settlements where companionship will be found by the later arrivals. A special significance must be attached to this movement from Norway and Sweden. It will be remembered by those of the older generation that it was to Scandinavia the political observer was directed as exemplifying well-settled conditions of social life. It was an ideal land of peasant-proprietors. Later experience would seem to show that while the absence of landlords is a fortunate riddance of certain whipping-posts of fate, it does not prevent economic change. Cultivators must thin themselves out and holdings be consolidated whether the farmers are tenants or owners.

A word or two about Germany. Every one knows that the sons of Germany are spreading over the world like the sons of Britain, in spite of the hindrances due to the obligations of military service. The figures I have by me refer to the movement of Germans beyond Europe, but this does not exhaust the German outflow. It streams throughout Europe as well as beyond, though the dimensions of these cis-Atlantic currents are apt to be exaggerated. In 1881 there were 37,300 Germans in England and Wales, and there are probably not 200,000 Germans in Europe outside Germany—i.e. not 200,000 outside the present limits of Germany who were born within those limits. But turn to the trans-oceanic rush. In the years 1871-85 there went beyond seas 1,413,000 Germans, and of them 1,349,000 to the United States. Out of every thousand emigrants 955 go to the United States. The number is large, and the character of the movement will appear more vividly when it is said that out of 1,413,000 that emigrated in fifteen years, 924,000 went forth in the six years 1880-85. It is estimated that more than a million Germans quitted Germany to settle out of Europe in the years 1851-60, and close upon a million in 1861-70; and we have to recognise in Germany something near akin to what has been observed elsewhere—a movement by gush and check, the gush depending mainly upon the allurements offered in the United States, and increasing in intensity in successive periods. And, large

as are the figures given, they are not complete. They take no note of Germans who have sailed from English, Dutch, or French ports; and it is instructive that the numbers registered as landing in the United States pretty uniformly exceed those registered as emigrating from Germany.

Some figures might be given of the movement of men in and from Holland, Denmark, Belgium; but before quitting the inspection of Europe, attention may be briefly directed to two countries as deserving notice because so different in character from those already mentioned—I mean Italy and Portugal. The emigration from Portugal is not large, but there is a steady perceptible outflow. An average of 14,000 persons annually leaves its shores, the number rising and falling between the limits of 9,000 and 18,000, and the stream is almost exclusively directed to Brazil. We thus come upon a life-current from Southern Europe to Southern America, which, so far new to us, we shall find flowing more strongly from Italy; where also we may discover some explanation of the varying force of the tide.

The exuberance of population of some of the Italian provinces has long been well known. The plain of Lombardy is one of the most densely peopled agricultural regions of the world; and the sub-Alpine slopes of Piedmont nourish a breed which is continually sending forth its offspring to struggle for a place at the platters of the world. There has thus arisen from Italy a singular periodic efflux and reflux. The emigrants are divided in the official lists into permanent and temporary, the latter being those who go forth for a season's work and then return. It seems probable that not a few of the so-called temporary emigrants do not come back, but there is a large stream thus ebbing and flowing with the solar movements. It is akin to the migration of the natives of Galicia to the other provinces of Spain and to Portugal in harvest and vintage time; to the movement of the Limousins and Auvergnats to Paris; to the now diminishing annual swarms of Irish labourers into England. From 80,000 to 100,000 thus annually stream out of North Italy and back, into France, Switzerland, Austria; and resentment is occasionally felt at the irruption, especially when a remnant lingers. The French Consul at Marseilles wrote in June 1886 that there were more than 54,000 Italians in that city 'holding a relation to the native labourer somewhat similar to that of the Chinese in the Western American States.' And along with this periodic outflow and return there is an equal stream of permanent emigrants. It has increased of late years. The valley of the Po is as fertile as ever, and, thanks to the irrigation in use, good crops can be relied upon; but the Indian corn of America can be brought to the Italian market at a lower cost than the corn of Lombardy and Venetia; and—to quote the United States Consul (Milan)—'American competition has caused a decided

decrease in the value of the products; and the diminished sustaining power of the land, together with the comparatively large birth-rate, has brought about a decided over-population.' The amount of the resulting outflow cannot be stated with perfect certainty. Some of the temporary become, as has been said, permanent emigrants, and were perhaps so in intention from the first, and for many years the Italians landed in the United States greatly exceeded those registered as going there; but the official record of recent years rose from 40,000 permanent emigrants in 1879 to 77,000 in 1885; and it is reported that more than 50,000 left in the first half of the year just closed. From two-thirds to four-fifths of the permanent emigration appear to be directed to South America, the republic of La Plata receiving by far the largest flood.

Thus from the south as from the north of Europe, from countries most unlike in social organisation and political institutions, there is evidence of a strong and increasing outflow; and the movement might be pronounced universal, but that in the midst of these rising and overflowing tides of human life there is one country which neither sends forth a stream nor accumulates it at home. The survey would not be honest were not attention called to the fact that the population of France neither increases nor overflows. The town population increases and the inhabitants of the country diminish, but rural France furnishes that overplus of births whence there passes into the towns the migration that augments their numbers and maintains the level of the whole mass. Perhaps it may be worth mentioning in this connection that in the Channel Islands the population increased much more rapidly even than in England up to 1851, but from 1851 to 1861 it remained stationary, and since 1861 has steadily declined. Here, however, the decline is to be explained by a continually increasing emigration to England, taking away what would otherwise have been an addition to the inhabitants of the islands.

The outflow from Europe has necessarily directed attention elsewhere, and it is time to turn to the massing of human life in America, especially in the United States. The survey might indeed be carried further. The Australian continent has been the scene of an inflow which has at times been a torrent, and of tumultuous rushes here and there, as one or another point was believed to indicate a promise of fulness of life. But the phenomena of the United States are more varied, are on a larger scale, and, while exhibiting all the influences of a mighty immigration, show, at the same time, all the fluctuations of growth and interchange of population of long-settled communities. We may trace there the streams of English and Irish, German and Scandinavian descent; but we may trace also the course of the New Englander and New Yorker, the children of Ohio and of Pennsylvania, along the lines inviting movement. The steady progress westwards of the centre of gravity of the population might

have had a different rate had there been no foreign immigration, but it would have been equally real. A word upon this progress. Recent censuses of the United States have been followed by the publication of maps graphically illustrating the leading facts of each enumeration. One of them marks the course of the centre of gravity of the national mass of life. Suppose the map of the United States to be a plane loaded with dots of equal weight for every inhabitant in them, upon what point would it balance? It has moved with surprising evenness along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. Lying in 1790 on the Chesapeake, somewhat south of Baltimore, it has shifted westward till, in 1880, it was on the Ohio, not far from Cincinnati, moving on an average nearly fifty miles westwards every ten years, but keeping remarkably close to the same parallel. It went a little north of it in 1870, but came back in 1880, and the apparent northward movement of 1870 is believed to have been fallacious, having been brought about by an imperfect numbering of the enfranchised coloured people of the South. When we consider the immense increase in the mass of the population, the steadiness of this line of motion is not a little strange. Floods of immigrants have descended on the Atlantic shores, the native-born citizens have swarmed away to new settlements; new discoveries led new hordes to the Pacific coast; but while the movement was apparently most scattered and irregular, there were scarcely suspected overruling causes maintaining a particular parallel as the line of equilibration of the living mass. The population thus evenly balanced has increased more than 30 per cent. every ten years, except the decade covering the Civil War; it has multiplied more than nine times between 1800 and 1880; and it is fairly certain that the enumeration of 1890 will show more than twelve times the number of 1800. Nor must we look on immigration as the sole cause of this increase. It is true that the United States have given forth few and received many, but a careful calculation would seem to show that even if there had been no influx, the population would have increased six times in eighty years. The influx has been such that out of the 50,156,000 of 1880 there were 6,680,000 foreign born, and the proportion is scarcely decreasing. We have seen how with every fresh invitation of prosperity, the floods of emigration mount in Northern Europe and descend upon America. There are jealous complaints of this deluge arising in the States themselves. More than 9,000,000 are registered as having arrived in the years 1841-80, of whom 3,066,000 are said to have been Irish, and 3,002,000 German born. How is the population, thus composed of exuberant native growth and foreign importation, distributed? If we study the physiography of the States, and note the lines of communication of river and lake; if we proceed to examine the agricultural components of the several parts, the deposits of coal and of minerals, and the curves of rainfall and of tempera-

ture; and then turn from a physical chart to a chart of population we shall see how completely the mass of life has been dispersed abroad in strict relation to the means of life; while the facilities of railway and canal added to the natural lines of communication have intensified the agglomeration of men upon the most favourable and favoured spots of settlement. It is unnecessary to indicate how with the opening up of some new area of occupation humanity has rushed in to fill it; the illustrations of the growth of individual cities and of special regions are multitudinous and known; but two or three facts may be mentioned showing the process of natural selection on the part of the army of immigrants. The Germans spread from New York and Pennsylvania westwards to Illinois and Iowa, four-fifths of the whole being found in this northern central division. The Irish remain more to the east, flowing from New York into the southern part of New England. The Norwegians and Swedes seek homes akin to those they have left, in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois. The British Americans are ranged in the States confronting their native provinces from Maine to Michigan; while the English and Scotch seem to have scattered themselves abroad more widely than any other immigrants. Once more it may be noted that while more than 45 per cent. of the Irish inhabitants live in big cities, not 5 per cent. of the Scandinavians are found in them; the Germans so domiciled are less than 40 per cent., the English and Scotch less than 30 per cent. The proportion of the foreign element in the cities is twice as great as in the Union at large, and this influx has helped to increase the otherwise natural increase of the town population. It has been already mentioned how that has grown from less than 4 per cent. of the whole in 1800 to 22½ per cent. in 1880; but these figures feebly reveal the real movement. If we take the North Atlantic group, consisting of the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey—what may be called the Home States of the Union—we find that in 1880 nearly one half of their 7 millions lived in cities, while in Massachusetts the proportion was two-thirds.

The movement into cities is but a branch of that great internal shifting of population which is as marked in the United States as among ourselves. It is perhaps even more marked. Although there is not such an absence of stay-at-home qualities in America as is sometimes supposed, there is an open alertness to seize new openings and to try new adventures. The older States give forth of their swarms to the newer west. More than a million of New Yorkers—a quarter of its children—had gone away from New York on census day. Virginia had sent out nearly a third of its natives. Vermont more than 40 per cent. Even a State like Ohio, which receives largely from States further east, parted still more largely with its offspring, so that the balance of native movement was half a million against it in 1880. The authoritative explanation of this outflow is that 'the principal

interests of Ohio are agricultural, and the State has become too densely settled, generally speaking, for an agricultural population.' We may surmise that Ohio is feeling the influence of the forces which have operated in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and the agricultural parts of Massachusetts. The population of Vermont barely holds its own; Maine and New Hampshire absolutely receded in the decade 1860-70, and though this decline may be attributed to the war, their former rates of increase have disappeared and are passing to the negative side. But for importations from Canada there would be a clear decrease. So in Massachusetts the sons of the old New England farmers move west, and the agricultural population appears to be diminishing. I have been told by more than one distinguished Bostonian that the movement would be more marked were there not a substitution in process. As the New Englanders throw up their farms Irish immigrants are found to take them, and the Puritan settlement is thus becoming a Hibernian colony. This internal movement of the agricultural population is an illustration, in connection with one occupation, of transformations everywhere active. The vast breadth of the Republic, untrammelled by any network of customs lines or even of octroi barriers, and with unbroken unities of tongue, of weights, of measures, and of moneys, allows the freest play to the attractive forces of relative superiorities of conditions of work; and the units of the living mass are quick to seize upon every centre as it becomes or presents itself as a centre of advantage. The abolition of slavery was the removal of one of the few obstacles to internal migration. Hence industries rise and shift from point to point; they move west and they move south; old forms of labour are superseded and new processes developed; and the streams of men flow to and fro as the channels are opened to their motion. No protective duty is necessary to stimulate a nascent industry in the newest of States. It springs up, if the conditions are naturally favourable, whatever may be the command of the market by well established rivals in the older States eager to crush the upstart. The workers are quick to settle wherever there is an opening, and withal the mass mounts and thickens. Some spots may be denuded. Some pursuits are found to be worthless and abandoned; and if they are not abandoned their worthlessness becomes manifested in the apparition of that dark ragged edge of humanity which straggles after the great army, that rearguard of laggards, of hindmost men, constituting the shadow of the array.

Thus has the attempt been made, though over only a narrow breadth of time and for a limited portion of the world's surface, to survey the sweep and movement of men. Beginning with little England, we saw how its inhabitants had tripled during the century, how they had swarmed into towns, leaving some parts of the outlands less thickly planted; nay, how they had passed across the seas to fasten

upon means of supply more affluent than had been left behind. Extending our vision to Scotland and Ireland, we saw an intensity of outward movement growing greater and greater in degree, but while the process of denudation was more severe it seemed the same in kind.

Passing from the United Kingdom to the European Continent, we found other nations exhibiting a like outgoing tide, in some cases of relatively not inferior volume. And turning towards Northern America, to which the great mass of this overflow of humanity was directed, we found that, in spite of the great variation in its circumstances due to this continuously increasing gulf-stream of men, there was still to be discerned the same principles of movement. As the generations appeared they spread abroad, they congregated into towns, they fastened upon every coign of vantage, they settled and shifted, they deserted old seats to throng upon better favoured spots, more newly discovered or become more accessible; and the incoming torrent of men pressing after was similarly distributed along the channels of dispersion. This peopling and unpeopling of the world has gone, and seems destined to go, the same gait across the Atlantic as here; and if we had extended our vision, if we had watched the strenuous outflow of the most multitudinous races of men in the East,⁵ if we had gone back in history and followed the course of population in the past, we should have found under all diversities of civilisation, and struggling against all impediments of law and custom, war, slavery, international hates, and the follies of rulers and subjects, the same throes, the same struggle, the same increase, and the same outflow. But we need not insist on a practical identity of movement in so wide a range. There is room enough for observation, for speculation, and for instruction in our own times, and among ourselves, and our kinsmen exhibiting the same characteristics as ourselves in Northern Europe and Northern America. Limiting our survey within these bounds, what do we see? A passion of existence fighting against the barriers set upon its expansion. The tide of being rises and flows, searching for channels along which it may move. As the opportunities of existence are created or discovered they are seized upon. Reveal within the range of movement some region that more lavishly rewards the toil of the husbandman, and the region is filled. Enlarge the capacity of movement, and the stream marches onwards. Bring to light richer deposits for the miner's search and the miner throngs to the new lands. Discover some machine that shall abridge the labour necessary to complete any product, and the spot where the machine is set in motion—itsself

⁵ The following figures illustrate the movement in China. In the maritime province of Chekiang the population fell from 30,438,000 in 1842 to 11,589,000 in 1882, a decline outdoing all Irish experience; while in inland Szechuen it rose from 22,257,000 to 67,713,000. See *Statistical Society's Journal*, December 1887, p. 691.

selected by its adaptability to the use—attracts a swarm that settles upon it in pursuit of the new industry. Lessen the toil of life, and a new mass of life appears precisely as and where the opportunities of lessened toil are offered. When we surveyed the map of the United States⁶—itself containing a continent—and noted the variations of the modes, the intensity, and the mass of existence marked upon its surface in successive years, we saw the industrial hordes swarming into being along the tracks that invited their onward march; and it is our own feebleness of imagination if we do not see within our own isles streams of movement analogous and complementary to those we traced across the Atlantic. Everywhere with an increase in the opportunities of life is life waiting and crowding upon the increase. And which moves more urgently forward? Does life press upon the means of life, or are the means multiplied in advance, inviting the reduplication of the multitude? Life cannot be lastingly increased without an increase in the opportunities of sustenance; but it can painfully tread upon the heels of opportunities so that nothing but their discovery saves it from degradation and death. And the alternative is clearly possible. The opportunities of life may be multiplied more rapidly than the volume of life, so that an ampler and easier existence is obtained. It seems to have been sometimes thought that the nature of things required that one or other of these alternatives must always prevail, and men have only disputed which ruled their race. I cannot acquiesce in this opinion. It is not forced upon us by reason, and it is contradicted by experience. There have been times when the facility of life has grown more rapidly than the mass of life, and the conditions of life have improved; and there have been times when the facts were painfully otherwise, when means have dwindled while men have multiplied; but if man differs at all from the brutes it must be in the possible education of such an individual and social sense as shall enable the opportunities of improvement to be realised and maintained by the race against all temptation to sink back again to the level whence it has arisen. It must have occurred to many readers that the spectacle we have been pursuing is but a study with reference to man of that constant struggle for existence to which the great philosopher of our time has traced diversities of the forms of life; but the quantity of any species of brute life is maintained at any moment up to its fullest capacity of existence; it is kept down by famine, by pestilence, by death at the beaks, claws, and talons of its enemies. Everything that can be is born; let it live or die as it chances. Can it be pretended that the cup of human existence must always be thus brimming over? We count the individual man at least master of himself. His sense of responsibility can be awakened; his conscience vivified and

⁶ See *ante*, p. 346.

strengthened ; and the over-conscience of the multitude is born of the consciences of separate men.

The well-being of mankind depends upon the relation between numbers and the means of life ; and it depends upon the individual, it depends upon the community, whether each new generation shall sink back to the level from which its predecessors started. If we can keep what we have won we may contemplate all change with an overplus of satisfaction. What matter that the multitudes increase ? It is because the means of life have increased and are increasing. What matter that the new generations are streaming away to new haunts ? They are quitting a pinched and narrow life for an ampler existence. What matter though the concourse be thinned on this narrow strip or that other be depopulated ? The resting-place may be shifted, but the volume of life is not diminished, and its quality is heightened. I refuse to join in any lament, not even when I recognise the pain attendant upon change, for I know it is overborne by a far more exceeding weight of gain for man. But all this jubilation ceases ; it passes into gloom for the present, and anxiety for the future, if the standpoint attained to-day must be lost by relapse to-morrow. In that case every flight of man is a scramble to escape the fell pursuer ; the multiplication of the human family in any land is a preparation for a trial, perhaps for a catastrophe, of corresponding dimensions. What then is the historic fact ? Does the margin of life-freedom rise, or is it always at the same level ? It ought to be possible to obtain an answer to this question free from doubt or passion ; but if I venture a reply it is with hesitation, and with no desire that it be immediately accepted or rejected ; but that it should be taken and examined for what it is worth. I should say that during the greater part of this century, the opportunities of existence have for English-speaking people been multiplied more rapidly than their numbers ; but that these opportunities have been multiplied by the few, while the question whether they were multiplied or not has been completely disregarded by too large a proportion of the many. Things have improved, but small thanks to the multitude—by which I mean, the multitude of all classes, not the lowest alone—whether they have improved or no. They did not produce the improvement ; they have taken little care, individually or socially, that it should be maintained. There is practised and even avowed a blind confidence in the future, justified and dignified by the name of faith, which does not lead to destruction as long as the opportunities of existence are multiplied, but must pave the way to a position most perilous if this multiplication be retarded or arrested. Is it an imaginary danger that the multiplication of the means of life may, locally at least, be arrested whilst the multiplication of men continues ? During the last ten or a dozen years there has been some slackness, to say the least, in our movement.

There is a complaint, however well or ill founded, that the men are too numerous for the work; though it is generally put that the work is not enough for the men. My friend Mr. Giffen, who is looked upon as one of the most optimist of men, mainly, it would seem, because he has a stubborn affection for facts, admits this lessening of our speed. This phenomenon is universally confessed. Its explanation has been infinitely disputed. Every week gives us a new theory. For myself I would suggest that our rate of progression depends now mainly on two factors: first, the development of new opportunities of existence elsewhere; and next, our power to make use of this development through our command of the springs of manufacturing pre-eminence. The added demand which makes the difference between smart and slack times comes from spurts of prosperity without. The internal trade is enormous, and it is relatively steady. It is the variation, and, comparatively the small variation, in foreign and colonial demands that makes dull business brisk. Every new field newly opened gives us an impulse, especially while we engross the most potent springs of force. It is, however, admitted that of new fields or new opportunities there have been of late few or none; it is not so generally admitted, but it is true, that the conditions of our relative superiority are passing away. We may look for a recovery of the first factor of growth, but we cannot be equally sanguine about the permanence of the second. More than twenty years ago Mr. Jevons told us that the increase of our coal production, and all that depended upon it, could not be permanently maintained. He was bold enough to describe how this increase would diminish and disappear. There would be no convulsion, but a creeping sluggishness and torpidity. What he prophesied has to all appearance come to pass. The quantity of coal raised in the United Kingdom reached a maximum in 1883. It was less in 1884, less again in 1885, still less in 1886, and it is believed that the total of 1887 (not yet published) will indicate a very slight recovery. Moreover, what is equally important, the average price of a ton of coal at the pit's mouth has not materially differed in these last years in the United Kingdom and the United States. This practical equality in the cost of production of coal and arrest of the quantity of production deserve attention; and it is in this connection that I recall the fancy, the hint of an islanded Cornwall. It will be remembered how its population increased when Cornwall stood alone as a searching place for certain metals, and diminished when it was distanced by rivals. The condition of the maintenance of its population passed away, and the population poured forth to new lands. A prime condition, if not the prime condition, of the maintenance of the population of Britain is passing away, but its population continues to be heaped up in spite of a great outpouring. I do not wish to press the parallel too hard, to be immediate and peremptory

in the application of its deductions. We seem to be now emerging from the continued depression of many years, and a burst of growth is probably before us. Whether this promise be realised or not, there can be no doubt that turns of prosperity will come and go, revisiting us, though perhaps with diminished energy. But it may be suggested that we have had a warning, a first warning, a kind of runaway knock to arrest attention. It is manifestly not impossible that the population of the United Kingdom should be constrained to decline as it has increased. If it is even possible, the prospect may make us grave. Should it ever come to pass in this island of ours that, instead of a growing power to maintain a constantly increasing population, we should be confronted with dwindling resources inducing a necessity of diminished numbers, the trial will be severe. It is ill arguing with a man that he ought not to be in existence; and he may not take it kindly if you tell him that he is living matter in a wrong place. These severe truths are rarely acceptable to the sufferer. Quacks will be ready with remedies. There are always pedlars offering to sell pills which are good against earthquakes, nor will they soon want purchasers; but serious and sincere men know that there is no cure for the evils we contemplate save in the forethought and promptitude of the masses of the people. If it becomes part of the universal conscience to look before and after; if the general training of men be directed towards making them more alert to seize upon new occasions of industry, and to recognise the changes of condition which require the abandonment of decaying occupations; if, instead of vain repinings and impotent struggles against change, there is a frank acceptance of the inevitable which is also beneficial; above all, if the relation of numbers to the means of existence is confessed, and men are taught to recognise practically and habitually their responsibility for their children's start in life; we may face the future without anxiety if not without concern. It will have its cares and its labours, but our successors will pass through and overcome them. But I cannot honestly say that I believe these conditions of successful conduct in the future are at present realised. I must confess, not for the first time, to a suspicion that they are less generally apprehended than they were in a preceding generation. Our immediate predecessors seem to me to have been more loyal in admitting the rigour of the conditions of life, more courageous in rejecting indolent sentimentalities; they knew the severities of the rule of the universe, and the penalties of neglecting to conform to it. Many causes have conspired to corrupt this sound morality; but the circumstances of to-day seem to require that a strenuous effort should be made to restore and spread its authority before the remorseless pressure of fact comes to re-establish its sanction.

IS JAPANESE ART EXTINCT?

THE 'Land of Great Peace' has evidently not been quite happy or contented of late on the subject of the condition of her arts. She has received during the last quarter of a century such unstinted praise concerning them from every nation whose criticism is of value that it would not have been surprising had she been hard of hearing when any breath of hostile criticism was wafted to her shores. She deserves, then, nothing but credit for having determined to send a Commission to inquire into the art of the rest of the world, and to ascertain whether any lessons can be learnt from it.

Now a *tour du monde* under the conditions of having all expenses paid, letters of introduction to the notabilities of each country to be visited, and a handsome *douceur* (one can hardly term it a salary) to cap the whole, is one which few persons would be indisposed to undertake. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that some of the places on the Commission were secured by Government officials, whom the *Times* is hardly correct in describing as 'Artists and Students of Japanese Art.'

The Commission as a fact consisted of Mr. F. E. Fenollosa (an American Professor at the Tokio University) and two officials. Mr. Fenollosa is an enthusiastic admirer of Japanese paintings, and a connoisseur to the extent that he has devoted many years to the investigation of the works of the old masters of Japan and the accumulation of a collection of their pictures which is probably the largest and best ever brought together. He has a great reputation as an expert upon Japanese Art, but of the technique of European art he has, I believe, no practical knowledge; it is therefore no discourtesy to the Commission to say that it was not competent to give an opinion of any value as to the subjects upon which it was sent to pronounce, even had it had the time wherein to form one.

The Commissioners have encircled the globe and have returned home. They scampered—for it can hardly be called anything else—through America, France, Germany, Italy, and England. In this latter country they had the exceptional advantage of seeing the Exhibition at Manchester, and they also visited the National Gallery,

Royal Academy, and Grosvenor. But the President of the Royal Academy, who is always accessible and plenteous in courtesy to foreigners, never heard of them, nor did they make any attempt to inform themselves as to the teaching in our Academy schools. Probably the arts in other countries were somewhat similarly surveyed.

Such being the constitution of the Commission and such its method of procedure, what did it report? Shortly this. That Japanese art with all its faults is the only living art in the world to-day, and that, if she be true to her best inspirations, in a comparatively few years Japan will become the acknowledged centre and leader of the Fine Arts in all civilised countries; that painting has never attained its possible perfection in either East or West; that it can do so in the near future only by experiments made in Japan by Japanese; that Millet is the one man of recent years whose genius is to be put *almost* on a par with the great Asiatic and early European artists;¹ that many artists all over the world are looking to Japan to show them the way, and that in twenty years Tokio will take the place of Paris as the world's art centre.

In the face of such emphatic conclusions it may seem impertinent for a European, who has never even visited Japan, to put upon paper an article bearing a title which suggests a doubt as to the accuracy of every line of the Commissioners' report. It will be as well, therefore, before proceeding to state my own reasons for the belief that is in me, to fortify myself behind the opinions of three persons, each of them a specialist in a different line of art.

First, Sir Frederick Leighton writes as follows: 'The notion that Japanese art could at any time become the expression of Western artistic genius or satisfy Western æsthetic demands is so ludicrously unphilosophical that I am surprised you should think it worth refuting.'

Next, Mr. William Anderson, who has studied Japanese art more than any other Englishman, and is certainly more competent than any member of the Commission to contrast it with European art, writes: 'Whilst paying a sincere tribute to the earnestness of the members of the Commission, I do so none the less warmly because I feel compelled to dissent altogether from the conclusions expressed in their report.'

Lastly, here is the verdict of Jacquemart, the celebrated French etcher, who by reproducing in eau-forte many of the most famous examples of Japanese art has attained to an intimacy with it second to none. 'Au point de vue des arts le Japon n'existe plus.' This sweeping censure has almost passed into a proverb in France; it is characteristic of the nation whose leading art critic has promulgated

¹ This singling out of Millet may have arisen from an exhibition of this artist's work having been open at the time the Commission visited Paris.

the following opinion upon Japanese lacquer: 'On a dit avec raison que les laques étaient les objets les plus parfaits qui fussent sortis de la main des hommes.'

During the present season the English art world is having an exceptional opportunity of forming its own opinion upon the subject. At the British Museum the paintings, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club the engravings, and at the Fine Art Society's Rooms what may be termed the ornamental art of Japan may be judged from examples which could hardly be excelled in the country which produced them. Having had the privilege of examining and studying the specimens contained in these collections under the tutelage of experts of an exceptional character, I have thought that the reasons which have moulded my answer to the question at the head of this paper may not be without interest to many who during the next few months will be unconsciously putting such a query to themselves.

No one who examines step by step the progress of the arts as shown in these Exhibitions can come to any other conclusion than that art in Japan systematically and regularly advanced until in many instances it arrived at a state of extraordinary perfection, that it maintained that perfection for a period varying in duration in the different branches, and that it is now in a state of rapid decadence. This, I admit, is not the opinion of the Commission, and it may not be that of the Japanese nation taken as a whole. But thoughtful and intelligent Japanese, and foreigners who have had opportunities of forming a dispassionate judgment, believe that the arts are at the present time in a most parlous state, that this is entirely due to the altered conditions under which the Japanese artist and artisan now works, and that unless and until many of these conditions are restored to their former state no change for the better is possible.

The plan, then, of the present paper will be to ascertain from the examples now open to our view the epoch when in each department the high-water mark of excellence was reached and the ebb commenced, to fix the causes of this ebb, and to consider whether the tide in the affairs of art which leads on to fortune will ever flow again in Japan.

The paintings and drawings exhibited at the British Museum are a selection of some 150 out of a collection numbering nearly 4,000 which was purchased in 1882 from Mr. William Anderson. The selected ones are now the fortunate occupants of one of the spacious suite of rooms which have been built out of the White bequest, and are under the care of Mr. Sidney Colvin, who has done his utmost to arrange them so as to form an agreeable *coup d'œil*. This has been a difficult matter, for they have of necessity been placed under glass, which was never the intention of their producers, and they have had

to be assorted under their various schools. After so much has been done for them it is perhaps cruel to doubt whether they will appeal to or gratify the senses of the majority of those for whose pleasure and instruction they have been acquired.

Unfortunately there is no gainsaying the facts that at first certain defects of draughtsmanship, perspective, and chiaroscuro appear so prominently that they attract the eye away from beauties which are less obtrusive, and that their limited range of subject, by its frequent repetition, induces a feeling of monotony. It is only after a more careful and lengthy examination than the ordinary museum visitor is disposed to make that their merits are discovered; these will be found to be dignity in design, sober and harmonious colouring marvellously applied, rejection of superfluities, and beauty of composition.

The Japanese clearly derived their traditions of pictorial art from the Chinese, and to these traditions they have adhered almost up to the present day; the restraint thus imposed is seldom absent from their work, and accounts for its never having equalled that of their masters. A Chinese drawing in the collection may be noted with interest in connection with this; it is of two geese, by Hwui-Su, and is said to date from the twelfth century. It would never be ascribed by the uninitiated to Chinese origin, for it has a quality which has always been supposed to be peculiarly Japanese—namely, an exact rendering of nature; the drawing of the geese, the rushes, and even the grass, is so truthful as to make a European quite incredulous as to its age, when he remembers that nature was hardly looked at by his own school until half a dozen centuries later. But there is little doubt that not only it is of this epoch, but that works of equal excellence existed in China three centuries earlier. For its truth to nature, composition, accurate draughtsmanship, and technical merits this drawing will yield the palm to none until we come to quite recent achievements, so that it is very difficult to say when the highest point of excellence in pictorial art in the East was reached. The ninth to the twelfth centuries both in China and Japan is the date usually fixed, but the last drawing in the collection, that of 'The Thousand Carp,' executed by the amateur Ina-Gaki during this century, will be thought by many to be unsurpassed for the qualities which go to make up a picture. It is really only within the last three decades that a rapid and noticeable decline has set in.

It is necessary to my purpose, and it may be of interest to my readers, to explain the use to which these paintings were put. They are divisible into four sections: Kaké-mono, Maki-mono, Ori-hon, and Ga-ku.

The *Kaké-mono*, which means 'a thing to hang up,' is a painting, usually on silk, which is mounted on paper covered with a figured

textile, and having at its end a wooden cylinder to admit of its being rolled up.

In every room which was large enough to allow of it, a recess called a *Tokô-noma* was reserved for the *Kaké-mono*. The number in the possession of a household naturally varied with its wealth and status. In well-to-do houses there was a sufficiency to admit of a change being made at each season or festival. Pictures of subjects such as the pine or the bamboo might suit all the year round, but the flowers of summer were considered out of place in the winter, and *vice versâ*. For special ceremonies *Kaké-mono* would be specially painted. Here then was a sufficiency of employment for a large body of artists and weavers of delicately-coloured fabrics.

A *Maki-mono*, or 'a thing to roll up,' is a narrower but longer painting, which was used principally for the delineations of extended processions, views, or a story told in several pictures; it was never hung up, but was unrolled when shown.

The *Ori-hon*, or album, is a *Maki-mono* folded into leaves, and was the receptacle for sketches either accumulated by the artist or the owner, or of poems; or of objects of natural history. Many of those in the museum were volumes of original drawings made for the purposes of the engraver.

The *Ga-ku* are not so frequently met with; they are framed pictures, and were usually painted as votive offerings for temples.

Besides these the *Karakami*, or framework round the rooms, was often decorated with paintings. An instance of this may be seen in a *Kaké-mono* in the museum collection which depicts the interior of a daimio's house. The artist also found employment in making pictures for the *Tsuitaté*, or stand screen, and the *Biō-bu*, or folding screen, and for the fans which everybody—the generalissimo commanding the army, the court noble and his ladies, the scholar, the trader and even the coolie—carried. As Mr. Anderson says, 'The fan was the common property of all, irrespective alike of age, sex, or station.'

The exhibition of Japanese art which is now open at the Burlington Fine Arts Club is also due to the energy, good taste, and discrimination of Mr. William Anderson, to whom the greater portion of the exhibits belong. Here the department of engraving, as illustrated by prints and books, is shown in some six hundred odd works, which will be quite a revelation to those who have only known the xylographic art of Japan through the worn-out blocks, and its chromo-xylography through the gaudily-coloured fans and sunshades which are to be met with in the 'Eastern and Oriental' departments of our drapers' shops. The tender and harmonious colouring which is a special feature of the best examples will at first appear faded and washed out to the eye accustomed to the products

of aniline dyes of the crudest kind. But a very short time will suffice to efface the old ideas and to impress upon the sight a lasting remembrance of the refined qualities here unfolded before it.

Japanese xylography, which certainly dates back to the eighth century, advanced but slowly until it was joined by its companion, chromo-xylography, which originated in the last years of the seventeenth century. Both then moved forward rapidly, and attained to perfection in the period lasting from 1769 to 1825, declined from the last named date until the opening up of the country in 1860, and since then has entirely collapsed, so far as colour-printing is concerned.

A visitor to this exhibition will perhaps be surprised to find that the majority of the specimens of colour-printing are on single sheets, and will wish to know what was their use. First, and in large numbers, for the portraiture of actors, who when they attained to fame had their effigies distributed in large numbers in the shops and amongst the lower classes of society, of which their audiences were composed; next, of the beauties of 'local repute or disrepute,' as Mr. Anderson felicitously phrases it; these found considerable purchasers among the young men of the period. Then, in still greater quantities, for the instruction and amusement of children; parents were for ever impressing upon their children the necessity of following the footsteps of illustrious warriors, heroes, and poets who had adorned their country's history, and inculcating the lessons of filial piety handed down in the old legends. All these afforded scope for the popular artist, as did the illustration of coloured alphabets for his humble brother of the brush. Lastly they served as new year's cards, the fashion for which came in towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The Loan Collection in the Fine Art Society's Rooms comprises some two thousand five hundred specimens of the branches of Japanese art other than those included in the two last-named exhibitions. It illustrates more forcibly than either of these the differences which exist between old and modern work. The excellence of the one and the inferiority of the other have certainly never stood out in such relief as in this collection. But the gulf which separates them is even now so little believed in, that I cannot refrain from endeavouring to prove that it exists, and to show how it has arisen. To do this thoroughly will entail an examination at some length of the various kinds of work, the influences under which these were produced, the market for which they were made, the position of the producer, and his recompense. The details arising out of such an inquiry are not without interest, and a perception of them is certainly necessary if a proper understanding upon the subject is sought for.

I propose in the first place to take up a specimen or two of old

work, and show what time and trouble were considered essential to its proper production, and for this purpose I cannot do better than select a piece of old lacquer and one of metal, because in these materials more than any other Japan has gained a world-wide renown.

Here, then, is a lacquer Inro, or medicine case, taken at hazard from the collection of Mr. Gilbertson. To judge from its splendid condition, its lustrous polish, its surface without sign of scratch, it seems as if it had passed straight from the maker's hands into the glass case in which it now finds itself. It measures some four inches by three, is composed of a series of small compartments, one fitting into the other, so deftly made that their joinings are almost invisible, and each compartment admitting of transposition. Were the various sections produced by machinery they could not fit more perfectly. We note in passing that the artist has not so arranged the design which covers its sides that it will hide the chips which we imagine must occur to the edges of the compartments when it comes to be used. He has disdained this subterfuge, trusting to the exceeding hardness with which he will endue it. And it has neither blemish nor flaw, although it was most certainly made so long ago as the end of the seventeenth century (it bears the signature of Shio-mi-Masazané), and has for many years, probably for generations, been carried by the owner whenever he travelled, not even in the security of a pocket, but suspended by a cord from his girdle. How is it constructed that it has passed absolutely unharmed through the ordeal of usage for so long a period?

To begin with, its substratum is wood specially selected for its hardness, its close grain, and its readiness to take a high polish. This wood has undergone a long course of slow drying and polishing with a marble dust, which fills up all interstices and so prevents all chance of warping or shrinkage. The whole has then been covered with a fine-grained linen, fastened with a species of glue made of vegetable matter. Upon the surface so prepared several coats of a thin varnish called lac have been laid, each coat requiring several weeks to harden, and a subsequent polishing to do away with any roughnesses on the surface. Only after these preliminaries do we come to any thought of the pattern. This has been drawn in freehand in gold and other colours upon the lac, after a design of a famous artist, but only to be covered with another coat of lac which effaces it entirely. The box has then had to pass through a further lengthened drying, after which the surface has been polished down with charcoal or some similar soft substance until the pattern has reappeared, whereupon the whole has been re-drawn, and a second coat of impervious lac superimposed, this process being repeated more than half-a-dozen times until the whole design became sufficiently translucent to please the artist's fasti-

dious taste. The completion of an article under this process (which is known as Togi-dashi, or Shun-sho after the artist of that name) could not be satisfactorily undertaken within a shorter period than six months; with a larger piece the time occupied might be three times as long. It is hardly needful to add that the materials used were the very best which were procurable: materials were not very costly where work was produced so sparingly; gold until quite recently was only valued at the price of silver.²

For our second example we will select from my own collection a small oval ferule called a Kashira. It was once the head of the hilt of a sword, and was carried a century ago by (I was going to say) some 'swaggering' Japanese official. But a glance at the Kashira and I recall this epithet. Its whole design is too unobtrusive and elegant. No one but a thorough gentleman would be content with such unpretentious decoration of the weapon which denoted his rank. The pattern upon its upper surface and sides is a Greek fret in gold wire beaten into iron which is subsequently damascened. It measures about an inch in length by half an inch in breadth, and I have had the curiosity to count the lines of pattern upon this half square inch: they are no less than 280. Each one is mathematically true and the whole is finished to such a pitch of perfection that no inequality can be detected on its polished surface. To plant this wire so firmly that it has not given in a single place, very fine inverted V-shaped furrows have had to be driven into the iron foundation and into them the wire has been beaten. This must have required a firmness and steadiness of hand and a clearness of eyesight little short of the marvellous. I feel bound to add that this beautiful specimen cost me 15s., that its price was apologetically asked by the vendor as being rather a high one for an article for which there is but little demand, and that not a single fine specimen of this art of the past is to be found in our South Kensington Museum.

I will now glance at the external influences, if any, which affected this work.

The policy of the Shoguns, who were the actual, if not the titular, rulers of Japan, was to prohibit all intercourse between that country and the outer world. From the middle of the seventeenth century until thirty years ago no 'barbarian' was allowed to enter its sea-barred gates, save at one spot where he could not travel inland. Edicts prevented the building of any sea-going boats, and death was the penalty of travelling abroad, studying foreign languages, or introducing foreign customs. In the Fine Art Society's Exhibition only about one per cent. of the old pieces exhibit traces of European design: this was probably received through the Dutch, or from some castaway ship, but

² I am indebted to Mr. Masayuki Kataoka, the well-known expert, for these and many other details which are contained in this paper.

in every case such influence is for the worse. I am not, of course, forgetting the Chinese and Corean influence, but this principally affected Japanese art in previous centuries, and need not be taken note of here. What I affirm of the work executed in what we know as feudal times is, that it was entirely independent of European influence, and was original in design and treatment.

I now come to the sources of demand for work under the old *régime*, and the status of the producer.

What may be termed artistic products were made solely for the Mikado, the Shogun, the Daimios (or nobles), and the religious houses. The craftsman, who was probably a descendant of generations who had worked at the same class of objects, was the inheritor of secrets the result of accumulated experience extending over centuries. He worked solely for his lord, whose only wish was that he should produce the very best that was possible, and who treated him with the deference which was due to so skilled a workman. Although a mere handicraftsman he occupied a quite exceptional position. His social status was considerable, in a country where the various grades were most strongly marked. He could attain to the rank of an officer or a nobleman through proficiency in his art, and towards a distinction of this kind all aspired. A nobleman, who would not deign to address a word to a professional man or a merchant, would hold converse with him. In fact many Daimios laboured to acquire proficiency in the arts, and where they did so seldom failed to sign with pride their work, and to add that it was the production of a peer.

There was no subdivision of labour; the design for an object might be made by an artist, or be adapted from an older and esteemed work, but with this exception the entirety of it came from the same hand.

And now as to the producer's recompense. A direct payment was probably seldom made: the artisan received his lodging, food, and raiment, with some small salary. In those days the necessaries of life were few and marvellously cheap, as is evidenced by moneys of the value of the one-thousandth part of a halfpenny being in circulation. Those who visited the Japanese village in this country, and watched the workmen there, will not be surprised to hear that the production was not carried on rapidly. In many cases, as I have shown, the work did not admit of this. But the employer was exceeding rich, and his only requirement was that the result should be as perfect as possible. The Japanese in those days were much given to making presents, and the majority of our collectors' most treasured possessions must have been introduced to the world as such, and with an accompaniment of much formality and most august ceremony. Upon such a presentation, usually on a New Year's Day, the piece of lacquer (for instance) would be sent

enveloped in an embroidered Fukusa of the choicest material, carried by a special messenger whose nose and mouth even were sometimes enveloped that he might not breathe upon it. At a subsequent meeting of the donor and donee, after the exchange of courtesies the article would be examined, and then would come the happy moment for the workman, for the question would not be 'Where did you get this? or What did it cost?' but 'Who made it?' and compliments would pass upon the proficiency of its creator.

Another part of the policy of the Shoguns was that the Daimios should perforce spend one half of the year at court, and so be kept under surveillance. Such a system, whatever its drawbacks were in other respects, had nothing but advantages so far as art was concerned, for a Daimio was escorted on these visits by a huge retinue, which necessarily included his chief artists, his sword-maker and his lacquerer; he maintained a town as well as a country palace, and his stay at court gave him and them fresh views and ideas upon art which were thus disseminated throughout the country.

An artist's life was passed and his work was produced under a routine which differed but little from that of the artisan which I have just described. Here are the memoirs of two, whose works are now held in esteem, as told by Mr. Anderson. 'Gan-ku was at first a retainer of a prince, then entered the service of the Emperor, and subsequently adopted art as a profession, and obtained an eminent position amongst the art teachers of Kioto. He died at the age of eighty-nine.' Then again, 'Little is known of Bunrin except that he took part in the decorations of the palace at Kioto, and died at an advanced age. His life in the calm retreat of the city of the Mikado was probably uneventful, and left little that would interest those who can read his mind in his works.'³

Such being the conditions under which the art of Japan was produced, let us hastily compare them with those of to-day.

First, as regards the external influences to which the artist and the workman are subject. The Japanese Commission affects to deny the existence of this element. 'There is no such thing to-day as good design in Europe;' therefore it assumes that, however much it may invade the country, it will be so bad that no Japanese artist will look at it. Is this possible, or probable? A recent return shows that the importation into Japan of English and American books alone has increased in half a dozen years from 100,000 to 250,000. Can these, with their illustrations, and the ideas and knowledge they contain, be sown broadcast over the land without affecting its art? Cottons and other stuffs of every design and pattern now find their way into the country in millions of yards yearly, whereas a quarter of a century ago they did not enter by hundreds. Finally, at the

³ *Catalogue of Japanese Paintings in the British Museum*, p. 457.

Mikado's court, where, if anywhere, art should find a conservative atmosphere, the Emperor and Empress are arrayed in European fashion, the guard is in French uniforms, and the courtiers in swallow-tail coats and tall hats! The imperial palace is furnished with carpets instead of mats, French wall-papers and prints from English illustrated papers instead of kaké-mono, and Manchester table-cloths instead of homespun silks. As at court, so in the official residences, and those of every one who would be in the fashion. Houses are springing up everywhere built on European models and filled with European furniture.

What effect is all this having on the rising generation? The youth at school and the young man at college is firmly convinced that he must become 'bun-mei-kwi-kwa,' that is, 'civilised,' and that he must abhor everything which is 'kiu-hei,' or 'old-fashioned.' Consequently his great aim is to get into a suit of European clothes, or a portion of one if he cannot procure the whole, at the very earliest opportunity. Directly he has assumed 'small clothes' he naturally has to abandon his habit of sitting on his heels, and then he quickly passes on to a preference for coffee over saké, beefsteak over rice, a *Graphic* coloured plate to a kaké-mono, and a walking-stick to a fan.⁴ This is not a parody on the aspirations of the youth of Japan, it is sober truth. Will art be influenced by none of these innovations? It is idle to consider any further the non-infection of Japanese art with external ideas, be they good or be they bad.

Next, let us examine the sources from which the demand for modern work comes. A century ago, as we just now explained, almost all the art products found a market with the princes, planted by hundreds throughout the country. Do these still encourage the arts? Unfortunately not. So far from being able to foster them, deprived of their revenues, they are, one by one, succumbing to poverty, and selling the masterpieces of their nation's greatest artists to procure the means of existence.⁵

Here is a picture of them given by an eye-witness. 'The princes and gentry of the land, whose hands never touched other tools than pen and sword, now live in obscurity and poverty, and by thousands keep soul and body together by picking tea, making paper, or digging the mud of the rice fields they once owned. Two hundred and fifty

⁴ We are promised yet another Japanese exhibition in London this season, which, it is said, will have for its title 'Impressions of Japan by an English Artist.' It is to be hoped that this gentleman has transferred to canvas some of the incongruities of costume which the inhabitants of that country are now revelling in, for they would give to his pictures an historical if not an artistic value. What absurdities there are may be gathered from the sketches which have recently appeared in a German publication, entitled 'Papier-Schmetterlinge aus Japan.'

⁵ This denudation of the country of its finest art products will soon become a very serious factor if past traditions are to be preserved.

princes resigning lands, retainers, and incomes, have retired into private life, at the bidding of their former servants.'⁶ Are these servants likely to take the place of their masters and become intelligent patrons of the arts? Certainly not. Amongst these *nouveaux-riches* there is not one such where half a century ago there were a hundred.

Nor are the '*samaurai*,' or 'squires,' of the country in any better plight. In days of yore they were retainers in the service of the nobles, proud of their privilege of wearing two swords, and having no cares as to the future of themselves or their families. With abundance of leisure, they not only studied art but educated their children to appreciate it, and especially that branch of it which was '*kiu-hei*.' The value of a *kaké-mono*, or a screen, often depended more in their eyes upon its having been painted by a nobleman, or having his signature to it, than on its being the work of the country's greatest artist. But nowadays the father has not only to work for himself, but to think of how he shall best educate his son to fit him for business, and but little of the latter's time can be devoted to art, even if he had an inclination for it, which he probably has not, for the artist's profession is also voted '*old-fashioned*.'

Lastly, the religious bodies are in as bad a way as either of the foregoing. Instead of finding employment for artists and art craftsmen, whenever the opportunity occurs their members are surreptitiously selling their art treasures, be they pictures, bronzes, enamels, or idols. There would be considerable gaps in the British Museum collection if every *kaké-mono* was removed which had once hung on a temple wall.

Such being the case, the patroniser and the purchaser of Japan's art wares must for a long time to come be the foreigner. First the '*globe-trotter*,' who rushes to the '*curio-shop*' directly he sets foot in the country, who will look at nothing that is not '*unique and antique*,' who purchases during his stay enough to fill huge cases, only to find on his return home that his old lamps are new, and that he could have bought at half the cost and far better within a shilling cab ride of his house. Then in larger quantities the collector at home, whose acquisitions are not always according to his own judgment, but according to one which has been formed for him by the '*curio*' dealer. Lastly, and in vastly preponderating numbers, the general public, the majority of whom buy without knowledge and without taste. As to this last class I shall have somewhat more to say before I have done.

Now how does this altered condition of things affect the artist? He has perhaps gained in independence, he has cut himself adrift from the old traditions, he is free to adapt himself, if he chooses, to

⁶ Griffis, *Mikado's Empire*, p. 296.

civilised notions and all the science of the West, but as Mr. Anderson, whom I must again quote, says, 'he is now compelled to fight his way as he can in the grim struggle for existence, and when so far successful he is still tempted to enter that competition for wealth which is the great element of peril and degradation in the midst of the real progress of our modern civilisation.'

For myself I fail to perceive whence, for a long period, this wealth is to come. *Kaké-mono*, *maki-mono*, and other similar productions are going out of fashion in the artist's own country. It is very improbable they will ever find a considerable market with foreigners, for they are unwieldy and altogether unsuitable to the adornment of houses in these climes. I have seldom met with the possessor of any quantity of them to whom they were not as cumbersome as a white elephant.

Nor is there much prospect of better times for Japanese artists should they adapt themselves to Western fashions, and take to oil colours and canvas, if one is to judge from the specimens which have found their way to England. It is, however, hardly credible that such a tergiversation as this could take place after the report of the Commission. If we turn to the engravers, there is not much more hope for them; one considerable source of employment, namely, the graving of seals, which everyone used to carry, is rapidly dying out under the inroads of civilisation. Nor is their work for foreign publishers uniformly successful; witness the illustrations to *Griffis's Fairy Tales*. The number of painters in Japan is, I believe, a constantly decreasing number, and when one bears in mind the death-blow which is being struck to the xylographic arts in Europe and America by the mechanical photographic processes, one can hardly dare to hope that a very brilliant future lies before the Japanese wood-engraver and colourist.

As regards the workman of to-day, the conditions under which he works, his recompense, and the materials he uses, these will be best considered together, and the easiest mode of arriving at a proper understanding of them will be to take an article possessed by almost every person who has purchased anything Japanese—for instance, a Japanese folding screen—and trace it backwards in its course from purchaser to producer. The one in the room in which I write contains original drawings on four folds, it has a lacquer framework, with metal ornaments, and it is backed up with a stuff professing to be silk interwoven with gilt thread. What is its history? I purchased it from a retail dealer for thirty shillings. It came to him from a wholesale house in the city, where it formed part of a large consignment ordered by the house of its agents in Yokohama, probably in some such terms as these:—'The last batch of screens, for which we paid ten shillings each, were not saleable, they were too

tame; please see that the next have figures of court ladies in bright costumes walking on the mountain sides, flights of cranes in the air, streams with fish in them in the foregrounds: and the price must not exceed eight shillings, for we are being undersold.' The Yokohama agent forthwith proceeds to interview the head of the manufactory of screens, who, expostulating at the reduction in price, but cognisant of the fact that he has a quantity of workmen to keep, is forced to accept the order. This done, he summons a sub-contractor or foreman, who alone deals directly with the workmen. 'Impossible,' is the reply of this individual; 'they cannot be made for the money.' 'But they must.' 'Well, then, they can have but one coat of lac upon the framework instead of three, and the gold thread must contain an even larger interior of cotton than the last; and of course the men must be paid less.' Now only do we arrive at the actual producers—the artist, the carpenter, the metal-worker, and the weaver—and see how much of the original cost is left for them after percentage to retail dealer, cartage to ditto, profit of wholesale dealer in London, cartage from docks to ditto, dock dues, freight, insurance, customs, profit of London wholesale dealers' Yokohama agent, profit of head of manufactory, profit of foreman of ditto, and cost of materials!

What is there left for the one amongst the producers with whom we are principally concerned, namely the artist? Can there by any possibility be any pleasure or satisfaction for him in his work? His quiet and delicate landscapes, even if they had to be turned out by the dozen, were his own invention and could be varied to his taste. But now he is ordered to put ladies in court costume on his mountains, somewhere near the snow-line, certainly above the clouds, cranes in the air at a height they never attain to, and carp swimming in a snow-water stream. And for these he is to be paid a steadily decreasing sum, whilst his cost of living is augmenting at a rapidly increasing rate. Is it to be wondered at that the Japanese workman curses the advent of the foreigner, adopts his system of strikes and socialism, and loses all love for art?

The other branches of art industries, if inquired into, would show the same system, and the same result: lacquer ordered to be ready in a fortnight which should take six months to manufacture, metal work to be stamped out by thousands of the same pattern, stuffs professedly heavy with gold but in reality with rubbish.

If the facts are as I have stated them (and they are gathered from sources in which I have every confidence) it will be apparent to the dispassionate observer that the Japanese, instead of sitting at home with folded hands, waiting for the world to come as disciples to their feet (as the Commission fondly expects), must bestir themselves at once and very vigorously if their former triumphs in art are ever to be repeated. Those who know their constitution and character doubt

whether this is possible, or whether the nation can make any effectual stand of itself, unless aided by the co-operation of the outside world, against the impending ruin which threatens its arts.

Is such co-operation possible, and, if it is, would it be attended by any revival of the arts? Answering the latter portion of the query first, there does appear to be some hope of this. The Japanese race have, almost without exception, an innate artistic instinct which it will take long to eradicate. Those competent to judge affirm of a considerable section of the nation that it cannot do anything in an inartistic manner. There is one branch of art which is apparently flourishing at the present time, and the success of which proves that, given the demand and the means, an artistic product will follow. I refer to ivory-carving, in which results have quite lately been attained surpassing those of any previous period. The ornamentation suffers in most cases from too much enrichment with coloured ivories and mother of pearl, but this has been done to suit the foreign market. I am obliged to add the word 'apparently,' for I have in my mind costly examples which under usage that they certainly should have stood have shrunk and cracked so as to allow the inlayings to fall out. This could not have happened with older work.

The system under which these satisfactory results obtain is that the house in Yokohama whence these ivories emanate, receiving fair prices from abroad, is enabled to give a sort of retaining fee to the most skilful workmen, and thus to obtain the command of the market.

There being, therefore, a probability of good work being forthcoming, provided that the foreigner will come forward, demand it, and pay for it, may such an impetus as this be hoped for? I am afraid that there is little chance of this until the market for the supply of fine old specimens is exhausted, or the prices of these rise to an extravagant figure. The preference of all collectors, and even of the ordinary buyer, is towards the antique. It is not surprising that such is the case. A cabinet a century old may turn out to be the work of a great master, and to have surrounding it a halo of romance from having once inhabited a palace, and its value may be many times the price paid for it. No such possibility environs one made yesterday. We see evidence of this preference in the efforts made by vendors of new wares to sell them as old. When the programme of the Fine Art Society's Loan Exhibition was issued, many were the appeals made by collectors that it should not be confined entirely to old pieces, but that the good work of to-day should be included; but upon visiting these same collectors, very few were found who admitted the ownership of modern pieces, and still fewer who wished to be represented by them in the collection. The question therefore

apparently resolves itself into this : when will the market be cleared of old work ? Here no two opinions agree. It is empty to-day, but the advent of many new collectors which these exhibitions must bring about will cause fresh exertions to be made, a higher price to be offered to indigent owners, and the supply may again meet the demand. Should the Japanese Government see the wisdom of purchasing all fine and rare specimens for their own museums, or of prohibiting as far as possible their exportation, or should they repurchase in the foreign market, a demand for good modern work would probably soon arise, for the decorative arts of Japan have a charm, a quaintness, and an individuality which distinguish them from those of any other country ; and so long as these are preserved so long will they be sought after by the civilised nations of the world.

MARCUS B. HUISH.

LONG LIFE AND HOW TO ATTAIN IT.

HUFELAND, the learned and eminent physician of Berlin, writing at the end of the last century, wisely pointed out that although *Human Life* was made up of a series of chemical and physical changes, and therefore subordinate to regular laws and of a precise and limited duration, yet, like other similar operations, its course could, by various internal and external influences, be aided or obstructed, hastened or retarded. He also pointed out that it was possible by careful and precise study of its nature and its needs, duly enlightened by the teachings of experience, to arrive at a knowledge of the conditions which hasten and shorten it as well as of those which retard and prolong it.

It is with the view of ascertaining and stating what these conditions are that this essay has been undertaken. It would not, however, have been written at this particular period had it not been for the publication of some extremely interesting reports by Professor Humphry, of Cambridge, on 'Old Age and the Changes incidental to it,' and on 'Centenarians,' in the last number of the *Collective Investigation Record* of the British Medical Association.¹

This investigation of Professor Humphry marks a distinctly new epoch and presents a fresh starting-point in the history of the study of longevity. It is based on the collected reports from actual contemporary observers of sixty-six cases of centenarians and more than five hundred instances of aged persons who have survived fourscore years.

Before I proceed to examine this report and to attempt to extract from it the many valuable lessons it teaches, it may be interesting to the general reader to be put in possession of a portion, at least, of the previous history of the investigations into and considerations on longevity which have been published from time to time.

Three thousand years before the Christian era the average duration of human life seems to have been much what it is in the present day: threescore years and ten, sometimes a few years more, with exceptional instances of great length of days. The age of Moses at his death is reported to have been 120 years, that of Elias 90, and that of Simeon the prophet 90.

¹ *The Reports of the Collective Investigation Committee of the British Medical Association*, vol. iii., 1887. London: British Medical Association, 429 Strand, W.C.

Few of the Egyptian kings, although the Egyptians were credited with great longevity, are said to have reigned more than fifty years. We find it the same among the Greeks: Thales and Pittacus are each credited with a century of life; Solon, Anacreon, Pindar, each with 80 years. Sophocles is said by some to have composed his tragedy of *Ædipus* at the age of 100;² by others, as is more probable, at 73, seeing that he is said to have died at 91! Epaminondas of Crete is said to have lived to the miraculous age of 157—the Old Parr of his time and country!

More credible instances of longevity amongst the Greeks are the following: Gorgias of Leontium, 108; Democritus, 109; Zenon, nearly 100; Isocrates, 98 (said to have written an important work at 94);³ Protagoras, 90; Diogenes, 90; Xenophon, 90; Plato, 81.

Amongst the Romans Valerius Corvinus and Orbilius are said to have been centenarians; Fabius Cunctator reached 90 years, and Cato more than 90; while then, as now, some of the most remarkable instances of longevity were found amongst the female sex, and Terentia, the wife of Cicero, is reputed to have lived to be 103; and Livia, the wife of Augustus, to the more ordinary age of 90.

There is very little that we need take exception to in these ancient records; we may doubt the 157 years of Epaminondas just as we doubt the 152 years of Old Parr, but there is no more reason, so far as the evidence is concerned, why we should doubt the 100 years of Valerius Corvinus than the 90 years of Fabius Cunctator, or the 103 years of Terentia than the 90 years of Livia; we have precisely the same kind of facts, as we shall see, in the present day, resting on most satisfactory evidence.

In the thirteenth century, when Roger Bacon represented the science of his day, and for many succeeding centuries, the prevailing belief in magic and astrology, which Roger Bacon shared, led to the spread of the most absurd belief as to the possibility of prolonging indefinitely the period of human life, and to the ardent search for the so-called 'Elixir of Life' and the secret of perpetual youth, and even Lord Bacon seems to have been impressed with the belief that some such secret means of prolonging life had once been known but had been unfortunately lost. Roger Bacon speaks of a man who in 1245 professed to be the possessor of a sovereign preservative of life and health, by means of which one might live through several centuries. This man maintained that he had been alive in 362, and that he had been present at the baptism of Clovis, and that every

² Stated by the French annotator of the last edition of Hufeland's *L'Art de prolonger la Vie*.

³ 'Theophrastus began his admirable work on the *Characters of Men* at the extreme age of 90. Socrates learnt to play on musical instruments in his old age; Cato at 80 thought proper to learn Greek, and Plutarch, almost as late in life, Latin. Lodovico Monaldesco, at the extraordinary age of 115, wrote the Memoirs of his time.'—Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, art. 'The Progress of Old Age in New Studies.'

hundred years he obtained a renewal of his certificate from the Pope, verifying his age and identity! Another impostor of the same period, named Artiphius, who had written a treatise on the philosopher's stone, pretended he had lived 1,029 years. It was, indeed, a common belief during the middle ages, and for some time after, that human life might be prolonged for several centuries if one only knew the secret how it was to be done; and numerous instances are recorded in the histories of those times of mysterious persons who lived for at least between three and four hundred years. But even in the time of Louis the Fifteenth the Count de Saint Germain, an impudent impostor, who declared he had existed for many centuries, that he had known Francis the First, Charles the Fifth, and even Jesus Christ, was admitted into the intimacy of that monarch, and of the notabilities of various nationalities who were present at his court. They received his monstrous pretensions with inconceivable credulity, and believed he could impart to them the secret which had prolonged his own life (as he said) to such a miraculous length.

Similar pretensions were advanced by the renowned Mesmer, the inventor of *mesmerism*, in the latter part of the last century. By means of animal magnetism he maintained that he was enabled to cure all manner of disease and prolong human life far beyond the limits within which it had hitherto been confined. He proclaimed it to be his mission to bring about the renovation of the human race, which was clearly falling into decrepitude. The following is a literal translation of the manifesto he caused to be circulated:—

This is a discovery which will bring to the human race inappreciable advantages and to its author eternal glory! This is a universal revolution! Another species of men will, henceforth, inhabit the earth. These men will no more be embarrassed in their career by any feebleness, and will know nothing of suffering, except what they may be told by us. . . . The children born will be more robust and will possess the activity, the energy, and the *sweetness* of the men of the primitive world. Animals and plants equally susceptible to magnetic force will also be protected from disease; our flocks will increase with greater rapidity, the shrubs in our gardens will become more vigorous and the trees will bear finer fruit; the human mind, possessing this new power, will doubtless impose on nature still more surprising effects. Who can tell where its influence will stop?

Mesmer is described as a man of fine presence expressing himself fluently with a slight German accent, which rather increased the attractiveness and novelty of his doctrines. He occupied a splendid mansion in Paris, the walls of which were hung with magnificent pictures and its floors covered with sumptuous carpets; the furniture and mirrors were of extreme richness. Fashionable women of all classes of society were to be met there; liveried lackeys and coachmen and gilded carriages stood in crowds before his door. It was to women he owed his success; 'the delicacy of their organs, their more exquisite impressionability, their avidity for all phenomena trenching on the

marvellous, and the skill and ease with which Mesmer arranged everything so as to act on their imagination and sensibility, explain this and account for this prodigious *furor*. One of the principal causes of the success of this arch-charlatan besides his grand manners and his tone of assurance was the concerts he gave, in which the harmonica and the pianoforte, instruments at that time quite new to the mass of the public, charmed beyond all expression the elegant crowd that peopled his salons.'⁴ Alas! an investigation by a commission, of which the celebrated Franklin was a member, scattered to the winds all these exalted pretensions and showed that the marvellous phenomena claimed to be produced by mesmerism were only to be observed in persons whose nerves were already diseased, and that, so far from prolonging life, it rather tended to shorten it, and in many instances instead of curing disease tended to aggravate it.

Certain historical instances of extreme longevity occurring in our own country have been widely believed in and their authenticity admitted, or, at any rate, not seriously questioned, by many careful investigators. One of the most remarkable of these is the case of the celebrated Countess of Desmond, which is thus referred to by Professor Owen :⁵—

Horace Walpole had 'often heard that the aged Lady Desmond lived to 160 or 165 years . . . that she had danced with Richard the Third, and always affirmed he was the handsomest man in the room, except his brother Edward, and was very well made.' . . . A portrait at Mucross Abbey, professing to have been taken during her ladyship's final visit to London, bears the following inscription : 'Catherine, Countess of Desmonde, as she appeared at ye Court of our Sovereign Lord King James, in this preasant year A.D. 1614, and in ye 140th year of her age. Thither she came from Bristol to seek relief, ye House of Desmonde having been ruined by attainder. She was married in the reigne of King Edward the Fourth, and in the course of her long pilgrimage renewed her teeth twice.' This is generally understood, as it was meant, to apply to two sets after the shedding of the first in childhood. I shall have a few words on this phenomenon.

It is certainly remarkable how many instances of extreme longevity reach us from Ireland, that country of imagination and exaggeration. Fynes Moryson, who was Secretary to the Viceroy in Ireland from 1599 to 1603, in his *Itinerary*, published in 1617, says, 'The Irish report, and *will swear it* (!), that towards the West they have an island, wherein the inhabitants live so long as, when they are weary with life, their children, in charity, bring them to die upon the shore of Ireland, as if their island would not permit them to die !'

The story of the famous *Old Parr* is told in every record of longevity.

Professor Owen is perhaps unduly sceptical with regard to the longevity of Old Parr, and referring to the fact that the celebrated Harvey made an examination of his body after death (some particulars

⁴ *L'Art de prolonger la Vie*, par C. W. Hufeland, p. 31.

⁵ *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1872.

of which I shall presently quote), says, 'The autopsy itself, agreeing with the story of Parr's concupiscence, indicates an usually sound and vigorous condition for a hale, say, nonagenarian. There is no authentic evidence or scientifically acceptable ground of Parr's precise age.' Now, in estimating the age of Old Parr at ninety, Professor Owen appears to me to have disregarded the fact—with which, however, he may have been, at that time, imperfectly acquainted—that centenarians are not now so very uncommon, and we have no reason for supposing that they are of more frequent occurrence now than they were in the time of Old Parr, while the contemporary existence of several persons of ninety years of age and over falls within the personal experience of most persons. It is, therefore, incredible that such a fuss should have been made with Old Parr that he should have been brought to London and presented to the king, that his body should have been dissected by the first physician of his time, and that he should have been buried in Westminster Abbey, simply because he was of the very commonplace age of ninety years, or a little over!

Dr. William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, made a *post-mortem* examination of Old Parr by the command of Charles the First. The following is extracted from Harvey's report. He expresses no doubt about his age, which is stated to have been 152 years and 9 months.

Body muscular, chest and fore-arms hairy, the hair still black. [Then some striking evidence of long-sustained vitality.] Chest broad and ample; lungs, nowise fungous, adhered, especially on right side, to ribs; heart large, thick, and fibrous, with considerable quantity of fat; cartilages of ribs soft and flexible; stomach and intestines and all the viscera sound; kidneys healthy; . . . brain healthy, firm and hard to the touch.

As to his habits, it is added that he

had observed no rules or regular time for eating, was ready to discuss any kind of eatable that was at hand; his ordinary diet consisting of sub-rancid cheese and milk in every form, coarse and hard bread, and small drink, generally sour whey. On this sorry fare, but living in his home free from care, did this poor man attain to such length of days. . . . He was accustomed to walk about, slightly supported between two persons; had been blind for twenty years, heard extremely well, understood all that was said to him, answered immediately to questions, and had perfect apprehension of any matter in hand; his memory was, however, greatly impaired. . . . He was accustomed, even in his 130th year, to engage lustily in every kind of agricultural labour, whereby he earned his bread; and he had, even then, the strength required to thresh the corn.

The oft-quoted instance of Henry Jenkins, said to have been 162 years old at his death, whose history is given in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in 1696, wherein he is stated to have appeared as a witness in a case heard at Kettering, in Yorkshire, when 157 years of age, is not supported by any trustworthy evidence. 'He was,' says Professor Owen, 'a hale, sturdy old beggar, of whose age no one knew more than he chose to tell. As to the "divers very

ancient witnesses who swore him to be a very old man when they first knew him," we may be willing to suppose Jenkins to have been ninety, or even one hundred, when they were seventy, but that the date of their first acquaintance with him is wanting.⁶ Here again it is safe to conclude that the said Henry Jenkins had probably exceeded a century, but by how many years there is no reliable evidence to show. With regard to the numerous statements of very aged persons like Lady Desmond cutting teeth at advanced age, Professor Owen offers the following explanation:—

I was spending (the Professor says) part of a vacation at a friend's house in Ireland, and one Sunday the conversation after dinner turned on longevity. To some physiological and statistical remarks of mine the worthy incumbent, who was at table, opposed the instances of Old Parr, Jenkins, and the Countess of Desmond; and to my demurrer to her ladyship's third set of teeth he triumphantly adduced, against what he blandly deprecated as the scientific scepticism of the age, the case of one of his own parishioners, who was now getting a third set of teeth, which she had begun to cut when she was one hundred years old. I rejoiced to hear this. It was exactly the opportunity, long desired, of finding what residuum of reality rested at the bottom of the myth. . . . My host drove me the next day to the parsonage, and we then proceeded with the vicar to the centenarian member of his flock. I never saw a more perfect picture of extreme old age.

The smoke-dried, blear-eyed, many-wrinkled hag was crouching over the remains of the turf fire, her bare toes buried in the marginal ashes. She was as deaf as a post. The vicar, however, tried to make her understand; and the old woman, turning her head to the light of the open door, pulled down a skinny lip and showed a lower jaw, toothless save for one black stump, of which the crown had long before been broken away, probably after decay.

My explanation was accepted by mine host, and at length, and somewhat unwillingly, by the vicar. But it was vehemently repudiated by the owner of the tooth. I was startled by the quickness of her inference, from expression of my face or the manner of uttering words she could not hear, that I was rationalising away her cherished marvel. Glaring angrily at me, 'She knew, shure, she had had no tooth there for fifty years, and two years ago the new tooth had come up.' And this was very true. At fifty the gum had closed over the fang of the decayed and broken-off crown. The absorption which reduces the vertical extent of the jaw by removing the alveolar parts, touched not the retained fang, and spared in part its particular socket when the tooth-stump protruded through the subsiding gum. Several such stumps of teeth, decayed and not extracted, but retained, gum-covered, until extreme old age, might be pushed into light by the shrinking of the jaw, and pass as phenomena of the cutting of teeth of a new series?⁷

The physiologists and physicians of the last century were less sceptical than those of the present time as to the existence of certain rare instances of extreme longevity, and the celebrated physiologist Haller considered he had collected evidence of the existence of 1,000 cases of persons living to between 100 and 110 years; sixty cases between 110 and 120 years; twenty-nine between 120 and 130 years; fifteen between 130 and 140 years; six between 140 and 150; and one at 169 years. But he expressed a belief that instances of over a century and a half began to border on the mythical! It would therefore seem that Haller did not think it incredible that human life might occasion-

⁶ *Fraser's Magazine*, February 1872.

⁷ *Ibid.*

ally be prolonged to a century and a half. Hufeland was prepared to admit the possibility of human life reaching even 200 years, and as the line must be drawn somewhere he drew it there! A recent French writer also seems disposed to accept the same extreme limit.⁸

So that these writers find nothing incredible in such instances as the following: Joseph Surrington, born in a small village near Bergen, in Norway, died in September 1797, at the age of 160, leaving an eldest son 103 years of age, the youngest being only 9! Christ Jacques Draakenberg, known as 'the old man of the north,' born in a village in Jutland in 1626, served as a sailor in the royal fleet till 91 years of age, then was fifteen years prisoner with the Ottomans, and finally, after a life of great hardship and privation, died at the great age of 146 years. Hufeland relates the case of Peter Albrecht, whose history is contained in the Prussian archives, and whom he himself saw and conversed with, as well as with one of his daughters; this veteran when 70 years of age accompanied his master through the first Silesian campaign, and was 123 when he died. After referring to another case with which he was acquainted, that of George Wunder, who died at Griez, in Austria, at the age of 136, he adds: 'I have scarcely taken any account of centenarians, for they are not rare.'⁹

Dr. Foissac quotes numerous instances from Pritchard and other authorities of extreme longevity amongst negroes and American Indians. Several negroes in Jamaica are reported to have lived for 115 to 180 years; a male and female Indian of North Carolina are instanced as having attained respectively 125 and 140 years. Instances of great longevity are also quoted as occurring in South America, in Peru, Chili, and Brazil. Humboldt is reported to have seen a peasant at Arequipa, aged 143 years, who was able, up to 130 years of age, to walk daily several leagues without feeling fatigued.¹⁰

It is interesting, in connection with these statements, to find in Professor Humphry's report the testimony of Dr. Daunt, of San Paulo, Brazil, as to his own belief in the existence, at the present time, of almost equally startling instances of longevity in these salubrious regions.

I have known (he says) not a few individuals who attained the age of 114 years, one that of 115, many that of 100, and now in this district of Campinos exists a still strong and active man, Joseph Joachim de Prado, of good family, who counts 107 years, and whose mother and maternal grandmother reached the years of 112 and 122, the mother dying from an accident.

Macrobians (of all races) of 100 to 130 are not at all infrequent, well authenticated cases. Even cases of death at 140 are known to have occurred, especially in the mountainous province of Minos Jeraes. The district of Santo Amaro, near the

⁸ *La Longévité Humaine*, par le P. Foissac. Paris, 1873.

⁹ Hufeland, *L'Art de prolonger la Vie*, nouvelle édition française, p. 136. Paris, 1871.

¹⁰ Foissac, *La Longévité Humaine*, p. 388. Paris, 1873.

capital of this province, is remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants. The climate of Santo Amaro is cold, and the horses and cattle—natives of the district—are small, like those of Scotland. From what my residence of forty-three years in the interior of this country has permitted me to observe, I think it perfectly unreasonable to doubt the possibility of the attainment of the age of 150 years. The facts of longevity are more frequent among individuals of a mixed race of whites and Indians, next among Africans, and lastly among whites. It is a curious fact that of a number of immigrants from the Azores, who came here about seventy years ago, very few died with less than 100 years, and others reached 105, 109, and 114. *The truth of such ages I could safely swear to.*

Another interesting communication, published in the same report from Dr. Staer, of Stewart Town, Jamaica, gives corroborative testimony as to the remarkable longevity of some members of the negro race :—

A native man, named Tawney, supposed to be 115, *was given as a wedding present* to Mr. Steer's great-grandparents at their wedding in 1783; and it is not the custom to make a present of a slave till he is developed into useful property, varying from twelve to sixteen. He is quite black, hair grey and woolly; supports himself by cleaning a chapel, and walks a mile each way every morning to fetch milk for the minister. Came to Mr. Steer's wedding a few months ago to give good wishes, *as he has been to all the weddings in the family for four generations*; is five feet high, weight about ninety pounds; spare, erect, of average strength; active and energetic; muscles well developed; clear voice; good sight, hearing, appetite, digestion, and sleep; moderate eater; two meals, little animal food; never tasted alcohol; joints natural; average intellect and good memory; fifty years of married life; two children, and one of these is quite an old man; was a first child; always had good health; employed in slave work, and got up at daylight; no illness, ailments, or accidents since boyhood. Two of his sisters are alive, one aged eighty, the other a little younger than himself. His father was a native of Jamaica, his mother an African.

But let us leave for the present what many would be disposed to call the romance of longevity, and pass on to consider such perfectly unassailable details and instances as those contained in Professor Humphry's report and in other recent publications.

As to the authenticity of the cases collected in Professor Humphry's report, in eleven the age was confirmed by baptismal certificates or other records. In nearly all the other cases the information was afforded by medical men who were, in many instances, well acquainted with the persons whose histories they gave. But so many well-established instances of centenarians have of late years been published that there is really no room for scepticism on the subject, and it is now only a question of the numbers who survive to that age and how far beyond that age it is possible to go.

A consideration of great interest in this inquiry is, What have been the physical characteristics of those persons who have attained to a great age?

Professor Humphry's tables present some valuable facts in answer to this.

Small or medium stature and a 'spare' habit of body as characteristics of centenarians come out strongly in these tables. Twenty-seven

out of fifty-five, or about one-half, are described as 'spare,' and only nine as fat, and of these eight were women. The rest are stated either 'to be average' or the question is not answered. This tallies fairly well with another fact—namely, that thirty were 'moderate,' eleven 'small,' and twelve 'large' eaters; but only three of the fat ones were also amongst the twelve large eaters.

As a sign of vigour and strength the figure is reported as 'erect' in twenty-nine and 'bent' in twenty-seven. Strength, clearness, and loudness of voice have often been noticed as characteristic of that vigour of constitution and soundness of the chest organs which accompany a green old age, and out of fifty-one returns under this head no less than forty-four are reported to have retained one or more of these qualities of the voice, and only seven as having the voice 'feeble.'

Twenty-nine out of fifty-seven retained good hearing, and forty-two out of fifty-nine had good sight.

With regard to teeth, as might have been expected, a great number had none, viz. twenty-four out of forty-three; many others had two or three left. But what is interesting in this connection is the existence of a few remarkable exceptions; in one instance it is reported that they 'all came out whole,' which means that the gums receded and the bony sockets of the teeth disappeared without any decay in the teeth themselves! *Three* females had a complete set of thirty-two teeth; one of these, a Frenchwoman living at Nantes, was 108 years of age, and had a daughter living 86 years of age, and as evidence of great vigour and healthiness of constitution it is mentioned that she had *good bony union of a fracture* at 104.¹¹ The second who possessed a complete set of teeth was a farmer's wife near Cork, and the third a 'farm labourer'¹² at Shields, aged 100 years.

Another old woman (101), whose occupation was that of a village grocer, possessed seventeen teeth, but they were very unequally distributed, for while she retained all the teeth of the lower jaw (sixteen), she had only one left in the upper jaw, and this is in accord with the generally observed tendency for the teeth of the upper jaw to decay and disappear first.

A farmer at Limerick, aged 105, retained sixteen teeth; he is also stated to have broken the neck of his thigh-bone at 101; since then he has gone on crutches. Another Irish farmer at Michells, 101 years of age, retained twenty-four teeth.

Nothing is more noteworthy in these returns, or more instructive, than the remarkable testimony which they afford of the almost universal possession of good digestion by those who live to a good old age.

¹¹ *La Longévité Humaine*, p. 372.

¹² Should probably have been returned 'male' instead of 'female.'

Out of fifty-six returns no less than forty-nine are reported to have had 'good' digestions, the remaining seven are reported as 'moderate,' and not one is returned as 'bad'; while with regard to appetite almost the same may be said, for out of fifty-eight returns forty-six are returned as having had 'good' appetites, ten as 'moderate,' and only two as 'bad'!

Similar testimony is borne by all writers on longevity. Of M. Noël des Quersonniers, whose name I have already mentioned as having lived to be 116 years of age, it was said that he 'had an excellent stomach and was never troubled by his digestion' (*ne s'est jamais aperçu de sa digestion*).

A well-known dignitary of the Church who lived to ninety-eight years of age remarked to the present writer, at the same time placing his hand on the organ in question, that 'he never knew what it was to have a stomach'!

Another remarkable fact is the freedom which so many of these centenarians enjoyed, throughout the whole of their long lives, from any disease calculated to weaken or disturb the functions or lessen the resisting power of their organs.

No less than thirty-four are stated to have had no disease or illness in their lives. Of a female who lived to be 104 it is said she 'died without being confined to bed a single day;' of another, 'never had a day's illness;' of another, 'had no illness till day before her death;' of another, 'no illnesses, ailments, or accidents;' and so on.

This testimony as to the freedom from disease experienced by persons who reach very advanced age is commonly encountered in the published histories of centenarians. One of the most interesting on this and other accounts, as well as a comparatively recent and perfectly authentic case, is that of Pleasance, Lady Smith, widow of Sir James Edward Smith, M.D., founder and first president of the Linnæan Society. She died on the 2nd of February, 1877, in her 104th year. In the parish register of Lowestoft occurs the following entry: 'Christenings.—A.D. 1773, May 12, Pleasance, daughter of Robert and Pleasance Reeve.' Her father was Robert Reeve, Esq., of Lowestoft, and her mother, Pleasance, daughter of Thomas Clarke, Esq., of Saxmundham. She married just eighty years before her death and was a widow in 1828. *To the very end her intellect was unimpaired. She had hardly ever known what illness was. She preserved all her teeth, and her eyesight was good. Seventy-two years ago Mr. Reeve said of her, 'He who could see and hear Mrs. Smith without being enchanted had a heart not worth a farthing.'* At that period her beauty was remarkable, and Opie has perpetuated it in a picture of her as a gipsy. On her centenary the Queen sent her a copy of *Our Life in the Highlands*, with these words written by her Majesty's own hand: 'From Victoria R. to her friend Lady Smith on her birthday.'¹³

¹³ See *Annual Register*, 1877.

Quite as remarkable, however, as the freedom from all disease encountered amongst these very aged persons is the striking power of recovery and repair from disease and accident presented by many of them, instances of which are given in this report.

Another interesting and instructive point in the physical character of the great majority of these centenarians to which Professor Humphry calls attention is the

total absence of any evidence of rheumatic or gouty affection, past or present, in the joints of the hands and fingers—a condition which is not unfrequently regarded as one of the heralds of old age, and which doubtless, like many other local maladies, of which it may be taken as an example, is often prophylactic against other more serious maladies. It seems that the frame which is destined to great age needs no such prophylactic, and engenders none of the peccant humours for which the finger-joints may find a vent. To have a vent for such humours is good, but it is less good than to be without them.

I now pass to another extremely important part of this inquiry, and that is, What were the *habits* of these aged people, and what can we learn from them as to the best means of promoting the healthy activity and endurance of the human frame?

And first let us consider their habits in the matter of eating and drinking. In both great moderation is the rule. It has already been pointed out that the great majority of them were small or moderate eaters. Of animal food the majority take but little. Of thirty-seven three took *none*, four took *very* little, twenty took little, ten took a *moderate* amount, and one only took *much*. The exact quantity is mentioned in nine instances: one took 12 oz., one 6 oz., one 5 oz., six 4 oz., daily.

In the use of alcoholic drinks we also find evidence of great moderation. Fifteen were either all their lives or in their old age or youth *total abstainers*; twenty-two took but little, two very little, ten a moderate amount of alcohol; and what is really remarkable is that some who had taken a little alcohol formerly were taking none in their old age.

There were two or three exceptions to this almost universal temperance. One, aged 103, who had been a soldier, was a 'free' beer-drinker, though 'never drunk;' another, aged 100, a collier, 'took beer rather freely;' another, aged 103, a gamekeeper, is reported as 'fond of drink, jolly person, sang a song at Christmas feast before his death;' another, aged 105, a Limerick farmer, 'often drank to excess on festive occasions;' another, aged 103, a Kerry farmer, 'drank like a fish during his whole lifetime, and would to-day if he could get it;' the reporter adds, 'It appears, however, that he could not usually get much;' and one other is said to have taken a 'good deal of beer.'

With regard to *sleep*, we have information as to the habits of fifty-four of these centenarians. Their actual habits in this respect at this advanced period of life differs, of course, greatly from those during their early and active years, and it is to these early habits that

we look with greatest interest. We are not surprised to find that they had nearly all been *good sleepers*; there is not a single instance of a 'bad' sleeper, but seven are described as 'moderate' or 'average' sleepers. We also find that they were nearly all of them *early risers*. This habit was in many instances accounted for by their occupations, such as farm-labourer, &c. Most of these, also went to bed early, and the number of hours they spent in bed averages a little over eight. This is an exceedingly good average. The greatest number of hours spent in bed was by a French lady (*propriétaire*), who spent twelve hours in bed and rose at seven. She lived to be 108. The smallest number of hours, six, is recorded of two persons—one a Welsh collier, who rose at five daily and lived to be just over 100; the other a Jersey woman, a baker, who also rose at five and lived to be 101.

It is worth remarking here with regard to the number of hours passed in bed, that those who rose early for the most part went to bed early, and that early rising, to be healthful and to promote longevity, must usually have this accompanying condition. The working man who goes to bed at nine or ten and gets up at five or six is regarded as a model of meritoriously early rising; but the Member of Parliament, or the actor, or the journalist who goes to bed at two or three and gets up at ten or eleven is looked upon often as a bit of a sluggard, and yet he only gets exactly the same number of hours—eight—in bed.

Unfortunately for the members of these latter classes, they are frequently compelled to take less than this average, and that at a time of life when they really require more. An average of eight hours out of the twenty-four should be spent in bed—that is the lesson of these returns.

The faculty of sleeping well and tranquilly is strikingly exemplified by these centenarians.

Another important habit to be investigated was that of taking 'out-of-door exercise.' The ability and the habit of taking plenty of out-of-door exercise have always been regarded as contributing largely to health and longevity; these returns fully support that belief. Thirty-one are reported to have taken much outdoor exercise, eight a moderate amount, and six only a little. 'Active and energetic' is the common character of the great majority. Of one old woman it is reported that 'she danced and sung on her 101st birthday;' of another, 'she was in church and received the Holy Communion on her hundredth birthday;' of an old man, that he 'walked many miles, and used to hunt on foot;' of another old woman, that 'on her hundredth birthday she walked into the hayfield, and amused herself making hay.' A farm labourer aged 101 had 'walked at least four miles' the day before 'the return was filled up.' A soldier's wife 101 years of age had been in India, Egypt, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, and Scotland, with the army, and suffered no ill effects; a

headache for a few months on returning from India was the only illness she could remember. Of another soldier's wife it is said that 'she had led a rough life in various countries.' Of a farm labourer aged 101 it is said, 'Out every day; walked four miles yesterday.'

Physical activity and an out-of-door life were the characteristics of the great majority. On the other hand, four females, of the respective ages of 100, 101, 102, and 102½, were reported as not having been 'much out.'

Let us, in the next place, see what information those returns yield as to the mental and moral characteristics of these centenarians. But in order to apprehend fairly their intellectual condition, it is necessary to know, in the first place, to what classes of society they belonged, and what were their occupations. Now, it must be remembered that only *four* were reported to be in 'affluent' circumstances, and it may, therefore, be inferred that they were the only ones who had had the advantage of a liberal education. Thirty-four are said to have been in comfortable circumstances (farmers, farmers' wives, shopkeepers, servants, governesses, clergyman's wife) and twenty were *poor* (gamekeepers, labourers, labourers' wives, housewives, laundress, soldiers, soldiers' wives, farm servants).

It was hardly to be expected that many persons in such positions could possibly be returned as persons of 'high intellect,' a quality which is given to few, even of the liberally educated, and a better division might possibly have been chosen than that of 'average, high and low.'

Some of the reporters avoid this difficulty by returning the word 'intelligent' as characterising the mental condition of the person they are referring to. But those who adopt this division return thirty-seven of 'average' intellect, twelve of 'high' intellect, and four of 'low' intelligence.

As to the state of the 'memory,' the number of instances in which the memory is reported as 'good' will come as a surprise to most. With regard to memory for *recent* events, thirty were 'good,' nine 'fair' or 'moderate,' and only six 'bad;' with regard to *past* events, thirty-nine were 'good,' four 'moderate,' and four 'bad.' Now this is a very satisfactory thing for those who are destined to be centenarians to look forward to; the 'pleasures of memory' may be theirs to the very end of their days.

In *disposition* it is gratifying to see that the placid and good-tempered largely predominate. Twenty are reported as 'placid,' only eight as 'irritable,' and eleven as 'energetic;' nine as 'placid and energetic,' and five as 'irritable and energetic.'

A few other interesting points remain to be noted in these returns. Professor Humphry calls attention to the circumstance that twelve of them were first children, as opposed to the prevalent belief that first children are at a physical disadvantage; and he alludes to the

experience in racing stables, which appears to be unfavourable to firstlings.

As to the influence of married life on longevity, it would appear to be, on the whole, favourable, especially to the male sex. Out of the sixty-six returns there is only one bachelor to twenty-two males who had been married; he was a Limerick farmer who lived to be 105, though 'he drank to excess on festive occasions.' The sex had probably played him false and he sought consolation in the 'flowing bowl.' Of forty-three females, however, there are as many as twelve spinsters, which shows that unmarried life, especially in females whose circumstances are affluent or comfortable, if not conducive, at any rate is not adverse, to longevity.

The excess of female over male centenarians is strikingly apparent in these returns; there are forty-three females to twenty-three males; and, while there are only two males returned as exceeding 103—viz. one 104 and another 108—there are no less than nine females, two at 108, one at 106, three at 105, and three at 104; of these, three were spinsters—one 108, one 105, and one 104.

It is not difficult to find good reasons for this. Women enjoy a far greater protection from exposure to adverse atmospheric influences and other accidental causes of death than men do.

Women are neither soldiers, nor sailors, nor engineers, nor miners, nor coachmen, &c.; their occupations rarely expose them to accidental causes of death. Their more secluded domestic life shields them from many influences unfavourable to health. They are for the most part greatly less exposed to the anxieties and worries of business and public life, while no doubt their greater moderation and sobriety in eating and drinking contribute greatly to the result observed.

The Registrar-General's report of centenarians dying in 1873 shows even more strikingly than that of Professor Humphry the superior longevity in females over males. Out of eighty-nine persons dying over one hundred years of age, only ten were of the male sex. In the 'Scottish Widows' Fund' three annuitants, during the last ten years, died over ninety years of age; they were all females! And although women rarely insure their lives, yet out of twenty-four lives insured in the same society that died over ninety during the same period, four were women at the ages of ninety-one, ninety-two, ninety-three, and ninety-seven respectively; and in 'The Life Association of Scotland' the greatest age recorded during the same period was that of a female at ninety-three years and eight months.

Professor Humphry maintains that, apart from the considerations already mentioned, women possess 'a stronger or more enduring inherent vitality;' and he cites in support of this view the fact that 'even in the first year of life, when the conditions and exposure of male and female infants are the same, the mortality of girls is less

than that of boys. A somewhat larger number of boys are born, but they are more difficult to rear, so that the females soon gain the numerical lead, and maintain it with almost steadily increasing ratio to the end.' He adds further : ' This superiority may be to some extent associated with the less wear and tear in the smaller machinery of the woman's frame as compared with that of man ; some might expect that the small persons of both sexes would live longer than those of greater stature '—a suggestion which is supported by the detailed particulars of stature furnished by the reports on centenarians, and also by many reports from other sources, of the stature of persons who have lived to great ages.

The foregoing are the chief facts of general interest to be elicited by a careful study of these interesting returns. Let us now proceed to examine some of the more important of these with the view of turning them to practical account, so that we may endeavour to ascertain, with as much clearness and precision as known facts will admit of, what are the conditions which promote, and what are those which tend to prevent, long life.

A writer on Longevity in the *Quarterly Review*¹⁴ says it is 'as common in persons who defy regimen and sobriety as in those who most strictly enforce them.' This statement is not borne out, so far as I have been able to ascertain, by the published records of centenarians, and certainly not by the reports we have just been examining. It is quite remarkable how numerous are the references to the great sobriety, temperance, and 'abstemious habits' of the immense majority of persons who have reached a great age. And in these returns, especially frequent is the statement that they have partaken very sparingly of animal food. Astonishment has often been expressed at the comparatively large number of cases of centenarians that are drawn from the poorer classes, and their authenticity has been discredited on this account.

Sir G. C. Lewis¹⁵ argued

that because since the Christian era no person of royal or noble birth mentioned in history has reached the age of 100 years, there is a presumption that human life, under existing circumstances, does not reach that term ; that the higher the rank the greater would be the care with which life would be tended, the greater the chances of accuracy with regard to dates, the more favourable in all respects the conditions required for length of days.

Now the first consideration that occurs to me in connection with this argument is that the sobriety, temperance, and avoidance of excess, which are seen to be so conducive to long life, are enforced on the poor, in early life, by their scanty means, and may thus (in the *well-conducted* of course) early become a habit. Precisely the

¹⁴ Vol. cxxiv.

¹⁵ A highly interesting article examining Sir G. C. Lewis's views on Longevity is to be found in *Safe Studies*, by the Hon. L. A. Tollemache.

opposite is the case with the youth of the upper classes; and perhaps there is no greater danger to their health and their prospects of long life than the command which they possess of the means of unlimited indulgence in luxurious living, and the temptations to the acquirement of injurious and vicious habits they are thereby exposed to. As for the 'better care with which the rich are tended,' we have also seen that the majority of our centenarians *needed no such care*; they were, for the most part, free from disease and accident throughout the whole of their protracted existence.

Another obvious answer to Sir G. C. Lewis's argument is that historic persons lead lives the conditions of which are the opposite of those which are found to favour extreme longevity.

Centenarians are for the most part found amongst those who have led calm, quiet, untroubled lives 'far from the madding crowd,' and who have never encountered strain of mind or body.

Compare the lives of the twelve spinsters in the tables we have analysed, three of whom lived to be 108, 105, and 104 respectively, with the lives of the Roman Emperors (so many of whom met with violent deaths), of the Popes in the middle ages, of our own monarchs in past centuries, or with those of Parliamentary leaders in the days of Irish obstruction.

The continued strain, the wear and tear, the prolonged periods of anxiety, the unwholesome habits almost inseparable from the lives of 'historic' persons, would be quite sufficient to account for the absence of centenarians in this class. But there is still another reason: it must be remembered that the few centenarians that have been known to exist have been collected out of the vast millions of the whole population. In 1871 there were 180 centenarians out of 23,000,000 persons living, which would give about one centenarian to every 127,000 people; if, then, you take a small select class, and especially such a small select class as that of persons who become 'historic,' the chance of finding a centenarian amongst them becomes exceedingly small. Instances of longevity are most likely to be encountered amongst those who are alike protected from the luxuries and temptations which attend the command of wealth and the hardships and privation which accompany extreme poverty. Easton says: ¹⁶ 'It is not the rich or great nor those who depend on medicine that become old, but such as use much exercise, are exposed to the fresh air, and whose food is plain and moderate—as farmers, gardeners, fishermen (?), labourers, soldiers, and such men as perhaps never employed their thoughts on the means used to promote longevity.'

With regard to the influence of the use of, or of the abstention from, alcoholic drinks in connection with the prolongation of life, we must be prepared to encounter much difference of opinion.

Every one admits that *habitual* excess in the consumption of

¹⁶ Easton on 'Human Longevity.'

alcoholic beverages destroys health and shortens life, in all but a few absolutely exceptional organisations which we need not take into account. It would seem, however, that *occasional* excesses are not inconsistent with great longevity; and I cannot doubt, from my own experience, that a strictly moderate use of certain alcoholic beverages is of decided advantage to some constitutions, maintaining health often under difficulties, promoting a *comfortable*, as well as a long life.

The records of centenarians prove that many do well as total abstainers, but that many also do well who take a moderate quantity of alcohol in some form or other; and for the feeble type of constitution which is never destined to such length of days a certain moderate amount of alcoholic stimulant is, perhaps, one of the greatest blessings they enjoy.

Of centenarians who certainly were not abstainers the following instances may be mentioned: Cardinal de Salis, Archbishop of Seville, died in his 110th year in 1785, with every faculty except his hearing unimpaired. He imputed his green old age to a sober, studious life, regular exercise, and a good conscience, as well as *a pint of the best sherry at each meal*, except in very cold weather, when he *allowed himself a third more*.

Macklin¹⁷ the actor, who lived 107 years 2 months and 10 days, up to forty lived, his biographer states, very irregularly, *drank hard*, sat up late at night, and took violent exercise. Subsequent to that period he proceeded by rule. He drank tea, *porter, wine, punch*, and ate fish, flesh, fowl, &c., till he was seventy, but he never drank to excess. His usual quantity *was seven or eight glasses of wine*. If ever he was prevailed upon to drink more,

he always took Anderson's Scotch pills going to bed at night. This (he said) kept his head from aching the next morning. He was always moderate at his meals, *never abstemious*. At seventy he gave up tea, because it disagreed with him, and took milk (always boiled) instead; he also had bread boiled in his milk, which he sweetened with brown sugar till it was almost a syrup. . . . He was a great lover of eggs, custards, and jellies. *His drink* with his meals for the last forty years of his life was *white wine* and *water* made very sweet.

Mr. Lionel Tollemache¹⁸ quotes two instances of drunkards who lived over a century: Philip Laroque, who 'went to bed intoxicated at least two nights every week till he was 100 years old,' and Thomas Whittington, who lived to 107, and 'was an habitual drunkard.' He 'never took any other liquids, as liquids, into his stomach than ardent spirits—London gin; of which compound, until within a fortnight of his death, he took from a pint to a pint and a half daily.'

In the supplement to the Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General, 1885 (p. xxxvi), it is stated: 'The mortality of men

¹⁷ *Life of Macklin*. By J. T. Kirkman. London, 1799.

¹⁸ *Safe Studies*, 'Sir G. C. Lewis and Longevity,' pp. 53, 54.

who are directly concerned in the liquor traffic is appalling . . . of the innkeepers and publicans it is fifty-two per cent. above the present mortality of all males.' It is highest of all in 'inn and hotel servants.'

The next question of importance that claims our attention is the influence of physical out-of-door exercise in promoting long life. With few exceptions, free exercise in the open air has been found to have been the habit of those who have lived to a great age, and associated with this tendency to physical activity is the habit of early rising.

Now, as is well observed by Professor Humphry, these factors of longevity may be regarded 'as the attributes of the well-wearing body—that is to say, they are the *resultants of health*, as well as the promoters of it.' It is because a man, perhaps unconsciously, is in possession of a body of exceptional healthiness and endurance that he is found to be leading a life of exceptional physical activity.

But we must be cautious how we follow this example with the object of attaining the same end. In physical and educational, as well as in financial, matters the first consideration is to *live within our means!* Our physical expenditure must be kept well within our physical income, and we must not draw rashly on reserves of capital. I wish to lay great stress on this point because an increasing experience teaches me how great is the injury that is done to their chances of well-sustained health and their prospects of longevity by many young men in their incautious and unwise devotion to athletic exercises.

Even the physically strongest often incur serious risk from strain of important organs in their athletic competitions, and if the strongest, the winners, occasionally suffer, what must be the fate of the weakest, the losers?

There are many young men and boys with comparatively feeble physique, but with much nervous energy and determined wills, who, by competing with those physically their superiors, inflict upon themselves serious injury, which may escape observation until late in life, and then the flagging, clogged machinery points clearly enough to unwise strain and ill-usage in the physical competitions of youth. I am convinced that, were it not for the mania for athletic sports that prevails amongst the youth of this country, many more of the upper and middle classes would attain to advanced ages. This strain is not felt in the muscles; they can, in youth, readily recover from fatigue; but it is in the heart, the lungs, and especially in the arteries, that the strain is experienced, and that morbid changes are initiated which, in course of time, become incompatible with prolonged life.

It is remarkable how comparatively healthy the arteries have been found in the *post-mortem* examinations and in the examinations

during life of centenarians. It has been said that a man is 'as old as his arteries,' and I regret to say it has often occurred to me to observe in comparatively young men in the present day that their arteries present the signs of wear and of age.

In very advanced old age any excessive physical exertion or fatigue is often fatal, and should be carefully avoided. At that period the balance of organic functions, upon which the maintenance of life depends, is very easily disturbed, and death is often induced by some quite trivial act or circumstance; and this shows how much the prolongation of life depends on that calm and restful disposition which is content with and happy in a life from which effort and excitement are banished. Professor Humphry gives some noteworthy instances of what has just been stated:

The old man (he says), who had gone to bed apparently much as usual, is found dead in the morning, as though life's engine had been unable to repair itself in sleep sufficiently to bear the withdrawal of the stimulant of wakefulness. *Or some exertion may be followed by too great exhaustion.* Dr. Willis, the attendant upon King George the Third, at the age of ninety, after a walk of four miles to see a friend, sat down in his chair and went to sleep, or was thought to be asleep, but he did not wake again. *Or some slight, unusual, scarcely noticed excitement may have the same result.* A cattle-dealer, aged 98, who attended Norwich cattle-market on a Saturday in December of last year, soon after, talking and laughing somewhat heartily with a few friends on the following Tuesday, was found to be dead. *Or a slight indisposition, further lowering the status and force of some organ, fatally disturbs the feebly maintained equilibrium.* A lady, aged 94, attended the early service at church, to which she walked a distance of a quarter of a mile, to and fro, caught a slight cold, and died in the night.¹⁹

The value of a calm and placid disposition, of an easy temper, and a cheerful, orderly, but energetic temperament in promoting length of days is abundantly borne out by the evidence before us. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that 'cheerfulness and happiness are much dependent upon the smooth working of the several parts of a sound bodily machinery, to the healthfulness of which they in their turn not a little contribute.'²⁰

This disposition is no doubt in a measure innate and hereditary, but it may be developed and cultivated by training and education, just as its opposite may be brought into subjection by habitual attempts at self-control.

Fontenelle, the celebrated French author and centenarian,²¹ is said to have been originally of a delicate and feeble constitution, and to have owed his length of days, in a great measure, to the uniform calmness of his disposition and the natural cheerfulness of his character, so that he was said to have remained *young* up to the last moment of his *old age*! He is said to have lived with a remark-

¹⁹ 'Old Age, and the Changes incidental to it,' *Collective Investigation Record*, British Medical Association, 429 Strand.

²⁰ *Report on Centenarians*, p. 66.

²¹ He lived a century all but thirty-two days.

able regard for order and regularity, the work of each day having been arranged beforehand, and that he rarely departed from the pre-arranged plan; his hours of work, of repose, of meals, of reading, of recreation were all fixed precisely. Always tranquil in the vortex of society, he had impressed upon the phenomena of his life such a uniform, regular, and even movement that he went on living without any variation from day to day and from year to year. In the same manner his death came, painless and effortless; the pendulum had simply ceased to oscillate.²²

He is said to have never wept nor laughed, to have been remarkable for his brilliant '*traits d'esprit*' and the apparent levity with which he treated serious as well as trivial subjects; his maxim was '*que tout est possible, et que tout le monde a raison.*' Nothing could be more characteristic of him than his death. Nine days before this happened, perceiving a rapid diminution of his strength, he foresaw his end approaching, but as it came more slowly than he expected he said, '*Je ne croyais pas faire tant de façons pour mourir,*' and when on the last day of his life his doctor asked him, '*Comment cela va-t-il?*' he replied, '*Cela ne va pas, cela s'en va!*'

Another point of considerable practical interest is the influence of occupation on longevity. Occupation often determines habits, and so exercises a controlling influence over the health and duration of the human constitution. Certain occupations are well known to lead to early disease and premature death.

If we look at the Registrar-General's returns we shall soon see the remarkable differences in the death-rate of different occupations. I have already quoted the highest death-rate as being that of inn and hotel servants. But apart from those who are engaged in the liquor trade, there are many other occupations which are attended with an excessive mortality. It is impossible to go into this subject fully in this place, so I will merely mention miners, street hawkers, hairdressers, musicians, chimneysweeps, working cutlers, workers in glass and earthenware, cab and omnibus men, butchers, and law clerks as examples of unhealthy occupations, and having a high death-rate. On the other hand, farmers, agricultural labourers, gardeners, schoolmasters and teachers, grocers, and especially clergymen, follow the healthiest occupations and have the lowest death-rates.

Of the professions, the Church takes the lead in healthiness and longevity. The death-rate of the clergy is only about one-half of that of the medical profession, and is only closely approached by that of gardeners and farmers. This applies to the higher as well as to the lower ranks of the clergy.

I have taken the trouble to ascertain from the obituaries in the

²² Hufeland, *L'Art de prolonger la Vie*, note at p. 310 of the last French edition.

'Annual Register,' and from other sources, the *ages at death* of all the bishops and deans of the Church of England that have died during the past twenty years. I find that of forty-two bishops and deans who died during this period the average lifetime was 72 years and 8 months. The bishops had rather the advantage of the deans in one respect, for the nineteen bishops who died during this period lived on an average 76 years 2 months and 15 days, whereas twenty-three deans only lived an average of 69 years 8 months and 26 days.

But the deans had the advantage of the bishops in another respect, for the oldest dean—Dean Garnier of Winchester, who died at 98 years of age—beat the oldest bishop—Bishop Phillpotts, of Exeter, who died at 91 years of age—by 7 years, and ran Canon Beadon very close, who lived to be 100!

Seven of the bishops lived to be over 80—viz. Llandaff 84, Winchester 84, Chichester 83, St. Asaph 82, Salisbury 81, and Chester 81, together with Bishop Phillpotts 91, already mentioned; and seven deans lived to over 80—viz. Exeter 88, Salisbury (Hamilton) 87, Gloucester 86, Dean Close 85, Ripon (McNeill) 84, and St. David's 80, besides Dean Garnier at 98, mentioned above. The youngest bishop at death was Dr. Woodford, of Ely, who died at 65 years of age, and the youngest dean was the Dean of Bangor, who died at the early age of 47.

I have also ascertained for purposes of comparison the ages at death of the judges of the superior courts who died during the same period. Forty-nine judges, whose ages I have been able to ascertain, died at the average age of 72 years 1 month and 14 days—an average somewhat less than that of the bishops and deans together, considerably less than the bishops taken separately, and somewhat higher than the deans taken alone. The two oldest judges were Lord St. Leonards, aged 93, and Dr Lushington, aged 90. No judge rivals Dean Garnier's 98 years. The two youngest were Thesiger at 42 and Jackson at 49. Twelve of the judges were over 80—viz. Brougham 89,²³ Erle, Kindersley, and Pollock 87, Coleridge and Wensleydale 86, Chelmsford 84, Fitzroy Kelly, Stuart, and Byles 83, Martin and Ryan 82.

It occurred to me that it would be interesting to take also the ages of the members of the House of Peers, not being bishops or law lords, as given in the 'Annual Register' for the same period, and see whether any great difference was apparent in their average longevity. I have omitted those who had not passed their fortieth year, as obviously unsuitable for comparison in this instance, and also one suicide and one assassination. I find that 188 peers, deceased during the last twenty years, whose ages are given in the 'Annual Register' had an average lifetime of 72 years 4 months and 14 days. This is a remarkable and, to me, a somewhat unexpected average for

²³ Lord Brougham's brother died about the same age (90) in 1886.

so large a number. It is a higher average than that of the judges—a very select body—though not so high as the bishops. There were seven who lived beyond 90—the oldest (Lord Kilmory) 93, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe 92, Earl of Buckingham 92, Lord Mount Cashel 91, Lord Stradbroke 91, Lord Teignmouth 90, Lord Brougham and Vaux 90. Besides these, there were as many as forty-eight more who lived to be over 80; four of these lived to be 89, three to be 87, one to be 86, five to be 85, seven to be 84, five to be 83, nine to be 82, five to be 81, and eight to be 80. It must be admitted that this is a very remarkable roll of nono- and octo-genarians; and the class that has acquired and maintained, to this extent, the power of longevity may smile at those who call them ‘effete’!

But in making these inquiries I came upon another result which was somewhat surprising, and which affords additional testimony to the vigour of constitution and powers of resistance of the upper classes in this country. Eighty and ninety years ago the officers of the army and navy were mostly members of aristocratic families, or of the upper stratum of the middle class, and it is the extraordinary longevity of the older superior officers of these two forces that I am now alluding to. I have had no opportunity of calculating averages in this case, but I will simply state the number of general officers and admirals who have died at advanced ages during the last fifteen years only, as recorded in the ‘Annual Register’ for that period—1876 to 1887. No less than 101 general officers and admirals died during these last fifteen years, having reached ages between 80 and 98. Twenty-four of these reached the great age of over 90—viz. General Macdonald 98, Admiral Westphal 98, Generals P. U. England 96, Fitzgerald (F.-M.) 95, Sabine 95, Bell 94, MacGregor 94, Woodford 94, Admiral Coffin 93, Generals Taylor 92, Cloëté 92, Stretton 92, Admirals Vernon Harcourt 92, Patton 92, Montagu 92, Prescott 92, Hallowes 91, Generals Gomm 91, Arbuthnot 90, England 90, Rowan (F.-M.) 90, Ball 90, Brooke 90, Admiral Moresby 90.

To these army officers of the rank of general may be added the name of Colonel Simmons, who died in 1883 at 92, and that of Surgeon J. Wyer, who had served in the Peninsular War with the 13th Regiment of Foot, who lived to a greater age than any of them; he died on the 3rd of March, 1883, at the advanced age of 99 years.

Of the rest, ten died at 89 years of age, eight at 88, six at 87, five at 86, and the remainder between that age and 80.

These figures seem to me to be very remarkable. To find so many instances of very advanced life within so short a period, amongst the heads of two professions, the members of which are so exposed to the accidental causes of disease and death, is most striking. It doubtless shows that a regular and well-disciplined life, a life led in strict obedience to rule and regulation, constant exercise in the open air, frequent change of climate, and the prospect of a competency in old

age from a grateful and generous country, afford conditions which favour length of days in constitutions originally sound and vigorous.²⁴

The writer in the *Quarterly Review* on 'Longevity,' whom I have more than once referred to, expresses the opinion that 'brain-work is surely not conducive to longevity,' and adds that engineers and artists are not long-lived. This conclusion—which I believe to be a mistaken one—probably arose from putting too much reliance on 'averages,' which, useful as they are in some considerations, are most misleading and calculated to lead to fallacious conclusions in others, if too exclusively trusted in. Let us, for instance, suppose that thirty men of letters die in one year—ten about 80, ten about 70, and ten about 30 years of age; the simple statement of the average age (60) gives us no foundation whatever for the conclusion that the literary life is not conducive to old age, because the young men who died under 30 would in all probability have died, most of them from inherited tendency to disease or past bad habits, which had nothing to do with their occupation; whereas the ten who lived to be 80 would afford positive evidence that the pursuit of letters was not inconsistent with longevity. With regard to artists, if they allow the emotional æsthetic side of their nature to get the upper hand and so induce a fretful, irritable, unstable frame of mind, this, together with irregular habits, will certainly not conduce to longevity; but this is not 'brain work'—it is brain teasing or brain worry, which is one of the worst disturbers possible of the harmonious and healthy working of the organisms.

It is not difficult to give numerous well-known instances of *brain workers* who lived to a great age. Amongst artists, Michael Angelo lived to be 90, Sir Christopher Wren to be 91. Titian is said to have been engaged in painting a picture now in the Academy at Venice when he was cut off by the plague at 99 years of age! Conrad Roepel, of the Hague, who lived to 100, and Ingres to 86, Tintoretto 82, Claude Lorraine 82, Greuze 79, David 77, Turner 76, Horace Vernet 73, Lebrun 71, Poussin 71, are instances not only of greatness in art, but greatness in enduring vitality. If we take poets, we find that Rogers lived to be 93, Sophocles 90, Calderon 87, Juvenal 86, Anacreon 85, Voltaire 84, Metastasio 84, Euripides 78, Goethe 83, Klopstock 79, Wieland 80, Lamartine 78, Béranger 77, and Victor Hugo 83.

If we turn to philosophers and men of science we find amongst our contemporaries M. Chevreul, the French philosopher and chemist, who on the evening of his 100th birthday occupied the President's box at the Opera; and if we look into the past we find the names of Fontenelle, who died at 100, Hoyle (who wrote the treatise on Whist) at 98, Hobbes at 92, Morgagni at 89, Ried at 86, Dr. Heberden at

²⁴ Sir George Beeston, an English admiral at the time of the Spanish Armada, has been mentioned as an instance of longevity. He lived a century.

90, Sir T. Watson at 90 (?), Sir William Lawrence at 84, Royer-Collard at 82, William Harvey at 80, Schelling at 79, Cousin at 76, and, greatest of all, Plato at 82 ; and amongst great composers, Auber died at 88, Cherubini at 82, Rossini 77, Haydn 77, Glück 73, and Meyerbeer 72.

What a stupendous amount of brain work, and brain work of the highest kind, is represented by these names, all of whom exceeded the allotted threescore years and ten, but who are lost sight of in the delusive method of averages !

Of the longevity of judges and dignitaries of the Church, who also represent a great amount of useful brain work, evidence has already been given. I think we are therefore fully justified in concluding that there is nothing in intellectual labour, *per se*, detrimental to long life.

It has been assumed by various writers that the average life-time has in modern times been steadily increasing at all ages, and the death-rate diminishing at all periods of life. But the latest official analysis of vital statistics²⁵ that has been published shows that this is not the case, at any rate in this country. It would be impossible in this article, which has already exceeded the usual limits, to examine this question fully ; but I may say, generally, that while there has been a marked improvement in the average death-rate for nearly all classes and persons of all ages taken together, this is not found to be the case for the advanced periods of life. 'For the decennium ending 1880 . . . while the death-rate fell for the earlier age periods, *it rose for the later periods of life; in the male sex the death-rate rose higher than in the previous decennium at each period after 35 !*'

Dr. W. Ogle suggests that this is partly due to the greater care that is taken of life in infancy and childhood, whereby children of unsound constitutions are enabled to survive who would otherwise have perished in youth, and so diminish the average healthiness of the adult population and add to their death-rates ; and that it is also in part due to 'the increasing severity of competition amongst adults ; to the struggle for existence, which is daily becoming more and more severe, and to a feverish excitement and reckless expenditure of energy encroaching on repose and leisure ; so that the wear and tear of life are greater and vitality is sooner exhausted.'

The influence of modern medical science in prolonging life at its advanced periods cannot now be precisely estimated. It is yet young, scarcely half a century old. That it will be great I do not doubt. It has already almost abolished pain, and by that fact alone has ministered to the prolongation of life.

J. BURNEY YEO.

²⁵ Supplement to the 45th Annual Report of the Registrar-General, 1885.

POOR MEN'S GARDENS.

AN amendment to the address about allotments, moved by Mr. Jesse Collings in January 1886, and carried by the votes of the bulk of the Liberal members, obliged Lord Salisbury to resign and restored Mr. Gladstone to power, who forthwith gave Mr. Jesse Collings a subordinate place in his new Administration. Once in office, however, Mr. Gladstone did nothing whatever to promote the extension of allotments, the urgent need of which had been the plea for that Government-displacing amendment; and when Mr. Jesse Collings refused to assist him in carrying Home Rule for Ireland, which both had till then opposed, Mr. Gladstone contemptuously, and I must add ungratefully, described his ex-Secretary to the Local Government Board as a 'certain Mr. Jesse Collings,' various of whose opinions he by no means agreed with.

The question of allotments has thus acquired a somewhat factitious importance, and has been brought rather more prominently forward than it probably would otherwise have been. The name of 'allotments' for pieces of garden ground let to persons belonging to the labouring classes is comparatively recent. It seems to have been originally applied with obvious propriety to the pieces of land 'allotted' to those who had had claims for them when common lands were enclosed, and thus its present meaning got gradually attached to the word. Perhaps Mr. Hall Hall's definition in his well-known work on the 'Law of Allotments' is as good as any, though possibly full strict for present notions—viz. 'a small piece of land let to a person to be cultivated by him as an aid to his sustenance, but not in substitution for his labour for wages.' Mr. Hall Hall has found in section 5, sub-section 7, of the Metropolitan Police Act, 1886, a legal description of 'persons belonging to the labouring classes,' which includes, besides persons working for wages, 'persons working at some trade without employing others, except members of their own families, and persons, not being domestic servants, whose income does not exceed an average of 30s. a week.'

I mentioned in a letter to the *Times*, in November 1885, on Allotments, which I have before me, that I had accidentally discovered in a volume of the reports of the 'Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor,' published in 1798, various

suggestions from various writers, founded on experience and set forth in some detail, several of which I have myself at different times seen recommended as not only good, but new—e.g. providing parish nurses in the country, and cheap dinners on a large scale in the towns. The then Earl of Winchelsea gives a long account therein, dated 1797, of the satisfactory results of letting pasture for a cow each to a large number of labourers on his Rutlandshire estate. He says: 'From what I have seen of them I am more and more confirmed in the opinion I have long held, that nothing is so beneficial to them and to the landowners as their having land to be occupied either for the keeping of cows or as gardens, according to circumstances.' In the same volume there are extracts from Mr. Morton Pitts' 'Address to the Landed Interest,' published in 1797, and from Mr. N. Kent's 'Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property,' in 1775; all dwelling on the great advantage and importance to labourers of gardens, which those gentlemen recommend to be of half an acre each. I have since learned that the Society was founded in 1796, and continued occasionally to publish reports till 1814.

There is some reason to believe that, after a time, the exhortations of these and other persons were pretty widely acted upon in England from benevolent motives. One landowner at least seems to have anticipated their advice by letting twenty-five acres for this purpose as early as 1770. During all the eighteenth century, and indeed later, the enclosure of commons was generally believed to be of great public advantage. Not only Arthur Young, but Jeremy Bentham—not inclined to think or write favourably of things or authorities as they then were—highly approved of enclosures. Mr. Hall states the 'Great Somerford (Wiltshire) Enclosure Act' in 1806 to have been the first that allotted land (five to eight acres out of 970 inclosed) for the labouring poor, 'although they had no rights of common.' This example was speedily followed in other places. In 1819, by a Poor Law Amendment Act, the parish officers were empowered with the vestry's consent to take in hand parish land, or buy or hire other land, and either let the poor work on it as a farm, or let it to industrious inhabitants to cultivate on their own account. Though this was adopted in many parishes, we are told it was after a time generally given up. Common fields, when cultivated at all, could only be so at great disadvantage: while the stocking of pastured commons notoriously led to frequent quarrels and wrongs.

I have derived some of this information, and more, which I shall take the liberty of using, from the interesting and instructive papers (on opposite sides) read by Mr. Robert Rich and Mr. Mark Jeans on Allotments at the Surveyors' Institution last December, and from able speeches delivered during the discussion of those papers at three successive meetings. Mr. Herbert Smith stated during those discussions that between 1812 and 1818 no less than ten fields

had been applied by Lord Lansdowne, the eminent statesman, to allotments in the neighbourhood of Calne; and with such satisfactory results that between 1831 and 1836 he applied twenty-six fields more there to the same purpose; and that, his example having been largely followed by Lord Crewe and other neighbouring landowners, there are now about 100 acres besides Lord Lansdowne's let in allotments near Calne, and well cultivated.

Mr. Druce quoted Cobbett in his *Rural Rides*, writing in 1822: 'You see in almost every part of England that most interesting of all objects, that which is such an honour to England and distinguishes it from all the rest of the world—namely, those neatly kept and productive little gardens round the labourers' houses.'

Within the last three years I heard for the first time from two old men of my grandfather having, more than sixty years before, given a field, thence called the 'Poor Pieces,' lying about half-way between two hamlets about half a mile apart, rent free to the labourers, in pieces—one of them believed of about a rood each. But one after another, he said, all gave them up, because they found it did not pay to till them, though their cottage gardens did. Even his father, who kept his piece almost, if not quite, the longest, because he had him when a boy to help to till it, which he well remembered doing, at last gave it up.

My grandfather was probably far from singular either in the experiment he tried, or in its ultimate result.

In 1831 and 1832 Acts were passed empowering parish officers to enclose waste lands, &c., and to let them in allotments, and trustees under enclosure awards to let the lands awarded for fuel, 'to industrious cottagers . . . legally settled in the parish,' in portions not less than a rood nor more than an acre.

In 1834 the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners reported strongly on the great advantages of allotments, as did a select committee of the House of Commons in 1843, and also the Commission of Inquiry into the Employment of Children, &c., in Agriculture in 1867.

The General Enclosure Act of 1845 applied generally the conditions already become usual in local Enclosure Acts, and empowered the Enclosure Commissioners to insist on the appropriation of such a portion as they should think requisite for the labouring poor; and it provided also in certain cases for converting a portion of the land to be dealt with into common or 'regulated' pasture. This Act was followed by Acts amending and extending it in 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1851, 1852, 1854, 1857, 1859, and 1868.

The Commons Act of 1876, intended to prevent, save in exceptional cases, further enclosures, gives, says Mr. Rich, 'better security than the Act of 1845 that the land allotments for the poor and for public purposes shall be sufficient and suitable;' and accordingly about 300 acres have been reserved for field gardens out of some

25,000 acres only enclosed under it, i.e. about $\frac{1}{8}$, while very little more than 2,100 acres were so reserved out of over 370,000 acres inclosed between 1845 and 1876, i.e. about $\frac{1}{15}$.

The Allotment Act of 1882, requiring the Charity Trustees and Charity Commissioners to let charity lands in allotments in certain cases when demanded, was not applied as extensively as had been expected.

The return so opportunely moved for by Lord Onslow conclusively proved how erroneous was the impression spread abroad by the habitual calumniators of the class of landowners of the general rarity of allotments; and how characteristically inaccurate was Mr. Gladstone's statement in 1886 that the agricultural labourer was practically divorced from the soil, and that immediate legislation was required to reinstate him.

That return showed that of farm servants, agricultural labourers, and cottagers, numbering in the census of 1881 about 900,000 (but since notoriously much diminished), over 790,000—i.e. at least about $\frac{8}{9}$ —had in June 1886 allotments or gardens of at least $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre each. Of these, nearly 395,000 were field gardens (of not above four acres) detached from their cottages, but over 323,000 of them were within half a mile of their cottages, only 13,952—i.e. just about $\frac{1}{28}$ of the whole number—being more than a mile away, while nearly 273,000 of them adjoin the cottages. I am quoting from an abstract of the return given, with comments, in the *St. James's Gazette* of the 29th of September, 1886.

Well may Lord Onslow, the founder of the Association of Land-and-Glebe-Owners for the voluntary extension of allotments, say in his conclusive little volume, 'It is . . . evident that landowners, far from desiring to alienate the labourer from the soil, have for many years past, and are still from day to day, endeavouring to increase the interest which he has in the cultivation of the land upon which he lives.'

Mr. Rich concluded his careful review of the past history and present aspect of the allotment question by anticipating decided benefits from the Act of 1887. During the subsequent discussions, Mr. H. Smith said that all the very numerous Calne allotments already mentioned were under his management, and continued to be satisfactorily cultivated. He added that he found no difficulty in letting allotments, though he did in letting farms. Several others spoke to the same general effect. On the other hand, Mr. Mark Jeans, after citing a number of statistics, contended that there was little or no demand for more allotments, and gave many instances on several large estates of allotments being in excess of the demand; and added that he 'could from personal knowledge vouch for an excess in allotment accommodation in numerous parishes in Wilts, Berks, Hants, Dorset, Somerset, and Kent.' Others inclined to his view, and cor-

roborated his statements from their own experience. But the general desire of that eminently practical body with necessarily great influence in dealing with allotments, whether voluntary or compulsory, under the new Act, was evidently—whatever their differences of opinion—to give the system a fair trial.

Assuming legislation on the subject to be desirable in consideration of the proved habitual good influence of allotments upon their holders, especially as regards industry, sobriety, and thrift, and assuming (another yet larger assumption) the general objections to the interference of the State with private concerns capable of being dealt with by private contract to be justifiably overridden in this case, I am bound to say that the New Allotment Act seems on the whole fair and reasonable; though I agree with Mr. Jesse Collings that the compulsory provisions will not generally have to be used, because the knowledge that they exist will lead to land being supplied voluntarily. Where they are had recourse to, I believe the expense and difficulty of working them will cause much disappointment and just complaints in a great many cases.

But I have said more than enough about past legislation, and the opinions of others on allotments. I wish now to give the results of my long personal experience, especially in North Devon and in Gloucestershire. I will not touch upon very small dairy holdings, however, which, though unsuccessful in some places, have been eminently successful in others, especially on Lord Tollemache's estate in Cheshire, where he fifty years ago began his beneficent work of establishing a great number, with the happiest results in every way. Nevertheless on his Suffolk estate, where the cultivated allotments have been managed very satisfactorily, his agent appears to have tried in vain to induce the labourers and artisans to have anything to do with dairying. Nor will I touch upon cow-pastures occupied jointly by different cow-owning cottagers, which appear to have been very successful in some places, but to have been given up after complete failure in others. I have had no personal experience of them.

My father had not long succeeded to the property before he, after many conversations with me about the matter, established allotment-fields near almost every hamlet on the Castle Hill estate, and he did the same about the same time on his estates, and near Tattershall in Lincolnshire, and at Ebrington in Gloucestershire. The allotments on each estate were about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre each, conveniently situated, and of certainly rather better than the average land around. In Lincolnshire, however, the allotments, unfortunately less convenient, were decidedly larger, the soil being very light.

On the Castle Hill estate the allotments, though at first thankfully occupied, soon began to be given up. I should state that I believe every cottage there, except one lodge, had a garden attached

to it of seldom more than $\frac{1}{4}$, and seldomer less than $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre. I find from the allotment-rental, commencing in 1843, that out of one lot of fifteen close to a hamlet, one was given up in 1847, probably in consequence of the ravages of the then novel potato disease in it; and not long afterwards six more vacant allotments were with it taken by a small dairy-farmer. By Lady-day 1854 he had taken twelve allotments vacant and unapplied for out of the fifteen. Out of another lot of sixteen, one was given up in 1847, and was after some years taken, as were several more vacant ones, by a single cottager who already rented one allotment. Three out of another lot of sixteen had been given up, and remained unapplied for in 1854. Out of another lot of sixteen, four were rented by one labourer from 1852.

These detached allotments, vacant and unapplied for by cottagers, some of them more than a mile from each other and from my home farm, had to be cultivated by me with some inconvenience. They were generally given up very foul with weeds, and much exhausted by overcropping with corn and by want of manure; and sometimes with some rent due upon them. That the rent charged for them was not excessive is conclusively proved by the fact that some artisan or small farmer always pretty soon applied for the allotments given up, and was ready to pay the same rent for them collectively as had been paid for them separately by their previous occupiers.

The general result with regard to allotments on the Castle Hill estate has been that, of seven allotment fields, four have been made over to different farms. Only three fields, one of them much reduced in area, have continued as allotments till now, and are likely to continue so; and allotments in these sometimes remain vacant for a while.

As the question has since attracted much public attention, for the reasons which I have mentioned, I, in September 1886, acting on Lord Onslow's judicious advice, invited the labourers living in two hamlets, where in my father's time there had been allotments long since given up, to meet me one evening. I met them alone accordingly in a cottage in one of the hamlets, with no agent, bailiff, or other employee present. Some fifteen or sixteen came. I also invited for another evening about a dozen labourers living in two hamlets similarly circumstanced, most of whom came. I thanked each set for coming, and reminded them how since my father first established allotments, more than forty years before, the number had dwindled to less than half; not because he or I had taken them away, but because the labourers had given them up long ago. But, I said, times and circumstances had changed, and I wished much to hear their present real wishes on the subject. I could only say that I should be glad to meet those wishes when I knew them, as far and as early as I could without unfairness to anyone else; but that this

might take some time. One of the two lots consisted chiefly of men working for me, the other chiefly of men working for farmers.

Both lots heartily thanked me, and then one or two spokesmen on behalf of each lot said they knew that allotments were a great benefit where there were not good gardens to the cottages, as was the case with many in the little market town near; but that with regular work they found a garden of about a quarter of an acre close to the cottage as much as they could do justice to, and they would rather not have more; but those who worked for the farmers wished to continue having a piece of ground given them in the field by the farmer that each worked for, to grow potatoes. I said I should never think of interfering with any voluntary arrangement of the sort. All seemed thoroughly to concur in what had been said and to be pleased with their interview. I have not since the passing of the Allotment Act thought it necessary to call them together again after such a decided expression of their opinion on the subject, but from what I have seen and heard I have every reason to believe that opinion to be unchanged.

I may just mention that at Tattershall I well remember entering the allotment field with my father years before his death, and our both remarking its exceptionally foul condition; and, moreover, our noticing some men and horses *ploughing* up potatoes in an allotment. I further remember our being told that the labourers then did not care about their allotments, which were not long afterwards done away with. But whether they were given up, or whether my father took them away in disgust, I cannot after the lapse of between thirty and forty years recollect. In the course of this winter, however, my agent and I have had applications for allotments to be provided from labourers in Tattershall, Thorpe, and Kirkby, and I am now making arrangements to provide some for each village.

At Ebrington the allotments of about a quarter of an acre each have been from the first, for more than forty years, much appreciated and generally very well managed, and they continue to be so till this day. I received several weeks since, as Lord Harrowby, who owns almost all the rest of the parish, had previously, a request from the labourers there for additional land for allotments, which my eldest son went down lately to inquire about for me. Lord Harrowby had given some additional land in 1886, and has just given more, for allotments near the village of Ebrington.

My son met more than forty men in the school-room there early in December, and this is what they urged in support of their application for double, triple, and even in some cases quadruple, the amount of allotment ground each now had. They said there was hardly enough work for them, and there was no prospect of additional employment there for themselves and their sons growing and already grown up; it was no use their going away to seek work, for they

knew it was the same everywhere; and they would only be adding to the unemployed wherever they went if they left the comfortable cottages they had, which they were loth to do. And here I must observe that the cottages both on the Harrowby estate and mine there have been for a great many years in a very satisfactory state. The men said their existing allotments were a great boon, and those added by Lord Harrowby had been of great value to them in these bad times, and if they got rather more they would feel more confident about the future; for their crops would go a long way in supporting their families, and though they could not all get quite regular work, yet they could earn enough in the summer to pay their rents. The price of produce would hardly affect them, as they would consume all they grew, and they all had pigs. They justly added, no one could say their existing allotments were not well cultivated, both my old ones and Lord Harrowby's recent additional ones.

After full consideration and consultation, my cousin and I have arranged that my cottagers and his shall equally have the benefit of his newest allotments near the village of Ebrington, and that his, as well as mine, shall have the benefit of those I am going to give at Hidcote, a village which we also practically own between us, but near which I can far more conveniently spare some land than he can for this purpose.

I have thought it worth while to state this case and that in North Devon pretty fully, because, while the feeling expressed by the labourers about the landowners was equally friendly in both, their wishes and views about allotments were so very different.

As to the general question, I myself believe that the view stated to me by my Devonshire cottagers in September 1886, and I feel confident still held by them, is the sounder one.

Though I have complied, as mentioned above, with the recent requests for additional allotment ground, I do so rather as a palliative during what, from the indications of gradually reviving trade, I hope may fairly be considered a transitional period of temporary pressure, than as a permanent arrangement. The general application of *la petite culture* to agriculture in England has been mostly advocated by writers, who, as far as I have seen, appear to have drawn their arguments and illustrations much more from books than from any personal knowledge or experience of farming. The greater economy in production resulting from the use of organised labour and of implements, and even simple machinery, utterly out of the question for farms with acres numbered by units, not by scores, or fifties, much less by hundreds, irrespective of the cost of indefinitely multiplied buildings, ought to have been clear to men with any acquaintance with political economy and the elementary truths about the advantage of the division of labour. In dairy farming, however, especially where the tenant and his family do the work of the farm, the detailed

personal knowledge and loving care of each animal, tending to keep each in the best health and to obtain from each the best yield of milk, often more than compensates for the greater economy in many ways resulting from the management of larger, as compared with smaller, concerns. I should perhaps except indeed some cases, where the scale is sufficiently large to afford adequate remuneration for really superior ability and technical knowledge, as well as for the use of the most improved but costly machinery and appliances.

The depressed condition of many of the small peasant landowners, not less than tenants, on the Continent even under a highly protective tariff, and the diminished demand stated to prevail especially in France for small freeholds, seem to indicate that the always too rose-coloured pictures of *la petite culture* to be found in the writings of its advocates previous to the demonetisation of silver and low prices, now pourtray less faithfully than ever the working and results of that system, with the exception of vine-growing on the Continent, of market gardening with either easy access to good markets or specially favourable climate, and, to a certain extent, dairying.

Unless the apparently undeniable revival of trade and manufactures attains such proportions as to provide employment for the many hands now rendered superfluous for agricultural work, we must, I believe, look to increased emigration and a further diminution beyond that observable of late in the number of marriages, as the remedies for the pressure of our somewhat redundant agricultural population. But we must not look to such *nostrums* as the permanent multiplication of overgrown allotments or infinitesimal farms, much less to the reclamation of waste lands, when so many of the poorer tracts already reclaimed can no longer be profitably cultivated as they used to be.

The steady progress of temperance and its natural concomitant thrift in the population must, notwithstanding bad times, gradually increase the capital, which is the wage-fund, of the country. We may, therefore, reasonably look forward to its profitable investment in giving employment of some kind within the United Kingdom, when the distrust felt by the different interests more or less injured, or actually threatened or constantly expecting to be so, by the late Prime Minister, has been gradually superseded by increased confidence in a more prudent and reasonable administration, though under a Conservative, and not, as I, a life-long Liberal, should have preferred, under a moderate Liberal-Unionist Premier.

FORTESCUE.

A LADY'S 'AMERICAN NOTES.

WHILE we were recently in Canada we found there were four questions which were agitating people's minds there, viz., the question of the Canadian Pacific Railway, of the French population in the province of Quebec or Lower Canada, of the Canadian Fisheries, and of commercial union with the United States.

It seems strange to us in England that the C.P.R. (as it is familiarly called) should arouse any opposition; the line is so obviously a great Imperial advantage that minor difficulties connected with it disappear; but difficulties have a trick of getting larger as you approach them, and there are not a few Canadians who complain that the country is burdened with a large and unnecessary debt on behalf of a premature extension of railway communication. They say it will be years before the line can pay its way along its whole length, and that instead of increasing an already excessive mileage of railway in proportion to the population, it would have been wiser policy to wait till the population had grown, and the railway was required for local wants. Of course the answer to this is, that nothing opens up a new country so effectually as railroad communication, that already many settlers have been attracted to the hitherto unexplored North-West, and that a regular tide of tourist travel is setting in, thus securing for Canada much lucrative traffic which would otherwise have passed through the United States.

But the objections raised towards the twenty years' monopoly granted by the Government to the C.P.R. Company are more serious, or at least more noisy, and the matter has been hotly disputed in Manitoba, where the local legislature authorised a line to be made from Winnipeg direct to the United States, in defiance of the decree of the Dominion Parliament. As so often happens, the point that came before the Courts was not the really important one—whether the authorities at Ottawa had power to prevent the formation of a line of railway in the Territory of Manitoba, but a more technical and much smaller matter—viz. whether the Manitoban Parliament had the right to use land, which was the property of the C.P.R. and of the Dominion Government, for the purpose of building the railway. Whatever opinions may be as to the larger question, on this minor point the Manitobans were undoubtedly in the wrong, and the decision in the court of law at Winnipeg was given against them.

There is no real fear, however, of the Manitoban question developing into anything alarming. Canadian newspapers seem to vie with those published in the States in the matter of abuse of public men and of any measures which do not emanate from the party they affect, and the press in consequence has adopted on this particular question a tone very different from that habitually used in conversation. In short, the friends of the C.P.R. are far more strong, numerous, and wealthy than its enemies, and it is likely to go on and prosper. Scotch blood and Scotch thrift are here, as elsewhere in Canada, the principal supporters and managers of the concern, and only those who have travelled along the line can have any idea of the vast faith and energy which have been required to bring it to a successful completion. The length of the whole line, the uninhabited bushland and prairie, the engineering difficulties of the Lake Superior section, and again of that wonderful portion of the railway which crosses five successive ranges of mountains between the prairies and the Pacific coast, the distance from a 'base of supplies,' and yet the extraordinarily good food provided, either in dining-cars or in the Company's railway hotels, the perfect punctuality of the train through the 2,906 miles of its course, and last, but not least, the glorious views it provides of glacier and snow-peak, pine forest and deep cañon, never seen by civilised eye before the construction of the line, combine to impress the most indifferent tourist with a deep sense of the wonderful skill, patience, and determination shown by a few brave men without whom the grand design would have failed.

The connection with China and India, and consequent influx of trade, besides the military advantages of an 'Empire route' to the East, have been often insisted on, and their importance can hardly be exaggerated.

It is also a boast of the Canadians that the C.P.R. is the only railway constructed and worked by a single company, which extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In the States there is more than one way of reaching the Pacific coast, but every one of these routes involves two or three changes between New York and San Francisco, whereas you may secure your sleeping-berth at Montreal, and retain it till you arrive at Vancouver nearly six days later.

The second burning question in Eastern Canada is that of the French Canadians. It is curious that while in France itself population is notoriously at a standstill, or even declining, in Lower Canada it is advancing by leaps and bounds. Families of twelve and fourteen children are not uncommon, and the English are literally being gradually squeezed out. The members of the local Parliament are almost entirely French; the speeches are made in French; official notices are published in French—usually, but not always, with an English translation. In the streets of Quebec a policeman could not understand a question asked in English, much less

reply to it ; and in the depression of trade caused by the comparative failure of the local lumber business, the French are buying up lands and houses as fast as they are vacated by the English merchants ; so that while, as I have said, the French-Canadian population increases, the English diminishes in almost equal proportion. The farms are of course in French hands, and worked on the French system of subdivision among all the children, so that the holdings are getting smaller and smaller, and the poor people live in great poverty, and are unable to supply the dressings and manure which might make the land pay. The soil is not rich in this province, and has long been exhausted by the system of farming which prevails ; but only when it is absolutely impossible any longer to obtain even a meagre livelihood will the family break up and migrate to the towns, to seek employment there. It is much to be wished that large colonies of these people could be induced to move to the North-West Territories, where virgin soil is waiting to be broken up, and will produce abundant crops with hardly any outlay. They are not a progressive race, clinging as they do to the ancient implements and customs of two centuries ago, when their forefathers settled in New France ; but they are quiet and law-abiding, and extremely religious, and the huge churches, crammed on Sunday with a devout congregation of both men and women, are a sight to see. Much power is in the hands of the Roman Catholic clergy, but there is little or no actual disloyalty to the British Government, although there is plenty of ill-feeling between the English and French sections in the cities, and scarcely any social intercourse. It is hard to see what the final development will be ; the friction is considerable, and, though not much talked of in the newspapers, may lead some day to unpleasant consequences.

The Fishery question is at the present time a subject of international consideration, but I am bound to say that both in Canada and in the United States we did not hear it discussed very freely. No doubt it absorbs attention more completely in the Halifax district than in the province of Quebec, but in the States people were inclined to make light of the whole dispute, implying that the interests involved were not so large as the newspapers represented.

The one point which was largely discussed at Washington was the fact of Mr. Chamberlain's appointment as English Commissioner, and the unfavourable manner in which his name was received was a very curious commentary on the sort of influence exercised by the Irish in the United States. Because Mr. Chamberlain had renounced Mr. Gladstone's leadership, and had been recently in Ireland, making strong speeches against the Nationalist party and the Irish Americans, therefore he was considered an unsuitable person to settle a difficulty between England and the States, although the subject under discussion had nothing whatever to do with the Irish question. But, putting aside Mr. Chamberlain's personality, it was also remarked that the

moment was not a favourable one, from the American point of view, for the Commission to meet at all, inasmuch as Mr. Cleveland's administration had only another year to run, and it was unlikely that the Government would expose itself to the risk of effecting an arrangement which would almost inevitably be unpopular, and would not be sanctioned by Congress. The proposal had been made, it was said, by a member of the Cabinet who had hitherto been a dead failure, and who was playing his last card in the hopes of trumping his adversaries' hand during his last year of office, but there was no chance that the attempt would succeed.

There is one other subject which is attracting a good deal of attention just now, and is being well aired by the press, and that is the question of commercial union between Canada and the United States. Its advocates, among whom Professor Goldwin Smith is perhaps the best known in England, assert that such a measure would bring vast relief to Canadian trade, and would stave off for a considerable time the inevitable day when the Dominion must become part and parcel of the United States. 'I hope the measure will become law,' a lady said to us, 'because my husband won't let me smuggle my clothes in from the States, and then I should get them duty-free.' The promoters of the idea understand perfectly that if it ever becomes popular it must be through its appeal to the pockets of the producers of exports and the consumers of imports; and therefore they 'tour around' (to use a Yankee phrase) explaining the pecuniary advantages of their pet scheme both in town and country. But its opponents are influential and numerous. Some of them treat it with silent contempt, others are roused to fury at the mention of it; but all agree that it would be but the first step to annexation. 'Can you make a treaty,' they say, 'on equal terms between Canada's five million inhabitants on one side and the sixty millions of the States on the other?' It seems indeed that the United States themselves are in no hurry for any such arrangement. They rather despise Canada, even if they are a little jealous that England should still possess such vast tracts in the New World; and they prefer to wait till she has become richer and more populated and is herself anxious to throw off the Imperial yoke.

The immigration to the North-West, though increasing, is not nearly so large as Canadian patriots desire to see. Working men, even without capital, but accustomed to horses and agriculture, are the best settlers. Wages are high; there is plenty of work to be got all through the summer months; and a man arriving at Winnipeg, able and willing to work, may borrow money to buy a cart and team (which cost about \$250), will receive a grant of 160 acres free, on condition of occupying and farming it, and in two or three years will have repaid his debt, built himself a wooden house on his farm, and have enough in the soil to support himself for the next year. 'The

people we don't want out here,' said one man to us, 'are the young English gentlemen fresh from college, who don't understand the sort of life they have to lead. They get disgusted and go home, and take a bad report of the country. We want labouring men who don't mind roughing it.'

If some Government emigration could be set on foot in England, I believe the Canadians would gladly give assistance. Even whole families from large towns would be admitted, for they say that if the old people are no good the children will grow up in the country and become valuable settlers.

The further west one goes, the scarcer and dearer labour becomes; and on the Pacific coast servants would be almost unattainable were it not for the presence of the useful, but much-abused Chinaman, with his clean white apron, melancholy eyes, and smooth pigtail wound tidily round his head. In Victoria, Vancouver Island, the pretty capital of British Columbia, he is often the only servant in the house; and where he has but a master and mistress to attend on, he is cook, laundry-maid, house and parlour maid, all in one, and is well worth his wages of \$25 a month.

In California the laws against Chinese immigration are very severe—indeed, no Celestial is allowed to land at all unless he can produce a certificate, stating that he has previously been living in the country and has only been on a temporary visit to China. These certificates are very carefully and circumstantially made out, but they are often sold by one Chinaman to another, and it is very difficult to prove anything against any of them, for they hang closely together and have no objection to taking any number of false oaths to support each other's testimony and save a friend from punishment. The Chinese quarter of San Francisco is a very peculiar sight at night. Its houses, or rather rookeries, are divided by dark and narrow courts and alleys, reeking with unsavoury odours and honeycombed with filthy opium dens, where the men lie on hard bunks or benches and stupefy themselves with their favourite drug. It is illegal to import opium at all, yet the smoking goes on with no attempt at concealment.

But law in California is not like law anywhere else. It is chiefly made to be laughed at, or at most to cause the expenditure of a little money in bribery. Life is still in a very unsettled condition: murders and divorces are matters of everyday occurrence, and a man who is one day a popular member of society is the next day thrown into prison for stealing a few hundred dollars out of a bank. Religion, under any form, is at a discount, and moral restraints can hardly be said to exist at all. But this is a transition stage, and by degrees, as educated persons from the Eastern States fill up the West, the standard of culture and morals will rise.

In fact, the East and West of America are at present like two

different nations. In the West, manners are still rough and uncultivated, while in the East they are softened down to an almost European standard; and settlers in the West often look eastward with the sort of affectionate home-sickness felt in Canada for the 'old country.' Many men consent to pass a few years on the Pacific coast in hopes of returning with a fortune, to spend and enjoy it on the shores of the Atlantic.

It is impossible, without travelling across the whole width of the country, to realise the vast variety and extent of resources which the United States possess. Every sort of climate, of soil, of occupation, is there. Farming, ranching, mining, and above all speculating in any and every form, invite the adventurous settler; and the Western States and Territories offer of course more inducements than the thickly settled districts to the bolder spirits who desire to make their fortunes quickly. There are not many great fortunes, however, which are made by straightforward means, as honest Americans tell you themselves. In large business transactions sharp practice is almost universal; and a gigantic fortune can be lost even more quickly than it is made. The owners of more than one palatial dwelling at San Francisco have reason to regret their temerity in trying to 'corner' all the American wheat—having forgotten to take into sufficient consideration the supplies obtainable from Canada and India.

The contrast between San Francisco and Salt Lake City is very curious. Two days only of railway travelling across the Sierra Nevada Mountains and a desert alkaline plain divide them, but the difference is as marked as if the journey occupied two years. The Mormons are undergoing just now what can only be called severe persecution at the hands of the United States authorities; yet, save for their one peculiar and objectionable tenet, a more simple, moral, hard-working, law-abiding set of people does not exist in the world. Their faith in their strange religion is deep and sincere, but can hardly be called fanatical, since they desire to live at peace with all men, and bear no ill-will towards those who disagree with them. Hitherto they have borne the unceasing prosecutions and imprisonments with really marvellous courage and patience; but if once their wives are also attacked and thrown into prison, it is doubtful how long their passive calmness would endure. Possibly some sort of compromise may eventually be arranged, by which Utah may be raised from a Territory to the much-coveted position of a State, on condition that a clause in the Constitution shall provide that polygamy be treated as a misdemeanour, and that those convicted of it be liable to certain specified punishments. Such a solution appears to be the most desirable way out of the difficulties, and would, I believe, be welcomed by the Mormons themselves. But that the American press, almost without exception, eggs on the authorities

to further violence is I think a strong proof that material rather than moral interests are at stake, for the love of plunder is to the masses a stronger incentive than the love of purity. It must not be forgotten that the Mormons found Utah a desert, and have made it habitable and fruitful. So that there is a tempting bait held out to the cupidity of many unscrupulous 'Gentiles,' who would gladly see the present possessors turned out in order that they themselves may reap where others have sown.

Politics in the States are still almost entirely in the hands of men who make a profession and often their fortune out of them; although there are signs of a slight improvement among the rising generation in the East.

Intelligent Americans smile and tell you that their system certainly does not bring to the front the best and ablest men, but that somehow it works, and the country gets along. The millionaire who is president of some important railway company, controls larger interests, wields greater power, and exercises wider influence than the President of the United States himself.

There is a good deal of corruption, direct and indirect, with regard to elections, and Americans have not yet made the heroic efforts to abolish bribery which appear to have been so far successful with us in England. Every citizen of the United States must pay a poll-tax of two dollars before his name is placed on the register; he is not obliged to pay the tax, but unless he does so, he is not allowed to vote; and he has been known to take his 'two dollars' from one candidate and vote immediately afterwards for his opponent! This poll-tax is the only 'property qualification' in America.

The Irish vote is very powerful, and the Irish seem to have a natural aptitude for professional politics; they absorb a great many official—especially municipal—appointments, much to the disgust of the native American, with whom the children of Erin are anything but popular.

I have already referred to one illustration of the power exercised by the Irish over public opinion with reference to the Fishery Commission, and we came across another instance of it during our stay in Boston. A member of an old Bostonian family—one of those who pride themselves on their descent from English Puritan ancestors—was showing us the well-known Faneuil Hall, a memorial of the successful struggle for independence carried on by the New England States. The English residents in Boston asked to be allowed the use of this Hall for their celebration of the Queen's Jubilee last summer, and permission would have been gladly given by the old Bostonians; but Boston, like New York and many other cities, rejoices at the present time in an Irish Mayor and Town Council, and these gentlemen were far too patriotic to accede without a severe struggle to the Englishmen's request, which was, however, eventually granted.

The whole affair was a considerable blow to the *amour-propre* of the Bostonians, who are now making strenuous efforts to induce all the English residents to become naturalised American citizens, and so restore the equilibrium and outvote the Irish once more.

Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that the feeling in favour of Home Rule is strong in America; perhaps because they think that, as Mr. Davitt hopes, if it were once granted, the Irish would return *en masse* to their own country. But more than this, Americans argue from the success of federation in their own land; they do not realise that it is one thing for a number of sister States to combine, as they did a century ago, in the face of a common foe, and form themselves into a Federal Republic, and quite another and a very different matter for England to alter her whole Constitution and traditional policy, in order to grant a quasi-independent government to the smaller island across the narrow channel, which she conquered centuries ago, and which has ever since been dependent upon her. At the same time they often acknowledge frankly that the question is one they do not fully understand, and that if the unity of the Empire is ever really at stake, we must follow their example and fight for it at whatever cost. But if the Unionist side of the question is misunderstood in America, it seems to be the fault of the bulk of the Unionists themselves; for, with the usual fatality of Conservatives, they take no sufficient pains to have their views explained in the Transatlantic press. However low an opinion one may hold of the tone of American newspapers, it is obvious that, in default of more direct sources of information, the average American must be dependent upon them for his views on any given subject, and perhaps throughout the whole of the States there are not more than two or three journals which even appear conscious that there may be more than one side to the question, most of the Irish news in the principal papers being in fact supplied by well-known Home Rule Members of Parliament and often signed with their names. Mr. Gladstone's name, too, is still a tower of strength, and the only public men who have crossed the Atlantic to hold meetings and make speeches are supporters of Mr. Gladstone's policy. Whether it is wise to let the many millions of our Transatlantic cousins remain in ignorance on this important matter I leave it to the Unionist leaders to judge.

It is very difficult to tell exactly what is the feeling of Americans towards England. Personally, they are overflowing with kindness and hospitality towards English travellers, but it is said there is a strong anti-English feeling abroad in some quarters, and certainly there is a growing sense of discontent at the numbers of immigrants who yearly flood the country. 'America for the Americans,' is the cry of a party which has adherents both in the East and West. 'What do we want with 200,000 or 300,000 annually of the worst characters in England and Ireland?' they say; and one can hardly wonder at the

question. It is quite conceivable that before very long American ports may be closed against this alarming influx; and then one more outlet of our 'surplus population' will be lost to us.

The President's Message to Congress brings prominently before the English public another subject which has for some time received much attention in the United States. To have so much money that you do not know what to do with it seems at first sight a very pleasing condition of affairs; but practically its results have proved almost as awkward as having too little, and loud complaints have been made of the large excess of the revenue over the expenditure, while ready money in the country was scarce, and trade was suffering in consequence. During our visit to Washington we were shown the large vaults under the Treasury where the coined money is kept. A curious law was passed some years ago—it is said for the benefit of the mine-owners in California—by which the Government is forced to coin every year about \$24,000,000 in silver, and this coined silver, besides a large quantity of gold, is therefore lying absolutely idle and useless, packed up in rows upon rows of canvas bags, in vaults into which no thief could possibly penetrate, since the entrance to them is barred by two iron doors of enormous thickness and very singular construction. The lock on each of these doors is of a unique pattern and infinite elaboration—so much so that only one man in the office knows the secret of its complicated machinery, and it therefore requires two special men to unbar the entrance to these fabulous hoards. Each lock also contains a sort of clock-work which can be altered at will, and which absolutely closes the door between certain hours, so that, say, after 6 P.M. and before 10 A.M. the initiated official himself is utterly incapable of entering the vaults. So large is the quantity of money now in the course of accumulation that fresh vaults are being constructed to receive it, but the coinage law is arousing adverse criticism and will perhaps be repealed before long.

There is one characteristic of American democracy which should not be passed over, and that is its tendency to hero-worship. Politics are much more a matter of persons than of principles, and the leader of a political party is a hero to his followers and a monster to his opponents. From heroes to heroines is a short step, and the present President's charming wife is worshipped and set on a pedestal as 'the first lady of the land.' If all hero-worship took such a harmless form as this latest development, there would be little to be said against it; but it is significant that it should spring up in the oldest and most conservative democracy in the world, and is one more proof of the ineradicable tendency of human nature to find some one to look up to and admire, however scrupulously the doors may be shut against an aristocracy, so called.

In the East, especially in Boston, classes are at least as clearly defined and as jealously discriminated as in England, and society

gains in refinement and charm what it loses, perhaps, in robustness and breadth. It is a well-established fact, that there is no more fascinating creature to be found anywhere than a thoroughly well-born and well-bred American lady. The petty rules of social life vary considerably in different cities and States; and the fact that there is no overpowering centre like Paris or London to lay down the law for all the 'provinces' gives a good deal of piquant interest to a journey through the States, which is lost in countries where the national life is more centralised. But the general tone of respect and courtesy towards women of all classes is unmistakable, and affords the Americans a legitimate source of pride.

One hears a great deal about the wonders of American luxury, and it is no doubt true that certain modern inventions, such as the telephone, have been brought into much more common and practical household use both in Canada and the States than is at present the case in England. A great deal of housekeeping is done through the telephone, and a lady can order her daily supplies from the butcher, baker, or grocer without leaving her room, and without her tradespeople 'sending for orders.' In other respects—such *e.g.* as the use of cut flowers—I do not think there is so much luxury in the New World as with us. They may be bought at extravagant prices for great entertainments, but they are not looked upon as a *sine quâ non* in every drawing-room or on every dinner-table.

America is still the country for practical inventions of all sorts, but especially for labour-saving apparatus. One huge harvesting machine, lately invented, is not only a reaper and binder, but threshes out the corn from the straw, finally placing the grain in sacks; so that the whole harvesting process is completed while the machine is being drawn through the field by the eighteen or twenty-four horses harnessed to it. Some American inventions have become so familiar in Europe that we almost forget their source. Such, for instance, are the famous 'Pullman sleepers,' known, with various modifications, in different countries as 'wagons-lits,' 'Schlaf-wagen,' or 'sleeping-carriages.' In America they are, in accordance with national custom, less 'private' than in Europe. The sleeping-berths are ranged in long double rows, separated from each other at the head and foot by a thin wooden partition, and from the central passage of the car only by a curtain; but for those who desire a more luxurious arrangement, there is generally a private compartment at the end of the car known as the 'drawing-room,' which is far more roomy and comfortable than any of the separate compartments in a 'wagon-lit.' In some of the trains there are also capital arrangements as regards food, dining-cars being attached, where excellent meals are provided; or, where the train runs for no great distance, there is often a buffet from which lunch or tea is served in the cars themselves. The long carriages, with a central passage

through all, communicate with each other through the whole length of the train, and thus afford facilities which do not exist in the English system for such arrangements as these.

It is difficult to sum up the net result of impressions left on the mind by a hasty journey through Canada and the States—difficult because of the vastness and variety of the subject-matter, because of the similarity and the contrast with our own habits and institutions.

But there is no question that few tours can be much more instructive than the one I have faintly sketched out to a young Englishman who wishes to trace the results of English blood and English tradition transplanted into a new country. If plants and animals alter in colour and shape through changes of soil and climate, we cannot expect our fellow-countrymen to remain exactly like ourselves, at a distance of several thousand miles, under widely different conditions. But we may well be proud that we can claim for brothers and cousins many millions of thriving, energetic Canadians and Americans, who present a spectacle of industry, vigour, and courageous foresight such as the world has never seen before.

EMILY A. ACLAND.

*THE INVASION OF PAUPER
FOREIGNERS.*

SIMPLE analysis of the social problems that to-day perplex thinking men and women lead to two equally simple conclusions. The evil is broadly divisible into two parts—(1) the part remediable by society, and (2) that which is essentially incapable of cure. The former is again divisible into two parts—(a) that which can be now attacked and presently dealt with, and (b) that which involves the process of time for ingathering the harvest. The remedies for distress applicable by the State are few; and on the expediency of applying these remedies, opinion, as Lord Salisbury has pointed out, is generally divided. The two measures for the relief of distress with which I am concerned are factors in the same problem. They are the Organisation of a Systematic Scheme for the Colonisation of Agricultural Labourers; and the check of Pauper Immigration into Great Britain from other countries. It is essential to state clearly that neither of these measures, nor both together, can be taken as otherwise than contributions to the solution of the problem created by the baleful magnetism of large towns. Anyone with a panacea must be either a quack or an enthusiast. But although the adoption by Great Britain of the practice obtaining not only in every civilised country in the world, but also in the British democracies across the sea, will not put an end to troubles arising from congested population—the fecundity of the unfit, and the growing severity of industrial competition—there are special reasons at the present moment for looking at the question of unlimited asylum now offered by Great Britain with a fresh eye.

With a population growing at the rate of 320,000 a year it is indisputable that the subjects of emigration and colonisation cannot fail to assume greater national importance in the future than in the past. Differences exist, and will continue to exist, as to whether or not the State should undertake a portion of the work. Whether State-aided colonisation does or does not become an accomplished fact, the exodus of some considerable portion of the population under proper conditions and skilled management is a matter on which the opinion of competent and impartial thinkers is all but unanimous.

If this be so, it is on the surface a matter of common-sense that the country should not permit the places of the parting Britons to be filled by an influx of foreign paupers. It is no answer to say that the incoming Polish and German paupers engage in trades which they practically monopolise. If their entrance displaces natives and causes them to become a public or private charge, the evil is one that is serious or trivial according to its extent. Were a million immigrant Chinese arriving next month, equipped with no skill, knowledge, or fitness other than mere physical fitness, to engage in mechanical task work, the evil would exist in a form sufficiently acute to engage the earnest attention of Parliament and the country. The only question, therefore, is whether the existing pauper immigration is sufficient to constitute a present danger to the community, and whether the probability of increased inflow of poor foreigners is such as to warrant the action already adopted in other countries.

The facts stated by the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade in his report on the sweating system at the East End of London are conclusive as regards the effect of pauper immigration on thousands of native workers. Mr. Burnett writes:—

Under any circumstances, this condition of affairs would have been fraught with misery for most of those engaged in such work, but matters have been rendered infinitely worse to the native workers during the last few years by an enormous influx of pauper foreigners from other European nations. These aliens have been chiefly German and Russian Jews, and there can be no doubt that the result has been to flood the labour market of the East End of London with cheap labour to such an extent as to reduce thousands of native workers to the verge of destitution.

He adds:—

There can be little doubt that, from the causes already referred to, there has been an altogether abnormal increase in the immigration of foreign Jews since the period of the last census.

Dr. Hermann Adler writes on the 10th of March, 1887:—

‘It is an admitted fact that in former years one rarely, if ever, heard of an unchaste Hebrew maiden in this country. I grieve to be obliged to say that this happy state of things no longer exists. The extension of the social evil to my community may be directly traced to the overstocked labour-market, and to the Russian persecutions continuing to this day, which cause thousands of Jewish girls to arrive at these shores without any means of subsistence.’

To these statements I can add testimony derived from many hundreds of communications held with persons suffering from or ruined by the relentless operation of the right of asylum accorded by Great Britain to the whole universe.

Mazzini, Kossuth, and Orsini brought with them money in their pockets to pay their hotel bills; or they sojourned with friends. The emigrants flying from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the refugees escaping from the Low Countries after the persecutions of Alva and of the Inquisition, brought with them

skill, character, capital, and at least one new trade. The traditions of England formed in pre-industrial times by the national hospitality given to the French and Flemish refugees were, therefore, created not only without expense to the English nation, or to any particular class of the community, but they were the source of material profit and pecuniary advantage to the commonwealth. Since 1882 this condition of things has completely changed. The traditions of England since then have been maintained at the expense of English working girls who are paid three farthings an hour, and contract out of those wages to find their own cotton and hot water. These girls are the involuntary hostesses who maintain the national reputation for bluff and open hospitality. It is true that they have not been asked whether they wish to bear the burden of sustaining the reputation of England. They have neither votes, nor the physical characteristics now required for successful political achievements. On the other hand a host of interests is arrayed against them. There are, in the front, those who thriftily revel in the traditions of hospitality discharged by persons incapable of enjoying the luxury of sentimentalism. Few of the poor work girls ever heard of the Huguenots, or of Somerset the Slave, or of Mazzini; and if they did happen to remember the existence of such persons, it would be cold comfort, and would not compensate them for the three pence that have vanished from the wage (9*d.*) formerly paid for making a slop waistcoat.

Then there are the political economists who live and move and have their being under the dominion of a phrase. 'Protection,' they say, 'is impossible and politically immoral. To check the incoming foreigner is Protection—Q.E.D.' Protection of persons and protection of commodities differ in kind as well as degree. The Statute Book bristles with Acts penalising persons who make their profit from the misery of those who cannot help themselves. The Adulteration Acts, the Factory Acts, the Building Acts, the Merchant Shipping Act, the Truck Act, not to mention half a hundred more, suggest the essential difference between the protection of persons and the protection of commodities. The title of the State to interfere in matters relating to the comfort, health, and general welfare of the mothers of the coming generation is established beyond cavil or dispute. The argument against interference on the ground of infringing the policy of Free Trade arises from confusion of thought. The generation that passed Free Trade passed the Factory Acts; and the generation that maintains free trade in food may with equal justice exclude the paupers of another land, so as to render access to food somewhat freer to English workers.

The third and perhaps the most powerful foe arrayed against the poor native workers is the main body of the Jewish community. It is unfortunately true that the majority of the pauper immigrants are of the Hebrew faith. They come here for the most part not because

they have an inborn desire to colonise England, but because anti-Semitic outbreaks in Eastern Europe compel them to leave their homes ; and, if paupers, the only soil on which they can rest the soles of their feet is the soil of England. Supported by a compact, powerful, and generous body of co-religionists, who are acutely mindful of centuries of persecution, they land in a country where historic prejudice against the Jew has been dispelled from the minds of thinking men by the lustre of splendid benefactions, by intellectual and scientific achievements, and by no limited contributions to the glory and the welfare of our country conferred upon her by men and women, not a few, of the Hebrew faith. Free to go about their business without the molestation of the police, or to remain indoors without the domiciliary visits of tax-collectors, the poor immigrant finds in England an earthly paradise. He sends for his wife and family, and friends soon hear that wages and shelter are good and cheap, liver and cabbage plentiful, and that the standard of comfort existing in England runs on a higher scale than in Poland or the Caucasus.

The Jewish community in England adopt a humane and generous bearing towards the pauper immigrant. The chief burden of the charities and the rates for the support of workless immigrants falls on them. The burden, although heavy, is borne with equanimity. English Jews enjoy not only toleration, but social and political prestige for which there are no precedents in the history of eighteen centuries, and for which there is no parallel at the present time in Eastern Europe. Recollection of the persecutions of nearly two thousand years have burnt themselves into the hearts and the consciences of the descendants of Abraham. Memories of the anti-Semitic outbreaks in the time of Richard the First, the massacre of 700 Jews in London in 1262, the banishment of 16,000 Jews from England in 1278, the Papal edicts against them in the Middle Ages, the cruel laws of Spain, Portugal, and France, and the new *Judenhetze* in Germany and Russia, have consolidated all Jews holding the stricter form of the faith throughout the world. Nor is this unnatural. I intend no unkindly implication when I say that the Jews of Europe are bound together by a closer and a dearer tie than that of nationality. The bond of a common faith and the memory of common persecutions at Gentile hands have weakened the claims of patriotism, when patriotism conflicts with the sorrows and the interests of their own people. The dilemma involves a painful choice. Were England to close her doors to paupers from Poland and the Caucasus, it is probable that renewed suffering abroad would be the result. It is well to make this admission frankly and broadly, for the argument in question is the one serious difficulty in the way of dealing with the matter. If this argument can be fairly and satisfactorily answered, it will be difficult for any Government to resist the demand by native

workers for a check to pauper immigration. The answer to this argument will have no weight with those who find a brother in all mankind—black, yellow, or white. But to those who prefer the welfare of their own blood, race, and language, to the happiness of strangers, the reply is satisfactory. It is this. As the choice lies between renewed suffering abroad and renewed suffering at home, I choose the former from considerations of justice and humanity to our own kith and kin. The evidence of Mr. Burnett and of Dr. Hermann Adler must be taken as moderate and conclusive statements of the present effect on English workers arising from pauper immigration. But there is nothing now in existence to prevent an increase to this immigration which would indefinitely increase the evil. There are no broad lands in England on which the alien paupers can be settled. But the United States of America, with her millions of unoccupied acres and her traditions of hospitality to all mankind, adopted measures six years ago for the exclusion of paupers which Great Britain has only now under consideration. Under the Act of Congress 376 of 1882, the United States returned in the year 1886 to the port of embarkation 996 persons who were likely, in the opinion of the immigration authorities at Castle Garden, to become a public or private charge. The number is not large, but we cannot tell how many persons were prevented from attempting entrance into the States by the knowledge that such restrictions were in existence. Archbishop Whately used to say in such cases that ‘what is hit is history: what is missed is mystery.’ Even the rough test of possessing five shillings would exclude a large proportion of the paupers whose immigration is the cause of the evils referred to by the labour correspondent of the Board of Trade.

The United States, however, are not satisfied with the restrictions now imposed on would-be pauper immigrants. Senator Morill has brought in a Bill for largely extending the powers now held by the Executive for the regulation of immigration.

The opinions held by the American people are shared by the democratic colonies enjoying the powers of self-government under the Crown. It is true that the problem in their case presents itself under the form of the thrifty and hardworking Mongolian. And although it is not urged that the indigent Pole and the pauper Chinaman are in all respects identical, there is substantial similarity between the two. In British Columbia, for example, the preamble to the Chinese Exclusion Act presents the case as follows:—

1. That they arrive in the country faster than any other kind of immigrant.
2. That they are superior in number to our own race.
3. That they are not disposed to be governed by our laws.
4. That they are dissimilar in habits and occupation to our own people.

5. That they evade the payment of taxes justly due to the Government.

6. That they are governed by pestilential habits.

7. That they are useless in cases of emergency.

8. That they habitually desecrate graveyards by the removal of bodies therefrom.

9. That the laws governing the whites are found to be inapplicable to the Chinese.

10. That they are inclined to habits subversive of the comfort and well-being of the community.

Eight of those ten charges apply with substantial force against the colonies of pauper Poles and Russians in East London. Reckless disregard of sanitary laws is indicated by the fact that in the Bell Lane area they congregate to a density of 600 to the acre. Sentimentalists may talk of freedom, and the glory of England in offering a sanctuary for the desolate and oppressed of other nations. Freedom to starve, and the sanctuary of the pauper's grave for English workers, with the destruction of home-life, and the necessary adoption of the one-room system and its baleful consequences! It would be impossible to describe in this Review the insanitary details caused by this overcrowding of foreigners. These things may be set against the vicarious hospitality sentimentalists would continue to extend to pauper foreigners.

It might be said of the Poles and Russians who are ousting the English from their homes and from their occupations what was said by Burke of another class of needy aliens: 'Animated with all the avarice of age, all the impetuosity of youth, they roll in one after another, wave after wave, and there is nothing before the eyes of the natives but an endless, hopeless prospect of new flights of birds of prey and of passage, with appetites continually renewing for a food "that is continually wasting."'

Were these flights of birds of prey to spread themselves over England, the evil would be manageable. But they swarm in two or three limited localities where the workers are already too many for the work. Most of them hurry up from the docks, ragged and dirty, without luggage or money, and betake themselves to the fetid area where their future lies. They must engage themselves at any price, and fourteen hours a day for the wages of an Indian Coolie is the necessary consequence for themselves and their British competitors. They rarely wash, and they sleep at night covered with the slop garments they have laboured at during the day. Inspection of the work-rooms is a farce. Vedettes are posted when the visit of the Inspector is due, and on his arrival half the workers vanish.

The fall of wages since 1882 is attributed by native workers mainly to the rigour of competition to which they are subjected by foreigners. In the slop tailoring trade the rate of wages has fallen

between 30 and 50 per cent.; and the same may be said of the boot trade. In each case, no doubt, there are other economical causes for the fall in wages. But it is difficult to resist the conclusion that excessive supplies of labour have had disastrous effects upon the conditions of life to which the British-born workers were formerly accustomed.

Ratepayers in certain districts of London have now the opportunity of spending their money on the support of pauper foreigners. The Whitechapel Union maintained the traditions of England in 1887 by extending the hospitality of the parish to 340 foreigners. In Mile End foreign paupers unable to speak a word of English have become during the past year inhabitants of the workhouse. Pauper foreign children are now boarded out from the Paddington Union.

The manifest and manifold evils arising from the immigration of poor Jews are so great, that in the last published report of the Board of Guardians for the relief of the Jewish poor they state that they had determined upon taking 'exceptional means for striving somewhat to stem the influx from abroad.'

Notifications printed in the vernacular were prepared and circulated as prominently as possible in most of the places from which the poor Jews come to this country. These advertisements set forth the desirability in their own interests of ceasing to emigrate hither in the hope of finding employment, and pointed out how useless was a journey undertaken without any pre-arranged prospect of work here. The Board, moreover, proceeded to state that the congestion in London had become a real difficulty, and threatened to become a danger; thereby corroborating the evidence of the labour correspondent of the Board of Trade given in the September following the publication of this report.

On the 15th of December, 1887, the Home Secretary stated that the evils of pauper immigration, as explained to him by a deputation from the East End, were of the 'greatest importance.' Here we have the Jewish Board of Guardians stating that the congestion in London—through immigration—threatens to become a danger. The evidence of Mr. Burnett and of Dr. Hermann Adler complete the case against the incoming pauper when it was already sufficiently strong. The time has, therefore, come for the British Government to replace the unsuccessful endeavours of the Jewish Board of Guardians to stem the rising tide of immigration. The time is opportune. Within the last few months the Russian Governor of Tiflis has expelled the Jews, numbering some thousands, from the town, and it is expected that this action of the authorities will be repeated in other portions of the Caucasus.

Having regard to all the facts of the case, a resolution was carried all but unanimously at the Conference recently presided over by Lord Herschell on the distress of the working classes, in which the

Government was asked to take measures forthwith to arrest the influx of pauper immigration. A deputation was received by Lord Salisbury early in February, but the Prime Minister relieved himself from the necessity of action by seven statements which need but record to discover their fallacy. There may be weighty reasons of foreign policy why England cannot or dare not do what the United States have done—without cavil or remonstrance—for the past six years. Or there may be grave reasons of home policy for not irritating or alienating the wealthy portion of the Jewish community. On these contingencies I will not venture to speculate. But it is improbable that if thousands of pauper English were tainting the lives of poor native workers in Berlin or St. Petersburg, Prince Bismarck or M. de Giers would condescend to employ such arguments as those used by the Prime Minister on the 1st of February.

Lord Salisbury refuses to act, or to arrest the flow of pauper immigration—

1. Because too much importance is attached to the matter.
2. Because, although the right to exclude the pauper exists, it would be 'exceedingly difficult' to exercise the right.
3. Because the paupers do not arrive marked with 'notes' such as enable the Americans to exclude them.
4. Because they are 'not physically incapable to support themselves.'
5. Because they are 'not sent here by any domestic or poor-law authority.'
6. Because it would be 'difficult to include in an Act of Parliament which should enable you to exclude the ones you wish to exclude without excluding a great many others too.'
7. Because they are not so very many after all.

For convenience of space the replies to Lord Salisbury's seven points of objection may also be recorded in a tabular form.

1. The East End, the Home Secretary, the Jewish Board of Guardians, and the Board of Trade consider the matter, in the words of Mr. Matthews, of the 'greatest importance.'

2. The difficulty of an enterprise offers no inherent obstacle to undertaking it—even in the case of a little country like England, which exists on the reputation she has acquired by overcoming difficulties.

3. Lord Salisbury is wrongly advised on the facts. We wish to exclude those now excluded by the Americans. If we cannot recognise them, let us hire a few Americans for the purpose.

4. Neither are the Chinese; but the question is whether the pauperisation and ruin of native workers are not too high a price to pay for the advantages of mere physical fitness.

5. But if they are paupers driven for bare existence to underbid the poor English, the origin of the force or motive that impelled them to compete for starvation wages is immaterial.

6. The intellectual capacity and technical skill of British lawyers, if unequal to the task of drafting an Act of Parliament, might be reinforced by the American who drew the Act 376 of 1882.

7. This argument, proceeding from anyone but the Prime Minister of England, might be regarded as disingenuous. It is at least *ignoratio elenchi*. 'The foreign paupers are sufficient to bring ruin on 'thousands of English workers.' Does Lord Salisbury await the ruin of millions from this one cause before action is justifiable? The question is, not how many immigrants are there, but what is the effect produced by those who actually settle among us. The answer to this question is given in no uncertain voice by a department of State.

Gibbon says that one of the most dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of barbarians into the palace was felt in their correspondence with their countrymen, to whom they imprudently or maliciously revealed the weakness of the Roman Empire. Whether the decline of the British Empire will be dated from the time when barbarians were first introduced into her workshops, is a matter for the historian of the future. But there is little doubt that the language employed by the First Minister in referring to these barbarians is inconsistent with the traditions of the England familiar to William Pitt, and that the use of such language marks the existence of decline.

ARNOLD WHITE.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was in type the Government has agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the case against the pauper foreigner.

A. W.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

THE Duke of Wellington is reported to have said, in answer to a question of Mr. Babbage, that the difficulties of war were proportioned to the number of combinations involved, and Mr. Babbage seems to have considered that the same law of difficulty applied to almost every subject which falls under the consideration of man. Measured by this standard, local government is perhaps the most difficult problem which presents itself for solution to the English statesman. Take one county alone for an example. The county of Somerset contains 497 parishes, 11 boroughs, 22 unions, 10 local government districts, 17 rural sanitary districts, 66 School Board districts, besides numerous highway districts. Each of these divisions is governed by a separate body with distinct powers, and elected with but few exceptions by separate constituencies, separate modes of voting, and at different times of year. Multiply these authorities by 52, the number of counties in England—and bear in mind that a scheme of local government involves a knowledge of the particulars of each of the above-mentioned authorities, and in many cases an alteration in their status—and some idea may be formed of the difficulties to be overcome. Such being the conditions of the problem, the first step towards arriving at a true conclusion as to the changes to be made in local government is to ascertain with precision the organisation of the existing system; and this knowledge can best be acquired by carrying back our minds to the original divisions of the country and the authorities by which they were ruled, and having discovered the causes which led to those divisions and the advantages or disadvantages thence arising, to pass to the changes they have undergone, and the new authorities which have been established, with a view of satisfying the needs of an ever-increasing population.

The largest and most important area of local government is the county. Its origin is lost in the depths of an unknown antiquity. Different counties probably arose from different causes. Kent is as old as the time of the Romans, and possibly derives its name and its boundaries from the name and location of a British tribe—the Cantii. Other counties may have been Anglo-Saxon kingdoms or Earldoms; while here and there a county may be a memorial of the territory

occupied by an early colony of Germans or Northern people. Whatever its origin, the county in Anglo-Saxon times was divided into hundreds and tithings. Mythologically the hundreds are said to have contained a hundred families, and the tithing ten families. The administration of justice, comprehending in those times the control of all the needs of a simple society, corresponded with the territorial divisions. There was the county court, the hundred court, and the court of the tithing. At these courts the suitors or persons belonging to the several divisions were bound to attend and try all cases and transact all business connected with the county, hundred, or tithing. If any suitor did not keep up the roads which he was liable to maintain by reason of tenure, he was brought before the county court and fined for his neglect. If a suitor fouled his neighbour's stream, he was tried by his suitors, his peers, and compelled to cease from committing the nuisance complained of. The court itself took cognisance of any injuries or nuisances to the community of which no private complaint was made. Theoretically the Anglo-Saxon system is the most perfect scheme of local government ever constructed by man: the unit was the tithing, the hundred an exact multiple of the unit, while the hundreds completely filled up the area of the county. Further, each of the county divisions had its popular government, and local powers commensurate with its area, and varying in importance in proportion to the extent of the division.

The borough may also trace its pedigree back to Anglo-Saxon, and in some cases to Roman, times. It can scarcely be doubted that London, York, and probably many other towns, had from the earliest times an organisation separate from that of the counties. What this organisation was cannot now be successfully discovered. It is possible that the designation of counties of towns and counties of cities applied in modern times to London, York, and other towns and cities, may be a survival, showing that the constitution of the great towns was practically that of a county, giving powers co-ordinate with those of a county authority to some municipal authority. If so, it will be seen in the sequel that modern legislation will not improbably follow in the ancient track, and that a return to the customs of our ancestors may prove the best tribute we can offer to their wisdom.

Local taxation, which occupies so much of the attention of the legislature in modern times, seems to have been almost unknown in the period of which we have been treating. Its place would appear to have been taken by a system of fines. If an individual committed a criminal or civil offence against his neighbour, he had to pay in purse or in person. If a community failed in its duty to keep up its roads or comply with any other public requirement, it was amerced as a community, and its headmen had to recover the contribution

necessary to pay the ameracements in the best way they could from the individual members composing the community. This practice is an illustration of the custom of our ancestors of imposing on individual owners the obligation to perform the duties incident to property, and of the obligation of the community to take care that its members did not escape without punishment if they made default in their public or quasi-public duties. To pursue farther any antiquarian researches into the origin and incidents of counties and boroughs would be out of place in this paper, which professes to lead the way to a practical future scheme of local government rather than to a review of the past.

It is only necessary to state that the tithing has, by some process which it is impossible to follow through all its gradations, become changed into the parish, while the hundred has become obsolete as an administrative division, and is practically known only to English law as an area, the inhabitants of which are liable to repay the damage caused by riot to any property situate within its limits.

The above-mentioned mode of local government in counties, boroughs, hundreds, and tithings, or parishes, continued for more than two centuries after the Norman Conquest, and would, had it retained its popular form, have required little to adapt it to modern exigencies except a separation of the judicial from the administrative powers, with a delegation of the former class of powers to justices and judges—a system of representation in substitution for the assembly of the whole body of people, and a gradual variation of the boundaries of boroughs, hundreds, and tithings, according to the changes in the agglomerations of population. This was not, however, to be; liberty was, as usual, destroyed by revolution. During the intestine commotions which took place on the deposition of Edward the Second in favour of his son, Edward the Third, Queen Isabella, the mother of the infant prince, sought to strengthen the regal power by giving local judicial power to nominees of the Crown. These nominees were at first styled conservators of the peace, and were invested only with the power of quelling riots and arresting offenders; but after a few years they acquired the powers of hearing and determining felonies, and thus became justices of the peace. The jurisdiction of each set of justices, or their commission as it was called, was rigidly confined to the county for which they were commissioned. They constituted a court only when assembled at their general, or, as they were afterwards called, from the time of their assembling, quarter sessions of the peace. Out of session a justice was only a conservator of the peace. Moreover the Crown did not venture at that time to destroy, even in judicial matters, the popular procedure of the county court, as it was provided that the justices, even in sessions, could not fine or punish any offender unless he was found guilty by the verdict of a jury—a Norman substitute for the

verdict of the assembled suitors of the county court. The precise mode in which the court of the justices in general or quarter sessions by degrees almost wholly supplanted the county court is not known. Gradually they acquired large administrative jurisdiction and a power of taxation, whilst the functions of the county court were restricted to the election of members of parliament for the county—a power technically retained until a very recent period.

As might have been expected, the individual justices did not remain satisfied with their position as mere conservators of the peace without any judicial power, and evil times similar to those to which, as has been shown above, they owed their origin and collective or corporate authority gave occasion to a greater extension of their individual powers. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, Empson and Dudley, to whom the extraordinary office of Clerks of the Forfeitures had been granted, with a view to making their office more profitable, caused a statute to be passed enacting that it should be lawful for the justices to execute all penal statutes without any presentment by a grand jury or trial by a petty jury. This statute was repealed by one of the first Acts of the succeeding reign, and its authors were attainted; but the precedent then set was followed in various Acts passed in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth giving summary jurisdiction, as it is called, or the power of trying offences without a jury, in numerous cases in which small penalties are imposed; and since that period scarcely an Act is passed imposing fines or dealing with small offences which does not increase the summary jurisdiction of the justices.

Viewed in reference to local government, one of the most material consequences of this increase of the jurisdiction of the justices out of sessions was the creation of a fresh division of counties—the petty sessional.

A justice, as his individual responsibility increased, was naturally anxious to seek the aid of his neighbouring justices in the transaction of business. Accordingly for several centuries the county justices have divided their county into districts, called special or petty sessional districts, in which they hold courts, called courts of special or petty sessions, at frequent intervals, and transact a variety of business arising within the petty sessional division. The jurisdiction of the justices, both in and out of sessions, for a long time extended only to criminal matters; but the limit between criminal and administrative business is from its nature not very easily defined, and the legislature, finding the justices established in place of the free Saxon institutions, have from time to time invested them with administrative as well as judicial duties—notably, with the important power of granting licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors and controlling public-houses.

As expenses are necessarily incurred by the exercise of adminis-

trative functions, the justices in quarter sessions, who, as far back as the reign of Henry the Eighth, were empowered to levy a county rate for the maintenance of county bridges, have since had their power of rating extended to the provision of funds for a variety of county requirements. The greater boroughs which, even in Anglo-Saxon times, were probably outside the county jurisdiction, continued, as respects the jurisdiction of the justices, to be treated as separate counties. Each borough had a separate set of justices whose jurisdiction extended to the area of the borough.

The only Anglo-Saxon division which remains to be described is the parish. The origin of the parish, like that of the county, is lost in the mists of the most remote antiquity. Possibly it may have had its source in the mark, the primal Aryan division of land communities. Almost certainly it was, under the name of tithing, township, or vicus, recognised as a separate district by the Anglo-Saxons, and occupied by a group of families, the members of which were bound to be sureties or free pledges for each other, and to discover and deliver up to justice any criminal who committed an offence within their precincts. An ecclesiastical character was superinduced on this secular township by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, who flourished about 673 A.D., and adopted the township where of sufficient extent, and where it was too small a combination of townships, as the ambit within which one minister was to have the cure of souls and to receive tithes. The parish thenceforward seems to have become the general unit of local government; and when in the reign of Elizabeth the maintenance of the poor became a legal public obligation, the Act of 43 Eliz. (which superseded the temporary Act of 39 Eliz. c. 3) provided that the expense of such maintenance should fall upon the parish, and that overseers of the poor should be appointed, consisting of the existing ecclesiastical officers, the churchwardens, and two, three, or four substantial householders. The parish or township would seem from the first to have been a self-governing community, maintaining its own roads, suppressing nuisances, and making bye-laws for the good order and well-being of its members. As in the case of the county, the legislative body consisted at first of an assembly of all the inhabitants called in a parish the vestry; gradually rated inhabitants were substituted for the entire body, and in many cases committees of the vestry which had been appointed for the more convenient transaction of business became permanent institutions, self-elected, or elected by a small minority of the inhabitants, and usurping the powers of the whole body of the parish. The aptitude of old English institutions to adapt themselves to the progressive interests of the country, and of the English to adapt themselves to their institutions when men and institutions are left to settle themselves, can hardly be exemplified better than by the fact that, from the reign of Edward the Third to the reign of William the Fourth, counties, boroughs, and parishes remained

almost unchanged by legislation. Practically little alteration has been made in counties and in parishes, so far as their secular status is concerned, up to the present day; but boroughs, many of which had fallen into the condition of mere names and corrupt little oligarchies, were almost the first objects to the reform of which the attention of the legislature was directed after the Reform Act of 1832.

The Municipal Corporation Act which was passed in the year 1835 was an Act for the regulation of all boroughs, existing and future, except the city of London. It busied itself with two principal objects:—(1) the establishment of a proper form of government, and (2) a definition of the relations intended to subsist for the future between boroughs and the counties in which they were situate, with respect to the jurisdiction of justices and contributions to the county rate. In both cases the new legislation proceeded on the ancient lines of the constitution. As respects government, it extended in effect to all boroughs the system of an elective council which had been adopted by the best regulated municipalities.

For the purpose of county taxation boroughs were divided into two classes: (1) boroughs to which courts of quarter sessions were granted; (2) all other boroughs. The first class of boroughs were exempted altogether from county rate. The second class were subjected to county rate in the same manner, in all respects, as the rest of the county. This exclusion, however, of the quarter-session boroughs from county rates involved no exemption from county expenses, except in respect of such matters as the borough provided for itself, instead of, as hitherto, having them provided by the county. It meant simply that, instead of a rate being levied directly by the county justices for county expenses, they sent in a bill to the borough for such expenses, which was paid by the town clerk in a lump sum out of a borough rate—a rate in the nature of a county rate levied in the borough.

The division of England into counties, boroughs, and parishes was eminently capable of development and expansion. To complete the system nothing was wanted but to revive in a modified form the disused and neglected hundred. When urban powers were required to meet the necessities of new aggregates of population of considerable magnitude, nothing could be more simple than to create new boroughs. In other cases where the parish was too small to be entrusted with the duty of maintaining separately its own poor, or exercising the necessary sanitary powers, the obvious course was to group parishes together into hundreds, and confer on the hundred the required powers. The system would have been completed by investing the county with paramount authority over the hundreds, smaller boroughs, and parishes; while the larger boroughs would have received a measure of autonomy equal or nearly equal to that accorded to the counties.

No doubt in certain cases parishes divided by borough and county boundaries, and counties having detached parts situate in adjoining counties, would have required adjustment; but such areas would have been so insignificant as scarcely to be of any importance in arranging any general system of local government. It is true that the great increase of population in recent times, the rise of new and the decadence of old towns, has made it difficult to adjust satisfactorily the relations between a county and the towns within its jurisdiction; but, be the difficulty what it may, such an adjustment must be made in any scheme of local government worthy of consideration. If the plan is confined to a mere transfer of the powers of the county justices to an elective body, in what position will the towns find themselves? Lichfield, Poole, and Haverfordwest, the first as a county of a city and the others as counties of towns, will occupy a far higher position in the scale of municipal authorities than Liverpool, Manchester, or Birmingham. Ashton-under-Lyne, with a population of over 37,000, would be included in the county in which it is situated, while Banbury, with a population of 3,000, would form in effect a separate county. These examples are taken at random; but a glance at any list of municipal boroughs showing their population and their status as quarter-session or non-quarter-session boroughs, proves that quarter-session boroughs cannot possibly be formed for the purposes of local government into a class by themselves. On the other hand, if certain quarter-session boroughs ought to be included in the county by reason of their smallness, it is quite clear that other urban areas ought not to be so included by reason of their largeness. For example, Blackburn, with a population of 104,012; Oldham, with a population of 111,343; and Sunderland, with a population of 116,262, would, unless population is taken into account, and not the nature of their judicial organisations, form parts of the counties in which they are situate, on the ground that, though they are boroughs having separate commissions of the peace, they are not boroughs having separate quarter sessions. The same difficulty extends to classifying any other description of town by reference to its powers of government. Aberdare and Askew are both local government districts; the first has a population of more than 33,000, while the second has less than 600 inhabitants. Even an Improvement Act is no measure of the importance of a town, as Bilston, with a population of more than 22,000, and Malmesbury, with a population scarcely exceeding 3,000, are both Improvement Act districts. The conclusion to be drawn from the foregoing facts would seem to be inevitable—namely, that the relations of the county to the towns situated within its limits are such that it is impossible to construct any practicable system of local government without settling the position to be assigned to the towns as respects their subordination to or freedom of control from county government, and

therefore without including in any plan of government the subordinate areas as well as the higher county jurisdiction. In short, local government may be compared to an old wall, in which, if you pick out a few bricks, the whole wall falls down, and the question of making a practicable scheme resolves itself into an inquiry, How can a new edifice be framed with the least uprooting of the old foundations and confusion of the old lines?

Attention must now be turned to Poor Law Unions—an entirely new division—which, extended as it has been in its purposes, though not in its boundaries, by subsequent legislation, has so entangled the various threads of local government and local taxation as to require the statutory sword of an Alexander to cut the Gordian knot. The history of the Union is shortly as follows: At and previously to the year 1834, the date of the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, the working of the laws for the maintenance of the poor had become an intolerable burden. The constant grant of outdoor relief in aid of the miserable wages grudgingly paid for labour degraded the labourer to the condition of a pauper, whilst it impoverished the employer by requiring him to bestow on the idle and unworthy workman, under the guise of charitable relief, more than would have been sufficient to provide adequate wages for the remunerative labour of the industrious and willing labourer. At the same time the indoor relief was badly administered in squalid and ill-regulated poorhouses.

The remedy for all this evil would appear to have been simple. Where the borough was large enough to require a separate workhouse, it should have been charged with the obligation of maintaining its own poor, and the task of administering relief should have been imposed on the town council. In other cases, the hundreds formed, as suggested above, out of rural parishes, should have been established as areas of Poor Law relief with a common workhouse and an elective superintending authority. So simple a course did not, however, recommend itself to the views of the Commissioners on whom was imposed by the Poor Law Act the duty of parcelling out England into administrative Poor Law areas. They would seem to have been fired with an ambition to obliterate the old historic landmarks of England, and to have imagined that they could cause the union to supersede the county after the fashion in which the French Assembly managed to substitute modern departments for the time-honoured provinces.

The result of this determination of the Commissioners not 'to stand on the old ways' was somewhat startling. They so arranged the groups of parishes that, out of 618 unions in England and Wales, 137 are situate in two counties, 33 are situate in three counties, and 2 in four counties. They adopted no particular unit of population, no ratio of numbers as between the unions and the counties in

which they were situate. They mixed up rural and urban populations, disregarding the corporate status of boroughs, and dealing with them as mere aggregates of parishes, so that a complete antagonism was set up between municipal and Poor Law management. This new type of organisation occasioned comparatively little difficulty so long as it was restricted to the relief of the poor; but as soon as sanitary legislation made progress, it became necessary to divide England exhaustively into administrative areas for sanitary purposes. The circumstances which led up to this necessity were shortly as follows.

Years ago, as population in England increased, it appeared that the common law of nuisance was insufficient to secure the well-being of a closely packed community. Even in boroughs the maintenance of public health was not sufficiently cared for under the existing municipal institutions. Accordingly, both the old towns with a municipal organisation and new towns without any government at all from time to time applied to Parliament for private Acts called Improvement Acts, enacting within certain areas special powers for drainage, the supply of water and gas, police, the making and enforcing by-laws—in short, all necessary authority for maintaining cleanliness and order in a large community. When the district included in the Act was conterminous with a borough, the town council were entrusted with enforcing the provisions of the Act. In other cases, a new administrative body, under the title of Improvement Commissioners, was constituted by election or otherwise in the manner provided by the Act. A new species of municipality was thus created in the country called Improvement Act districts; they were not necessarily in harmony with any existing boundaries, but cut alike parochial or even borough boundaries, in order to follow a line enclosing large masses of contiguous population. The expense of procuring these Acts and the inertness of town populations made such populous places as were regulated by them an exception rather than a rule, and accordingly in 1848 what may be called a general Improvement Act was passed, declaring that in all places to which the Act applied some of the most material health provisions of the Improvements Acts should be in force. But to what places did the Act apply? None were mentioned in the Act, and to bring it into force an additional power was invoked, either an Order in Council or a provisional order, according as the inhabitants of a locality did or did not petition for its introduction. A central authority was established by the Act, called the General Board of Health, charged with the duty of enforcing the Act compulsorily in towns where an exceptional rate of mortality prevailed, and of making Orders in Council for bringing it into operation when requested by the inhabitants of a locality so to do.

Boroughs and Improvement Act districts were recognised by a

provision that, in cases where the area within which the Act was enforceable corresponded with their boundaries, the town council or the improvement commissioners should be the governing body. In other cases a new elective body called a Local Board was elected by the ratepayers to administer the Act. A third description of town was thus added to boroughs governed by their councils, and to Improvement Act districts governed by their commissioners—namely, a local board district governed by an elective local board. Here, again, it must be recollected that the aggregation of population, not any known boundary, dictated the area of local board districts, which were planted up and down the country with a complete disregard of every consideration except that of the immediate convenience of a certain number of persons dwelling in one locality.

Matters thus progressed until the year 1858, when the General Board of Health was abolished under the weight of the unpopularity it had incurred by bringing the Act into operation in localities against the wishes of the inhabitants. And it was provided that the Act should only come into force in places where it was adopted by the inhabitants. No restriction was imposed on the size of the place authorised to adopt the Act, and in a short time a number of villages which were desirous of acquiring the management of their own affairs made themselves into local government districts with all the powers and administrative forms of a large town.

Such a course was, however, an abuse of the Act, and rural districts practically remained outside the pale of the new sanitary legislation until the years 1865 and 1868, when the Sewage Utilisation Act of 1865 and the Sanitary Act of 1868 extended to every place, not subject to the Local Government Act, the clauses of that Act relating to sewers, to scavenging, and the provision of water-closets and privies. A new authority, called the Sewer Authority, was now called into existence for the sake of giving effect to the Act of 1865—namely, in boroughs the town council, in Improvement Act districts the improvement commissioners, and in parishes the vestry. Up to this time sanitary legislation had in the main, though amid many incongruities, been proceeding on what may be called natural principles. All that was necessary was to have confined the new type of organisation unions to their immediate purpose, Poor Law relief; and to have adopted highway districts, petty sessional districts, or other convenient groups of parishes not overlapping county boundaries, as the basis for rural sanitary administration.

A resort, however, to the old historical divisions of the country was not pleasing to the Poor Law Board, which had recently acquired control over the Sanitary Acts and had exchanged its old title of Poor Law Board for the wider designation of Local Government Board. The newly named board regarded the union as a sort of magic boundary, within which all administrative excellence and out

of which every species of disorder prevailed. They could not make the union, with its frequent intermixture of large towns with small villages, into a complete sanitary district; that would have been too absurd, as such an arrangement would have made the same powers applicable to a village of 100 inhabitants as to a borough of 100,000. What they did do was this: they took out of each union all towns under the Public Health Acts, and called them urban sanitary districts, and then grouped the whole of the remaining parishes and parts of parishes contained in the union into an administrative area called a rural sanitary district. The rural districts thus formed out of the residue of unions cannot be regarded as a group of communities with common wants or common interests. They are rural parishes and scraps of rural parishes, often separated by the intervention of large towns, and when not so separated are not unfrequently so distant from each other that a representative of one parish has but little, if any, acquaintance with the wishes or necessities of another parish in the same district. The union even for Poor Law purposes was often a disjointed and ill-considered area; but when its organisation was extended to purposes strictly local, as for example drainage, it is scarcely possible to imagine a worse system of grouping together communities than that of the rural sanitary district.

Few subjects of local government are of greater importance than roads. In England the parish was the area originally charged with the duty of making and repairing roads, and in many cases the obligation of the parish remains unimpaired; but in 1862 an Act was passed for the formation of highway districts by the grouping of parishes, and in pursuance of its provisions, highway districts were wholly or partially formed in about forty counties. At first the expenses of maintenance remained as before, payable by each parish in the district; but, as often happens in England after a time, the convenience of throwing the burden over the whole area instead of over the constituent parts prevailed, and the expense of the highways in highway districts was made payable out of a district fund. In some instances the duties of highway district boards have become vested in urban or rural sanitary authorities; but a considerable number of highway districts still remain, and in dealing with any system of local government we have to consider highway boards as a distinct authority, exercising a most important function of local government over a considerable portion of the county.

A new local authority and one of increasing importance was established in 1870 by the Act of 33 & 34 Vict. c. 75. This was the School Board. Boroughs and parishes were the areas selected for the enforcement of primary education. If in a borough sufficient school accommodation was not provided by voluntary contributions to satisfy the requirements of the Act, a certain statutory machinery was set at work, and an elective board became the school board, and

was bound to provide for any deficiency in the education by erecting and maintaining schools out of a school rate. Similarly in a parish an elective school board was established to make up out of the parochial rate any educational accommodation which fell short of the statutory standard. In a short time a further step in advance was taken: it was determined to make the attendance at schools compulsory. Where school boards were established nothing was required but to give the boards power to make and enforce bye-laws for attendance. But what was to be done in the very numerous cases in which school boards had no jurisdiction? Here another body was to be called into existence, and here, again, the Local Government Board, to whom the jurisdiction was entrusted, followed its former precedent, and had influence enough to get an Act passed authorising in rural districts the guardians of the union and in boroughs the council to appoint attendance committees or bodies of persons empowered to enforce the attendance of children in schools; thus adding one more to the anomalies produced by the pernicious constitution of unions.

The question of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors remains to be considered; for, although at the present moment the grant of such licences is a judicial function exercised by magistrates, it is almost certain that a system of local self-government cannot be satisfactory which does not provide immediately or proximately for local option, or, in other words, for the transfer to some one or more of the newly created bodies of the power of regulating public-houses and places which supply alcoholic liquors. To give an accurate summary of the law on the subject is almost impossible, as it is contained in some fifty statutes with contradictory provisions, reflecting the existing political feeling of the time at which each Act was passed, here encouraging, there repressing, the multiplication of houses for selling liquor. The general outline is as follows:—Wholesale dealers are exempted altogether from the supervision of magistrates, with the sole exception of public-house keepers, who are in law regarded principally as retail dealers, though empowered to sell wholesale. Retail dealers in any description of intoxicating liquors, except wine merchants and spirit merchants, require a licence from justices. The primary authorities for the grant of licences are the county justices in petty sessions and the borough justices or licensing committee of justices in the case of all boroughs having a separate commission of the peace. The grant of new licences, creating new public-houses, is guarded with special jealousy. In counties, the grant by the justices in petty sessions requires to be confirmed by a county committee appointed by quarter sessions, while the grant must be confirmed in boroughs having more than ten justices by the whole body of borough justices, and in other boroughs by a committee consisting partly of county and partly of borough justices. The broad distinction

between the licensing justices considered as a local authority and the other administrative bodies of which we have been treating is that the licensing justices have no power of levying rates and practically require no public money for the exercise of their functions, as the sums paid for justices' licences are sufficient to pay the costs actually incurred in carrying into effect the powers exercised.

The composition of the various local bodies is no less important to be known than the areas within which they exercise their authority, as has been already stated. In counties the justices in quarter sessions and the justices in petty sessions are the administrative authorities; the justices in quarter sessions managing the general affairs of the county, the justices in petty sessions exercising various subordinate administrative functions. The justices are nominees of the Crown appointed on the recommendation of the lord-lieutenant of each county.

Boroughs are governed by an elective council, consisting of a mayor, aldermen, and councillors. The council are elected directly by the burgesses, and the mayor and aldermen by the council. The councillors and aldermen alike retire by rotation, the difference being that one-third of the councillors retire every year, while of the aldermen one half retire every three years. The governing body of a parish is the vestry already described.

The administrative authority of a union is a board of guardians, consisting partly of elective and partly of *ex officio* guardians. The elective guardians are representatives of the various parishes constituting the union, elected by the owners and ratepayers; the *ex officio* guardians are the justices of the peace, resident in the union and acting for the county in which the union is situate. Highway districts are governed by the waywardens of the constituent parishes; that is to say, by the surveyors of such parishes assembled together as an incorporated board.

The government of a rural sanitary district consists of the Poor Law guardians of the parishes constituting the district; that of an urban sanitary district is in the case of a borough the municipal council; in the case of an Improvement Act district the improvement commissioners, elected under the special Act constituting the district; in the case of a local government district the ruling authority is a local board elected by the owners and ratepayers of the district.

A school board in boroughs is elected by the burgesses; in parishes not situate in boroughs, by the ratepayers.

The mind perplexed by the number of local authorities is utterly bewildered when it attempts to form a general idea of the mode in which the various elective bodies are chosen. A table comparing the franchises of boroughs, vestries, unions, school boards, and local boards, shows that in almost every instance the qualifications of the electors

differ; in the case of the unions, common law vestries, and local boards a plurality of votes is allowed, while a single vote only can be given in boroughs. Further, the cumulative vote is permissible in the election of members of a school board, though not in the election of members of any of the other local authorities. Similarly the times of the election of members and their rotation are as various as the bodies themselves. Nothing would be gained by stating these differences in minute detail, as any simplification of the mode of election of such bodies can only be made by taking some common franchise and applying it to the whole class of local electors.

The expenses of a local authority are defrayed out of a rate or tax levied in respect of property situate within its jurisdiction. The first step towards a rate is a valuation and register of all rateable property. For this purpose England may be considered as divided into separate occupations, every house or portion of land in the hands of a different occupier being considered as a separate rateable hereditament. Each of these hereditaments is first valued by the overseers; the valuation thus made is submitted to an assessment committee, consisting of persons appointed by the guardians of the union in which the property is situate, and if approved by them becomes *primâ facie* the legal value of the property. Various appeals are allowed, but if none are proceeded with, the value thus assigned to a portion of land is entered in the parish register as the value of the land for the purpose of parochial rating.

The county, however, is not bound by the parochial valuation; it makes its rate on parishes, and not on individuals; and, subject to the right of appeal on the part of the parish, may raise or diminish the rateable value of the parish. Suppose, for example, the parish of Egham to be assessed for the purpose of the poor rate at a rateable value of 100,000*l.*, and the justices of the county of Surrey to raise the value to 110,000*l.*, no alteration takes place in the parochial assessment; the only consequence is that the parish of Egham contributes to the county rate, in relation to other parishes in the county, in the proportion of 110,000*l.* instead of 100,000*l.*, and that the overseers distribute the sum so required to be found by the parish amongst the ratepayers according to their parochial rateable values. Similarly when agricultural property is exempted, as in the case of a sanitary rate, from a proportion of the urban expenses, a similar process is adopted; the overseers distribute the total sum required amongst the persons liable, treating the rateable value of agricultural property as being of such diminished value as is equivalent to the proportion allowed them by the law. This system is obviously susceptible of great simplification. Retain the parish as the unit of rating, and all that is necessary is to enact that every authority having power to demand any contribution from a parish or part of a parish shall serve a precept on the overseers stating the amount required

before a given day in the year. The overseers will then make up their annual budget, and issue a notice to the parishioners stating what sums and in respect of what rates will be levied during the ensuing year. Similarly if a borough or other urban district comprising more than one parish be adopted as a larger unit, the difference will be that the town clerk or other urban officer, instead of serving precepts for contributions from the several constituent parishes or parts of parishes, will himself make a register of all the rateable property of the borough or district, and will directly apportion and levy the sums due from the individual ratepayers, instead of leaving that duty to the overseers.

An account of the existing state of local government in England would be imperfect without a description of the principal powers of control and interference vested in the Treasury, the Home Office, the Privy Council Office, and the Local Government Board. The Treasury approves the loans taken up by boroughs, and the Home Office inspects the police, with a power of disallowing the contribution from Imperial funds if the force is insufficient or ineffective. The Education Department of the Privy Council exercise a general supervision over elementary schools, and give or withhold the grant of public money according to the state of efficiency in which their inspectors find the schools under their jurisdiction. The largest powers of interference, descending even into the minute details of local administration, reside in the Local Government Board. This board, in its capacity of superintendent of the Poor Law, has complete power over the paid officers of the local authority; it fixes their number and salaries, and may remove them; the board may make regulations interfering with almost every detail of administration, and no act of any consequence is valid without the previous authority of the Local Government Board. In short, the guardians are little more than the local agents of the central board entrusted with the office of determining to what individual within their jurisdiction poor relief is to be given. In sanitary matters the board has considerable control, but not descending to the details of administration, as in the case of the Poor Law. The principal duty of the board is to sanction loans contracted by the sanitary authority, to augment the powers of a rural sanitary authority by assigning to them any powers of an urban authority which may be required, and, lastly—a most important power—to take measures, in the event of a sanitary authority failing in the performance of their duties, to compel them to make good their default within a given time, under pain of having other persons appointed to fulfil the duty at the cost of the authority in default. In aid of the local authorities considerable grants are made out of the Imperial exchequer, the most important of which are allowances for the support of the police, the costs of the prosecutions at sessions and assizes, and the large grants for educational purposes.

The material powers of the various local authorities may be gathered from the foregoing pages, but it may be well to give them in a collective form. The list is as follows:—

Summary of local powers.

1. Police.
2. Appointment of coroners.
3. Maintenance of county roads and bridges.
4. Confirmatory and appellate powers in relation to licences for sale of intoxicating liquors.
5. Powers as to lunatic asylums, reformatory and industrial schools, and committees of prisons.
6. Administration of various Acts of Parliament, e.g. cattle plague Acts.
7. Miscellaneous administrative powers of justices in quarter sessions.
8. Poor Law relief and administration.
9. Maintenance of roads, other than county and parochial roads.
10. Town improvements and urban powers.
11. Powers of assessment committees.
12. Administrative powers of justices in petty sessions, in respect of licences for sale of intoxicating liquors and otherwise.
13. Inspection and prevention of nuisances.
14. Sewage and drainage.
15. Schools.
16. Gas and water supply.
17. Establishment of public libraries, and the execution of Acts, the execution of which is vested in parishes.
18. Powers and duties of registration and otherwise vested in and imposed on overseers and vestries.

Of these powers 1 to 7 may be described as county powers or powers vested in counties and boroughs having co-ordinate power with counties.

The powers numbered 8 to 13 may be named district powers, and are exercised in the main by unions, sanitary authorities, and petty sessional justices. Numbers 14 to 18 are parochial powers, and are carried into execution by vestries and similar bodies.

The above classification is purposely very general, and does not pretend to great accuracy, the object being to show the powers with which the local government reformer will have to deal rather than an exact account of their existing distribution.

To these local powers must be added the various duties of control and superintendence vested in government departments, the whole of which, with the exception of powers of audit and inspection on appeal in certain material cases, should be delegated to the local authorities.

Such is a bird's-eye view of the whole field of local government. If depicted in a map, the areas form an entangled mass of interlacing boundaries, and when it is remembered that each area is a separate little kingdom with its governing body, its administrative officers, its taxation, overlapping and conflicting with each other, requiring separate elections with different franchises and expensive registration, the reform of such a system would seem to require from its complexity the genius of a local government Moltke.

But is there no principle to guide us through this labyrinth? Mr. Mill affords a clue in a few pregnant words in his treatise on Local Representation, chap. xv. :—

The local representation of rural districts will naturally be determined by geographical considerations, with due regard to those sympathies of feeling by which human beings are so much aided to act in concert, and which partly follow historical boundaries, such as counties and provinces, and partly community of interest and occupation, as in agricultural, maritime, manufacturing, and mining districts. Different areas of local business may require different areas of representation.

Looking back by the light of the foregoing maxim at the descriptions of local areas given above, it would seem clear that the county and parish are the areas which beyond all compare have the greatest claims on 'those sympathies of feeling' that 'follow historical boundaries.' A Yorkshireman is proud of his county, eats Yorkshire pies and Yorkshire pudding with a conviction that no other county can furnish similar delicacies, and talks of Yorkshire horses as if Eclipse and Flying Childers had been indigenous productions of Yorkshire. So with every other county, as the patriot in *Pinafore* chose to remain an Englishman, though 'he might have been a Rooshian, French or Turk or Prooshian,' so the native of every county, 'greatly to his credit and he himself' will say it, will choose to remain in his own county, however much a paternal Legislature may wish to put him into another county. The parish also in rural districts has the strongest hold on the affections. The native of the country village, wheresoe'er he roams, recollects the old church and the rugged elms and that yew tree's shade under which he sat as a boy and to which he would fain return in his old age and sleep beneath its branches the last long sleep. On the other hand, who ever heard of man, woman, or child who had a sentiment for the union in which he has resided or a partiality for the petty sessional division in which he or she was born? If we pass from rural to urban England, the affection for the parish will be found to be merged in the affection for the town. Here, then, 'community of interest and occupation' takes the place of historical recollections, and creates an *esprit de corps* amongst fellow townsmen yielding in strength to no other social feeling.

Our tale is told. Materials have, it is hoped, been provided enabling the reader to form a judgment as to the general principles on which

a local government scheme should be formed. The Government have promised such a scheme; their task is a difficult one, and their efforts should be favourably judged irrespective of party and Home Rule controversy.

The object of the foregoing pages is to recommend the least possible disturbance of territorial memories and common associations. Keep the county, with a few necessary alterations of outlying parts and awkward corners. Keep the parish, keep the town, adapt the old name of hundred to a new group of parishes, and establish elective councils for the county, the hundred, the parish or group of parishes. In effect, revert to the old divisions of county, county of town, borough, corporate town, hundred, parish, adjusted so as to meet the requirements of modern civilisation. Whatever scheme is adopted, anomalies without number must be admitted. The give-and-take principle must be stretched to the utmost; time must be given for bringing into effect the provisions of the scheme. Last, but not least, considerable relief must be given to local taxation, if Englishmen are to be persuaded to change the ills of a local government they wot of for the prospect of a simplified form of government with which they are unacquainted.

The consideration of any detailed scheme must be deferred until the Government have declared their intentions.

THRING.

*THE CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES.*

II.

THE Constitution of the United States consists, as originally framed, of a short preamble and seven articles, containing twenty-two sections. To these have been added by way of amendment, fifteen articles, embracing twenty-one sections. Many an Act of Parliament or of Congress, on a single and often subordinate topic, is much longer than the entire Constitution, with all the amendments that a century has produced. Yet a document of this brevity has proved sufficient to establish and maintain during that time a system of government which has proved adequate to all the requirements and all the exigencies of a great nation, and under which has been enjoyed an unexampled prosperity. No provision has been found wanting or incompetent, no language either uncertain or incomplete.

Quite apart from the political system which is thus created, the instrument itself is manifestly of no ordinary character as a medium of expression. It may be doubted whether it has any parallel among the forms of law. It is worth while to glance briefly at the qualities that distinguish it in this respect, and which are not so familiar in more recent times as to have fallen into contempt. They may be found, upon observation, to be principally three. That it is confined to the proper office of a constitution, the ordaining of the fundamental law: that it prescribes only general and comprehensive rules, not seeking to anticipate their application: that its language is singularly perspicuous, and its forms of expression simple and direct, with no word to spare, and none lacking to the sense.

The line that separates constitutional law from the province of legislation, is not always clearly observed, and is perhaps only material to be observed where written constitutions prevail. The one deals with the unchangeable, the other with the fluctuating; the one chiefly with principles, the other altogether with measures. The value of a constitution is in its permanence; the efficiency of statutes, in their capacity for modification, as the progress of society or business requires. Legislation is largely experimental; of the necessity of constitutional provisions there should be no room for doubt. If these different provinces be confounded, if the constitution

undertakes to exert the legislative power, instead of merely defining the necessary limits within which it may be exercised, confusion and embarrassment must result. Yet it is the tendency of partisans and zealots not to rest content with legislating, in dealing with matters that are the proper subjects of legislation, but to strive to incorporate their views—usually extreme views—into the fundamental law, so as to exclude those who come after them from making laws for themselves. It will be found upon examination of the American Constitution, that aside from the machinery of the Government it establishes, and in respect to which it contemplates the possible necessity of amendment, there is no rule and no restriction which it prescribes, that is not permanently essential to the maintenance of the principles on which it is based, to the protection of undeniable rights, or to the support of the national authority; and that no legislative power is excluded, unless it be one that cannot safely be exerted at all, nor any included of which the exercise is fettered.

The Constitution is equally fortunate in the breadth and comprehensiveness of the rules it lays down. The difference between a general rule, which gives effect to a principle, and a series of special provisions that attempt to apply it beforehand to all future vicissitudes, is the difference between the legislation that accompanies and assists the progress of human affairs, and that which opposes and retards it. The general rule is elastic, and opens a field for wise and just administration in its employment. It is capable of the extension, restriction, and modification which its principle requires, in dealing with the infinite variety of circumstances necessary to be encountered. It possesses a force that reaches them all, and at the same time admits of the exceptions which prove its propriety. Special enactments, on the other hand, which try by elaboration of detail to anticipate the unforeseen, and to guard against the unknown, often tie up the hands of justice. They are apt to apply where they should not apply, and to fail where they are needed; they proceed upon the assumption that the future must perpetually repeat the past, and can produce no circumstances not known in advance to the lawgiver. The bane of law is the multiplication of statutes, and the bane of statutes is the multiplication of words. There is no more striking illustration in the history of jurisprudence, of the wisdom of general rules, than is afforded by the fabric of wise and beneficent law and government that has arisen upon the foundation of those contained in the Constitution of the United States.

The felicity of the language in which this instrument is expressed, is best shown by the remarkable fact, that in all the legislative and judicial criticism to which almost every line of it has been subjected, and in all the multiplicity of cases to which its terms have had to be applied, there is but a single instance (and that of questionable

necessity) where any amendment of its words has been found desirable, or has even been proposed. In that clause which prescribes the limit of the judicial power, it was claimed, and by a majority of the Supreme Court held, that the language justified the inference that a State might be made a defendant in a Federal Court, at the suit of a citizen of another State. The attribute of sovereignty, that a government will not allow itself to be summoned before a court of justice by a citizen, was too well understood by the eminent lawyers who drafted the Constitution, and the Convention that adopted it were much too jealous of infringing upon the independence of the States, to leave it to be supposed that it was meant to create such a jurisdiction. And as soon as it was determined that this construction might nevertheless be given to the language of the clause in question, an amendment was agreed to, by general consent, declaring that the judicial power should not be construed to extend to any suit prosecuted against one of the States by citizens of another State, or of a foreign State.

So remarkable a document naturally excites interest in the question of its authorship; but it is one hardly capable of an answer. The final draft, made after all the articles had been separately agreed upon, was written by Gouverneur Morris, of New York, a statesman and a scholar. It is not understood, however, that much of the language was his own; because in the course of the protracted discussion that had occurred, every clause had taken shape, and all terms had been considered and settled. The Constitution was not the work of any one man, or committee of men, nor were the views of any one man adopted in all respects in its provisions. It was the result of the joint labours of the Convention, in which many of the members took conspicuous part. Without the paramount and earnest efforts of Washington, it is doubtful whether any conclusion at all would have been reached by the Convention, or if reached, would have been ratified by the States. But it is not known that he contributed especially towards the framing of the Constitution, and it is certain that he did not take much part in the debates. Undoubtedly the leading mind in the Convention in that work, was James Madison, of Virginia. He was a statesman of large and enlightened views, a profound student of the principles of government, and of great experience in legislative life. Afterwards Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Jefferson, he succeeded him, and became President of the United States for eight years. His hand and voice were more largely felt than those of any other member of the Convention in the framework of the Constitution, and in the discussions in regard to it; though to some of its provisions his views were opposed. Another most conspicuous and distinguished figure was Alexander Hamilton, of New York, who as a lawyer was at the head of the New York Bar, and as a statesman in the front rank of his time. He

became Secretary of the Treasury under President Washington, and handled the exhausted finances of the new Government with extraordinary skill and success. It was of him that Webster said: 'He touched the corpse of the public credit, and it rose to its feet.' Only his untimely death prevented his occupying a very prominent place in subsequent American politics. It is known that Hamilton's opinion was in favour of giving to the President and to the Senate a life tenure of office. His highly conservative views had a sensible influence in the formation of the Constitution, and though as finally completed it was still too democratic to satisfy him, he became an ardent advocate for its ratification. In connection with Madison and John Jay, he wrote the series of essays upon the Constitution and its principles, known as *The Federalist*, which is still one of the most valuable commentaries upon political science. Of these essays he was the author of fifty-one, Madison of twenty-nine, and Jay of five. They had a great effect upon the public opinion of the time. In the Convention of the State of New York, called to determine whether that State would adopt the Constitution, Hamilton was a leader, and more efficient than any one else in bringing about a favourable result.

Other men there were in the Convention that framed the Constitution, strong, resolute, capacious. There seems to appear in great emergencies, a force unfelt at other times, that might be called the attraction of public necessity, which brings to the surface a quality of men who otherwise would have remained unseen—children of the gods, who in human affairs work so rarely but so well. There were no political parties in that fortunate morning: the jargon of faction was not heard in the Convention, and the curse of partisan warfare did not attend its labours. The records of its work are comparatively meagre: only flashes of its spirit are visible to us: the voices are those of the grey dawn, before the full light has fallen upon the speakers. But from all that is or can be known about them at this day, there remains no manner of doubt of the patriotism, the disinterestedness, and singleness of purpose, as well as the great mastery of constitutional principles, with which all the members of that body wrought together, from February to September, in the effort to lay the foundations of a beneficent and permanent Government. Perhaps it is because they thought so strongly, and felt so deeply, that their language became so clear, so simple, so direct. The dignity and earnestness of their employment doubtless gave a character to their words.

When at last, after hope had often failed, and effort had more than once appeared to be in vain, the great work somehow got itself done, and the new Constitution arose before them, symmetrical and complete, out of the long-troubled sea, all became sensible of its power and its promise. Argument ceased, opposition subsided, and

it hardly needed the final appeal of Washington to obtain for it the unanimous approval of the States represented. 'The members,' says Bancroft, 'were awestruck at the result of their councils; the Constitution was a nobler work than they had believed it possible to devise.'

But whatever the original excellence of the Constitution as a written document, the system of government that has arisen upon its foundations, is far less a creation than a growth. This is true of all governments and all systems of law, administrative or judicial, and especially of those found among English-speaking people. It has been a growth not away from, nor outside of the provisions of the fundamental law, but their natural result. It is in the capacity for such an expansion, that the highest excellence of the Constitution lies. It became what it is, through the construction and application that were given to its provisions. The wisdom that framed it would have been thrown away, but for an equal wisdom to adapt the framework to its use. It was as fortunate in one as in the other, for again in this critical period, the man and the time appeared together.

John Marshall, of Virginia, was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1801, and remained in that office until he died in 1835. His predecessors had held the place for only very brief periods, and but few questions under the Constitution had arisen for their decision. The field opened to Marshall and his associates on the bench, in the construction and adaptation of that instrument, was therefore nearly untrampled. In the thirty-five years during which he presided, the Constitution in its most important features, and in respect to its controlling principles and rules of construction, took permanent shape.

It was said of Marshall by William Pinckney, that 'he was born to be the Chief Justice of whatever country his lot might happen to be cast in.' In temper judicial, in character dignified and blameless, in perception unerring, in reasoning luminous, in the principles of law a master, his judgments, sustained by an invincible logic, and expressed with a nervous simplicity that left no word to be misunderstood, approached the nature of demonstration. Imbued with the spirit of all precedent, he rarely cited any; rich in the learning of jurisprudence, he used it to illustrate principles, not to obscure them. Englishmen, less familiar with American history than with the long line of illustrious names that have adorned the judgment-seat of their country, may be surprised to be told that John Marshall, in the qualifications of a great magistrate, as well as in the magnitude and dignity of his judicial work, was the peer of the best among them all.

His associates on the bench were also men of a high order. Three of them had been members of the Convention that adopted the Constitution; another, for a considerable part of the time, was Judge

Story, one of the most learned of American lawyers. But it stands upon their testimony, that in constitutional law, Marshall was the master spirit. Only once while he was on the bench, was he overruled upon a question of that sort, and then by a bare majority of his associates. And it is now plain to be seen that in that instance the strength of the argument was on his side.

The problems presented to the Supreme Court were altogether new in a tribunal of law. Courts are usually concerned with the administration of individual justice. They are not called upon to settle principles of government, to adjust the relations of States, or to set bounds to the exertion of political authority. The proceedings of Courts sitting under the common law had been previously based upon a system of government they had little share in forming, and upon the will of Parliament as the supreme law, and the final arbiter of the Constitution. There were therefore no precedents by which this Court could be guided; they had to make precedents, not to follow them. The intent and scope of the Constitution had to be deduced by general principles of construction, in view of its great purposes and far-reaching consequences.

The questions were not only novel but difficult. Many of them had given rise to great difference of opinion among lawyers, judges, and statesmen, and the Court was not always able to reach a unanimous conclusion in deciding them. This paper would extend into a treatise were it attempted to review or even to state the series of decisions, in which one doubt after another, arising upon the Constitution, was settled and disposed of. Questions affecting and determining the powers of the Federal Government, and of its various departments, the authority of the State Governments, and their relation to that of the nation, the extent and quality of the protection afforded by the Constitution to personal and political rights, the limits of the judicial jurisdiction, and many others of minor significance in comparison, but still most material, found a solution in these judgments of the Supreme Court, that has remained and will remain the permanent and undisputed law of the land. And thus was infused into the Constitution, the breath of life.

The effect of these decisions upon public sentiment, as from time to time they took place, was striking and conclusive. However warmly the subjects had been debated, however great had been the diversity of opinion, although in some instances the controversies had assumed a political character, and had entered into the warfare of parties, the judgments of the Court, when they came to be pronounced, always deliberate, passionless, unpartizan, and just, commanded complete and immediate confidence. It was generally seen that they were right; it was always felt that they must be respected.

Time, the supreme test of the value of human exertion, has demonstrated the excellence of this early and striking chapter of

judicial history. What was doubtful in the outset, is now made clear by the light of experience. No competent tribunal could at the present day be induced to abandon or change the principles of constitutional jurisprudence that were established in that first half-century, if they were now all open to be reconsidered.

Looking back upon these discussions with the aid of what has since taken place, it is easy to see how different might have been the result, in the hands of a tribunal less wise and far-sighted. It was the formative period of the Constitution, in which it was determined whether it should perish, or whether it should endure. If its administration had commenced upon narrower or less sagacious principles of interpretation, its history would have been brief. Next to the years of the Revolution, this was the most critical time in the life of the young republic, and perhaps even more critical than they were. Had the Revolution been defeated, another would have succeeded; but had this effort at union failed, as its predecessor did, a third would hardly have been attempted. A better or more hopeful Constitution could not have been constructed. America would probably have been divided into as many States as Europe, under what forms of government, and with what subsequent history, is not to be conjectured.

It is by no means to be inferred from these observations, that it is meant to be implied that the construction of the Constitution was terminated by Marshall's Court. Its great leading principles were then principally determined, and the lines on which its subsequent administration proceeded were in a large measure laid down. In a field so novel, everything depended on the beginning. But so long as the Constitution remains the supreme law, its construction will not terminate. The time will never arrive while the Constitution lasts, in which the Court will cease to be occupied in ascertaining the application of its provisions to new cases and new subjects, in the ever-changing emergencies of human affairs. Many most important and interesting questions have arisen under it, and have been decided, from time to time, and through all the time since Marshall's day. The civil war, especially, was fruitful of controversies involving constitutional discussion, on points of great consequence, which no previous occasion had brought into consideration. During the very last term completed by the Court, four or five cases were determined, which turned upon constitutional questions.

In dealing with this delicate subject the Court expresses no *obiter* opinions. It will never decide such a question under any circumstances, unless it is absolutely necessary to a determination of the case before it. The unconstitutionality of the Act or proceeding in dispute must clearly appear, or it will not be held void; a doubt, however grave, is not enough. It must be shown to infringe some express provision of the Constitution, not merely its general spirit.

And when only a part of an Act is found to be an infringement, the remainder will be valid. A decision once reached, even though by a divided Court, will not be departed from. In only one instance in the history of the Court has the decision of a constitutional question been reconsidered, and a different result arrived at. And that was upon a rehearing of the same case in which the former judgment was given, the Court being on both arguments divided in opinion. It is another rule in respect to these cases, that they will never be heard without the presence of all the members of the Court. And the judgment is always announced in a written opinion, which is placed upon record, and reported under the supervision of the Court.

So much has been said on the subject of judicial construction, that it should be further pointed out, that its application to the Constitution is not universal. The Supreme Court has no jurisdiction to decide questions of that sort, except when they arise in actions at law or in equity, which come before it in actual litigation. Nor will it ever allow fictitious or collusive cases to be made up for that purpose. It is only therefore, when the act or the legislation which is claimed to be in contravention of the Constitution, reaches and actually affects some individual or corporate right, capable of being vindicated in a court of justice, that the question can come before the Supreme Court for consideration. Legislative or executive proceedings which are in their nature political, which however they may affect the general welfare, and the public interest, do not come in contact with personal rights, or reach one individual in the community more than another, cannot be the subject of litigation. In respect to such subjects the action of the Executive or Legislative Departments within their respective spheres is final, and the judicial power has nothing to do with it but to accept the result. Such are questions of the existence of war or peace, the *de facto* government of a foreign country, or the extent of its jurisdiction, the authority of ambassadors or ministers from other countries, the admission or division of States, and others of the same general character. Many topics of this sort, involving grave constitutional enquiries, have been discussed and dealt with in Congress upon memorable occasions. The public policy of the Government has been thus directed and controlled. It has been with the relation of the States and their citizens to the Federal Government under the Constitution, that the Supreme Court has been chiefly concerned.

The leading and most material points of variance between the British and the American Constitutions, are few in number, though important in substance. The most conspicuous are the least significant; the most significant, the least conspicuous. The difference between the hereditary and the elective Executive and Upper House is the most obvious to the general eye, but is after all principally a

difference in the form and machinery of government. The Monarch reigns for life, but does not govern; the President governs for four or eight years, but does not reign. The systems are not interchangeable; each is best where it is; neither country would tolerate a substitution of the other system for its own.

The fundamental distinctions between the two Governments are to be found in the existence in the United States of a written instead of an unwritten Constitution; of a division of sovereignty between the Federal Government and the States; of a peculiar combination of checks and counterpoises among the various departments of government; and in the preponderance given to the judicial power as the interpreter of the Constitution, and for the protection of personal rights.

The written Constitution was a necessity; because when it was framed, no traditional constitution existed in that country, and a new one had to be created. But this was hard for men of English blood to realise. So strong in the minds of many of them was the idea of inherited constitutional rights, that, as has been pointed out in a former paper, many of the provisions for the protection of personal liberty were at first omitted from the instrument, under the supposition that an assertion of them was unnecessary, and might even be prejudicial. It was only upon subsequent consideration that it was fully perceived, that the Constitution, if written, must be the whole Constitution, and must therefore be made complete in itself; that the rights of Englishmen under the British Government would not follow them into another land, after they had thrown off their allegiance and become independent, unless in some effectual way incorporated into the new institutions which they established. The written Constitution has certain advantages of its own, as has likewise the unwritten. Both, as has been before remarked, are the result of growth: the one from the seed, naturally; the other from the young tree, transplanted into a different soil, trained in another form, and stimulated by the fresh atmosphere of a new world.

The division of sovereignty between the National Government and those of the States, was also a necessity. In a country so large, composed of provinces so numerous, and local interests so diverse, it would have been quite impossible that all the functions of civil authority should have been discharged by one organisation. The adjustment of such a division of power, so as to preserve as far as possible the independence and local jurisdiction of the States, while assuring to them the protection of the Federal Government, and yet to assign to that Government all the predominance necessary to its permanence, and its successful administration, was much the most difficult problem presented to the authors of the Constitution. It was solved with a success that has proved complete. And the provisions by which the result was accomplished, are perhaps the most

interesting that the Constitution contains. It may be useful to advert, very shortly, to the principles upon which they rest.

The term 'federation' is capable of different meanings. It may signify a mere alliance between states, for certain purposes; or it may mean the formation out of several states, of one common government. In either sense, but especially in the latter, it indicates a process of union between those previously separate, not a separation of those before united, and presupposes both independence and equality on the part of all its members. This was the condition (as has been shown before) upon which the American Union was founded. All the States of which it is composed reserved to themselves the same independence, and the same powers, surrendered to the Federal Government the same measure of authority, and acquired under that Government the same rights. Thus preserving, after the Union, the equality in all respects which existed between them before it was formed. The National Government by this means created, was a new one, the product of the compact to which all its people, acting through the medium of their States, became parties. And in all its departments they have a share, equal as States, proportionate as citizens. In the Senate, all States having an equal representation; in the House of Representatives, a representation based upon population. In the election of a President, these two bases being combined, each State having two electoral votes, and as many more as it has representatives in the House, which must at least be one. Thus New York, which has thirty-six representatives, has thirty-eight electoral votes; while Delaware, which has but one representative, has three electoral votes.

Under the Constitution, the States acquire also, all necessary protection. It is made the duty of the Federal Government to protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature of a State, or of its Executive, (when the Legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

Another source of strength to the American Federation, is found in the similarity which it ensures among the State Governments. It is questionable whether this element may not be indispensable to the success of a national authority founded upon a federation, at least when its members are contiguous. It is provided in the Constitution that the United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government; that is to say, that even a majority of the people of any State would be restrained, by the interference of the National power, from establishing a government of any other character. The States that formed the Union had all pre-existing republican constitutions of their own. Before any State is admitted by Congress to the Union, the form and nature of its proposed State Government is scrutinized, and conditions in respect to it may be imposed if Congress deems it proper. This appears to be essential

to the symmetry of the Union, and to the discharge by the States of the obligations and requirements incurred by becoming members of it. It is essential also to those rights of inter-citizenship among the citizens of different States, that have been before described. They must be made friends in a common interest, not enemies in a conflicting one. The difference between the institutions of the Northern and of the Southern States arising out of the existence of slavery in the latter, was a disturbing element from the very outset. It was felt in the Convention that proposed the Constitution, and had then to be made the subject of compromise, and it continued to be a steadily-increasing menace to the stability of the Union, till it resulted in civil war. It was found impossible to adjust the rights of inter-citizenship which the Constitution provided for, and which were necessary to the harmony of the States, consistently with the requirements of a system which was at war with all the principles on which the government was based, and with all its other institutions, as well as violently opposed to the public opinion of the Northern States. And its history affords a striking illustration of the necessity, that in a federation of independent States into one government, the institutions of the States and the sentiments of their people should be substantially alike.

Besides the requirement that republican forms of government be maintained, the States, as has been seen, are specially and carefully debarred by the Constitution from all measures of whatever sort that would be inconsistent either with their relation to the National power, or with harmony and free intercourse between each other. And the disturbing element of hostile religions is excluded, by the provisions that no law respecting the establishment of religion shall be made, and that no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the United States. It is not easy to see how any contest or controversy can now arise between the States.

Equally essential to the success, and even to the existence of a federation under a written Constitution, is the constant presence of some authority, in its nature judicial, to determine the questions of disputed jurisdiction between the National Government and the States, that must continually arise, and which no language that can be employed can possibly preclude; and to decide upon the validity, under the provisions of the federation, of the legislative or executive action of one party or the other, when its authority is challenged or doubted. It is manifest that a tribunal that undertakes these delicate and important duties, must be the instrument not of the States which form the federation, or of the Government that results from it, but equally of both. That it should be of such character, dignity, and ability as to command general confidence and respect.

And that its determinations when pronounced, should be enforced, if need be, by the whole power of the National organisation.

The Supreme Court of the United States stands in these respects impartially and in a commanding attitude between the Federal Government and the States, the joint creation of both, equally interested for both. Its members being citizens of different States, selected by the President, confirmed by the Senate, impeachable for judicial misconduct on presentation by the House and trial by the Senate, and unless upon impeachment, their independence assured by a life tenure of office and of compensation. It is no foreign tribunal therefore, nor one appointed by one power to adjudicate upon the rights of another, that thus constitutes the balance wheel of the system of American Federal Government. Nor is there any Department of the Government which has at all times and uniformly, through all political changes and all administrations, so fully retained the public confidence. Its members have throughout been men of the first rank, and its later judgments, as well as the earlier, have been usually approved both by lawyers and by statesmen. The great business interests of the country have continued to feel themselves safe in its hands. While among the common people, there has grown up a sort of vague faith, that would sometimes be ludicrous, if human faith and trust could ever be altogether ludicrous, that there can be no great wrong or outrage, for which, if found remediless elsewhere, there is not in the last resort, somehow or other, a redress to be obtained in the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is as material to the industry and the property of a country, that confidence in their protection should be unimpaired, as that they should actually be protected. It may be even better that they should be sometimes invaded, than that it should be generally understood they are likely to be.

The system of checks and balances established by the Constitution between the various departments of the Federal Government, is another distinctive and important feature of its provisions. It is very complete, and binds together the sources of authority in such a manner that no serious abuse can take place, without the concurrence of at least two, if not of all three. Aside from the division of powers which excludes the Federal Government from the exercise of a large share of them, which is left to the States, it will be seen that in the legislative department, the two Houses, each acting entirely and quite independently upon its own views, constitute a check upon each other. There is no tradition nor understanding that either must give way to the demands of the other, nor can either be in any respects coerced. The veto power of the President is a check upon both. There must be either a concurrence of the two branches of the Legislature and the Executive, or of two-thirds of both

Houses against the Executive, in order that any legislation whatever shall take effect. And when by either of these means a law is enacted, if its constitutionality is denied by any person whose rights are affected by it, the judgment of the judicial power must also be had in its favour.

The President, on the other hand, is subject to the action of Congress in the enactment of all laws that come within their constitutional authority, and which are duly enacted, and it is made his duty to see that they are faithfully executed. In the making of treaties and appointments to office, he is checked by the action of the Senate in respect to their confirmation. He can expend no money for any purpose not first appropriated by Congress. His action as well as that of the Legislative Department may be subjected to the judgment of the Courts, if it invades any personal right, and is in contravention of constitutional restrictions. And finally he may be impeached by the House and tried before the Senate for any offence that is the proper subject of that proceeding, and thus if found guilty be removed from office. But in the appointment and retention of his Cabinet, and in the general administration of the government, he is entirely independent, and is unaffected by hostile majorities in either House of Congress. And except by impeachment, neither he nor his Cabinet can be turned out of office, until the end of his tenure arrives.

The judicial department, subject in all respects to whatever legislation may be adopted by Congress within the limits of its authority, and liable to impeachment as before pointed out, is paramount only in its power over constitutional questions, within the limits that have been stated.

Each department is therefore independent and supreme to the just extent of its authority, and cannot be controlled therein by any other. Each, on the other hand, is restrained within the proper limits of its power by the action of the other branches. Around all stand the impassable and clearly defined barriers of the Constitution, 'the supreme law of the land.'

In respect to the judicial protection afforded by the Constitution of the United States, not only against private but against legislative or governmental infringement, enough has been said. It will be observed that this protection is not a substitute for legislative provisions, but is supplementary to them, and a check upon them. Congress and the President are as much bound to respect in their action the limits of the Constitution, as the Courts are, and it is not presumed that either will ever consciously exceed them. It is only in the event that, under pressure of political controversy, or of popular feeling, or some mistaken view of the restrictions of the fundamental law, such an excess of authority should take place, that the additional safeguard of an appeal to the judicial power comes into play. It is

not therefore the question, whether legislature or judiciary should determine whether a law contravenes the Constitution; so far as individual rights are concerned, both must concur, if the action of the legislature is challenged on that ground.

In the prominence thus given to the judicial power, the Constitution of the United States stands alone among systems of government. The result, thus far in its history, has been most satisfactory. The construction and application which the Constitution has received have been wise, just, harmonious and stable. It has not acquired its significance from party views, varied with the change of administrations, nor under the influence of popular opinion. It has taken shape under the calm light and dispassionate discussion that belong to judicial consideration, where partizan controversy does not intrude, and where all previous precedents are kept in view. A gradual and permanent structure of constitutional law has therefore grown up, sound in its principles, clear and exact in its expression.

It is not to be doubted, that it is because its construction was entrusted so largely to the judicial department rather than to the legislative, that the Constitution has survived. Had the disposal of the new and vital questions it presented been submitted to the latter, and decided as they might have been by the votes of many who were incompetent to deal with such subjects, and under the influence of political excitement, party warfare, and personal ambition, it would have been hardly possible that they should have received the salutary solution they have now attained. Nor would any solution have been final. What one legislature might do, it would have been open for another to undo. And the Constitution would in many material respects have fluctuated in its meaning, in sympathy with the opinions of parties, and the exigencies of administration, unstable as the legislation it was designed to control.

It is not intended in these observations, to institute any general comparison between the legislative and the judicial powers, as the ultimate guardian of the rights of the citizen. But only to illustrate the working of one system, in which the two have been combined. It is undoubtedly true, that in the history of free institutions there has been a gradual advance toward a greater centralisation of power in the legislature, which if subjected to no checks, may be expected to continue. It has been American experience certainly, that it is the encroachments of that department, rather than of the executive, which need principally to be guarded against. The common law in all its branches is fast being superseded by statutes, each framed with a view to its own subject only, with no reference to the general harmony of the system of which it forms a part. Legislation is coming to be thought the universal remedy, and it does not appear to be felt that there can be too much of it. Limits that have formerly restrained it are regarded with impatience, and legislatures are reproached if the

quantity they turn out is small. Human sorrow and misfortune are deemed to be chiefly due to the want of more law. Even the hungry and the naked are taught that they may be fed and clothed with the east wind of fresh statutes. It may be that all human government tends more or less slowly towards despotism of some kind. Either in executive power, in an aristocracy, in legislative authority, in political organisations, or in the supremacy of the multitude. Perhaps the very effort of guarding against one form leads toward another, and so history repeats itself in a slow but perpetual revolution. Power may breed power wherever it resides, and the machinery devised to restrain tyranny, may become in time itself tyrannical. If these sombre views are well-founded, that system of government is the best, which most strongly opposes and longest retards the inevitable process, and offers the most hopeful promise of 'peace in our time.' Upon a thoughtful review of the Constitution of the United States, it may probably appear, that there is no other system that has on the whole combined together as many safeguards of that true liberty which is under the law, not beyond it, which supports the law instead of opposing it.

That future amendments of the Constitution of the United States may be found necessary, is not improbable. Perfection is not to be claimed for it; nor were perfection attainable, could it be permanent, because government, like law, must advance with society. As has been seen, its structure consists of two very different elements: the principles upon which it is founded, and the machinery it devises. The former are not likely to change, for if sound they must always remain so. No modification of them has been proposed or even suggested as yet, save the early additions already described, by which restrictions on governmental powers were expressed, which were before only understood, and those later great and salutary amendments, by which the blot and inconsistency of slavery was finally removed.

In respect to the machinery, the Constitution itself provides the means by which amendments can be obtained. What changes may be found desirable hereafter, it is useless to speculate upon, and impossible to predict. It may be safely assumed that none will be adopted in anticipation of their necessity, nor upon the strength of any prognostications, however skilful. Prophecy has small influence on Anglo-Saxon people, and reasoning in advance of the facts almost as little. They readily accept the maxim, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,' and stand fast by existing institutions, against all arguments to prove that they are going to fail, until experience proves that they have failed. By such experience, once clearly obtained, they rapidly profit. It is the best hope of the race, that no fabric will long stand before it, when demonstrated by the logic of events to be unavailing, mischievous, or wrong.

Some important topics in governmental administration, though not involving any constitutional amendment, have already begun to attract attention in the United States, and may hereafter be more largely considered. Bills have been introduced in Congress during its present Session, intended to prevent more effectually the immigration of foreign paupers, and of anarchists and other criminals. The generosity of the nation in receiving all comers without enquiry, is felt to have been abused, and the abuse will not probably be permitted to continue. There is a disposition also to pay a stricter regard to the requirements of the naturalisation laws, and to the character of those who are admitted to the franchise. It is not unlikely that amendments to those laws may be proposed hereafter, leading to a more careful administration of that subject. The general question in respect to the exercise of the franchise must in time require to be dealt with in all free governments: whether it is to be treated as a natural right, to which all human beings are born entitled, whatever may be the consequences to others, or whether it should be a political right, open to be acquired by all who will make the necessary exertion, and maintain the requisite character, and denied to those who prefer to remain unfit for it.

The tenure of the Presidential office has also begun to be the subject of consideration, though no proposal in respect to it has been brought forward. It is perhaps not improbable that there may be in time an inclination in the public mind to extend the length of the term, and to make the President not eligible for re-election. This would of course require an amendment of the Constitution.

The best evidence of the merits of the Constitution of the United States, is to be found in the success that has thus far attended it. The test of all political theories, however erudite and plausible, must be found in experience. Government is a practical concern, and the most philosophical and scientific propositions in regard to it are of very little value, unless capable of adaptation to the daily current of human life, to the conditions by which it happens to be surrounded, and to those unforeseen vicissitudes that time never fails to produce. What good came of it at last, is the decisive question which mankind will ultimately apply to every system which may be set up to rule over them.

It is to be remembered certainly, in all consideration that is given to American institutions, that it is still a very young country, which has only just celebrated its first centennial. Its successes as well as its failures are to be estimated accordingly. It may have much yet to learn, to experience, and to acquire. There is a strength which passes away with youth, as well as one that comes with maturity. But it is not the least powerful element of permanence in those institutions, that they command the complete confidence and affection of the people who live under them. Unhappy is the government

which is distrusted by its subjects. Whether or not any changes in subordinate details may be found necessary in that country, as they have been in all others, the attachment of the people to their Constitution, its principles, and all the leading features of the government under it, is unanimous and hearty. Even minor amendments will probably be found slow of accomplishment, because any proposal of change would be regarded with jealousy.

But upon this point it is only just to the American people to say in conclusion, that they have too much of the good sense which belongs to their race, to desire to make proselytes in other countries, to their political ideas. They are very well aware that all government must be the product of its own soil, and be controlled by the conditions that attend it, and the traditions under which it is derived. It is as necessary that a people should be fit for a government, as that a government should be fit for a people. American institutions may well enough be one thing in America, and quite another elsewhere. How far they could be successfully borrowed, transplanted, or engrafted upon any older system, is a question too doubtful to be answered, unnecessary to consider, and which Americans are very far from proposing to discuss.

E. J. PHELPS.

LIFE ON
THIRTY SHILLINGS A WEEK.

PEOPLE have been talking and writing on the subject of how to live on a moderate income. When I heard 700*l.* a year treated as a small sum, on which a family had to manage economically, the thought came to me, 'And yet, what good and happy homes one knows of where the income can hardly be more than one-tenth of that, say 78*l.*, or 30*s.* weekly! Many working people manage on 30*s.* a week. How is it done?'

I determined to put down the details of the expenditure from one of my working friends, and, thinking over those who were likely to be able to give me the information I wanted, I remembered one home specially whose bright, cheerful aspect and well-cared-for children I had known for some years.

The father, John Howe, a Cumberland man, had been a farm labourer in his youth. He had taught himself to read and write after he grew up, had saved money out of his small earnings in order to apprentice himself to a trade, and, after having thus become a skilled workman, had married and come to London, where he had found regular employment.

'The father of that family is a man who has solved the problem, "How to live on thirty shillings a week," I doubt not,' said I to myself, 'and if he has, I know well that neither wife nor children have suffered stint, either mentally or bodily. I will ask him to tell me how he has managed his income.'

So I called at his home—he occupies two rooms in a small street in the north-west of London—and asked his little daughter to tell him that I should be glad if he would call and speak to me in the evening when he came back from work. He did so, and the following conversation took place between us:—

I. You can, perhaps, give me some information I want, if you will. Some friends and I have been talking over the question of means and working people's earnings and spendings, and have been wondering whether we could learn how a working man with a family manages on 30*s.* a week.

My Friend. I can pretty well tell you that, because that was

near about what I spent when my wife was at home. (She is very ill just now, and absent from home.)

I. You spent about 30s.?

Friend. Yes, about eight-and-twenty or thirty shillings.

I. Did that include clothes and everything?

Friend. Yes.

I. But you sometimes earn more than thirty shillings, don't you?

Friend. Oh yes; I earn a little more sometimes; but I don't spend it, I save it.

I. Then I may reckon yours as an example of how a family can live on 30s. a week?

Friend. You may.

I. Then I will put down the items as you tell me. You won't object to my doing that, I suppose?

Friend (smiling). Not at all. (Doubtfully) You are not going to publish them—with my name?

I. Neither with your name nor without, if you object to it. But, to tell you the truth, I did want to make use of the facts you tell me for publication, if you don't mind.

Friend. Oh no, I don't mind.

I. Then, first, as to food. What do you spend on meat?

Friend (promptly). Four shillings a week.

I. Four shillings a week! Why, that is just half what a working woman told me she should spend for a smaller family than yours.

Friend. I dare say; but then she probably buys her meat about here, where it costs 7d. or 8d. per lb. I go down to the Meat Market, and at this time of year, when meat keeps well, I get in a week's supply. I can buy beautiful meat at 3d. or even at 2½d. per lb. I got a splendid piece of leg of beef, 18 lbs., for 3s. I buy a piece of the leg like that because I find it useful. I can get sirloin very cheap too at 5d. or 5½d. per lb.

I. Then, as to bread?

Friend (after some reflection and calculation). Reckon ten of Neville's loaves a week, and that costs just now 2¾d. a loaf.

I. That makes 2s. 3½d. I notice you say Neville's bread. You take that in preference to baker's bread?

Friend (smiling). The baker's is generally cheaper to buy, but you eat more of it. It does not go so far as Neville's; so it is no cheaper in the end.

I. And what do you reckon for flour?

Friend. About two quarterns in the week, at 6d. each.

Then followed the estimate for groceries, milk, and vegetables as given in the table below.

I asked about fruit.

Friend. Oh yes. We spend a good deal on fruit in the summer—

as much as 1s. 6d. a week perhaps. That's what the flour is wanted for—the fruit puddings, you know.

I. Then you must reckon for suet. Or do you get that with your meat?

Friend. That comes in with the meat. I never object to half a pound of nice white suet with the meat.

I. And I suppose that, in winter, currants and raisins would take the place of the fresh summer fruit?

Friend. Yes, they would.

The estimate as to coal and paraffin was given with great promptitude and accuracy, as if the amount used was quite well known, only my friend struck the average of cost because of the variation in winter and summer prices.

I. Are you a teetotalter, or must we reckon something for beer?

Friend. No, I am not a teetotalter. We take beer sometimes—for supper occasionally. In summer, when it is too hot to bear a fire, and we have a cold dinner, towards the end of the week, when we are finishing up the scraps, we have beer instead of tea.

I. Then, do I understand that you take tea *with* dinner sometimes?

Friend. Yes, if it is a cold dinner like that; and if the weather is too hot for us to bear the fire, then we have beer. But I don't take that cheap beer. I don't approve of it. I take that at 3½d. per pint. Put down three pints a week for beer—that is 10½d.

I. Then as to rent?

Friend. Well, you know that—5s. 6d. a week.

I. We must not forget school fees. How much are they?

Friend. They are not much: only 1d. a week for each child at the Board School.

I. That makes 4d. And what about club money? I know you belong to a provident society?

Friend. Yes; the club money comes to a good deal. I pay 1s. 6d. a week. But I pay more because I did not join till I was forty-one. A youth of eighteen who joins pays only 9d. a week and gets the all privileges that I have.

I. And what are the privileges?

Friend. Twenty shillings a week during sickness for one year, and after that ten shillings a week as long as the illness lasts. There is a man in our Society who has had ten shillings a week for five years.

I. And I think you told me once that there were some advantages of medical attendance for your family connected with your Society, did you not?

Friend. I did. The club doctor told me that he would attend my wife and children whenever they needed it if I paid regularly 3d. a

week for the wife and $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ for each child, if there were more than one who joined.

We reckoned up what this came to, and put it down. And here may I remark, by the way, how gladly the thrifty and independent working people avail themselves of anything of the nature of a provident dispensary. They do not wish to receive medical attendance quite free, as a charity, and yet they cannot afford to pay ordinary fees. They gladly pay the small regular sum weekly to ensure attendance during illness. 'It is a capital plan, *if the doctor is a good one,*' said one working woman to me; 'and then, you see, it is to his interest to get you well soon.'

Then came the question of clothes. My friend knew exactly what he had spent for boots in the last six months, and from this we found $1s. 8d.$ the average per week for that large and important item. He had also one fact very clear—that when first he came to London it had taken just $1s. 6d.$ a week to clothe him. He knew this because he had joined a loan society, and took three shares each of $6d.$ a week, and this just sufficed for his clothes. 'But then I was very low in clothes. I don't spend so much now, and it included boots, so we must deduct for those,' he said. We did so, and thus obtained $1s.$ a week for his clothes.

My friend explained to me the plan of these loan societies, and how useful he had found them. They had been a great help to him in furnishing and getting clothes when first he came to town, and he knew a man who had made a business in five years owing to their help.

'But is not the interest that you pay very high?' I asked.

Friend. Yes, it is high; but then as long as you have 'stock' in the Society you receive interest as well as paying it.

I. And is there no danger of the Society's failing through dishonest management?

Friend. Well, it is the fault of those who join it if it does, because there are quarterly meetings, and every man who has a share has a voice in the management. Of course, if you can't be present, you must abide by the decision of those that can.

I. We have not put anything down yet for the clothes for your wife and children.

Friend. Yes. That is where I am at a loss; I cannot tell so well about that as my wife could.

He considered the matter a good deal, and finally made a rough guess at $2s. 6d.$ per week. I think myself that this was probably a little above the mark, comparing the sum with that for his own clothes. I noticed, in speaking to another working friend—a woman—that she had more difficulty in reckoning what was spent on clothes than anything else, the sums being larger and paid at irregular intervals. It was evidently the expenditure on clothes that

would have to be cut down if means failed. 'You would have to go shabbier, that is all!' she said.

The final result of my friend's calculations is shown in the following table. The family consists of himself, his wife and five children, one an infant in arms:—

AVERAGE WEEKLY EXPENDITURE.

	Per Week		Per Year		
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	£	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Meat	4	0	10	8	0
Bread (10 loaves)	2	3½	5	19	2
Flour (2 quarters at 6 <i>d.</i>)	1	0	2	12	0
Vegetables: 18 lbs. potatoes	1	0	2	12	0
Other vegetables	0	4	0	17	4
Butter	1	0	2	12	0
Fruit	1	6	3	18	0
Milk (1½ <i>d.</i> per day)	0	10½	2	5	6
Tea (½ lb.)	1	0	2	12	0
Cocoa (½ lb.)	0	6	1	6	0
Sugar (4 lbs.)	0	10	2	3	4
Soap (1½ lbs.)	0	6	1	6	0
Soda, starch, blue	0	1½	0	6	6
Candles	0	1	0	4	4
Paraffin (½ gallon a fortnight)	0	3	0	13	0
Coal (1 cwt.)	1	3	3	5	0
Beer (3 pints at 3½ <i>d.</i>)	0	10½	2	5	6
Rent	5	6	14	6	0
Boots (for whole family)	1	8	4	6	8
Clothes for the man	1	0	2	12	0
" " wife and children	2	0	5	4	0
School fees	0	4	0	17	4
Provident Club	1	6½	4	0	2
Medical attendance for wife and children	0	3	0	13	0
	1	9 8½	77	4	10
Balance out of 30 <i>s.</i> a week			0	15	2

And now, to what state of being does all this minister? What are the opportunities of my friend and his children for such higher enjoyments as make the true realities of life? First of all, though not possessing a garden of their own, only a window-sill where flowers may grow, they are within reach of that public garden lately laid out by the vestry for the use of the neighbourhood. 'I can scarcely keep my children within doors,' said my friend's wife to me one day, 'since that garden has been open; they are always in it after school hours!'

For my friend on his Saturday afternoon, as well as for the wealthiest in the land, are open the British Museum with its antiquities, the South Kensington Museum with its natural history specimens, the National Gallery with its pictures, Westminster Abbey with its monuments and services. Perhaps some day, nearer his own door if Marylebone does its duty, a free library may be accessible to him and his children.

In thinking of my friend I recall his intelligence and vitality, the acquaintance with facts that makes everything regarded with

such real interest—as were the sights on the river when we all went down to Southend by steamer last year. I remember the happy faces of wife and children as I met them coming over the Regent's Park from a walk in the sunset light; the enjoyment the husband and wife had in a stroll together over the wilder part of Hampstead Heath, and when, no doubt, the blue distance, the fir trees, and the gorse may have given him a faint suggestion of his native Cumberland hills; above all, I dwell on the recollection of the tenderness with which father and mother nursed the little baby through bronchitis, saving its life, as far as one could judge, by their unceasing watchfulness and care. As all this comes before me, I feel as if the highest blessings, simple reality, stedfast industry, the sense of usefulness, manly independence, the joy of family ties, and of the need and power to make sacrifices for these, were more likely to crown the life that has to contend with difficulties than that which is free to seek its own satisfaction; and I thank God that England counts among her children so many who know how to live simply and yet nobly on 30s. a week.

MIRANDA HILL.

14 Nottingham Place, W.

LIFE ON A GUINEA A WEEK.

THE present day is essentially one in which but few of us can afford to neglect the most rigid rules of economy, and so the question of making the most of a guinea per week has a vital interest for many thousands of individuals. This is especially the case with young men who have come to London to obtain, if not their fortune, at all events their daily bread.

It is only those who have, so to speak, gone through the mill that are in a position to speak of the extent to which a guinea a week can be squeezed when necessity compels. That there are large numbers of young and middle-aged men in London absolutely dependent upon twenty-one shillings per week is a proposition which admits of no question. And the manner in which this—to many an impossible—scheme is carried into effect cannot but be interesting to readers who have neither need nor inclination for pursuing a similar course of frugality.

It is upon clerks more particularly that the principles of economy fall hard when supplemented by an imperative demand for respectability. They must present a decent appearance and possess a very fair education—the more perfect and varied the better so far as the chance of obtaining a situation is concerned, but very rarely does it command an appreciably higher rate of salary. These and many other collateral matters have scarcely any place in the calculations of a mechanic or artisan, who preferably selects the coarsest and most wearable material as clothing. Even this is protected whilst the man is at work by a rough apron. If one of the latter class buys a three-and-sixpenny felt hat he makes it last for many months for Sundays, and after that it is 'good enough' for a couple of years for everyday wear. With a clerk it is different; self-respect, if nothing else, would be sufficiently strong to prevent his going 'to business' in a battered hat. Very few journeymen mechanics are paid so little as a guinea per week, which is a very common salary for clerks who have long passed the junior stage. Bank clerks are of course paid at a higher rate.

But the primary object of this article is to show the possibilities of a weekly guinea, and how the two ends are made to meet upon so small a sum. At the starting point a twelvemonth's outlay upon

clothing must be considered, and the following table is compiled from the present writer's 'weekly account' books:—

	£	s.	d.
1 overcoat	1	15	0
1 umbrella		7	6
2 hats		5	0
1 silk hat		7	6
1 suit week-day clothes	2	0	0
1 suit Sunday clothes	2	10	0
4 pair socks at 10d.		3	4
1 pair boots		10	6
Repairing boots		6	0
2 under vests		5	0
2 flannel shirts		6	0
4 collars		1	8
2 pair cuffs		1	4
Cotton, buttons, &c.		1	0
		<hr/>	
		8	19 10

From this total must be deducted exactly half the prices of the overcoat and umbrella, which brings the actual amount down to 7*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* Both these articles should last two years. It will be observed that no allowance is made for 'mending,' which most young men, however, learn to do for themselves, as the present writer knows from experience. Landladies are not over-anxious to sew on buttons at less than a penny each—a charge which the actual labour expended certainly does not warrant. Most men need flannels, chest protectors, and several other little items, but I am only now concerned with my own positive personal and actual expenditure. The fifty-second part of this amount is, roughly speaking, 3*s.* 1*d.*; and the actual weekly payments may be tabulated in the following manner:—

	s.	d.
Rent	6	0
Breakfasts	1	8
Dinners	5	0
Teas	1	0
Boot-cleaning	0	3
Coals and wood	1	0
Washing	0	9
Tobacco, &c.	0	6
	<hr/>	
	16	2

This amount, added to the trifle over 3*s.* above mentioned, comes to 19*s.* 3*d.*, and of the balance there was none left after an occasional visit to some theatre. As regards dinners, there is said to be considerable beauty in variety, and this *might* have been the case with my dinners; but I cannot call to mind any such implied degree of pleasure, and my experiments are of too recent a date to admit of much doubt on the subject. Five shillings cannot be considered an extravagant sum for seven dinners, the most expensive of which was

that on Sunday, and comprised the landlady's 'dollops' of fatty beef, greasy pork, or underdone mutton, with a digester by way of an extremely small bit of cheese and a huge hunch of bread. The very sight of such a 'spread' was enough to give one an attack of indigestion. On other days if the quantity was smaller the quality was superior; but London landladies of the second grade appear to have no faith in any other than the former element, in the matter of Sunday dinners at all events. I have never detected that very desirable quality in any other direction.

There is considerable pleasure, and consequent benefit, in dining at a vegetarian restaurant, or in judiciously laying out sixpence or sevenpence in the middle of the day at an aerated bread shop. Everything at these places is scrupulously clean, and the viands there supplied are, in my experience, a sort of incentive to eating when the appetite is sated or absent. I have found two vegetarian dinners in one week quite sufficient in spring and autumn; in winter one would be enough, but, speaking personally, when I had an extra experimental 'fit' on during summer I have taken three. One day in the week I enjoyed an egg or two with bread-and-butter and tea or cocoa at the aerated bread shop. On another day ninepence would purchase a plate of roast beef, with potatoes, cabbage, and bread; and usually on the following day a fish dinner served as the chief meal. Boiled or roast mutton, and boiled beef, with the usual supply of one or two vegetables, with or without bread, according to the part of the week or the state of the finances, would form the dinners of at least two days out of the seven. Breakfasts generally came to threepence, which would include an egg, with the chances as to its being good or bad about equally balanced. For a change a rasher of bacon was often tried, but its only merits were a savoury odour and an evenness and thinness which did the carver great credit from his point of view. 'Tea and two' formed the almost invariable afternoon repast, and, by way of explanation, it may be stated that the colloquial phrase signifies a cup of tea and two slices of bread-and-butter. The extraordinary dirtiness and griminess of nearly all the English 'dining-rooms' have often caused me to leave a meal untouched. I could not then, and can scarcely now, pass these places without an instinctive shudder. All the dirt of the immediate neighbourhood seems to accumulate in and around these pestiferous 'eating-houses.' Suppers were either not approved of or resolved themselves into a penny bun, whichever happened to be the more convenient. It will be observed that no allowance is made in the foregoing table for beer or other strong drinks; and the reason is not far to seek. Temperance should form a cardinal point in the creed of a man who wishes to live on a guinea a week and be at the same time respectable. The public-house and the fifty-second-rate billiard-room have proved the

ruin of many hundreds of young clerks who desire to be thought that which they are not, and endeavour to live 'fast' without any possible means of keeping it up for long. The ordinary clerk has very few chances of earning an income of 150*l.* or 200*l.* per annum, but what slender possibilities he may have had are too often broken beyond all hope through the mediums just indicated.

Such, then, is the very brief account of the writer's attempt at eking out an existence at one guinea per week. It can be done, and yet life not be a burden and a perpetual misery to the individual. Many clerks prefer to pay a small subscription to a club rather than visit the theatres or the music halls, and very probably their choice is the wiser. The Y.M.C.A.'s and kindred institutions do excellent work, but their aims are too 'goody-goody' for many men. A guinea a week, with careful management, can be made to go a very long way.

W. ROBERTS.

A FEW WORDS ON
FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY MODELS.

Nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties rauci Theseide Codri?

HISTORIANS are only too fond of insisting on the effect of the French Revolution in checking English reform. One of the latest of them dwells on the fatal influence of this great event in our own country, in checking, blighting, and distorting the natural progress of things. But for that influence, he says, the closing years of the century would probably have seen the abolition of the English Slave Trade, the reform of Parliament, and the repeal of the Test Act.¹ The question of the precise degree of vitality in sectarian pride, and of tenacity in a great material interest, a hundred years ago or at any time, is not very easy to settle. It is quite possible that the Slave Trade and the Test Act might have died nearly as hard, if there had been no French Revolution. In any case, it is a curious implication that underlies all writing in this familiar vein, that France ought to have gone on with a bad government, in order to secure to England the advantages of a good one.

As to one disservice, however, there can be no doubt. The French Revolution has furnished the enemies of each successive proposal of reform with a boundless supply of prejudicial analogies, appalling parallels, and ugly nicknames, which are all just as conclusive with the unwise as if they were the aptest arguments. Sydney Smith might well put 'the awful example of a neighbouring nation' among the standing topics of the Noodle's Oration. The abolition of rotten boroughs brought down a thousand ominous references to noyades, fusillades, and guillotines. When Sir Robert Peel took the duty off corn, Croker warned him with great solemnity that he was breaking up the old interests, dividing the great families, and beginning exactly such a catastrophe as did the Noailles and the Montmorencis in 1789. Cobden and Mr. Bright were promiscuously likened to Babœuf, Chaumette, and Anacharsis Clootz. Babœuf, it is true, was for dividing up all property, and Chaumette was an aggressive atheist; but these were mere *nuances*, not material to the purposes of obloquy. Robespierre, Danton, Marat have been mercilessly trotted forth in their sanguinary shrouds, and treated as the counterparts and

¹ Lecky, vi. 297.

precursors of worthies so obviously and exactly like them as Mr. Beales and Mr. Odger; while an innocent caucus for the registration of voters recalls to some well-known writers lurid visions of the Cordeliers and the Jacobin Club.

A recent addition has been made to the stock of nicknames drawn from the terrible melodrama of the last century. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Dublin described the present very humble writer as 'the Saint Just of our Revolution.' The description was received with lively applause. It would be indelicate to wonder how many in a hundred, even in that audience of the elect, had ever heard of Saint Just, how many in five hundred could have spelt his name, and how many in a thousand could have told any three facts in his career. But let us muse for a moment upon the portrait. I take down the first picture of Saint Just that comes to my hand. M. Taine is the artist:—

'Among these energetic nullities we see gradually rising a *young monster*—with face handsome and tranquil—Saint Just! A sort of precocious Sulla, who at five-and-twenty suddenly springs from the ranks, and *by force of atrocity wins his place!* Six years before, he began life by an act of domestic robbery: while on a visit at his mother's, he ran away in the night with her plate and jewels; for that he was locked up for six months. On his release, he employed his leisure in the composition of an odious poem. Then he flung himself head foremost into the Revolution. Blood calcined by study, a colossal pride, a conscience completely unhinged, an imagination haunted by the bloody recollections of Rome and Sparta, an intelligence falsified and twisted until it found itself most at its ease in the practice of enormous paradox, barefaced sophism, and murderous lying—all these perilous ingredients, mixed in a furnace of concentrated ambition, boiled and fermented long and silently in his breast.'

It is, no doubt, hard to know ourselves. One may entertain demons unawares, and have calcined blood without being a bit the wiser. Still, I do not find the likeness striking. It would have done just as well to call me Nero, Torquemada, Iago, or Bluebeard.

Whether the present writer does or does not deserve all the compliments that history has paid to Saint Just, is a very slight and trivial question, with which the public will naturally not much concern itself. But as some use is, from time to time, made of the writer's imputed delinquencies to prejudice an important cause, it is perhaps worth while to try in a page or two to give a better account of things. It is true that he has written on revolutionists like Robespierre, and destructive thinkers like Rousseau and Voltaire. It is true that he believes the two latter to have been on the whole, when all deductions are made, on the side of human progress. But what sort of

foundation is this for the inference that he 'finds his models in the heroes of the French Revolution,' and 'looks for his methods in the Reign of Terror'? It would be equally logical to infer that because I have written, not without sympathy and appreciation, of Joseph de Maistre, I therefore find my model in a hero of the Catholic Reaction, and look for my methods in the revived supremacy of the Holy See over all secular and temporal authorities. It would be just as fair to say that because I pointed out, as it was the critic's business to do, the many admirable merits, and the important moral influences on the society, of that time, of the *New Heloïsa*, therefore I am bound to think Saint Preux a very fine fellow, particularly fit to be a model and a hero for Young Ireland. Only on the principle that who drives fat oxen must himself be fat, can it be held that who writes on Danton must be himself in all circumstances a Dantonist.

The most insignificant of literary contributions have a history and an origin; and the history of these contributions is short and simple enough. Carlyle with all the force of his humoristic genius had impressed upon his generation an essentially one-sided view both of the eighteenth century as a whole, and of the French thinkers of that century in particular. His essay on Diderot, his lecture on Rousseau, his chapters on Voltaire, with all their brilliance, penetration, and incomparable satire, were the high-water mark in this country of the literary reaction against the French school of Revolution. Everybody knows the famous diatribes against the Bankrupt Century and all its men and all its works. Voltaire's furies, Diderot's indigestions, Rousseau's nauseous amours, and the odd tricks and shifts of the whole of them and their company, offered ready material for the boisterous horseplay of the transcendental humourist. Then the tide began to turn. Mr. Buckle's book on the history of civilisation had something to do with it. But it was the historical chapters in Comte's Positive Philosophy that first opened the minds of many of us, who, five-and-twenty years ago, were young men, to a very different judgment of the true place of those schools in the literary and social history of Western Europe. We learnt to perceive that though much in the thought and the lives of the literary precursors of the Revolution laid them fairly open to Carlyle's banter, yet banter was not all, and even grave condemnation was not all. In essays, like mine, written from this point of view, and with the object of trying to trim the balance rather more correctly, it may well have been that the better side of the thinkers concerned was sometimes unduly dwelt upon, and their worse side unduly left in the background. It may well have been that an impression of personal adhesion was conveyed which only very partially existed, or even where it did not exist at all: that is a risk of misinterpretation which it is always hard for the historical critic to escape. There may have been a too eager tone; but to be a little eager is not a very bad vice at any

age under the critical forty. There were some needlessly aggressive passages, and some sallies which ought to have been avoided, because they gave pain to good people. There was perhaps too much of the particular excitement of the time. It was the date when *Essays and Reviews* was still thought a terrible explosive; when Bishop Colenso's arithmetical tests as to the flocks and herds of the children of Israel were believed to be sapping not only the inspiration of the Pentateuch but the foundations of the Faith and the Church; and when Darwin's scientific speculations were shaking the civilised world. Some excitement was to be pardoned in days like those, and I am quite sure that one side needed pardon at least as much as the other. For the substantial soundness of the general views which I took of the French revolutionary thinkers at that time, I feel no apprehension; nor—some possible occasional phrases or sentences excepted and apart—do I see the smallest reason to shrink or to depart from any one of them. So far as one particular reference may serve to illustrate the tenour of the whole body of criticism, the following lines, which close my chapter on the 'Encyclopædia,' will answer the purpose as well as any others, and I shall perhaps be excused for transcribing them:—

'An urgent social task lay before France and before Europe: it could not be postponed until the thinkers had worked out a scheme of philosophic completeness. The thinkers did not seriously make any effort after this completeness. The Encyclopædia was the most serious attempt, and it did not wholly fail. As I replace in my shelves this mountain of volumes, "dusky and huge, enlarging on the sight," I have a presentiment that their pages will seldom again be disturbed by me or by others. They served a great purpose a hundred years ago. They are now a monumental ruin, clothed with all the profuse associations of history. It is no Ozymandias of Egypt, king of kings, whose wrecked shape of stone and sterile memories we contemplate. We think rather of the grey and crumbling walls of an ancient stronghold, reared by the endeavour of stout hands and faithful, whence in its own day and generation a band once went forth against barbarous hordes, to strike a blow for humanity and truth.'²

It is gratifying to find that the same view of the work of these famous men, and of its relation to the social necessities of the time, commends itself to Mr. Lecky, who has since gone diligently and with a candid mind over the same ground.³ Then where is the literary Jacobin?

Of course, it is easy enough to fish out a sentence or a short passage here and there which, if taken by itself, may wear a very sinister look, and carry the most alarming impressions.

Not many days ago a writer addressed a letter to the *Times*

² Diderot, i. 247.

³ See his vol. vi. 305 *et seq.*

which furnishes a specimen of this kind of controversy. He gave himself the ambiguous designation of 'Catholicus;' but his style bore traces of the equivocally Catholic climate of Munich. His aim was the lofty and magnanimous one of importing theological prejudice into the great political dispute of the day; in the interest, strange to say, of the Irish party who have been for ages the relentless oppressors of the Church to which he belongs, and who even now hate and despise it with all the virulence of a Parisian Red. This masked assailant conveys to the mind of the reader that I applaud and sympathise with the events of the winter of 1793, and more particularly with the odious procession of the Goddess of Reason at Notre Dame. He says, moreover, that I have 'the effrontery to imply that the horrible massacres of the Revolution . . . were "a very mild story compared with the atrocities of the Jews or the crimes of Catholicism."' No really honest and competent disputant would have hit on 'effrontery' as the note of the passage referred to, if he had had its whole spirit and drift before him. The reader shall, if he pleases, judge for himself. After the words just quoted, I go on to say:—

'Historical recriminations, however, are not edifying. It is perfectly fair, when Catholics talk of the atheist Terror, to rejoin that the retainers of Anjou and Montpensier slew more men and women on the first day of the Saint Bartholomew, than perished in Paris through the Years I. and II. But the retort does us no good beyond the region of dialectic. Some of the opinions of Chaumette were full of enlightenment and hope. But it would be far better to share the superstitious opinions of a virtuous and benignant priest, like the Bishop in Victor Hugo's *Misérables*, than to hold these good opinions of Chaumette, as he held them, with a rancorous intolerance, a reckless disregard of the rights and feelings of others, and a shallow forgetfulness of all that great and precious part of our nature that lies out of the domain of the logical understanding. . . . In every family where a mother sought to have her child baptised, or where sons and daughters sought to have the dying spirit of the old consoled by the last sacrament, there sprang up a bitter enemy to the government which had closed the churches and proscribed the priests. How could a society whose spiritual life had been nourished in the solemn mysticism of the Middle Ages suddenly turn to embrace a gaudy paganism? The common self-respect of humanity was outraged by apostate priests . . . as they fled before the Convention, led by the Archbishop of Paris, and accompanied by rude acolytes bearing piles of the robes and the vessels of silver and gold with which they had once served their holy office.'⁴

Where is the effrontery, the search for methods in the Reign of Terror, the applause for revolutionary models? Such inexcusable perversion of a writer's meaning for an evanescent political object—and a very shabby object too—is enough to make one think that George III.

⁴ *Misc.* i. 77-79.

knew what he was talking about, when he once delivered himself of the saying, that 'Politics are a trade for a rascal, not for a gentleman.'

Let me cite another more grotesque piece of irrelevancy with a similar drift. Some months ago the present writer chanced to express an opinion upon Welsh Disestablishment. Wales, at any rate, would seem to be far enough away from *Emile*, *Candide*, the Law of Prairial, and the Committee of Public Safety: The *Times*, however, instantly said⁵ that it would be affectation to express any surprise, because my unfortunate 'theories and principles, drawn from French sources and framed on French models, all tend to the disintegration of comprehensive political organisations and the encouragement of arrangements based on the minor peculiarities of race or dialect.' Was there ever in the world such prodigious nonsense? What French sources, what French models? If French models point in any one direction rather than another, it is away from disintegration and straight towards centralisation. Everybody knows that this is one of the most notorious facts of French history from the days of Lewis XI. or Cardinal Richelieu down to Napoleon Bonaparte. So far from French models encouraging 'arrangements based on the minor peculiarities of race and dialect,' France is the first great example in modern history, for good or for evil, of a persevering process of national unification, and the firm suppression of all provincial particularism. This is not only true of French political leaders in general: it is particularly true of the Jacobin leaders. Rousseau himself, I admit, did in one place point in the direction of confederation; but only in the sense that for freedom on the one hand, and just administration on the other, the unit should not be too large to admit of the participation of the persons concerned in the management of their own public affairs. If the Jacobins had not been overwhelmed by the necessity of keeping out the invaders, they might have developed the germ of truth in Rousseau's loose way of stating the expediency of decentralisation. As it was, above all other French schools, the Jacobins dealt most sternly with particularist pretensions. Of all men, these supposed masters, teachers, and models of mine are least to be called Separatists. To them more than to any other of the revolutionary parties the great heresy of Federalism was most odious; and if I were a faithful follower of the Jacobin model, I should have least patience with nationalist sentiment whether in Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, and should most rigorously insist on that cast-iron incorporation which, as it happens, in the case of Ireland I believe to be equally hopeless and undesirable. This explanation, therefore, of my favour for Welsh Disestablishment is as absurdly ignorant as it is far-fetched and irrelevant.

The logical process is worth an instant's examination. The position is no less than this,—that to attempt truly to appreciate the place and the value in the history of thought and social movements of

⁵ Nov. 3, 1886.

men who have been a hundred years in their graves, and to sympathise with certain sides and certain effects of their activity under the peculiar circumstances in which French society then found itself, is the same thing as binding yourself to apply their theories and to imitate their activity, under an entirely heterogeneous set of circumstances, in a different country, and in a society with wholly dissimilar requirements. That is the argument if we straighten it out. The childishness of any such contention is so obvious, that I should be ashamed of reproducing it, were it not that this very contention has made its appearance at my expense several times a month for the last two years in all sorts of important and respectable prints.

For instance, it appears that I once said somewhere that Danton looked on at the doings of his bloodier associates with 'sombre acquiescence.' *Argal*, it was promptly pointed out—and I espy the dark phrase constantly adorning leading articles to this day—the man who said that Danton sombrely acquiesced in the doings of Billaud, Collot, and the rest, must of necessity, being of a firm and logical mind, himself sombrely acquiesce in moonlighting and cattle-houghing in Ireland. Apart from the curious compulsion of the reasoning, what is the actual state of the case? Acquiescence is hardly a good description of the mood of a politician who scorns delights and lives laborious days in actively fighting for a vigorous policy and an effective plan which, as he believes, would found order in Ireland on a new and more hopeful base. He may be wrong, but where is the acquiescence, whether sombre or serene?

The equally misplaced name of Fatalism is sometimes substituted for acquiescence, in criticisms of this stamp. In any such sense anybody is a fatalist who believes in a relation between cause and effect. If it is fatalism to assume that, given a certain chain of social or political antecedents, they will inevitably be followed by a certain chain of consequences, then every sensible observer of any series or events is a fatalist. Catholic Emancipation, the extension of the franchise, and secret ballot, have within the last sixty years completely shifted the balance of political power in Ireland. Land legislation has revolutionised the conditions of ownership. These vast and vital changes in Ireland have been accompanied by the transfer of decisive power from aristocracy to numbers in Great Britain, and Great Britain is arbiter. Is it fatalism, or is it common sense, to perceive that one new effect of new causes so potent must be the necessity of changing the system of Irish government. To dream that you could destroy the power of the old masters without finding new, and that having invited the nation to speak you could continue to ignore the national sentiment, was and is the very height of political folly, and the longer the dream is persisted in the ruder will be the awakening. Surely the stupidest fatalism is far more truly to be ascribed to those who insist that Ireland was eternally predestined to turmoil,

confusion, and torment; that there alone the event defies calculation; and that, however wisely, carefully, and providently you modify or extinguish causes, in Ireland, though nowhere else, effects will still survive with shape unaltered and force unabated.

No author has a right to assume that anybody has read all his books or any of them, but he may reasonably claim that he shall not be publicly classified, labelled, catalogued, and placed in the shelves, on the strength of half of his work, and that half arbitrarily selected. If it be permitted to me without excess of egotism to name the masters to whom I went to school in the days of early manhood, so far from being revolutionists and terrorists, they belonged entirely to the opposite camp. Austin's *Jurisprudence* and Mill's *Logic* and *Utilitarianism* were everything, and Rousseau's *Social Contract* was nothing. To the best of my knowledge and belief, I never said a word about 'Natural Rights' in any piece of practical public business in all my life; and when that famous phrase again made its naked appearance on the platform three or four years ago, it gave me as much surprise and dismay as if I were this afternoon to meet a *Deinotherium* shambling down Parliament Street. Mill was the chief influence for me, as he was for most of my contemporaries in those days. Experience of life and independent use of one's mind—which he would have been the most ready of men to applaud—have since, as is natural, led to many important corrections and deductions in Mill's political and philosophical teaching. But then we were disciples, and not critics; and nobody will suppose that the admirer of Wordsworth, the author of the *Essay on Coleridge*, and of the treatise on Representative Government, the administrator in the most bureaucratic and authoritative of public services, was a terrorist or an unbridled democrat, or anything else but the most careful and rationalistic of political theorists. It was Mill who first held up for my admiration the illustrious man whom Austin enthusiastically called the 'godlike Turgot,' and it was he who encouraged me to make a study of that great and inspiring character. I remember the suspicion and the murmurings with which Louis Blanc, then living in brave and honourable exile in London, and the good friend of so many of us, and who was really a literary Jacobin to the tips of his fingers, remonstrated against that piece of what he thought grievously misplaced glorification. Turgot was, indeed, a very singular hero with whom to open the career of literary Jacobin. So was Burke,—the author of those wise sentences that still ring in our ears: '*The question with me is, not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. Nobody shall persuade me, where a whole people are concerned, that acts of lenity are not means of conciliation.*' Burke, Austin, Mill, Turgot,

Comte—what strange sponsors for the ‘theories and principles of the Terror’!

What these opinions came to, roughly speaking, was something to this effect: That the power alike of statesmen and of publicists over the course of affairs is strictly limited; that institutions and movements are not capable of immediate or indefinite modification by any amount of mere will; that political truths are always relative, and never absolute; that the test of practical, political, or social proposals is not their conformity to abstract ideals, but to convenience, utility, expediency, and occasion; that for the reformer, considerations of time and place may be paramount; and finally, as Mill himself has put it, that government is always either in the hands, or passing into the hands, of whatever is the strongest power in society, and that what this power is, and shall be, depends less on institutions than institutions depend upon it. If I were pressed for an illustration of these principles at work, inspiring the minds and guiding the practice of responsible statesmen in great transactions of our own day and generation, I should point to the sage, the patient, the triumphant action of Abraham Lincoln in the emancipation of the negro slaves. However that may be, contrast a creed of this kind with the abstract, absolute, geometric, unhistoric, peremptory notions and reasonings that formed the stock in trade of most, though not quite all, of the French revolutionists, alike in action and in thought. It is plain that they are the direct opposite and contradictory of one another.

To clench the matter by chapter and verse, I should like to recall what I have said of these theories and principles in their most perfect and most important literary version. How have I described Rousseau’s Social Contract? It placed, I said, the centre of social activity elsewhere than in careful and rational examination of social conditions, and careful and rational effort to modify them. It substituted a retrograde aspiration for direction, and emotion for the discovery of law. It overlooked the crucial difficulty—namely, how to summon new force, without destroying the sound parts of a structure which it has taken many generations to erect. Its method was geometric instead of being historic, and hence its ‘desperate absurdity.’ Its whole theory was constructed with an imperfect consideration of the qualities of human nature, and with too narrow a view of society. It ignored the great fact that government is the art of wisely dealing with huge groups of conflicting interests, of hostile passions, of hardly reconcilable aims, of vehemently opposed forces. It ‘gives us not the least help towards the solution of any of the problems of actual government.’

Such language as all this is hardly that of a disciple to a master, in respect of theories and principles which he is making his own for the use of a lifetime. ‘There has been no attempt’ [in

these pages], I said in winding up, 'to palliate either the shallowness or the practical mischievousness of the Social Contract. But there is another side to its influence. We should be false to our critical principle, if we do not recognise the historical effect of a speculation scientifically valueless.' Any writer would have stamped himself as both unfit for the task that I had undertaken, and entirely below the level of the highest critical standard of the day, if he had for a moment dreamed of taking any other point of view.

As for historical hero-worship, after Carlyle's fashion, whether with Jacobin idols or any other, it is a mood of mind that must be uncongenial to anybody who had ever been at all under the influence of Mill. Without being so foolish as to disparage the part played by great men in great crises, we could have no sympathy with the barbaric and cynical school, who make greatness identical with violence, force, and mere iron will. Cromwell said, in vindication of himself, that England had need of a constable, and it was true. The constable, the soldier, the daring counsellor at the helm, are often necessities of the time. It is often a necessity of the time that the energy of a nation or of a movement should gather itself up in a resolute band or a resolute chief; as the revolutionary energy of France gathered itself up in the greater Jacobins, or that of England in Oliver Cromwell. Goethe says that nature bids us '*Take all, but pay.*' Revolutions and heroes may give us all, but not without price. This is at the best, and the best is the exception. The grandiose types mostly fail. In our own day, people talk, for example, with admiration of Cromwell's government in Ireland,—as if it were a success, instead of being one of the worst chapters in the whole history of Irish failure. It was force carried to its utmost. Hundreds were put to the sword, thousands were banished to be slaves of the planters in the West Indies, and the remnant were driven miserably off into the desolate wilds of Connaught. But all this only prepared the way for further convulsions and deadlier discontent.

It is irrational to contrast Carlyle's heroes, Cromwell, Mirabeau, Frederick, Napoleon, with men like Washington or Lincoln. The circumstances were different. The conditions of public use and of personal greatness were different. But if we are to talk of ideals, heroes, and models, I, for one, should hardly look to France at all. Jefferson was no flatterer of George Washington; but his character of Washington comes far nearer to the right pattern of a great ruler than can be found in any of Carlyle's splendid dithyrambs, and it is no waste of time to recall and to transcribe it:—

His mind was great and powerful, without being of the very first order; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of a Newton, Bacon, or Locke; and as far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion. Hence the common remark of his officers, of the advantage he derived from councils of war, where

hearing all suggestions, he selected whatever was best; and certainly no general ever planned his battles more judiciously. But if deranged during the course of the action, if any member of his plan was dislocated by sudden circumstances, he was slow in a readjustment. He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence, never acting until every circumstance, every consideration, was maturely weighed; refraining if he saw a doubt, but when once decided, going through with his purpose, whatever obstacles opposed. His integrity was most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known; no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision. He was, indeed, in every sense of the word, a wise, a good, and a great man. His temper was naturally irritable and high toned; but reflection and resolution had obtained a firm and habitual ascendancy over it.

In conclusion, the plain truth is that all parallels, analogies, and similitudes between the French Revolution, or any part or phase of it, and our affairs in Ireland are moonshine. For the practical politician his problem is always individual. For his purposes history never repeats itself. Human nature, doubtless, has a weakness for a precedent; it is a weakness to be respected. But there is no such thing as an essential reproduction of social and political combinations of circumstance. To talk about Robespierre in Ireland is just as idle as it was in Robespierre to harangue about Lycurgus and Brutus in Paris. To compare the two is to place Ireland under a preposterous magnifying-glass of monstrous dimension. Nor is disparity of scale the only difference, vital as that is. In no one of the leading characteristics of a community in a state of ferment, save the odium that surrounds the landlords, and that not universal, does Ireland to-day really resemble the France of a hundred years ago. Manners, ideas, beliefs, traditions, crumbling institutions, rising aspirations, the ordering of castes and classes, the rivalry of creeds, the relations with the governing power—all constitute elements of such radical divergence as to make comparison for any more serious purpose than giving a conventional and familiar point to a sentence, entirely worthless.

It is pure diletantism, again, to seek the moral of Irish commotions in the insurrection of La Vendée. That, as somebody has said, was like a rising of the ancient Gauls at the voice of the Druids, and led by their great chiefs. It will be time enough to compare La Vendée with Ireland when the peasantry take the field against the British Government with Beresfords, Fitzgeralds, and Bourkes at their head. If the Vendéans had risen to drive out the Charettes, the Bonchamps, the Larochejacquelins, the parallel would have been nearer the mark. The report of the Devon Commission, the green pamphlet containing an account of the famous three days' discussion between O'Connell and Butt in the Dublin Corporation in 1843, or half a dozen of Lord Clare's speeches between 1793 and 1800, will give a clearer insight into the Irish problem than a bushel of books about the Vendéan or any other episode of the Revolution.

Equally frivolous is it, for any useful purpose of practical enlightenment, to draw parallels between the action of the Catholic clergy in Ireland to-day and that of the French clergy on the eve of the Revolution. There is no sort of force in the argument that because the French clergy fared ill at the Revolution,⁶ therefore the Irish clergy will fare ill when self-government is bestowed on Ireland. Such talk is mere ingenious guess-work at best, without any of the foundations of a true historical analogy. The differences between the two cases are obvious, and they go to the heart of the matter. For instance, the men who came to the top of affairs in France were saturated both with speculative unbelief for one thing, and with active hatred of the Church for another. In Ireland, on the contrary, there is no speculative unbelief, as O'Connell used so constantly to boast; and the Church being poor, voluntary, and intensely national and popular, has nourished none of those gross and swollen abuses which provoked the not unreasonable animosity of revolutionary France. In truth, it is with precisely as much or as little reason that most of the soothsayers and prognosticators of evil take the directly opposite line. Instead of France these choose, as they have an equally good right to do, to look for precedents to Spain, Belgium, or South America. Why not? They assure us, in their jingling phrase, that Home Rule means Rome Rule, that the priests will be the masters, and that Irish autonomy is only another name for the reign of bigotry, superstition, and obscurantism. One of these two mutually destructive predictions has just as much to say for itself as the other, and no more. We may leave the prophets to fight it out between them while we attend to our business, and examine facts and probabilities as they are, without the aid of capriciously adopted precedents and fantastical analogies.

Parallels from France, or anywhere else, may supply literary amusement; they may furnish a weapon in the play of controversy. They shed no light and do no service as we confront the solid facts of the business to be done. Louis the Fourteenth was the author of a very useful and superior commonplace when he wrote: 'No man who is badly informed can avoid reasoning badly. I believe that whoever is rightly instructed, and rightly persuaded of *all the facts*, would never do anything else but what he ought.' Another great French ruler, who, even more than Louis, had a piercing eye for men and the world of action, said that the mind of a general ought to be like a field-glass, and as clear; to see things exactly as they are, *et jamais se faire des tableaux*,—never to compose the objects before him into pictures. The same maxim is nearly as good for the man who has to conquer difficulties in the field of government; and

⁶ The Church did not fare so very ill, after all. The State, in 1790, undertook the debts of the Church to the tune of 130,000,000 livres, and assured it an annual Budget of rather more than that amount.—Boiteau's *Etat de la France*, p. 202.

analogies and parallels are one way of substituting pictures for plans and charts. Just because the statesman's problem is individual, history can give him little help. I am not so graceless as to depreciate history or literature either for public or for private persons. 'You are a man,' Napoleon said to Goethe; and there is no reason why literature should prevent the reader of books from being a man; why it should blind him to the great practical truths that the end of life is not to think but to will; that everything in the world has its decisive moment, which statesmen know and seize; that the genius of politics, as a great man of letters truly wrote, has not 'All or Nothing' for its motto, but seeks on the contrary to extract the greatest advantage from situations the most compromised, and never flings the helve after the hatchet. Like literature the use of history in politics is to refresh, to open, to make the mind generous and hospitable; to enrich, to impart flexibility, to quicken and nourish political imagination and invention, to instruct in the common difficulties and the various experiences of government; to enable a statesman, to place himself at a general and spacious standpoint. All this, whether it be worth much or little, and it is surely worth much, is something wholly distinct from directly aiding a statesman in the performance of a specific task. In such a case an analogy from history, if he be not sharply on his guard, is actually more likely than not to mislead him. I certainly do not mean the history of the special problem itself. Of that he cannot possibly know too much, nor master its past course and foregone bearings too thoroughly. Ireland is a great standing instance. There is no more striking example of the disastrous results of trying to overcome political difficulties without knowing how they came into existence, and where they have their roots. The only history that furnishes a clue in Irish questions is the history of Ireland.

JOHN MORLEY.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.

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CIVILISATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

Two or three years ago I spoke in this Review on the subject of America; and after considering the institutions and the social condition of the people of the United States, I said that what, in the jargon of the present day, is called 'the political and social problem,' does seem to be solved there with remarkable success. I pointed out the contrast which in this respect the United States offer to our own country, a contrast, in several ways, much to their advantage. But I added that the solution of the political and social problem, as it is called, ought not so to absorb us as to make us forget the human problem; and that it remained to ask how the human problem is solved in the United States. It happened that Sir Lepel Griffin, a very acute and distinguished Indian official, had just then been travelling in the United States, and had published his opinion, from what he saw of the life there, that there is no country calling itself civilised where one would not rather live than in America, except Russia. Certainly then, I said, one cannot rest satisfied, when one finds such a judgment passed on the United States as this, with admiring their institutions and their solid social condition, their freedom and equality, their power, energy, and wealth. One must, further, go on to examine what is done there towards solving the human problem, and must see what Sir Lepel Griffin's objection comes to.

And this examination I promised that I would one day make. However, it is so delicate a matter to discuss how a sensitive nation solves the human problem, that I found myself inclined to follow the

example of the Greek moralist Theophrastus, who waited, before composing his famous *Characters*, until he was ninety-nine years old. I thought I had perhaps better wait until I was about that age, before I discussed the success of the Americans in solving the human problem. But ninety-nine is a great age; it is probable that I may never reach it, or even come near it. So I have determined, finally, to face the question without any such long delay, and thus I come to offer to the readers of this Review the remarks following. With the same frankness with which I discussed here the solution of the political and social problem by the people of the United States, I shall discuss their success in solving the human problem.

Perhaps it is not likely that any one will now remember what I said three years ago here about the success of the Americans in solving the political and social problem. I will sum it up in the briefest possible manner. I said that the United States had constituted themselves in a modern age; that their institutions complied well with the form and pressure of those circumstances and conditions which a modern age presents. Quite apart from all question how much of the merit for this may be due to the wisdom and virtue of the American people, and how much to their good fortune, it is undeniable that their institutions do work well and happily. The play of their institutions suggests, I said, the image of a man in a suit of clothes which fits him to perfection, leaving all his movements unimpeded and easy; a suit of clothes loose where it ought to be loose, and sitting close where its sitting close is an advantage; a suit of clothes able, moreover, to adapt itself naturally to the wearer's growth, and to admit of all enlargements as they successively arise.

So much as to the solution, by the United States, of the political problem. As to the social problem, I observed that the people of the United States were a community singularly free from the distinction of classes, singularly homogeneous; that the division between rich and poor was consequently less profound there than in countries where the distinction of classes accentuates that division. I added that I believed there was exaggeration in the reports of their administrative and judicial corruption; and altogether, I concluded, the United States, politically and socially, are a country living prosperously in a natural modern condition, and conscious of living prosperously in such a condition. And being in this healthy case, and having this healthy consciousness, the community there uses its understanding with the soundness of health; it in general, as to its own political and social concerns, sees clear and thinks straight. Comparing the United States with ourselves, I said that while they are in this natural and healthy condition, we on the contrary are so little homogeneous, we are living with a system of classes so intense, with institutions and a society so little modern, so unnaturally complicated, that the whole action of our minds is hampered and falsened

by it; we are in consequence wanting in lucidity, we do not see clear or think straight, and the Americans have here much the advantage of us.

Yet we find an acute and experienced Englishman saying that there is no country, calling itself civilised, where one would not rather live than in the United States, except Russia! The civilisation of the United States must somehow, if an able man can think thus, have shortcomings, in spite of the country's success and prosperity. What is civilisation? It is the humanisation of man in society, the satisfaction for him, in society, of the true law of human nature. Man's study, says Plato, is to discover the right answer to the question *how to live?* our aim, he says, is very and true life. We are more or less civilised as we come more or less near to this aim, in that social state which the pursuit of our aim essentially demands. But several elements or powers, as I have often insisted, go to build up a complete human life. There is the power of conduct, the power of intellect and knowledge, the power of beauty, the power of social life and manners; we have instincts responding to them all, requiring them all. And we are perfectly civilised only when all these instincts in our nature, all these elements in our civilisation, have been adequately recognised and satisfied. But of course this adequate recognition and satisfaction of all the elements in question is impossible; some of them are recognised more than others, some of them more in one community, some in another; and the satisfactions found are more or less worthy.

And meanwhile, people use the term *civilisation* in the loosest possible way, for the most part attaching to it, however, in their own mind some meaning connected with their own preferences and experiences. The most common meaning thus attached to it is perhaps that of a satisfaction, not of all the main demands of human nature, but of the demand for the comforts and conveniences of life, and of this demand as made by the sort of person who uses the term.

Now we should always attend to the common and prevalent use of an important term. Probably Sir Lepel Griffin had this notion of the comforts and conveniences of life much in his thoughts when he reproached American civilisation with its shortcomings. For men of his kind, and for all that large number of men, so prominent in this country and who make their voice so much heard, men who have been at the public schools and universities, men of the professional and official class, men who do the most part of our literature and our journalism, America is not a comfortable place of abode. A man of this sort has in England everything in his favour; society appears organised expressly for his advantage. A Rothschild or a Vanderbilt can buy his way anywhere, and can have what comforts and luxuries he likes whether in America or in England. But it is in England that an income of from three or

four to fourteen or fifteen hundred a year does so much for its possessor, enables him to live with so many of the conveniences of far richer people. For his benefit, his benefit above all, clubs are organised and hansom cabs ply; service is abundant, porters stand waiting at the railway stations. In America all luxuries are dear except oysters and ice; service is in general scarce and bad; a club is a most expensive luxury; the cab-rates are prohibitive—more than half of the people who in England would use cabs must in America use the horse-cars, the tram. The charges of tailors and mercers are about a third higher than they are with us. I mention only a few striking points as to which there can be no dispute, and in which a man of Sir Lepel Griffin's class would feel the great difference between America and England in the conveniences at his command. There are a hundred other points one might mention, where he would feel the same thing. When a man is passing judgment on a country's civilisation, points of this kind crowd to his memory, and determine his sentence.

On the other hand, for that immense class of people, the great bulk of the community, the class of people, whose income is less than three or four hundred a year, things in America are favourable. It is easier for them there than in the Old World to rise and to make their fortune; but I am not now speaking of that. Even without making their fortune, even with their income below three or four hundred a year, things are favourable to them in America, society seems organised there for their benefit. To begin with, the humbler kind of work is better paid in America than with us, the higher kind worse. The official, for instance, gets less, his office-keeper gets more. The public ways are abominably cut up by rails and blocked with horse-cars; but the inconvenience is for those who use private carriages and cabs, the convenience is for the bulk of the community who but for the horse-cars would have to walk. The ordinary railway cars are not delightful, but they are cheap, and they are better furnished and in winter are warmer than third-class carriages in England. Luxuries are, as I have said, very dear—above all, European luxuries; but a working man's clothing is nearly as cheap as in England, and plain food is on the whole cheaper. Even luxuries of a certain kind are within a labouring man's easy reach. I have mentioned ice, I will mention fruit also. The abundance and cheapness of fruit is a great boon to people of small incomes in America. Do not believe the Americans when they extol their peaches as equal to any in the world, or better than any in the world; they are not to be compared to peaches grown under glass. Do not believe that the American Newtown pippins appear in the New York and Boston fruit-shops as they appear in those of London and Liverpool; or that the Americans have any pear to give you like the Marie Louise. But what labourer, or artisan, or small clerk, ever gets hot-house

peaches, or Newtown pippins, or Marie Louise pears? Not such good pears, apples, and peaches as those, but pears, apples, and peaches by no means to be despised, such people and their families do in America get in plenty.

Well, now, what would a philosopher or a philanthropist say in this case? which would he say was the more civilised condition—that of the country where the balance of advantage, as to the comforts and conveniences of life, is greatly in favour of the people with incomes below three hundred a year, or that of the country where it is greatly in favour of those with incomes above that sum?

Many people will be ready to give an answer to that question without the smallest hesitation. They will say that they are, and that all of us ought to be, for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. However, the question is not one which I feel bound now to discuss and answer. Of course, if happiness and civilisation consist in being plentifully supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life, the question presents little difficulty. But I believe neither that happiness consists, merely or mainly, in being plentifully supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life, nor that civilisation consists in being so supplied; therefore I leave the question unanswered.

I prefer to seek for some other and better tests by which to try the civilisation of the United States. I have often insisted on the need of more equality in our own country, and on the mischiefs caused by inequality over here. In the United States there is not our intense division of classes, our inequality; there is great equality. Let me mention two points in the system of social life and manners over there in which this equality seems to me to have done good. The first is a mere point of form, but it has its significance. Every one knows it is the established habit with us in England, if we write to people supposed to belong to the class of gentlemen, of addressing them by the title of *Esquire*, while we keep *Mr.* for people not supposed to belong to that class. If we think of it, could one easily find a habit more ridiculous, more offensive? The title of *Esquire*, like most of our titles, comes out of the great frippery shop of the Middle Age; it is alien to the sound taste and manner of antiquity, when men said *Pericles* and *Camillus*. But unlike other titles, it is applied or withheld quite arbitrarily. Surely, where a man has no specific title proper to him, the one plain title of *Master* or *Mr.* is enough, and we need not be encumbered with a second title of *Esquire*, now quite unmeaning, to draw an invidious and impossible line of distinction between those who are gentlemen and those who are not; as if we actually wished to provide a source of embarrassment for the sender of a letter, and of mortification for the receiver of it.

The French, those great authorities in social life and manners, find *Mr.* enough, and the Americans are more and more, I am glad

to say, following the French example. I only hope they will persevere, and not be seduced by *Esquire* being 'so English, you know.' And I do hope, moreover, that we shall one day take the same course and drop our absurd *Esquire*.

The other point goes deeper. Much may be said against the voices and intonation of American women. But almost every one acknowledges that there is a charm in American women—a charm which you find in almost all of them, wherever you go. It is the charm of a natural manner, a manner not self-conscious, artificial, and constrained. It may not be a beautiful manner always, but it is almost always a natural manner, a free and happy manner; and this gives pleasure. Here we have, undoubtedly, a note of civilisation, and an evidence, at the same time, of the good effect of equality upon social life and manners. I have often heard it observed that a perfectly natural manner is as rare among Englishwomen of the middle classes as it is general among American women of like condition with them. And so far as the observation is true, the reason of its truth no doubt is, that the Englishwoman is living in presence of an upper class, as it is called—in presence, that is, of a class of women recognised as being the right thing in style and manner, and whom she imagines criticising *her* style and manner, finding this or that to be amiss with it, this or that to be vulgar. Hence self-consciousness and constraint in her. The American woman lives in presence of no such class; there may be circles trying to pass themselves off as such a class, giving themselves airs as such, but they command no recognition, no authority. The American woman in general is perfectly unconcerned about their opinion, is herself, enjoys her existence, and has consequently a manner happy and natural. It is her great charm; and it is moreover, as I have said, a real note of civilisation, and one which has to be reckoned to the credit of American life, and of its equality.

But we must get nearer still to the heart of the question raised as to the character and worth of American civilisation. I have said how much the word civilisation really means—the humanisation of man in society; his making progress there towards his true and full humanity. Partial and material achievement is always being put forward as civilisation. We hear a nation called highly civilised by reason of its industry, commerce, and wealth, or by reason of its liberty or equality, or by reason of its numerous churches, schools, libraries, and newspapers. But there is something in human nature, some instinct of growth, some law of perfection, which rebels against this narrow account of the matter. And perhaps what human nature demands in civilisation, over and above all those obvious things which first occur to our thoughts—what human nature, I say, demands in civilisation, if it is to stand as a high and satisfying civilisation, is best described by the word *interesting*. Here is the extraordinary charm of the old

Greek civilisation—that it is so *interesting*. Do not tell me only, says human nature, of the magnitude of your industry and commerce; of the beneficence of your institutions, your freedom, your equality; of the great and growing number of your churches and schools, libraries and newspapers; tell me also if your civilisation—which is the grand name you give to all this development—tell me if your civilisation is *interesting*.

An American friend of mine, Professor Norton, has lately published the early letters of Carlyle. If any one wants a good antidote to the unpleasant effect left by Mr. Froude's *Life of Carlyle*, let him read those letters. Not only of Carlyle will those letters make him think kindly, but they will also fill him with admiring esteem for the qualities, character, and family life, as there delineated, of the Scottish peasant. Well, the Carlyle family were numerous, poor, and struggling. Thomas Carlyle, the eldest son, a young man in wretched health and worse spirits, was fighting his way in Edinburgh. One of his younger brothers talked of emigrating. 'The very best thing he could do!' we should all say. Carlyle dissuades him. 'You shall never,' he writes, 'you shall never seriously meditate crossing the great Salt Pool to plant yourself in the Yankee-land. That is a miserable fate for any one, at best; never dream of it. Could you banish yourself from all that is interesting to your mind, forget the history, the glorious institutions, the noble principles of old Scotland—that you might eat a better dinner, perhaps?'

There is our word launched—the word *interesting*. I am not saying that Carlyle's advice was good, or that young men should not emigrate. I do but take note, in the word *interesting*, of a requirement, a cry of aspiration, a cry not sounding in the imaginative Carlyle's own breast only, but sure of a response in his brother's breast also, and in human nature.

Amiel, that contemplative Swiss whose journals the world has been reading lately, tells us that 'the human heart is, as it were, haunted by confused reminiscences of an age of gold; or rather, by aspirations towards a harmony of things which every day reality denies to us.' He says that the splendour and refinement of high life is an attempt by the rich and cultivated classes to realise this ideal, and is 'a form of poetry.' And the interest which this attempt awakens in the classes which are not rich or cultivated, their indestructible interest in the pageant and fairy tale, as to them it appears, of the life in castles and palaces, the life of the great, bears witness to a like imaginative strain in them also, a strain tending after the elevated and the beautiful. In short, what Goethe describes as 'was uns alle bändigt, *das Gemeine*—that which holds us all in bondage, the common and ignoble,' is, notwithstanding its admitted prevalence, contrary to a deep-seated instinct of human nature and repelled by it. Of civilisation, which is to humanise us

in society, we demand, before we will consent to be satisfied with it—we demand, however much else it may give us, that it shall give us, too, the *interesting*.

Now, the great sources of the *interesting* are distinction and beauty: that which is elevated, and that which is beautiful. Let us take the beautiful first, and consider how far it is present in American civilisation. Evidently this is that civilisation's weak side. There is little to nourish and delight the sense of beauty there. In the long-settled States east of the Alleghanies the landscape in general is not interesting, the climate harsh and in extremes. The Americans are restless, eager to better themselves and to make fortunes; the inhabitant does not strike his roots lovingly down into the soil, as in rural England. In the valley of the Connecticut you will find farm after farm which the Yankee settler has abandoned in order to go West, leaving the farm to some new Irish immigrant. The charm of beauty which comes from ancientness and permanence of rural life the country could not yet have in a high degree, but it has it in an even less degree than might be expected. Then the Americans come originally, for the most part, from that great class in English society amongst whom the sense for conduct and business is much more strongly developed than the sense for beauty. If we in England were without the cathedrals, parish churches, and castles of the catholic and feudal age, and without the houses of the Elizabethan age, but had only the towns and buildings which the rise of our middle class has created in the modern age, we should be in much the same case as the Americans. We should be living with much the same absence of training for the sense of beauty through the eye, from the aspect of outward things. The American cities have hardly anything to please a trained or a natural sense for beauty. They have buildings which cost a great deal of money and produce a certain effect—buildings, shall I say, such as our Midland Station at St. Pancras; but nothing such as Somerset House or Whitehall. One architect of genius they had—Richardson. I had the pleasure to know him; he is dead, alas! Much of his work was injured by the conditions under which he was obliged to execute it; I can recall but one building, and that of no great importance, where he seems to have had his own way, to be fully himself; but that is indeed excellent. In general, where the Americans succeed best in their architecture—in that art so indicative and educative of a people's sense for beauty—is in the fashion of their villa-cottages in wood. These are often original and at the same time very pleasing, but they are pretty and coquettish, not beautiful. Of the really beautiful in the other arts, and in literature, very little has been produced there as yet. I asked a German portrait-painter, whom I found painting and prospering in America, how he liked the country? 'How can an artist like it?' was his answer. The American artists live chiefly

in Europe ; all Americans of cultivation and wealth visit Europe more and more constantly. The mere nomenclature of the country acts upon a cultivated person like the incessant pricking of pins. What people in whom the sense for beauty and fitness was quick could have invented, or could tolerate, the hideous names ending in *ville*, the Briggsvilles, Higginsvilles, Jacksonvilles, rife from Maine to Florida ; the jumble of unnatural and inappropriate names everywhere ? On the line from Albany to Buffalo you have, in one part, half the names in the classical dictionary to designate the stations ; it is said that the folly is due to a surveyor who, when the country was laid out, happened to possess a classical dictionary ; but a people with any artist-sense would have put down that surveyor. The Americans meekly retain his names ; and indeed his strange Marcellus or Syracuse is perhaps not much worse than their congenital Briggs-ville.

So much as to beauty, and as to the provision, in the United States, for the sense of beauty. As to distinction, and the interest which human nature seeks from enjoying the effect made upon it by what is elevated, the case is much the same. There is very little to create such an effect, very much to thwart it. Goethe says somewhere that ' the thrill of awe is the best thing humanity has ' :—

Das Schaudern ist der Menschheit bestes Theil.

But, if there be a discipline in which the Americans are wanting, it is the discipline of awe and respect. An austere and intense religion imposed on their Puritan founders the discipline of respect, and so provided for them the thrill of awe ; but this religion is dying out. The Americans have produced plenty of men strong, shrewd, upright, able, effective ; very few who are highly distinguished. Alexander Hamilton is indeed a man of rare distinction ; Washington, though he has not the high mental distinction of Pericles or Cæsar, has true distinction of style and character. But these men belong to the pre-American age. Lincoln's recent American biographers declare that Washington is but an Englishman, an English officer ; the typical American, they say, is Abraham Lincoln. Now Lincoln is shrewd, sagacious, humorous, honest, courageous, firm ; he is a man with qualities deserving the most sincere esteem and praise, but he has not distinction.

In truth everything is against distinction in America, and against the sense of elevation to be gained through admiring and respecting it. The glorification of ' the average man,' who is quite a religion with statesmen and publicists there, is against it. The addiction to ' the funny man,' who is a national misfortune there, is against it. Above all, the newspapers are against it.

It is often said that every nation has the government it deserves. What is much more certain is that every nation has the newspapers

it deserves. The newspaper is the direct product of the want felt; the supply answers closely and inevitably to the demand. I suppose no one knows what the American newspapers are, who has not been obliged, for some length of time, to read either those newspapers or none at all. Powerful and valuable contributions occur scattered about in them. But on the whole, and taking the total impression and effect made by them, I should say that if one were searching for the best means to efface and kill in a whole nation the discipline of respect, the feeling for what is elevated, one could not do better than take the American newspapers. The absence of truth and soberness in them, the poverty in serious interest, the personality and sensation-mongering, are beyond belief. There are a few newspapers which are in whole, or in part, exceptions. The *New York Nation*, a weekly paper, may be paralleled with the *Saturday Review* as it was in its old and good days; but the *New York Nation* is conducted by a foreigner, and has an extremely small sale. In general, the daily papers are such that when one returns home one is moved to admiration and thankfulness not only at the great London papers, like the *Times* or the *Standard*, but quite as much at the great provincial newspapers too—papers like the *Leeds Mercury* and the *Yorkshire Post* in the north of England, like the *Scotsman* and the *Glasgow Herald* in Scotland.

The Americans used to say to me that what they valued was news, and that this their newspapers gave them. I at last made the reply: 'Yes, news for the servants' hall!' I remember that a New York newspaper, one of the first I saw after landing in the country, had a long account, with the prominence we should give to the illness of the German Emperor or the arrest of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, of a young woman who had married a man who was a bag of bones, as we say, and who used to exhibit himself as a skeleton; of her growing horror in living with this man, and finally of her death. All this in the most minute detail, and described with all the writer's powers of rhetoric. This has always remained by me as a specimen of what the Americans call news.

You must have lived amongst their newspapers to know what they are. If I relate some of my own experiences, it is because these will give a clear enough notion of what the newspapers over there are, and one remembers more definitely what has happened to oneself. Soon after arriving in Boston, I opened a Boston newspaper and came upon a column headed: 'Tickings.' By *tickings* we are to understand news conveyed through the tickings of the telegraph. The first 'ticking' was: 'Matthew Arnold is sixty-two years old'—an age, I must just say in passing, which I had not then reached. The second 'ticking' was: 'Wales says, Mary is a darling;' the meaning being, that the Prince of Wales expressed great admiration for Miss Mary Anderson. This was at Boston, the

American Athens. I proceeded to Chicago. An evening paper was given me soon after I arrived; I opened it, and found under a large-type heading, 'We have seen him arrive,' the following picture of myself: 'He has harsh features, supercilious manners, parts his hair down the middle, wears a single eyeglass and ill-fitting clothes.' Notwithstanding this rather unfavourable introduction I was most kindly and hospitably received at Chicago. It happened that I had a letter for Mr. Medill, an elderly gentleman of Scotch descent, the editor of the chief newspaper in those parts, the *Chicago Tribune*. I called on him, and we conversed amicably together. Some time afterwards, when I had gone back to England, a New York paper published a criticism of Chicago and its people, purporting to have been contributed by me to the *Pall Mall Gazette* over here. It was a poor hoax, but many people were taken in and were excusably angry, Mr. Medill of the *Chicago Tribune* amongst the number. A friend telegraphed to me to know if I had written the criticism. I, of course, instantly telegraphed back that I had not written a syllable of it. Then a Chicago paper is sent to me; and what I have the pleasure of reading, as the result of my contradiction, is this: 'Arnold denies; Mr. Medill [my old friend] refuses to accept Arnold's disclaimer; says Arnold is a cur.'

I once declared that in England the born lover of ideas and of light could not but feel that the sky over his head is of brass and iron. And so I say that, in America, he who craves for the *interesting* in civilisation, he who requires from what surrounds him satisfaction for his sense of beauty, his sense for elevation, will feel the sky over his head to be of brass and iron. The human problem, then, is as yet solved in the United States most imperfectly; a great void exists in the civilisation over there: a want of what is elevated and beautiful, of what is interesting.

The want is grave; it was probably, though he does not exactly bring it out, influencing Sir Lepel Griffin's feelings when he said that America is one of the last countries in which one would like to live. The want is such as to make any educated man feel that many countries, much less free and prosperous than the United States, are yet more truly civilised; have more which is interesting, have more to say to the soul; are countries, therefore, in which one would rather live.

The want is graver because it is so little recognised by the mass of Americans; nay, so loudly denied by them. If the community over there perceived the want and regretted it, sought for the right ways of remedying it, and resolved that remedied it should be; if they said, or even if a number of leading spirits amongst them said: 'Yes, we see what is wanting to our civilisation, we see that the average man is a danger, we see that our newspapers are a scandal, that bondage to the common and ignoble is our snare; but under

the circumstances our civilisation could not well have been expected to begin differently. What you see are *beginnings*, they are crude, they are too predominantly material, they omit much, leave much to be desired—but they could not have been otherwise, they have been inevitable, and we will rise above them ;’ if the Americans frankly said this, one would have not a word to bring against it. One would *then* insist on no shortcoming, one would accept their admission that the human problem is at present quite insufficiently solved by them, and would press the matter no further. One would congratulate them on having solved the political problem and the social problem so successfully, and only remark, as I have said already, that in seeing clear and thinking straight on *our* political and social questions, we have great need to follow the example they set us on theirs.

But now the Americans seem, in certain matters, to have agreed, as a people, to deceive themselves, to persuade themselves that they have what they have not, to cover the defects in their civilisation by boasting, to fancy that they well and truly solve, not only the political and social problem, but the human problem too. One would say that they do really hope to find in tall talk and inflated sentiment a substitute for that real sense of elevation which human nature, as I have said, instinctively craves—and a substitute which may do as well as the genuine article. The thrill of awe, which Goethe pronounces to be the best thing humanity has, they would fain create by proclaiming themselves at the top of their voices to be ‘the greatest nation upon earth,’ by assuring one another, in the language of their national historian, that ‘American democracy proceeds in its ascent as uniformly and majestically as the laws of being, and is as certain as the decrees of eternity.’

Or, again, far from admitting that their newspapers are a scandal, they assure one another that their newspaper press is one of their most signal distinctions. Far from admitting that in literature they have as yet produced little that is important, they play at treating American literature as if it were a great independent power ; they reform the spelling of the English language by the insight of their average man. For every English writer they have an American writer to match. And him good Americans read ; the Western States are at this moment being nourished and formed, we hear, on the novels of a native author called Roe, instead of those of Scott and Dickens. Far from admitting that their average man is a danger, and that his predominance has brought about a plentiful lack of refinement, distinction, and beauty, they declare in the words of my friend Colonel Higginson, a prominent critic at Boston, that ‘Nature said, some years since : “Thus far the English is my best race, but we have had Englishmen enough ; put in one drop more of nervous fluid and make the American.” And with that drop a new range of pro-

mise opened on the human race, and a lighter, finer, more highly organised type of mankind was born.' Far from admitting that the American accent, as the pressure of their climate and of their average man has made it, is a thing to be striven against, they assure one another that it is the right accent, the standard English speech of the future. It reminds me of a thing in Smollet's dinner-party of authors. Seated by 'the philosopher who is writing a most orthodox refutation of Bolingbroke, but in the meantime has just been presented to the Grand Jury as a public nuisance for having blasphemed in an alehouse on the Lord's day'—seated by this philosopher is 'the Scotchman who is giving lectures on the pronunciation of the English language.'

The worst of it is, that all this tall talk and self-glorification meets with hardly any rebuke from sane criticism over there. I will mention, in regard to this, a thing which struck me a good deal. A Scotchman who has made a great fortune at Pittsburg, a kind friend of mine, one of the most hospitable and generous of men, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, published a year or two ago a book called *Triumphant Democracy*, a most splendid picture of American progress. The book is full of valuable information, but religious people thought that it insisted too much on mere material progress, and did not enough set forth America's deficiencies and dangers. And a friendly clergyman in Massachusetts, telling me how he regretted this, and how apt the Americans are to shut their eyes to their own dangers, put into my hands a volume written by a leading minister among the Congregationalists, a very prominent man, which he said supplied a good antidote to my friend Mr. Carnegie's book. The volume is entitled *Our Country*. I read it through. The author finds in evangelical Protestantism, as the orthodox Protestant sects present it, the grand remedy for the deficiencies and dangers of America. On this I offer no criticism; what struck me, and that on which I wish to lay stress, is, the writer's entire failure to perceive that such self-glorification and self-deception as I have been mentioning is one of America's dangers, or even that it is self-deception at all. He himself shares in all the self-deception of the average man among his countrymen, he flatters it. In the very points where a serious critic would find the Americans most wanting he finds them superior; only they require to have a good dose of evangelical Protestantism still added. 'Ours is the elect nation,' preaches this reformer of American faults—'ours is the elect nation for the age to come. We are the chosen people.' Already, says he, we are taller and heavier than other men, longer lived than other men, richer and more energetic than other men, above all, 'of finer nervous organisation' than other men. Yes, this people, who endure to have the American newspaper for their daily reading, and to have their habitation in Briggsville, Jacksonville, and Marcellus—this people is of finer, more delicate nervous organisation than other

nations! It is Colonel Higginson's 'drop more of nervous fluid, over again. This 'drop' plays a stupendous part in the American rhapsody of self-praise. Undoubtedly the Americans are highly nervous, both the men and the women. A great Paris physician says that he notes a distinct new form of nervous disease, produced in American women by worry about servants. But this nervousness, developed in the race out there by worry, overwork, want of exercise, injudicious diet, and a most trying climate—this morbid nervousness our friends ticket as the fine susceptibility of genius, and cite it as a proof of their distinction, of their superior capacity for civilisation! 'The roots of civilisation are the nerves,' says our Congregationalist instructor again; 'and, other things being equal, the finest nervous organisation will produce the highest civilisation. Now, the finest nervous organisation is ours.'

The new West promises to beat in the game of brag even the stout champions I have been quoting. Those belong to the old Eastern States; and the other day there was sent to me a Californian newspaper which calls all the Easterners 'the unhappy denizens of a forbidding clime,' and adds: 'The time will surely come when all roads will lead to California. Here will be the home of art, science, literature, and profound knowledge.'

Common-sense criticism, I repeat, of all this hollow stuff there is in America next to none. There are plenty of cultivated, judicious, delightful individuals there. They are our hope and America's hope; it is through their means that improvement must come. They know perfectly well how false and hollow the boastful stuff talked is; but they let the storm of self-laudation rage, and say nothing. For political opponents and their doings there are in America hard words to be heard in abundance; for the real faults in American civilisation, and for the foolish boasting which prolongs them, there is hardly a word of regret or blame, at least in public. Even in private, many of the most cultivated Americans shrink from the subject, are irritable and thin-skinned when it is canvassed. Public treatment of it, in a cool and sane spirit of criticism, there is none. In vain I might plead that I had set a good example of frankness, in confessing over here, that, so far from solving our problems successfully, we in England find ourselves with an upper class materialised, a middle class vulgarised, and a lower class brutalised. But it seems that nothing will embolden an American critic to say firmly and aloud to his countrymen and to his newspapers, that in America they do not solve the human problem successfully, and that with their present methods they never can. Consequently the masses of the American people do really come to believe all they hear about their finer nervous organisation, and the rightness of the American accent, and the importance of American literature; that is to say, they see things not as they are, but as they would like them to be; they deceive them-

selves totally. And by such self-deception they shut against themselves the door to improvement, and do their best to make the reign of *das Gemeine* eternal. In what concerns the solving of the political and social problem they see clear and think straight; in what concerns the higher civilisation they live in a fool's paradise. This it is which makes a famous French critic speak of 'the hard unintelligence of the people of the United States'—*la dure inintelligence des Américains du Nord*—of the very people who in general pass for being specially intelligent—and so, within certain limits, they are. But they have been so plied with nonsense and boasting that outside those limits, and where it is a question of things in which their civilisation is weak, they seem, very many of them, as if in such things they had no power of perception whatever, no idea of a proper scale, no sense of the difference between good and bad. And at this rate they can never, after solving the political and social problem with success, go on to solve happily the human problem too, and thus at last to make their civilisation full and interesting.

To sum up, then. What really dissatisfies in American civilisation is the want of the *interesting*, a want due chiefly to the want of those two great elements of the interesting, which are elevation and beauty. And the want of these elements is increased and prolonged by the Americans being assured that they have them when they have them not. And it seems to me that what the Americans now most urgently require, is not so much a vast additional development of orthodox Protestantism, but rather a steady exhibition of cool and sane criticism by their men of light and leading over there. And perhaps the very first step of such men should be to insist on having for America, and to create if need be, better newspapers.

To us, too, the future of the United States is of incalculable importance. Already we feel their influence much, and we shall feel it more. We have a good deal to learn from them; we shall find in them, also, many things to beware of, many points in which it is to be hoped our democracy may not be like theirs. As our country becomes more democratic, the malady here may no longer be that we have an upper class materialised, a middle class vulgarised, and a lower class brutalised. But the predominance of the common and ignoble, born of the predominance of the average man, is a malady too. That the common and ignoble is human nature's enemy, that, of true human nature, distinction and beauty are needs, that a civilisation is insufficient where these needs are not satisfied, faulty where they are thwarted, is an instruction of which we, as well as the Americans, may greatly require to take fast hold, and not to let go. We may greatly require to keep, as if it were our life, the doctrine that we are failures after all, if we cannot eschew vain boasting and vain imaginations, eschew what flatters in us the common and ignoble, and approve things that are truly excellent.

I have mentioned evangelical Protestantism. There is a text which evangelical Protestantism—and for that matter Catholicism too—translates wrong and takes in a sense too narrow. The text is that well-known one: ‘Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God.’ Instead of *again*, we ought to translate *from above*; and instead of taking the kingdom of God in the sense of a life in Heaven above, we ought to take it, as its speaker meant it, in the sense of the reign of saints, a renovated and perfected human society on earth, the ideal society of the future. In the life of such a society, in the life *from above*, the life born of inspiration or *the spirit*—in that life elevation and beauty are not everything; but they are much, and they are indispensable. Humanity cannot reach its ideal while it lacks them: ‘Except a man be born *from above*, he cannot have part in the society of the future.’

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

*THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR INDUSTRIAL
SYSTEM.*

WHO does not remember the remarkable chapter on the Division of Labour by which Adam Smith opened his inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations? Even those of our contemporary economists who seldom revert to the works of the father of political economy, and often forget the ideas which inspired them, know that chapter almost by heart, so often has it been copied and re-copied since. It has become an article of faith; and the whole economical history of the century which has elapsed since Adam Smith wrote, has been, so to speak, an actual commentary upon it.

'Division of labour' was its watchword. And the division and subdivision—the permanent subdivision—of functions has been pushed so far as to divide humanity into castes which are almost as firmly established as those of old India. We have, first, the broad division into producers and consumers; little-consuming producers on the one hand, little-producing consumers on the other hand. Then, amidst the former, a series of further subdivisions: the manual worker and the intellectual worker, sharply separated from one another, to the detriment of both; agricultural labourers and workers in the manufacture; and, amidst the mass of the latter, numberless subdivisions again—so minute, indeed, that the modern ideal of a workman seems to be a man or a woman, or even a girl or a boy, without the knowledge of any handicraft, without any conception whatever of the industry he or she is employed in, and who is only capable of making all day long and for a whole life the same infinitesimal part of something: who from the age of thirteen to that of sixty pushes the coal-cart at a given spot of the mine, or makes the spring of a penknife or 'the eighteenth part of a pin.' Mere servants to some machine of a given description; mere flesh-and-bone parts of some immense machinery; having no idea about how and why the machinery is performing its rhythmical movements. Skilled artisanship is swept away as a survival of a past which is condemned to disappear. For the artist who formerly found æsthetic enjoyment in the work of his hands is substituted the human slave of an iron slave. Nay, even the agricultural labourer who formerly used to find a relief from the hardships of his life in the home of his ancestors—the future home of

his children—in his love of the field, and in a keen intercourse with nature, even he has been doomed to disappear for the sake of division of labour. He is an anachronism: he must be substituted, in a Bonanza farm, by an occasional servant hired for the summer, and discharged as the autumn comes: a tramp who will never again see the field he has harvested once in his life—such is, we are told, the agricultural labourer of the future. ‘An affair of a few years,’ the economists say, ‘to reform agriculture in accordance with the true principles of division of labour and modern industrial organisation.’

Dazzled with the results obtained by our century of marvellous inventions, especially in this country, our economists and political men went still further in their dreams of division of labour. They proclaimed the necessity of dividing the whole of humanity into national workshops having each of them its own speciality. We were taught, for instance, that Hungary and Russia are predestined by nature to grow corn in order to feed the manufacturing countries; that Britain had to provide the world-market with cottons, iron-ware, and coal; Belgium with woollen cloth, and so on. Nay, within each nation, each region had to have its own speciality. So it has been for some time since; so it ought to remain. Fortunes have been made in this way, and will continue to be made in the same way. It being proclaimed that the wealth of nations is measured by the amount of profits made by the few, and that the largest profits are made by means of a specialisation of labour, the question was not conceived to exist as to whether human beings *would* always submit to such a specialisation; whether nations could be specialised like isolated workmen. The theory was good for the day—why should we care for to-morrow? To-morrow might bring its own theory!

And so it did. The narrow conception of life which consisted in thinking that *profits* are the only leading motive of human society; and the stubborn view which supposes that what has existed yesterday would last for ever, proved in disaccordance with the tendencies of human life; and life took another direction. Nobody will deny the high pitch of production which may be attained by specialisation. But, precisely in proportion as the work required from the individual in modern production becomes simpler and easier to be learned, and, therefore, also more monotonous and wearisome—the requirements of the individual for varying his work, for exercising all his capacities, become more and more prominent. Humanity perceives that there is no advantage for the community in riveting a human being for all his life to a given spot, in a workshop or a mine, and depriving him of such work as would bring him into free intercourse with nature, make of him a conscious part of the grand whole, a partner in the highest enjoyments of science and art, of free work and creation.

Nations, too, refuse to be specialised. Each nation is a compound aggregate of tastes and inclinations, of wants and resources, of

capacities and inventive powers. The territory occupied by each nation is again a most varied texture of soils and climates, of hills and valleys, of slopes leading to a still greater variety of territories and races. Variety is the distinctive feature, both of the territory and its inhabitants; and that variety implies a variety of occupations. Agriculture calls manufactures into existence, and manufactures support agriculture. Both are inseparable; and the combination, the integration of both brings about the grandest results. In proportion as technical knowledge becomes everybody's virtual domain; in proportion as it becomes international, and can be concealed no longer, each nation acquires the possibility of applying the whole variety of her energies to the whole variety of industrial and agricultural pursuits. Knowledge ignores artificial political boundaries. So also do the industries; and the present tendency of Humanity is to have the greatest possible variety of industries gathered in each country, in each separate region, side by side with agriculture. The needs of human agglomerations correspond thus to the needs of the individual; and while a temporary division of functions remains the surest guarantee of success in each separate undertaking, the permanent division is doomed to disappear, and to be substituted by a variety of pursuits—intellectual, industrial, and agricultural—corresponding to the different capacities of the individual, as well as to the variety of capacities within every human aggregate.

When we thus revert from the scholastics of our text-books, and examine human life as a whole, we soon discover that, while all the benefits of a temporary division of labour must be maintained, it is high time to claim those of the *integration of labour*. Individualist political economy has had enough time to preach *division*. We proclaim *integration*; and we maintain that the ideal of society—that is, the state towards which society is already marching—is a society of integrated labour. A society where each individual is a producer of both manual and intellectual work; where each able-bodied human being is a worker, and where each worker works both in the field and the industrial workshop; where each aggregation of individuals, large enough to dispose of a certain variety of natural resources—it may be a nation or rather a region—produces and itself consumes its own agricultural and manufactured produce.

Of course as long as society remains organised so as to permit the owners of the land and capital to appropriate for themselves, under the protection of the State and historical rights, the yearly surplus of human production, no such change can be thoroughly accomplished. But the present industrial system, based upon a permanent specialisation of functions, already bears in itself the germs of its proper ruin. The industrial crises, which grow more acute and protracted, and are rendered still worse and still more acute by the armaments and wars implied by the present

system, are rendering its maintenance more and more difficult. Moreover, the workers plainly manifest their intention to support no longer patiently the misery occasioned by each crisis. And each crisis accelerates the day when the present institutions of individual property and production will be shaken to their foundations, with such internal struggles as will depend upon the more or less good sense of the now privileged classes.

But we maintain also that any Socialist attempt at remodelling the present relations between Capital and Labour will be a failure, if it does not take into account the above tendencies towards integration. Those tendencies have not yet received, in our opinion, due attention from the different Socialist schools; but they must. A reorganised society will have to abandon the fallacy of nations specialised for the production of either agricultural or manufactured produce. It will have to rely on itself for the production of food and most of the raw materials; it must find the best means of combining agriculture with manufacture—the work in the field with a decentralised industry—and it will have to provide for ‘integrated education,’ which education alone, by teaching both science and handicraft from earliest childhood, can give to society the men and women it really needs.

Each nation her own agriculturist and manufacturer; each individual working in the field and in some industrial art; each individual combining scientific knowledge with the knowledge of a handicraft—such is, we affirm, the present tendency of civilised nations. The following pages are intended to prove the first of these three assertions.

The prodigious growth of industries in Great Britain, and the simultaneous development of the international traffic which now permits the transport of raw materials and articles of food on a gigantic scale, have created the impression that a few nations of West Europe were destined to become *the* manufacturers of the world. They need only—it was argued—to supply the market with manufactured goods, and they will draw from all over the surface of the earth the food they cannot grow themselves, as well as the raw materials they need for their manufactures. The steadily increasing speed of transoceanic communications and the steadily increasing facilities of shipping have contributed to enforce the above impression. If we take the enthusiastic pictures of international traffic drawn in such a masterly way by Neumann-Spallart—the statistician and almost the poet of the world-trade—we are inclined indeed to fall into ecstasy before the results achieved. ‘Why shall we grow corn, rear oxen and sheep, and cultivate orchards, go through the painful work of the labourer and the farmer, and anxiously watch the sky in fear of a bad crop, when we can get, with much less pain, mountains of corn from India, America, Hungary, or Russia, meat from New Zealand, vegetables

from France, apples from Canada, grapes from Malaga, and so on?' exclaim the West Europeans. 'Already now,' they say, 'our food consists, even in modest households, of produce gathered from all over the globe. Our cloth is made out of fibres grown and wool sheared in all parts of the world. The prairies of America and Australia; the mountains and steppes of Asia; the frozen wildernesses of the Arctic regions; the deserts of Africa and the depths of the oceans; the tropics and the lands of the midnight sun are our tributaries. All races of man contribute their share in supplying us with our staple food and luxuries, with plain clothing and fancy dress, while we are sending them in exchange the produce of our higher intelligence, our technical knowledge, our powerful industrial and commercial organising capacities! Is it not a grand sight, this busy and intricate exchange of produce all over the earth which has suddenly grown up within a few years?'

Grand it may be, but is it not a mere nightmare? Is it necessary? is it advantageous for humanity? At what cost has it been obtained, and how long will it last?

Let us turn seventy years back. France lies bleeding at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Her young industry, which had begun to grow by the end of the last century, is crushed down. Germany, Italy, are powerless on the industrial field. The armies of the great Republic have struck a mortal blow to serfdom on the Continent; but the return of reaction tries to revive the decaying institution, and serfdom means no industry worth speaking of. The terrible wars between France and this country, which wars are often explained by merely political causes, had a much deeper meaning—an economical meaning. They were wars for the supremacy on the world-market, wars against French commerce and industry; and Britain won the battle. She became supreme on the seas. Bordeaux was no more a rival to London, and the French industries seemed to be killed in the bud. And, favoured by the powerful impulse given to natural sciences and technology by the great æra of inventions; finding no serious competitors in Europe, Britain began to develop her manufactures. To produce on a large scale in immense quantities became the watchword. The necessary human forces were at hand in the peasantry, partly driven by force from the land, partly attracted to the cities by high wages. The necessary machinery was created, and the British production of manufactured goods went on at a gigantic pace. In the course of less than seventy years—from 1810 to 1878—the output of coal grew from 10 to 133 millions of tons; the imports of raw materials rose from 30 to 380 millions of tons; and the exports of manufactured ware from 46 to 200 million pounds. The tonnage of the commercial fleet was nearly trebled. Fifteen thousand miles of railways were built.

It is useless to repeat at what a cost the above results were achieved. The terrible revelations of the parliamentary commissions of 1840–42 as to the atrocious condition of the manufacturing classes; the tales of ‘cleared estates’ and those of Indian ‘mutiny’ are still fresh in the memory. They will remain standing monuments for showing by what means the great industry was implanted in this country. But the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the privileged classes was going on at a speed never dreamed of before. The incredible riches which now astonish the foreigner in the private houses of this country were accumulated during that period; the exceedingly expensive standard of life which makes a person considered rich on the Continent appear as only of modest means in this country, was introduced during that time. The taxed property alone doubled during the last thirty years of the above period, while during the same years (1810 to 1878) no less than 1,112,000,000*l.* was invested by English capitalists either in foreign industries or in foreign loans.

But the monopoly of industrial production could not remain with this country for ever. Neither industrial knowledge nor enterprise could be kept for ever as a privilege of these islands. Necessarily, fatally, they began to cross the Channel and spread over the Continent. The Great Revolution had created in France a numerous class of peasant-proprietors who enjoyed nearly half a century of a comparative well-being, or, at least, of a guaranteed labour. The ranks of the town *prolétariat*—a necessary condition now for growing industries—were therefore increasing slowly. But the middle-class revolution of 1789–1793 had already made a distinction between the peasant householders and the village *prolétaires*, and, by favouring the former to the detriment of the latter, it compelled the labourers who had no household nor land to abandon their villages, and thus to form the first nucleus of working classes given up to the mercy of manufacturers. Moreover, the peasant-proprietors themselves, after having enjoyed a period of undeniable prosperity, began in their turn to feel the pressure of bad times, and were compelled to look for employment in manufactures. Wars and revolution had checked the growth of industry; but it began to grow again during the second half of our century; it developed, it improved; and now, notwithstanding the loss of Alsace, France is no longer the tributary to England for manufactured produce which she was thirty years ago. To-day her exports of manufactured ware are valued at nearly one half of those of Great Britain, and two-thirds of them are textile goods.

Germany follows the same lines. During the last twenty-five years, and especially since the last war, her industry has undergone a thorough reorganisation. Her machinery has been thoroughly improved, and her new-born manufactures are supplied with a machinery which mostly represents the last word of technical progress; she has plenty of workmen and technologists endowed with

a superior technical and scientific education; and in her army of learned chemists, physicists, and engineers, who find no employment with the State, industry has a most powerfully intelligent aid. As a whole, Germany offers now the spectacle of a nation in a period of *Aufschwung*, with all the forces of a new start in every domain of life. Thirty years ago she was a customer to England. Now she is already a terrible competitor in the markets of the South and East, and at the present speedy rate of growth of her industries, her competition will be soon yet more terrible than it is.

The wave of industrial production, after having had its origin in the North-west of Europe, spreads towards the East and South-east, always covering a wider circle. And, in proportion as it advances East, and penetrates into younger countries, it implants there all the improvements due to a century of mechanical and chemical inventions; it borrows from science all the help it can give to industry; and it finds populations eager to grasp the last results of modern knowledge. The new manufactures of Germany begin where Manchester arrived after a century of experiments and gropings; and Russia begins where Manchester and Saxony have now reached. Russia, in her turn, tries to emancipate herself from her dependency upon Western Europe, and rapidly begins to manufacture all those goods she formerly used to import, either from Britain or from Germany. Protective duties may sometimes help the birth of new industries, and sometimes check the improvement of those which already exist; but the decentralisation of manufactures goes on with or without protective duties—I should even say, notwithstanding the protective duties. Austria, Hungary, and Italy follow the same lines; they develop their home industries; and even Spain is going to join the family of manufacturing nations. Nay, even India, even Brazil and Mexico, supported by English and German capital and knowledge, begin to start home industries on their respective soils. Finally, a terrible competitor to all European manufacturing countries has grown up of late in the United States. In proportion as their immense territory is more and more appropriated by the few, and free land of any value becomes as difficult to get as it is in Europe, manufactures *must* grow in the States; and they are growing at such a speed—an American speed—that in a very few years the now neutral markets will be invaded by American goods. The monopoly of the first-comers on the industrial field has ceased to exist. And it will exist no more, whatever may be the spasmodic efforts made to return to a state of things already belonging to the domain of history. New ways, new issues, must be searched: the past *has* lived, and it will live no more.

Before going further, let me illustrate the march of industries towards the East by a few figures. And, to begin with, let me take the example of Russia. Not because I know it better, or that our

industrial statistics, although slow to appear, are fuller than those of Austria or of Italy, but because Russia is the latest comer on the industrial field. Thirty years ago she was considered as the ideal of an agricultural nation, doomed by nature itself to supply other nations with food, and to draw her manufactured goods from the West. So it was, indeed, thirty years ago; but it is so no more. Elisée Reclus has given, in his *Géographie Universelle*, a curve intended to show the growth of Russian industries since 1859, and this modest curve is worth whole pages, as it tells at once to the eye the sudden increase of Russian manufactures a few years after the emancipation of serfs. In 1861—the year of the emancipation—Russia, together with Poland, had only 14,060 manufactures, which produced every year the value of 296 millions of roubles (about 36,000,000*l.*). Twenty years later the number of establishments rose to 35,160, and their yearly production became nearly four times the above—*i.e.* 1,305 millions (about 131,000,000*l.*); and in 1884, although the census left the smaller manufactures out of account, the aggregate production reached already 1,556 millions—*i.e.* 155,000,000*l.* The most noteworthy feature of Russian industry is, that while the number of workmen employed in the manufactures has not even doubled since 1861 (it has remained almost stationary since 1879), the production per workman has more than doubled: it has trebled in the leading industries. The average was less than 70*l.* per annum in 1861; it reaches now 163*l.* The increase of production is thus chiefly due to the improvement of machinery, especially since 1870. If we take, however, separate branches, and especially the textile industries and the machinery works, the progress appears still more striking.¹

¹ If we consider only the years which preceded 1879—when the import duties were increased by nearly 30 per cent., and a protective policy was definitely adopted—we still find the following progress in the cotton industries. The number of workmen employed increases only by 25 per cent.; but the production increases by 300 per cent.; the yearly production per workman employed grows from 45*l.* to 117*l.* The unanimous opinion of the experts at the exhibition of 1882 was, that a considerable improvement had been realised of late in the Russian cotton manufactures; and everybody can confirm the accuracy of the statement by the cheapness and the good taste of the cottons now manufactured in Russia. The same is true, although to a smaller extent, with regard to the woollen industries, and fully with regard to the silks (compare Stieda's monographs in the *Russische Revue*). As to the machinery works, it would not be fair to make any comparison between 1884 and 1861, or even 1870; the whole has grown up during the last ten years; and Professor Kirpitcheff points out that the progress realised can be best judged by the high perfection attained in the building of the most perfect types of big steam-engines, locomotives, and in the manufacture of water-pipes, notwithstanding the competition of Glasgow. Russia needs no longer to import any part of her railway plant, thanks to the progress made under the leadership of English and, partly, German engineers. As to the home-made agricultural machinery, both the *Times* correspondent and Russian reports agree in recognising that it successfully competes even with American machinery, although the latter is much cheaper and more appropriate to the Russian prairies than the English.

Moreover, the above figures, including only those manufactures which show a yearly return of above 200*l.*, do not include the immense variety of domestic trades which also have considerably grown of late, side by side with the manufactures. The domestic industries—so characteristic of Russia, and so necessary under her climate—occupy now more than seven millions of peasants, and their aggregate production was estimated a few years ago at much more than the aggregate production of the manufactures. It exceeded 180,000,000*l.* per annum. I shall have an occasion to return later on to this subject, so that I shall be sober of figures, and merely say that even in the chief manufacturing provinces of Russia round about Moscow, domestic weaving—for the trade—shows a yearly return of 4,500,000*l.*; and that even in Northern Caucasia, where the petty trades are of a recent origin, there are, in the peasants' houses, 45,000 looms with a yearly production of 200,000*l.*

As to the mining industries, which are not included in the above, notwithstanding the competition of fuel-wood and naphtha² the output of the coal-mines of the Don has doubled during the last ten years, and in Poland it has increased fourfold; so that in 1884, before the last increase of duties, only one-third of the 113 millions of cwts. consumed in Russia was imported. Nearly all steel, three-quarters of the iron, and two-thirds of the pig-iron used in Russia are home produce, and the eight Russian works for the manufacture of steel rails are strong enough to throw on the market six million cwts. of rails every year.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the imports of manufactured goods into Russia are so insignificant, and that since 1870—that is, nine years before the general increase of duties—the proportion of manufactured goods to the aggregate imports has been on a steady decrease.³ Manufactured goods make now only one-fifth of the imports; and while the imports of Britain into Russia were valued 16,300,000*l.* in 1872, they were only 12,300,000*l.* in 1884; out of them, manufactured goods were valued at a little more than 2,000,000*l.*—the remainder being either articles of food or raw and half-manufactured goods (metals, yarn, and so on). In fact, the imports of British home produce have declined in the course of ten years from 8,800,000*l.* to 5,000,000*l.*, so as to reduce the value of British manufactured goods imported into Russia to the following trifling items: machinery, 1,042,550*l.*; cottons, only 625,600*l.*; woollens,

² Out of the 1,246 steamers which ply on Russian rivers one quarter are heated with naphtha, and one half with wood; wood is also the chief fuel of the railways and ironworks.

³ The characters of the imports into Russia are best seen from the following:—

	Manufactured goods.	Raw and half-manufactured goods.	Articles of food.
1866-1870	31 per cent.	46 per cent.	23 per cent.
1884	19 "	58 "	23 "

260,800*l.*, and so on. But the depreciation of British ware imported into Russia is still more striking: thus, in 1876, Russia imported 8,000,000 cwts. of British metals, and paid then 6,000,000*l.*; but in 1884, although the same quantity was imported, it was paid only 3,400,000*l.* And the same depreciation is seen for all imported goods, although not always in the same proportion.

It would be a gross error to imagine that the decline of foreign imports is mainly due to high protective duties, and that therefore the Russians pay for everything much dearer than the West-Europeans. The decline of imports is much better explained by the growth of home industries. The protective duties have no doubt contributed (together with other causes) towards attracting German and English manufacturers to Poland and Russia. Lodz—the Manchester of Poland—is quite a German city, and the Russian trade-directories are full of English and German names. English and German capitalists, English engineers and foremen, have planted within Russia the improved cotton manufactures of their mother-countries; they are busy now in improving the woollen industries and the production of machinery. But there is not the slightest doubt—and this opinion is shared by several Russian manufacturers—that, the Russian industries having already taken firm root, a free-trade policy would not check their further growth. And then let us imagine that absolutism is overthrown, and Russia conquers some more political freedom. A further growth of industries would immediately follow. The change may come in a more or less pacific way, or under the thunders of a peasant revolution. But, however different the results in each case for the masses of labourers—capitalist production in one case, and free industry in the other case—a further and rapid development of industry would be the consequence of the change. Technical education—which, strange to say, has been systematically suppressed until now by the Government—would rapidly grow and spread; and in a few years, with her natural resources and her laborious youth, which even now tries to combine workmanship with science, Russia would soon see her industrial powers increase tenfold. She *farà da sè* on the industrial field. She will manufacture all she needs; and yet she will remain an agricultural nation. At present, only one million of men and women, out of the eighty millions population of European Russia, work in manufactures, and seven and a half millions combine agriculture with manufacturing. The figures may treble without Russia ceasing to be an agricultural nation; but if they treble, there will be no room for imported manufactured ware, because an agricultural country will have her manufactured goods cheaper than those countries which live on imported food.

The same is still more true with regard to other European nations, much more advanced in their industrial development, and especially with regard to Germany. So much has been written of late about

the competition which Germany offers to British trade, even in the British markets, and so much can be learned about it from a mere inspection of the London shops, that I need not enter into lengthy details. Several articles in reviews; the correspondence exchanged on the subject in the *Daily Telegraph* in August 1886; numerous consular reports, regularly summed up in the leading newspapers, and still more impressive when consulted in originals; and, finally, political speeches, have familiarised the public opinion of this country with the importance and the powers of German competition. And the forces which German industry borrows from the high technical training of her workmen, engineers, and scientific men have been so often brought to the front by the promoters of the Technical Education movement, that the causes of the sudden growth of Germany as an industrial power ought to be well known. Where decades were needed before to develop an industry, a few years are sufficient now. Five and twenty years ago, only 8,300 metric tons of raw cotton were imported into Germany, and 830 tons of cottons were exported; cotton spinning and weaving were mostly insignificant house industries. In 1884, the imports of raw cotton reached 180,000 tons, and the export of cotton goods 25,000 tons. In nine years—that is, between 1875 and 1884—the number of spindles in the woollen trade had doubled; and while 100,000 metric tons of raw wool were imported, the export of manufactured woollens reached 21,000 tons in 1884. While pointing out very frankly several secondary drawbacks of German manufactures, Dr. Francke (*Die neueste Entwicklung der Textilindustrie in Deutschland*) maintains that the German woollens are not inferior to the British, and they really compete with them in British markets. The above rate of increase is already speedy enough; but the flax industry grows at a still speedier rate, so that out of the 2,700,000 flax-spindles which Europe had in 1884, Germany counted 300,000. In the silks, with her 87,000 looms and a yearly production valued at 9,000,000*l.*, she is second only to France. It is only in the art of making the finest cotton-yarns that Germany remains behind England, but Herr Francke believes—and we, too—that the disadvantage will be soon equalised. New manufactories, supplied with better machinery, are already being started. And the next step will be, we are told, to emancipate the German cotton manufactures from the Liverpool traders—and ‘rings’—by importing raw cotton directly from where it grows. The progress realised in the German chemical trade is well known, and it is only too strongly felt in Scotland and Northumberland. As to the German machinery works, if they have committed the error of too slavishly copying English patterns, instead of taking new departures and creating new patterns, as the Americans did, we still must recognise that their copies are excellent, and that they very successfully compete in cheapness with English machines and tools. I hardly need

mention the superior make of German scientific apparatus. It is well known to scientific men, even in France.

In consequence of the above, the imports of manufactured goods into Germany are declining. The aggregate imports of textiles (inclusive of yarn) stand so low as to be nearly compensated by nearly equal values of exports. And there is no doubt that, not only the German markets for textiles will be soon lost for other manufacturing countries, but that German competition will be felt stronger and stronger both in the neutral markets and those of Western Europe. It is very easy to win applause from uninformed auditories by exclaiming with more or less pathos that German produce can *never* equal the English! The fact is, that it competes in cheapness, and sometimes also—where it is needed—by an equally good workmanship; and this circumstance is due to many causes: to the relative cheapness of life; to a widely spread technical or, at least, concrete scientific education; to the possibility of establishing manufactures according to the very last models of the best English manufactures; and especially to the period of awakening in all branches of activity which Germany is now experiencing after her long period of slumber. This remarkable awakening may be witnessed in all directions; in literature and science, in industry and trade, in the growth of new ideals; and if more inventive genius, more originality, are still desirable, it must be recognised that with regard to the energy displayed for applying achieved results, Germany offers now a really grand spectacle.

The flow of industrial growths spreads, however, not only East; it moves also South-east and South. Austria and Hungary are rapidly gaining ground in the race for industrial importance. The triple alliance has already been once menaced by the growing tendency of Austrian manufacturers to protect themselves against German competition; and even the dual monarchy has recently seen the sister-nations quarrelling about customs duties. Austrian industries are a modern growth, and still they show a yearly return exceeding 100,000,000*l.* And the excellence and originality of the machinery used in the newly reformed flour-mills of Hungary—supplied with elevators and sorting machines, and working with steel rollers under beams of electric light—show that the young industry of Hungary is in the right way, not only for becoming a competitor to her elder sisters, but also for bringing her share into our knowledge as to the use of the forces of nature. Let me add, by the way, that the same is true, to some extent, with regard to Finland. Figures are wanting as to the present state of the aggregate industries of Austria-Hungary; but the relatively low imports of manufactured ware are worthy of note. For British manufactured goods Austria-Hungary is, in fact, no customer worth speaking of; but even with regard to Germany she is rapidly emancipating herself from her former dependence.

The same industrial progress extends over the Southern peninsulas. Who would have spoken ten years ago about Italian manufactures? And yet—the Turin exhibition of 1884 has shown it—Italy ranks now among the manufacturing countries. ‘You see everywhere a considerable industrial and commercial effort made,’ was written to the *Temps* by a French economist. ‘Italy aspires to go on without foreign produce. The patriotic watchword is, Italy all by herself! It inspires all the mass of producers. There is not a single manufacturer or tradesman who, even in the most trifling circumstances, does not do his best to emancipate himself from foreign guardianship.’ The best French and English patterns are imitated, and improved by a touch of national genius and artistic traditions. Complete statistics are wanting, so that the last statistical *Annuario* resorts to indirect indications. But the rapid increase of imports of coal (2,920,000 tons in 1884, as against 779,000 tons in 1871); the growth of the mining industries, which have trebled their production during the last fifteen years; the increasing production of steel and machinery (nearly 3,000,000*l.* in 1880) which—to use Bovio’s words—shows how a country, having no fuel nor minerals of her own, can have nevertheless a notable metallurgical industry; and, finally, the growth of textile industries disclosed by the net imports of raw cottons, and the number of spindles, having nearly doubled within five years⁴—all these show that the tendency towards becoming a manufacturing country capable of satisfying her needs by her own manufactures is not a mere dream. As to the efforts made for taking a more lively part in the trade of the world, who does not know the traditional capacities of the Italians in that direction?

I ought also to mention Spain, whose textile, mining, and metallurgical industries are rapidly growing; but I hasten to go over to countries which a few years ago were considered as eternal and obligatory customers to the manufacturing nations of Western Europe. Let us take, for instance, Brazil. Was it not doomed by economists to grow cotton, to export it in a raw state, and to receive cotton goods in exchange? Twenty years ago its nine miserable manufactories could boast only of an aggregate of 385 spindles. At present there are in Brazil forty-six cotton manufactories, and five of them have already 40,000 spindles; while altogether they throw every year on the Brazilian markets more than thirty-three million yards of cotton stuffs. The regular decline of the British imports of cottons into Brazil (from 3,498,000*l.* in 1880 to 2,475,000*l.* in 1885) is better explained by the growth of those manufactures than by the protective duties. And if protective duties count for

⁴ The net imports of raw cotton reached 291,680 quintals in 1880, and 594,118 in 1885. Number of spindles 1,800,000 in 1885, as against 1,000,000 in 1877. The whole industry grew up since 1859. Net imports of pig iron from 700,000 to 800,000 quintals during the five years 1881 to 1885.

something, can England enforce free-trade by her guns on all refractory nations, when she is unable to convert to the free-trade policy even her own colony, Canada? Nay, even Vera Cruz, in Mexico, under the protection of customs officers, begins to manufacture cottons, and boasts this year of its 40,200 spindles, 287,700 pieces of cotton cloth, and 212,000 lbs. of yarn!

But the flattest contradiction to the export theory has been given by India. She was always considered as the surest customer for British cottons, and so she has been until now. Out of the total of cotton goods exported from this country she used to buy more than one-quarter, very nearly one-third (from 17,000,000*l.* to 22,000,000*l.*, out of an aggregate of about 75 millions). But things have begun to change. The Indian cotton manufactures, which—for some causes not yet fully explained—were so unsuccessful at their beginnings, suddenly took firm root. In 1860 they consumed only 23 million pounds of raw cotton. In 1877 the figure increased nearly four times, and it has doubled since, reaching 184 million pounds in 1885-6. The number of cotton manufactories has grown from 40 to 81; the number of spindles increased from 886,100 to 2,037,055, the number of looms from 8,537 to 61,596; 57,188 workmen were employed on the average every day, and 1,454,425 tons of cotton goods were manufactured. The export trade in cotton twist has more than doubled in the last five years, and we read in the last 'Statement' (p. 62) that 'what cotton twist is imported is less and less of the coarser and 'even medium kind, which indicates that the Indian mills are gradually gaining hold of the home markets.' The jute manufactories of India have grown at a still speedier rate. In 1882 they had 5,633 looms and 95,937 spindles, and employed 42,800 persons. Two years later (1884-5) they had already 6,926 looms and 131,740 spindles, giving occupation to 51,900 persons. And therefore we saw that while India continued to import nearly the same amount of British cotton goods, she threw the same year on the foreign markets no less than 3,635,510*l.* worth of her own cottons, of Lancashire patterns (33 million yards of grey cotton piece goods), manufactured in India, by Indian workmen, by English and Indian capitalists. The once flourishing jute-trade of Dundee has been brought to decay, not only by the high tariffs of Continental Powers, but also by *Indian competition*. India exported jute-stuffs to the value of no less than 1,543,870*l.* in 1884-5. Nay, it is not without apprehension that the English manufacturers ought to see that the imports of Indian manufactured textiles (cottons, jute-stuffs, silk, woollens, and coir), which were 461,086*l.* worth in 1881, have now reached the value of 667,300*l.* At any rate she is a serious competitor to British produce in the markets of Asia and even Africa. And why should she not be? What should prevent the growth of Indian manufactures? Is it the want

of capital? But capital knows no fatherland; and if high profits can be derived from the work of Indian coolies whose wages are only one-half of those of English workmen, or even less, capital will migrate to India, as it has to Russia, although its migration may mean starvation for Lancashire and Dundee. Is it the want of knowledge? But longitudes and latitudes are no obstacle to its spreading; it is only the first steps that are difficult. As to the superiority of workmanship, nobody who knows the Hindoo worker will doubt about his capacities. Surely they are not below those of the 91,611 boys and girls less than thirteen years of age who are employed in British textile manufactories. Organising capacities may have been at fault at Calcutta and Bombay for several years; but these capacities, like capital, go where they reap most profits.

Volumes have been written about the present crisis—a crisis which, to use the words of the Parliamentary Commission, has lasted since 1875, with but ‘a short period of prosperity enjoyed by certain branches of trade in the years 1880 to 1883,’ and a crisis, I shall add, which extends over the chief manufacturing countries of the world. All possible causes of the crisis have been examined; but, whatever the cacophony of conclusions arrived at, all unanimously agree upon one, namely, that of the Parliamentary Commission, which can be summed up as follows: ‘The manufacturing countries do not find such customers as would enable them to realise high profits.’ Profits being the basis of capitalist industry, low profits explain all ulterior consequences. Low profits induce the employers to reduce the wages, or the numbers of workers, or the hours of labour, or finally to resort to the manufacture of lower kinds of goods, which, as a rule, are paid worse than the higher sorts. As Adam Smith said, low profits ultimately mean a reduction of wages, and low wages mean a reduced consumption by the worker. Low profits mean also a somewhat reduced consumption by the employer; and both together mean lower profits and reduced consumption with that immense class of middlemen which has grown up in manufacturing countries, and that, again, means a further reduction of profits for the employers. A country which manufactures chiefly for export, and therefore lives chiefly on the profits derived from her foreign trade, stands very much in the same position as Switzerland, which lives to a great extent on the profits derived from the foreigners who visit her lakes and glaciers. A good ‘season’ means an influx of from 1,000,000*l.* to 2,000,000*l.* of money imported by the tourists, and a bad ‘season’ has the effects of a bad crop in an agricultural country: a general impoverishment follows. So it is also with a country which manufactures for export. If the season is bad, and the exported goods cannot be sold abroad for twice their value at home, the country which lives chiefly on these bargains suffers. Low profits for the innkeepers of the Alps mean narrowed

circumstances in large parts of Switzerland. Low profits for the Lancashire and Birmingham manufacturers mean narrowed circumstances in this country. The cause is the same in both cases.

For many decades past we have not seen such a cheapness of wheat and manufactured goods as we see now, and yet we are suffering from a crisis. People say its cause is over-production. But over-production is a word utterly devoid of sense if it does not mean that those who are in need of all kinds of produce have not the means for buying them with their low salaries. Nobody would dare to affirm that there is too much furniture in the crippled cottages, too many bedsteads and bed-clothes in the workmen's dwellings, too many lamps burning in the huts, and too much cloth on the shoulders not only of those who used to sleep in Trafalgar Square between two newspapers, but even in those households where a silk hat makes a part of the Sunday dress. And nobody will dare to affirm that there is too much food in the homes of those agricultural labourers who earn ten shillings a week, and pay for their meat ninepence a pound, or of those who earn from fivepence to sixpence a day in the clothing trade, or in the small industries which swarm in the outskirts of all great cities. Over-production means merely and simply a want of purchasing power amidst the workers. With their wages they cannot buy the goods they have produced themselves, because the prices of those goods, however low, include the profits of the employers and the middlemen.

The same want of purchasing powers of the workers is felt everywhere on the Continent. But it is obvious that it must be felt more in this country, which has been accustomed to pump bargains out of her foreign customers, and now sees her exterior trade decline. The exports of manufactured goods from this country have declined by 161 millions in the three years ending 1880 when compared with the year 1872—said Mr. Gladstone at Leeds. Even those who will not admit that there is a notable decline in the exports, willingly admit that the prices are so low in comparison with those of 1873, that in order to reach the same money value, England ought to export four pieces of cotton cloth instead of three, and eight or ten tons of metal instead of six. 'The aggregate of our foreign trade in the year 1883, if valued at the prices of ten years previously, would have amounted to 861,000,000*l.*, instead of 667,000,000*l.*,' we are told by the Commission on Trade Depression.

The home markets are overstocked; the foreign markets are escaping; and in the neutral markets Britain is being undersold. Such is the conclusion which every observer must arrive at if he examines the development of manufactures all over the world. Great hopes are laid now in Australia; but Australia, with her ever-growing numbers of unemployed, will soon do what Canada does. She will manufacture; and the last Colonial Exhibition, by showing

to the 'colonists' what they are able to do, and how they must do, will only have accelerated the day when each colony *farà da sè* in her turn. Canada already imposes protective duties on British goods. New demands for a further increase of duties are continually being pressed on the Canadian Government. As to the much-spoken-of markets on the Congo, and Mr. Stanley's calculations and promises of a trade amounting to 26,000,000*l.* a year if the Lancashire people supply the Africans with loin-clothes, such promises belong to the same category of fancies as the famous nightcaps of the Chinese which were to enrich this country. The Chinese prefer their own home-made nightcaps; and, as to the Congo people, four countries, at least, are already competing for supplying them with their poor dress: Britain, Germany, the United States, and, last but not least, India.

There was a time when this country had almost the monopoly of the trade in manufactured ware. But now, if only the six chief manufacturing countries of Europe and the United States be taken into account, Britain, although still keeping the first rank, commands less than one-half of the aggregate exports of manufactured goods. Two-thirds of them are textiles, and more than one-third are cottons. But while thirty years ago, Britain took the lead in the cotton industries, about 1880 she had only a little more than one-half the spindles at work in Europe, the United States, and India (40,000,000 out of 72,000,000), and a little more than one-half of the looms (550,000 out of 972,000). She was steadily losing ground, while the others were winning. And the fact is quite natural: it might have been foreseen. There is no reason why Britain should always be the great cotton manufactory of the world, when raw cotton has to be imported. It was quite natural that France, Germany, Italy, Russia, India, and even Mexico and Brazil, should spin their own yarns and weave their own cotton-stuffs. But the appearance of the cotton industry in a country, or, in fact, of any textile industry, unavoidably becomes the starting-point for the growth of a series of other industries; chemical and mechanical works, metallurgy and mining feel at once the impetus given by a new want. The whole of the home industries, as also technical education altogether, *must* improve in order to satisfy it, as soon as it has been felt.

What has happened with regard to cottons is going on also with regard to other industries. Britain and Belgium have no longer the monopoly of the woollen manufacture. The immense factories at Verviers are silent; the Belgian weavers are misery-stricken, while Germany yearly increases her production of woollens, and exports nine times more woollens than Belgium. Austria has her own woollens and exports them; Riga, Lodz, and Moscow supply Russia with finest woollen cloths; and the growth of the woollen industry in each of the last-named countries calls into existence hundreds of connected trades.

For many years France has had the monopoly of the silk-trade.

Silkworms being reared in Southern France, it was quite natural that Lyons should grow into a centre for the manufacture of silks. Spinning, domestic weaving, and dyeing works developed to a great extent. But eventually the industry took such a development that home supplies of raw silk became insufficient, and raw silk was imported from Italy, Spain, and South Austria, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Japan, to the amount of from nine to eleven million pounds in 1875 and 1876, while France disposed only of 800,000 pounds of her own silk. Thousands of peasant boys and girls were attracted by high wages to Lyons and the neighbouring district; the industry was prosperous. However, by-and-by new centres of silk-trade grew up at Basel and in the peasant houses around Zürich. French emigrants imported the trade, and it developed, especially after the civil war of 1871. The Caucasus Administration invited French workmen and women from Lyons and Marseilles to teach the Georgians and the Russians the best means of rearing the silkworm and the whole of the silk-trade, and Stavropol became a new centre for silk-weaving. Austria and the United States did the same; and what are now the results? During the years 1872 to 1881 Switzerland more than doubled the produce of her silk industry; Italy and Germany increased it by one-third; and the Lyons region, which formerly manufactured to the value of 454 million francs a year, shows now a return of only 378 millions. The exports of Lyons silks, which reached an average of 425 million francs in 1855-59, and 460 in 1870-74, have fallen down to 233 millions. And it is reckoned by French specialists that at present no less than one-third of the silk-stuffs used in France are imported from Zürich, Crefeld, and Barmen. Nay, even Italy, which had 2,000,000 spindles and 30,000 looms in 1880 (as against 14,000 in 1870), sends her silks to France (3,300,000 francs in 1881), and competes with Lyons. The French manufacturers may cry as loudly as they like for protection, or resort to the production of cheaper goods of lower quality; they may sell 3,250,000 kilogrammes of silk-stuffs at the same price as they sold 2,500,000 in 1855-59—they will never regain the position they occupied before. Italy, Switzerland, Germany, the United States, and Russia have their own silk-manufactories and will import from Lyons only the highest qualities of stuffs; as to the lower sorts, a foulard has become a common attire with the St. Petersburg housemaids, because the North Caucasian domestic trades supply them at a price which would starve the Lyons weavers. And they do starve. The misery at Lyons was so great in 1884, that the poorly fed soldiers of the Lyons garrison shared their food with the weavers, and spared their coppers in order to alleviate the misery. But neither charities nor public works at the fortifications will help. The trade has irremediably gone away; it has been decentralised; and Lyons will never become again the centre for silk trade it was thirty years ago.

Like examples could be produced by the score. Greenock no longer supplies Russia with sugar, because Russia has plenty of her own at the same price as it sells at in England. The watch-trade is no more a speciality of Switzerland, and I saw skilled *guillocheurs* earning a miserable existence by carding wool and the like. India extracts from her ninety collieries two-thirds of her annual consumption of coal. The chemical trade which grew up on the banks of the Clyde and Tyne, owing to the special advantages offered for the import of Spanish pyrites, and the agglomeration of such a variety of industries along the two estuaries, is now in decay. Spain, with the help of English capital, is beginning to utilise her own pyrites for herself; Germany extracted them to the amount of 158,410 tons in 1882, and manufactured no less than 358,150 tons of sulphuric acid, and 115,000 tons of soda, as against 42,500 in 1877—nay, she already complains about over-production, and indeed the prices have fallen from twenty-three marks to fourteen and twelve marks the hundred kilogrammes.

But enough! I have before me so many figures, all telling the same tale, that examples could be multiplied at will. It is time to conclude, and, for every unprejudiced mind, the conclusion is self-evident. Industries of all kinds are decentralised and scattered all over the globe; and everywhere a variety, an integrated variety of trades grows, instead of specialisation. Such are the prominent features of the times we live in. Each nation becomes in its turn a manufacturing nation; and the time is not far off when each nation of Europe, as well as the United States, and even the most backward nations of Asia and America, will themselves manufacture nearly everything they are in need of. Wars and several accidental causes may check for some time the scattering of industries: they will not stop it; it is unavoidable. For each new-comer the first steps only are difficult. But, as soon as any industry has taken firm root, it calls into existence hundreds of other trades; and as soon as the first steps have been made, and the first obstacles have been overcome, the growth of industries goes on at an accelerated rate.

The fact is so well felt, if not understood, that the race for colonies has become the distinctive feature of the last twenty years. Each nation will have her own colonies. But colonies will not help. There is not a second India in the world, and the old conditions will be repeated no more. Nay, some of the British colonies already threaten to become serious competitors with their mother-country; others, like Australia, will not fail to follow the same lines. As to the yet neutral markets, China and Japan will never be serious customers to Europe: they can produce cheaper at home; and when they begin to feel a need for goods of European patterns, they will produce them themselves. Woe to Europe if, the day that the steam-engine invades China, she is still relying on foreign customers! As to the African

half-savages, their misery is no foundation for the well-being of a civilised nation.

Progress is in another direction. It is in producing for home use. The customers for the Lancashire cottons and the Sheffield cutlery, the Lyons silks and the Hungarian flour-mills, are not in India nor in Africa. They are amidst the home producers. No use to send floating shops to New Guinea with German or British millinery when there are plenty of would-be customers for British millinery in these very islands, and for German ware in Germany. And, instead of worrying our brains by schemes for getting customers abroad, it would be better to try to answer the following plain questions—Why the British worker, whose industrial capacities are so highly praised in political speeches; why the Scotch crofter and the Irish peasant, whose obstinate labours in creating new productive soil out of peat-bogs are so much spoken of now, are no customers to the Lancashire weavers, the Sheffield cutlers, and the Northumbrian and Welsh pitmen? Why the Lyons weavers, not only do not wear silks, but have no food in their *mansardes*? Why the Russian peasants sell their corn, and for four, six, and sometimes eight months every year are compelled to mix bark and auroch-grass to a handful of flour for baking their bread? Why famines are so common amidst the growers of wheat and rice in India? Under the present conditions of division into capitalists and labourers, into property-holders and masses living on uncertain wages, the spreading of industries over new fields is accompanied by the very same horrible facts of pitiless oppression, massacre of children, pauperism, and insecurity of life which we have seen in this country, and which we still see in hundreds of industries. The Russian Fabrics Inspectors' Reports, the Reports of the Plauen Handelskammer, and the Italian inquiries are full of the same revelations as the Reports of the Parliamentary Commissions of 1840 to 1842, or the modern revelations with regard to the 'sweating system' at Whitechapel and Glasgow, and London pauperism. The Capital and Labour problem is thus universalised; but, at the same time, it is also simplified. To return to a state of affairs where corn is grown and manufactured goods are fabricated for the use of those very people who grow and produce them—such will be, no doubt, the problem to be solved during the next coming years of European history. Each region will become its own producer and its own consumer of manufactured goods. But that unavoidably implies that, at the same time, it will be its own producer and consumer of agricultural produce; and that is precisely what I shall discuss next.

SNOWED UP IN ARCADY.

No truer saying was ever uttered than that 'one half the world does not know how the other half lives.' And yet I am continually contradicted by wisecracs of the streets and squares when I meekly but firmly maintain that it is actually possible to live a happy, intelligent, useful, and *progressive* life in an out-of-the-way country parish—'far from the madding crowd'—and literally (as I happen to know at this moment) three miles from a lemon. 'Don't tell me!' says one of my agnostic friends who knows everything, as agnostics always do, and who is absolutely certain, as agnostics always are, that they know all about you—'don't tell me! You may make the best of it as you do, and you put a good face upon it, which I dare say is all right; but to try and make me believe you *like* being buried alive is more than you can do. Stuff, man! You might as well try and persuade me you like being snowed up!'

Now it so happened that, a few days after my bouncing and aggressive friend had delivered himself of this delicate little protest against any and every assertion I might venture to make in the conversation which had arisen between us, I was awaked at the usual hour of 7 A.M. by Jemima knocking at the door; and when Mr. Bob had growled his usual growl, and I had declared myself to be awake in a surly monosyllable, Jemima cried aloud, saying, 'It's awful snow, sir—drifts emendjous!' I drew the curtains open, pulled up the blinds, and lo! there was snow indeed. Not on the trees—that was well, at any rate—but all the air was full of snow. Not coming down from the clouds, but driving across the fields in billows of white dust—piling itself up against every obstacle—pollard stump or gatepost, hedgerow, or wall, or farmstead—rolling, eddying, scudding along before the cruel north-easter, that was lashing the earth with his freezing scourge of bitterness. At about the distance of a pistol-shot from my window the high road runs straight as a ruler between low banks and thin hedges, and we can see it for half a mile or so till some rising ground blocks the view. This morning *there was no road!*—only a long broad stripe of snow that seemed a trifle higher than the ploughed lands that lay to the northward, and which were almost swept bare by the gale. To the southward there

were huge drifts packed up against every little copse or plantation, and far as the eye could see not a human creature or sheep or head of cattle to lessen the impression of utter desolation.

By the time we got down to breakfast the wind had lulled, and fresh snow was falling. That was, at any rate, an improvement upon the accursed north-easter. But it was plain that there were to be no *ante-jantacular* or *post-prandial pergrinations*, as Jeremy Bentham used to phrase it, for us this day. 'My dear,' I said, 'I'm afraid we are really snowed up!' Now, what do you suppose was the reply I received from her Royal Highness the Lady Shepherd? Neither more nor less than this—'What a jolly day we will have! We needn't go out, need we?'

Nathan, the wise youth—agnostic, as he calls himself, which is only Greek for *ignoramus*—would have sneered at the Lady Shepherd's chuckle, and she—she would have chuckled at his sneer. But as he was not there we only laughed, and somewhat gleefully set ourselves to map out the next fifteen hours with plans of operation that would have required at least fifty hours to execute.

'The only thing that can be said for your pitiful life,' said Nathan to us once, 'is that you have no interruptions. But there is not much in that, where there's nothing to interrupt.' Nathan, the wise youth, is a type of his class. He's so delicate in his little *innuendos*, so sympathetically candid, so tender to 'the things you call your feelings, you know.' Do these people always wear hob-nailed boots, prepared at any moment for a wrestling match, where kicking is part of the game? 'No interruptions!' Oh, Lady Shepherd, think of that! 'No interruptions!'

You observe that our day begins at eight. When we came first to Arcady we said we would breakfast at half-past eight. We tried the plan for a month. It was a dead failure. Jemima never kept true to the minutes. We found ourselves slipping into nine o'clock; that meant ruin. It must either be eight o'clock, or the financial bottom of the establishment would inevitably drop out. So eight o'clock it is and shall be.

At eight o'clock, accordingly, on this particular morning we went down as usual to the library—and, I am bound to say, we were just a little depressed, because we had made up our minds that no postman in England could bring us our bag this morning. To our immense surprise and joy, there were the letters and papers lying on the table as if it were Midsummer Day. The man had left the road, tramped along the fields which the howling wind had made passable. There were nine letters. When I see what these country postmen go through, the pluck and endurance they exhibit, the downright suffering (*i.e.* it would be to you and me) which they take all as a part of the day's work, and how they go on at it, and retire at last, after years of stubborn jog-trotting, to enjoy a pension of ten

shillings a week and the repose of acute rheumatism consequent upon sudden cessation from physical exertion, I find myself frequently exclaiming with the poet,—

πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κ' οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει.

Now it will be a surprise, perhaps a very great surprise, to some of my genuine town friends, to learn that even a country parson—who after all is a man and a brother—gets pretty much the same sort of letters that other people do. He gets offers to assign to him shares in gold mines; offers of three dozen and four, positively all that is left, of that transcendental sherry; offers to make him a life governor of the new college for criminals; invitations to be a steward at a public dinner of the Society for Diminishing Felony; above all, he gets some very elegant letters from gentlemen in very high positions in society offering to lend him money. I do verily believe these scoundrels, who invariably write a good hand on crested paper and express themselves in a style which is above all praise, are in league with one of my banker's clerks. How else does it happen that, as sure as ever my account is very low and that I am in mortal terror lest my last cheque should be returned dishonoured, so sure am I to hear from one of these diabolical tempters? There's one scarlet Mephistopheles who *must* know all about my financial position. How else could he have thought of sending me two of his gilt-edged seductions in a single week just when my banking account was overdrawn? It is absurd to pretend that he keeps a *medium*.

Moreover, proof sheets come by post even in this wilderness, and they have to be corrected, too; and real letters that are not begging letters come, some kind and comforting, some stern and uncompromising, some with the oddest inquiries and criticisms. Sometimes, too, anonymous letters come. What a queer state of mind a man must have got himself into before he can sit down to write an anonymous letter! Does any man in his senses ever *read* an anonymous letter of four pages? If he does, the *writer* gets no fun out of it. I am inclined to think that the practice of writing anonymous letters is dying out now that the schoolmaster is abroad; and yet, they tell me, insanity is not decreasing. Then, too, there are the newspapers. I could live without butter—I shouldn't like it, but I could submit to it; or without eggs, though I dislike snow pancakes; or without sugar—and there are some solids and some liquids that are insipid without that; but there is one thing I could not do without—I could not do without the *Times*. We have tried again and again to economise by having a penny paper, but it has always ended in the same way. As *entremets* they are all delightful, but for a square meal give me the *Times*. Without it 'the appetite is distracted by the variety of objects, and tantalised by the restlessness of perpetual solicitation,' till, when the day is done, the mind wearies under 'a

feeling of satiety without satisfaction, and of repletion without sustenance.'

On this particular morning we had adjourned from the library to the breakfast-room, and were opening our letters in high spirits, spite¹ of Nathan the wise, and notwithstanding the bitter wind and the snow, when a hideous sound startled us. There, under the window, the snow steadily falling, drawn up in single file, were four human creatures, two males and two females, arrayed in outlandish attire, and every one of them playing hideously out of tune. It was a German band!

A more lugubrious spectacle than is presented by a German band, droning forth 'Herz, mein Herz' in front of your window in a snow-storm it would be difficult to imagine. We suffer much from German bands, but we have only ourselves to thank. I love music, and I am possessed by the delusion that it is my duty to encourage the practice of instrumental execution. Five or six years ago there was a band of eight or nine performers who perambulated Norfolk, and they came to me at least once a month. Whenever they appeared I went out to them and gave them a shilling, airing my small modicum of German periodically, and receiving flattering compliments upon my pronunciation, which gratified me exceedingly. These people disappeared at last, but they were succeeded by another band, and a very inferior one, and I took but little notice of them. There were seven of these performers, a cornet and two clarionets being prominent—very. However, they got their shilling, and vanished. Three days after their departure came another band: this time there were only four. I thought that rather shabby, but I was busy, did not take much notice of them, and again gave them a shilling. The cornet player was really quite respectable. Next day came four more, and there was no cornet, only the abominable clarionet. It was insufferable. I said I really must restrict myself to sixpence, and that was fourpence more than they were worth. Two days after their departure came a single solitary performer; he had a pan-pipe fastened under his chin, a peal of bells on his head, which he caused to peal by his nods, a pair of cymbals attached to one of his elbows, a big drum which he beat by the help of a crank that he worked with one of his feet, and a powerful concertina which he played with his hands. He led off with a dolorous chorale in a minor key. It was really more than flesh and blood could bear. 'Send him away, Jemima. Send him away!—instantly! Tell him I am *sehr krank*. Send him away!' The fellow smiled with unctuous complacency. But when he got only twopence, his face fell. 'Ach, nein! You please, ze professor,

¹ Why *will* not the printers' readers let me use this word? I *do* use it every day of my life in talk; why may I not write it and print it? It is very short, and it is perfectly harmless. I am afraid it must mean something bad in Finnish or some other strange tongue, for the *reader* always draws my attention to it.

he geeve one sheeling to ze band—I am ze band. He geeve ze band only twopence. He do not understand I am ze band! You please tell him I am ze band!’ ‘No! You’re to go away. Master’s very cranky!’ Ze band loitered for half a minute, then it took itself to pieces and went its way. But the fellow’s hint about the shilling was significant, and led to an investigation. Then it turned out that the band of seven or eight which was going its rounds that year, split itself up when it came into my neighbourhood, and, in view of my shilling, presented itself in two detachments, each of which reckoned on my shilling, and several times carried it off. Now I give one penny for each performer, and only when there is a cornet do I send out coffee to the instrumentalists.

It was, however, not in flesh and blood to withhold the shilling from the players of that quartette on that bitter morning. It was heart-rending to think of their having at the peril of their lives staggered through three miles of snow-drifts. It was inhuman to send them away without coffee. And they had it accordingly. Poor things! poor things! Where were they going? They were going back to the ‘Red Lion,’ a stone’s throw off, where they had slept the night before, and where they meant to spend this night in delighting the hearts of the rustics by waltzes and polkas, and gathering not such a bad harvest for the nonce. ‘Lor, sir!’ said Mr. Style, ‘to hear that there trombone a *soleing* “Rule Britannia”! That made you feel he was a real musician—that it did!’

So you see we began the day with a band of music. That does not sound so bad. But the band being dismissed, we finish our breakfast and retire to the library.

We do not go empty-handed. Each of us carries a plate piled up high with bread cut up for the birds that are waiting to be fed. A space under the window is swept clear from snow, and there the birds are, ready for their breakfast. Sparrows by the score, robins that will hardly wait till the window is opened, chaffinches and tom-tits, dunnocks, blackbirds and thrushes, linnets and—jackdaws, yes! and watching very warily for a chance, a dozen or so of rooks in the trees in yonder plantation, very much excited, very restless, very shy, but ready to come down and gobble up the morsels if we keep ourselves out of sight. As to the robins, there is no *mauvaise honte* about them; they will almost fly on to the plate. Sometimes I send a shower of morsels quite over the robins, and they greatly enjoy the fun. One saucy little fellow last week laughed out loud at me. ‘Laughed?’ Yes, laughed! I’ve known a robin laugh convulsively. But then it was not under a street lamp.

It is one of the laws of this palace that we do not begin real work before half-past nine. And before that time arrives there is usually a good half-hour for reading aloud by the Lady Shepherd. What is the Shepherd doing meanwhile? He is not going to tell you any-

thing more than this, that he is devoting himself during that half-hour to preventing the ravages of moths and bookworms. You people who suppose we poor country folk must be horribly dull and depressed may as well understand that this library in which I am sitting is thirty feet long, and that this is an apartment that for a country parsonage may be regarded as palatial. Pray haven't I a right to have one good room in my house? One thing I know, and that is that I am rated as if I lived in a house of 430*l.* a year, and if I must pay rates on that amount I may as well have something to show for it. Also I would have you to know that the walls of this library are lined with books from floor to ceiling. Then there are flowers all about—grown on the premises, mind you—none of your bought blossoms stuck on to a bit of stick with a bit of wire, but live flowers that turn and look at you—at any rate, they certainly do turn and look out at the window if you give them a chance. Moreover, they are not under the dominion of a morose stipendiary, for the sufficient reason that the head gardener is the Lady Shepherd, and the under gardener only comes three times a week, and Jabez has his hands full, and Ishmael is no servant of ours, but the servant of the maids in the kitchen; and when you're snowed up Ishmael must give his life to the solemn duties of a stoker and filler of coal-scuttles, and to shovelling away the snow, and to running errands. There is no doubt about the seriousness of that boy. He is oppressed by the sense of his responsibility, and convinced that he occupies the position of the divine being in Plato's *Theætetus*. As long as τὸ ὄν kept his hand upon the world it went round all right; when he took it off, the world straightway spun round the wrong way. That being Ishmael's view, he is naturally grave. When the maids shriek at him he exhibits a terror-stricken alacrity, but when I tell him to do this or that he looks at me with a cunning expression as if he would say, 'Do you really mean that? Well, you must take the consequences.' Then he glides off. From Ishmael not much is to be expected in the greenhouse. But when half-past nine strikes I roll my table into position and set to work, my head gardener puts on her apron and gathers up her skirts, and starts forth with her basket on her arm, equipped for *her* day's work.

Now, if a man has four good hours in the morning which he may call his own, it's a great deal more than most men have, and there's no saying what may be done in such hours as these. But if you allow morning callers to disturb you, then it's—I was going to say a bad word!

I had just settled myself to work in earnest when Jemima's head appeared. 'Please, sir, Tinker George wants to speak to you.' 'Tell your mistress.' And I thought no more about it, but went on with what I was doing. If Tinker George had been one of my parishioners I should have jumped up and heard him patiently, but Tinker George

does not belong to me, but to the next parish, and as his usual object in coming to see me is to show me his poetry, I passed him on this time, knowing very certainly that he would not be the worse for my not seeing him. An hour later I got up to warm myself. 'May I speak?' said the Lady Shepherd. 'I let Tinker George go away, but I'm afraid you'll be sorry I did. I think you would have liked to see him.' 'What's the matter?' 'He's been writing to the dear Queen' (the Lady Shepherd always speaks of 'the *dear* Queen'), 'and he came to show you the letter, and to ask what address he should put on it.'

Tinker—George—writing to—the—Queen! What *did* the man want? He wanted to be allowed to keep a dog without paying tax for it. George goes about with a wheel, and he calls for broken pots and pans. Sometimes he finds the boys extremely annoying, they will persist in turning his wheel when his back is turned and he has gone into a house for orders. Now, you see, if he had a dog of spirit and ferocity chained to his wheel, George might leave that wheel in charge of that dog; but then a dog is an expensive luxury when there is the initial outlay of seven shillings and sixpence for the tax. So he wrote to the Queen, and he put it into the post, and I never saw it. This was just one of those things which cause a man life-long regret, all the more poignant because so vain. The Lady Shepherd is the most passionately loyal person in England, and she firmly believes that there will come a holograph reply from her Majesty in the course of a few days addressed to Tinker George, promptly and graciously granting him his very reasonable request. 'I've promised Tinker George,' she added, 'to give him a sovereign for the letter when it comes, and it shall have a box all to itself among my autographs.'

Be pleased to observe that it was only just noon, and two events of some interest had happened already, though we were snowed up. But at this point I must needs inform you who *we* are. In the first place there are the Shepherd and the Lady Shepherd; in the second place there are the Shepherd's dogs. No shepherd can live without dogs—it would not be safe. No *man* ever pulled another man out of the snow: it is perfectly well known that men don't know how to do it. Till lately we had three of these protectors. But—*ehu fugaces!*—we have only two now: one a blue Skye, silky, surly, and exceptionally stubborn; and a big colley, to whom his master is the Almighty and the All-wise. I do not wish to claim more for my friends than is due to them. Ours are only average dogs; but they *are* average dogs. And if any one will have the hardihood to assert that he holds the average man to be equal to the average dog in morals, manners, and intelligence, I will not condescend to argue with that purblind personage. I will only say that he knows no more about dogs than I do about moles, and I never kept a tame mole.

Nothing perplexes some of my friends more than to hear that I do not belong to a single London club. Not belong to a club? One man was struck dumb at the intelligence; he looked at me gravely—suspicion in every wrinkle of his face, perplexity in the very buttons of his waistcoat. He was working out the problem mentally. I saw into his brain. I almost heard him say to himself, ‘Not belong to a club? Holloa! Ever been had up for larceny? Been a bankrupt? Wonder why they all blackballed him?—give it up!’ He evidently wanted to ask what it meant—there must be something wrong which he did not like to pry into: a skeleton in the cupboard, in fact.

‘I said a *London* club!’ I added, to relieve his embarrassment. ‘Of course I do belong to a club *here*—the Arcadian Club. It’s a very select club, too, and we can introduce strangers, which is an advantage, as you may perhaps yourself have felt if you have ever been kept for ten minutes stamping on the door-mat of the Athenæum with the porter watching you while that arch boy was sauntering about, pretending to carry your card to your friend upstairs. We are rational beings in our club, and I’ll introduce you at once—Colonel Culpepper, Toby! Colonel Culpepper, Mr. Bob.’ Neither Toby nor Mr. Bob took the least notice of the gallant colonel, who seemed rather shy himself. ‘They’re dangerous dogs are colleys, so I’m told. In London it does not so much matter, because, you see, they must go about with a muzzle. And this is really all the club you belong to?’

Yes. This, and no other; the peculiarities of our club being that false witness, lying, and slandering were never so much as known among the members. There is a house dinner every day, music every evening, no sneering, no spite, no gossip, no entrance fee, no annual subscription, no blackballing, no gambling, no betting, and no dry champagne or dry anything. Show me a club like that, my dear colonel, and I’ll join it to-morrow, whether in Pall Mall or in the planet Jupiter. At the present moment I know of only one such club, and it is here—the Arcadian Club! Enjoy its privileges while you may, and be grateful.

Seriously, I defy any club in England or anywhere else to produce me fifty per cent. of its members so entirely courteous, cordial, and clubbable—so graceful, intelligent, and generous—such thorough gentlemen, and so entirely guiltless of talking nonsense, as our friends Toby and Mr. Bob. Of course there are the infirmities which all flesh is heir to, and jealousy is one of these. But put the case that you should say to a little *man*, ‘You may sleep inside that door on a cushion by the fire,’ and say to a big *man*, ‘You’re to sleep outside that same door on the mat!’ and put the case that each of those *men* knew he was member of the same club to which the fire, the cushion, and the mat belonged:—and pray what *modus vivendi* could be

found between the big *man* and the little *man* on this side the grave?

But to return. The snow had ceased falling, but in the bleak distance as far as the eye could see, the road was blocked by ugly-looking drifts, in which a man on horseback might very easily be buried and flounder hopelessly till he sank exhausted never to rise again. There was nothing stirring except the birds, looking fluffy, cold, and starving. So I turned my chair to my table again and resumed my task.

Hark! Actually a ring at the front-door bell. The dogs growled and sniffed, but there was no fierce barking. Confound these tramps! That trombone has gone back to the 'Red Lion,' and the rogues are oozing out to practise upon our weakness. 'That's not a tramp,' said the Lady Shepherd. 'Toby didn't bark.' She was right, as she always is. For Toby has quite an unerring discernment of the proximity of a tramp. His gift in this line is inexplicable. How the great Darwin would have delighted to observe that dog! If it was not a tramp, who could it be? 'I believe it's Polus!' said the Lady Shepherd. 'Only Polus could have the ferocity to come here in defiance of the snowdrifts.' Right again. It *was* Polus. She had given him the name because he was eager to get into Parliament. There was no reference to the young gentleman in the *Gorgias* who bore that name—only a desire to indicate that he was the man who *went to the Poll*. It was hardly more than noon; we were snowed up, and yet already we had had music; poetry as represented by Tinker George; a flood of literature; and now there was discussion imminent on the profoundest questions of politics, philosophy, and law.

Enter Polus! What in the world had brought him hither this dreadful day? What had he been doing? whither was he going? Should we put him to bed? To send for a doctor was out of the question. But we could soon get him a mustard poultice and a hot bath. Polus laughed the hearty laugh of rude health and youth. 'You, dear old people, you forget I'm only thirty-five. I've had a pleasant walk from Tegea—greased my boots well—only rolled over twice. I've come for a talk. Dear me! dear me! Didn't I see a moth there on the curtains? Curious that they should come out in such numbers when you're snowed up! May I help you to get rid of the pests?'

The man had come to show his defiance of the laws of nature and ordinary prudence. In fact, he had come for mere *cussedness*! Also he had come for a conference. What was the subject to be this time? 'Anything but the education question,' said I; 'we must draw the line somewhere. Woman's rights, Man's wrongs. Agricultural depression. The People's Palace. The Feudal System. The Bacon-Shakespeare—anything you please in reason—but Education! No! Not for worlds.'

It was not long before the cat jumped out of the bag. Polus was bent on floating a most magnificent new International League. His ideas were a trifle mixed, but so are those of many men in our times. Polus makes the mistake of *bottling* his grand schemes and laying them down, as it were, when they ought to be kept *on draught*. The result is that there's always a superabundance of froth—or shall we call it foam?—that we have to plunge into before we can taste of that pleasant draught; and when you have drunk about half your fill, there's a wholly unnecessary and somewhat disagreeable sediment at the bottom, which interferes with your enjoyment. Thus the new League was to be so comprehensive a League, for effecting so many desirable objects, that it was difficult to discover what the main object was—or, in fact, if the main object did not resolve itself into an assemblage of objects, each of which was struggling with the rest for prominence and supremacy. On this occasion Polus had the effrontery to begin by assuring me that I was in honour and conscience bound to join the League, for the idea of it had been first suggested to him by a pregnant and suggestive saying of mine some months before. 'What! when you were so hot for the abolition of the punishment by death?' Oh dear no. He'd changed his mind about that long ago. 'Was it when you were advocating the desirability of the labourers having the cows and the landlords keeping the land?' 'No, no! I've improved greatly upon that. Haven't you heard? I'm for letting the landlord keep the cows, but giving the labourers the calves only; that appears to me the equitable adjustment of a complex question.' I thought a little, and Polus gave me time. What was it? What could it have been that we had been talking about? *Enfantin's* hallucinations and the dual priesthood (*couple-prêtre*)? *Fourrier's* Phalanstery? It must have been an *obiter dictum* which dropped from me as he laid down the law about Proudhon. I shook my head. 'Don't you remember? Entails!'

Then it appeared that the great League was to be started for the abolition of everything in the shape of entails. In our last conference I had let fall the remark that for every acre of land tied up in strict entail there was a thousand pounds sterling tied up in much stricter entail. If you are going to deal with the one, why not with the other? Polus was putting on his hat when I gave him that parting dig, and I thought I had silenced him for ever. So far from it, I had but sown a new seed in his soul, and now he came to show me the baby.

Polus meanwhile had plunged into the heaving billows of statistics. He had discovered, to his own satisfaction, that 500 millions of the National Debt was strictly entailed; that 217 millions belonged prospectively to babes unborn; that the British people were paying 'enormous taxes, sir!' not only for the sins and extravagances of

their forefathers, but for enriching of their hypothetical progeny. That it was a state of things altogether outrageous, irrational, monstrous, and a great many other epithets. Would I join the League? Of course I'd join a league for the extinction of nasal catarrh or the annihilation of stupidity—gladly, but upon conditions. I must first know how the thing is to be effected. Your object may be heroic, but the means for carrying out this glorious reform? the machinery, my dear Polus? Let me hear more about *that*. A new *voyage en Icarie* implies that you are going to embark upon some safe vessel. By the way, how did Cabot get to his enchanting island?

Hereupon ensued an elaborate monologue, admirably expressed, closely reasoned, carrying not so much conviction as demonstration along with it. Granting the premises, the conclusion was inevitable. It was as good as Bishop Blougram. The scheme was this: Property even in the funds—is a fact. There is no denying that. Therefore face the facts first, and deal with them as such. Timid reformers go only halfway towards building up the ideal social fabric. They say meekly, nationalise the land. The true reformer says, abolish all permanent financial obligations. But hardships would ensue upon any sudden and violent extinction of *private* debts. Prudence suggests that you should begin by a gradual extinction of *public* debts—in other words, the National Debt. The living holders of stock shall be fairly dealt with, and during their lifetime they shall enjoy their abominable dividends wrenched from the pockets of the people. As they drop off—and the sooner they go the better—their several claims upon the tax-payer shall perish with them. None shall succeed to their privileges of robbing the teeming millions. All stock standing in the name of trustees shall be transferred to the names of the present beneficiaries, and shall be extinguished by the death of the several holders. All powers of bequest in regard of such stock shall be taken away. In the case of infants—and there are 147,623 of such cases—who are only prospective owners of stock—being *only* prospective owners, and therefore having never actually tasted the joys of unrighteous possession—they shall continue to be prospective owners, and never be allowed to become anything else. They will have nothing to complain of; you take from them nothing that they ever had. All that will happen to them will be that they will be saved from cherishing delusive hopes, such as should never have been aroused in them. The scales will drop from their eyes; they will no longer be the victims of treacherous phantasms. The sooner they learn their glorious lesson the better. They will speedily rise to a true conception of the dignity of citizenship, and grow to the stature of a loftier humanity, whose destiny who shall foreshadow? 'Now, my dear Doctor,' said Polus, pausing for a moment in his harangue, 'I ask you as a Christian and a philo-

sopher, is not ours a magnificent League, and is not the vision that opens before us sublime?’

‘Place aux dames! Place aux dames!’ I answered. ‘Ask the Lady Shepherd. Let her speak.’

It is a curious physiological fact that I have been puzzled by for several years past, and which I am only half able to explain or account for, that *flashing* eyes have almost disappeared from off the face of the earth. You may see many sorts of eyes—eyes of various shades of colour and various shapes—eyes that glitter, that gleam, that sparkle, that shine, that stare, that blink; even eyes that are guilty of the vulgarity of winking; but eyes that flash with the fire and flame of wrath, and scorn, and scorching indignation—such as once or twice I have cowered and trembled under when I was young—such eyes have passed away; the passion in them has been absorbed in something, it may be better or it may be worse—absorbed in utter tenderness. The last time I saw eyes flash was when a certain college don came to pay his respects to a certain little lady—she *was* a little lady then—a week after she was married. The old blunderer boasted that he had been on Lord Powis’s committee on a certain memorable occasion. ‘Ah, my dear madam, you are too young to know anything about that, and your husband of course was an undergraduate. But——’ The man almost jumped from his chair; he turned pale as an oyster. The little lady sprang up a pillar of flame. ‘Do you mean, sir, that you voted against the Prince Consort? You will oblige me by not referring to the subject.’ I rang the bell again and again; I called for buckets of water—the whole room seemed to be, the whole house seemed likely to be on fire.

Ah! there were real live Tories (spelt with a capital T) then. We were blue *or* yellow, not a pale green made up by smudging the two together. We didn’t stand upon legs that were not a pair. None of your Conservative Liberals or Liberal Conservatives going about hat in hand and timidly asking, ‘What will you be good enough to wish to have conserved?’ It was ‘Church and Queen, sir, or salt and water. No shilly-shallying.’ Hesitate, and nothing remained for you but pistols for two in the back yard. Argument? Nay! We dealt with that as Uncle Sammy’s second wife did, and everyone knows that

She with the heel of assertion
Stampt all his arguments down!

If I could have looked forward in those days, what a monster would my future self have appeared!

Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis.

Something in the look of the Lady Shepherd's eyes this snowy morning reminded me of the old terrible flash ; but it all passed, and only merriment shone out. 'Sublime, my good Polus? How can a vision be sublime? A visionary is at best a dreamer, and a vision is a sham. A sublime sham is a contradiction in terms. Why don't you try and talk sense sometimes?'

'You're not a bit better than that chit of a girl with a mop on her head that came gabbling here last week. But it's like you men—you've no more common sense than this trowel! Visions indeed!

I gladly live amid the real,
And I seek a worthier ideal.
Courage, brothers ; God is overhead !

Ah ! you may laugh. But it's all on my side.' Away she swept, basket and trowel and all. Stop to listen to that gibberish—not she!

When her Royal Highness came back to us [in these moods she is the Princess, in her gentler and more pastoral moods she is the Lady Shepherd] she found us deep in another part of the discussion. The business of the Great International League having extinguished the National Debt by a very simple process, the next stall in the Augean stable of existing abomination, as he expressed it, must be dealt with. 'Suppose we change the metaphor, my dear Polus, and say the next plank in your platform must be pulled up.' 'Pulled up? Quite the contrary. Fixed, firmly fixed, nailed down!' 'Be it so! Let us look at the plank. A stall in the stable of abominations suggests dirty work, you know!'

The next great problem which the Great International League sets before itself to solve is this: the National Debt being annihilated, how is the accumulation of property to be prevented in the future? I observed that at this point Polus was not so inclined for the monologue form of discussion as before. It was not the Socratic speaking *ex cathedrâ*, as in the *Laws*; there was a quite unusual glad-of-a-hint attitude, as in the *Lysis* or the *Meno*.

'Come,' I said, 'I see through you; you haven't thought it out, and you want me to give you a hint. Which is it to be? Am I to serve as whetstone, or do you come in trouble and pain crying out for *την μαιεταν*?' He threw up his hands: 'Speak, and I will listen.' Then said I, 'O Polus, you're just the man I want. Everybody knows I am a dull old dog, slow of thought and slow of speech as a country bumpkin must be; feeling after my words, and as often as not choosing the wrong ones. But I have been excogitating of late a theory which will supply your next plank to perfection, and in fact would make your fortune as a politician, if indeed the Great League will allow you to have any property, even in your brains. Forty years ago—for there were *thinkers*, my dear Polus, in the waste places of the earth even before you were born—I came across quite a "sublime" scheme of some French financier, propounded, I think, during

the Great Revolution, for which the world was not yet ready. The man was before his age, and his own generation pooh-pooed him. I quite forget his name. I quite forget the title of his book if he ever wrote one ; and I shall be very much obliged to you if you can find out something about the great man, for a great man he was. When I heard of this scheme I was little more than a lad, and now, after much cogitation, I cannot honestly tell you how much of the plan is his and how much my own. But I'll give him all the credit for it.'

The scheme was a scheme for automatically adjusting all incomes and reducing them to something like equilibrium—that is, the operation of the process set in motion would tend in that direction. All incomes, no matter from what sources derived, were to be fixed according to an algebraic formula, and the formula was this :

$\cdot 0001 (x-m)^2 =$ The income tax levied upon each citizen.

Here x = the actual income earned by the citizen ;

m = 1,000 pounds sterling, or an equivalent in francs or dollars, if you prefer it.

When $x = m$, then of course there could be nothing to pay ; which is only another way of saying that a man with 1,000*l.* a year was free from all taxation.

When x was greater than m , then taxation upon the income in excess of 1,000*l.* came into operation with rather alarming rapidity ; until when a man was convicted of having in any single year made 10,000*l.* his taxation amounted to 8,100*l.* for that year, and if he were ever found guilty of having made an income of 12,000*l.* the State claimed the whole in obedience to this great and beneficent law.

But what happens in the case of those who have an income below the 1,000*l.* a year—that is, when x is less than m ?

In this case the grandeur and sagacity, not to speak of the paternal character of the scheme, become apparent. The moment a man begins to earn more than the normal 1,000*l.* a year, that moment he begins to pay his beautifully adjusted quota of taxation to the State ; but the moment that his income falls below the 1,000*l.*, that moment the State begins to pay him. Of course you will not forget that *minus* into *minus* gives *plus*, therefore the square of the *minus* quantity represented by $x-m$, where m is greater than x , offers no difficulty. The two poles of this perfect sphere, if I may so speak, this financial orb—*teres atque rotundus*—are reached, first when $x = 0$, last when $x = 11,000$ *l.* In the first case the State comes to the help of the pauper who has earned or can earn nothing, and gives him a ten-thousandth part of a hypothetical million, which amounts to exactly 100*l.* a year ; in the other case the State deprives the bloated plutocrat of a ten-thousandth part of the same million, and relieves the dangerous citizen of ten thousand out of the

eleven, saying to him, 'Citizen, be grateful that you still have your thousand, and beware how you persist in piling up riches, for the State knows how to gather them.'

'Now, my dear Polus, next time you come, do bring me tidings of my Frenchman, and do work the thing out on paper, for I never was much of a mathematician, and now my decimals are scandalously vague!' So Polus went his way with a dainty rosebud in a dainty paper box for Mrs. Polus, and a saucy message from the Lady Shepherd. 'Tell her, with my love, I'm very sorry her husband's such a goose!' We watched him floundering through the snow-drifts; and I verily believe he was working out my problem with his stick, $\cdot 0001(x-m)^2$.

I don't think that man went away much impressed with the darkness and desolation of our Arcadian life. Nay, I'm inclined to think the other side had something to say, and I'm afraid this is what it said: 'Oh yes, it's all very fine—intellectual intercourse, and so on. Freshens you up? It freshens *him* up. He'll wriggle himself into the House of Commons some day, and he'll incubate your $(x-m)^2$ theory, and much thanks *you'll* get. Glad to see people? Of course I am. But I *did* hope we were going to have a long day together, and there! it's all broken into. It's always the way. How was I to do my autographs with him extinguishing my 1,000*l.* in the funds all the while?'

Here I may as well explain that the Shepherd and his lady are the objects of some wonder and perplexity to their great friends on the one hand and their little friends on the other. The first pronounce them to be poor as rats; the second declare that they are rolling in riches. This conflict of opinion is easily accounted for. When the great and noble Asnapper comes to smile at us he has to take pot-luck. Come when he may, there is all due provision—

Ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corruget nares, ne non et cantharus et lanx
Ostendat tibi te.

But the forks are all electro-plate, and the dishes are all of the willow pattern. When meek little Mr. Crumb brings Mrs. Crumb and two of the eight daughters to enjoy one hearty meal at afternoon tea, he is awe-struck by the sight of more than 6,000 volumes, and the splendour of half a dozen good engravings hanging upon the walls. As the old grey pony trots home in high spirits—for Jabez has a standing order always to give that poor little beast a double feed of corn—Mr. Crumb remarks to Mrs. Crumb, 'Those people must be extremely affluent. I wonder he does not restore his church!'

The great and noble Asnapper, on the contrary, observes, 'All the

signs of deep poverty, my dear. Keeps his pluck up, though. Quite out of character with the general appearance of the establishment to have those books and collections and what not. I suppose some uncle left him the things. Cooking? I forgot to notice that; but the point of one's knife went all sorts of ways, and the earthenware was most irritating. Eccentric people. The Lady Shepherd, as they call her, has actually got near a thousand autographs. Why in the world doesn't she send them up to Sotheby's and buy some new stair carpets?' Ah! why indeed? Because such as she and the Shepherd have a way of their own which is not exactly your way, my noble Asnapper; because they have made their choice, and they do not repent it. Some things they have, and take delight in them; some things they have not, and they do without them.

But not even in Arcady is it all cakes and ale. Thank God we have our duties as well as our enjoyments; pursuits and tastes we have, and the serious blessed duties which call us from excess in self-indulgence. When the roads are blocked for man and beast we chuckle because there can be no obligation to trudge down to the school a mile and a half off, or to go and pay that wedding call upon the little bride who was married last week, or to inquire about the health of Mrs. Thingoe on the common, whose twins are ten days old.

But snow or no snow, as long as old Biddy lives, one of us positively must go and look after 'the old lady.' Every man, woman, and child in the parish calls her 'the old lady,' and a real old lady she is. Biddy was ninety-one last November. She persists she's ninety-two—'leastways *in* my ninety-two. That Register only said when I was christened, you know, and who's agoing to say how long I was born before I was christened?'

Biddy has been married three times, and she avers that she wouldn't mind marrying again if she could get another partner equal to her second. Every one of her husbands had had one or more wives before he wedded Biddy. We make out that Biddy and her three spouses committed an aggregate of twelve acts of matrimony. If you think that old Biddy is a feeble old dotard, drivelling and maundering, you never made a greater mistake in your life. She is as bright as a star of the first magnitude, and as shrewd as the canniest Scotchman that ever carried a pack. She is almost the only genuine child of Arcady I ever knew who has a keen sense of humour, and is always on the look-out for a joke. She is quite the only one in whom I have noticed any tender pity for the fallen, not because of the consequences that followed the lapse, but simply and only because it was a fall. Biddy lives by herself in a house very little bigger than an enlarged dog-kennel, and much smaller than an average cowhouse. Till she was eighty-three she went about the country with a donkey and cart, hawking; since then she has managed to exist, and pay her rent too, on eighteen pence a week and a stone of flour. She is always neat

and clean, and more than cheerful. She has been knitting socks for me for eight years past, and I am provided with sufficient hosiery now to last me even to the age of the patriarchs. Of course we demoralise old Biddy; her little home is hardly 100 yards off the parsonage, and every now and then the old lady comes to tea in the kitchen. One of the servants goes to fetch her, and another takes her home; and, as I have said, most days one of us goes to sit with her, and I make it a rule never to leave her without making her laugh. Is that demoralising? You may think what you like, but I hold that innocent merriment keeps people healthy in mind and body, improves the digestion, clears the intellect, brightens the conscience, prepares the soul for adoration—for is not gaiety the anticipation of that which in the spiritual world will be known as fulness of joy? On this day of snow I found Biddy sitting before the fire, half expecting me and half doubting whether I could get there. ‘Cause, you know, you ain’t as young as you was when you came here first.’ ‘Is anyone, Biddy?’ She looked up in her sly way. ‘Dash it! I ain’t!’ By her side on the little table was a Book of Common Prayer in very large print, and her spectacles on it. ‘I’ve begun to read that book through,’ she said, and I’ve got as far as where it’s turned down, but there’s some on it as I’ve got to be very particular with. That there slanting print, that’s hard, that is; that ain’t so easy as the rest on it. But I’m going to read it all through for all that. You see I’ve *done* it all before, and some of it comes easy.’ ‘Well, Biddy, you ought to know the marriage service by this time.’ ‘And so I do,’ said Biddy, grinning. ‘But I never had no churchings, and I don’t hold wi’ that there *Combination*. Dash it! I never did like cussing and swearing!’² It turned out that Biddy had set herself the task of reading the Prayer Book through, *rubrics and all*. Very funny, wasn’t it? Pray, my reverend brethren of the clergy, have you all of you set yourselves the same task and carried it out?

A little later the Lady Shepherd dropped in to look at Biddy. She found the old woman chuckling over some very mild pleasantry of mine, which she repeated in her own odd way. Suddenly she stopped. ‘Our doctor won’t live to eighty-two!’ ‘Oh, Biddy, that’s more than you can tell. One thing is quite certain; if he does, you won’t be here to see him.’ ‘Why shan’t I?’ answers Biddy. ‘He’s nigh upon threescore, ain’t he? and I’m in my ninety-two. You can’t tell, neither, as I shan’t be here. The Lord knows.’

Dear old Biddy! Who *does* know anything? It seems to me that we can none of us know anything about anything but the past. I hardly know whether we are most ignorant of the things that shall

² Fact! Old Biddy’s habit of *dashing it* is so confirmed that there’s no hope of her outgrowing it.

be or the things that are. Old Bidly is the last of the old-world folk that fascinated me so much with their legends and traditions and reminiscences when first I settled among them—it seems but yesterday. Old Bidly has told me all she has to tell, the gossip and the experiences of days that were not as our days. With her will pass away all that is left of a generation that was the generation of our fathers. If I leave her with a smile upon the wrinkled old face there is more often a shade of sadness that passes over my own. Other faces rise up before me; other voices seem to sound; the touch of the vanished hand—gone—gone! As I turn homeward with bowed head in the grey twilight, and muse upon those eight years that have rushed by so peacefully, and yet which have remorselessly levied their tribute and left me beggared of some who were dearer than all the jewels of the mine—

The farm-smokes, sweetest sight on earth,
 Slow through the winter air a-shrinking,
 Seem kind o' sad, and round the hearth
 Of empty places set me thinking.

That, however, is not because Arcady is Arcady, but because life is life.

Such as we have long ago found the secret of contentment, and something more. It had dawned upon the great Laureate, too, when he wrote—

All life needs for life is possible to *will*.

Yes, that is only the poet's way of putting into verse what in rugged prose appears as my favourite aphorism—'The man who does not like the place he *has to live in* is a fool.' Ponder it well, you people who are never tired of prescribing 'a change' as absolutely necessary to enduring existence. Banished to the sweetest village in England, how dazed and forlorn you'd be! *We* could accommodate ourselves to your life as easily as we could put on a new suit of clothes. *You* could never accommodate yourselves to ours. You would mope and pine. Your only solace would be in droning forth a new version of the *Tristia*, which would not be half as melodious as Ovid's.

This poor Shepherd and his Lady Shepherd will never see the Alps again—never take a boat on Lugano's lake in the summer evening, never see Rome or Florence, never again stand before the Sistine Madonna, hearing their hearts beat. Ravenna will remain for them unvisited, and Munich will be welcome to keep its acres of splashes, which Britain's young men and maidens are told with some insistence are genuine works of Rubens, every one of them. These are joys of the past. But if you assume that two old fogies like us *must* be longing for a change, fidgeting and hankering after it, and that we *must* be getting rusty, dull, and morose for lack of it, that

we are eating our hearts out with a querulous whimpering, instead of brimming over with thankfulness all day and every day—then you do us grievous wrong. What, sir! Do you take us for a couple of babies floundering in a tub, and puling for a cake of Pears' soap? Arcady or Athens is much the same to us. Where our home must be, there are our hearts.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

A MODEL FACTORY.

WE hear so often of the strained relations which are reported to exist between manufacturers and their so-called 'hands,' of the lack of personal knowledge of each other or of a mutual friendly interest, that it may be well to record an example which came under my notice some few years ago of the exact reverse of the above wretched condition of things.

Having been invited to speak at one of the Church Congresses, I was informed that a manufacturer of the town, although a stranger, had most kindly offered a hospitality to Lady Meath and me, which we gratefully accepted.

We found on arrival at our destination that this gentleman's house, instead of being situated, as is so commonly the case, far from the site of the factory whence he drew his wealth and around which his workpeople resided, was within a few minutes' walk of its entrance and close to the homes of those dependent on him.

It was a house with a history. Although situated in the heart of the town, and only separated from the main street by what the house agents designate as 'a sweep,' its appearance showed that it had formerly stood in the country, and that its builders had never anticipated that the time would arrive when a flood of bricks and mortar from the neighbouring town would overflow its ordinary limits, and surround with plebeian habitations that comfortable country residence. But such had been its fate. Its surroundings, however, far from detracting from its interest, only acted as a foil to its attractions, and as we drove inside the gates, and up to the door of the red brick mansion, we felt that we were about to enter one of those charming rambling houses, dating back to the commencement of the last century, which cannot lay claim to much outward architectural beauty, but whose quaintness possesses an indefinable charm. A slight fear came over me lest its present owner should have detracted from that charm by the incongruity of its modern fittings; but I soon found that my fears were unnecessary, and that my host and hostess had furnished the building with admirable taste, and in complete conformity with its character. We were welcomed with a warm hospitality which at once put us at our ease, and made us feel that we owed much to the good fortune which had thrown us

amongst such agreeable surroundings. The longer we stayed the more we were impressed with the courtesy, the refinement, and the thoughtfulness for others evinced by our kind entertainers; and when we received an invitation to visit the factory with which their name was connected, we felt proud to think that our host was a representative of one of the princely manufacturers of England, and felt convinced that we should find that he did not reserve all his kindly thought for those of his own station in life, but that much would be done for the benefit of the men and women who were fortunate enough to claim him as an employer. Nor were we deceived.

The works were approached by a gateway surmounted by a building somewhat in the shape of a Norman tower. Whilst we were wondering to what purpose these rooms above the entrance could be adapted, we were invited by the manager to mount a staircase on our right, which led us into a large apartment, the whole size of the tower. Here we found ourselves in a spacious club-room fitted with bagatelle boards, and tables covered with newspapers and magazines. This, we were told, was the club and recreation room, reserved for the use of the men employed in the factory. Here they were at liberty to spend their evenings and leisure time, and we were informed that they largely availed themselves of the privilege. The club was managed by a committee of working men members elected by themselves. Descending and turning to our left, we were shown a room on the ground-floor fitted up with a cooking range, and with tables and benches. Here two women were busily occupied cooking food. In answer to our inquiries, the manager told us that the women in the factory were permitted in turn to prepare each day the food of any of their companions who chose to provide them with the raw materials. The food thus cooked could be eaten in the room we had visited. This was a boon to many whose homes were distant from the factory or who possessed no relative or friend able or willing to cook for them, and who were thus obliged to visit the public-houses, and not only to pay for the preparation of their meals, but to order drink, which they often did not require, for the supposed 'good of the house.' Thus there was no need for the workers to waste time in leaving the factory during the dinner-hour, nor their money in paying for unnecessary drinks.

Leaving this room, we were taken up a flight of steps to a large apartment in every respect like an ordinary factory workroom, except that it contained no machines, but in their places benches were ranged across its length, leaving a passage in the centre; and at the end was a table covered with a cloth and supporting a couple of books. Here every morning Divine service was performed by a chaplain attached to the factory. We were told that the service was made as simple and as undenominational as possible, so that Churchmen and Dissenters might be able to worship side by side; and one

who attended a week-day morning service informed me that there was a full attendance of both men and women, although no compulsion of any kind was exercised by the chaplain or factory officials. During the service the whole of the machinery in the adjacent rooms was continuously heard, reminding the worshippers that Christianity was a practical religion, which did not require that its adherents should withdraw themselves from the world, but live in it and yet not be of it. *Laborare est orare* might well have been inscribed over the entrance to this factory chapel.

Leaving this room we descended into a courtyard, which, although surrounded by ordinary factory buildings, would have done credit to a nobleman's château, so neat and well kept were the flower borders which surrounded the carefully rolled and gravelled space, in the centre of which was a raised bed of shrubs and flowers. Passing across this yard, and through a passage at the farther end, we emerged upon a second courtyard. This yard, however, instead of being gravelled, was asphalted throughout its entire space, and fitted with gymnastic apparatus intended for the use and enjoyment of the young men and lads employed in the factory. Continuing our course across this open-air gymnasium and passing through another passage, we found ourselves in a lovely garden, surrounding some long stone-bordered ponds laid out in the shape of a cross, from the centre of which rose an island of rocks; and here the most peculiar sight met our eyes, for from the middle of these rocks rose to a height of some four or five feet a fountain or geyser of steaming hot water, which, pouring down the rocks, filled the basin and enabled some tropical water-lilies to expand in the tepid water, and to gladden our Northern eyes with beauties and glorious colouring normally only to be found in the countries of the sun.

This fountain was supplied by the refuse water from the factory boilers, which the ingenuity and thoughtfulness of my host did not permit, as so many employers would have done, to run to waste, but which was made to add beauty to the scene and to refresh the senses of the men and women who swarmed within the neighbouring buildings. Beyond these miniature lakes lay a smooth greensward in front of a semicircular covered pavilion, or long summer-house, provided with seats. On this sward played on fine Saturday evenings in summer the factory band, composed of musically inclined volunteers recruited from amongst the factory hands, whilst the young men and maidens danced upon the green. As I write the above lines I feel that some of my readers will consider that the account of the scene sounds too idyllic to be a true description of a phase of factory life in money-making, prosaic England of the nineteenth century, and yet I can assure them that I am only stating plain, simple fact; or, should they believe me, they will probably say that this manufacturer must have been some un-

businesslike, philanthropic enthusiast, who inherited a fortune, and chose to spend it in this way rather than in pictures, horses, or diamonds, but that it is quite impossible that this kind of way of carrying on business could have proved remunerative.

I can only assure such sceptics that the manager informed me that my host, who was a thorough man of business, and who looked most closely into his affairs, was persuaded that the money expended on the introduction of the above unusual amenities into factory life had been most profitably invested, and that it returned him a large interest, not only in the good feeling which existed between him and his workpeople, but in actual hard cash. He told me that my host, who employed hundreds of women and children, and who enjoyed the virtual monopoly of a particular manufacture in this country, always instituted the most rigorous inquiries into the character of every woman who applied to him for employment, and would never engage one whose character was not above suspicion, nor would he employ any child who did not attend some Sunday school. I discovered also that my hostess held classes for the young women and girls, and that both she and her husband, living close to the factory, were continually on the spot, and were personally acquainted with their employés. This constant communication between employer and employed I believe to have been in no small measure the cause of the happy relations which evidently existed between them, and it would be well if such personal knowledge of each other were more common than it is.

Every faithful man and woman in my host's service was sure of a pension when overtaken by age, infirmity, or accident; and when profits rose above a certain limit it was his custom to divide the surplus amongst those who had been instrumental in obtaining for him this additional income, but in consideration of these privileges he declined firmly to employ men belonging to a Trades Union. The result was that strikes were unknown within the walls of his factory; and whilst others were obliged to raise the price of their goods in order to guarantee themselves against loss from strikes, or even to refuse orders, he was able to accept confidently all orders, assured that under no circumstances would his employés desert him. The manager reminded me also that his employer gained in the greater efficiency of his workpeople, for as they never struck for higher wages, and were consequently never out of employment, their fingers did not lose their cunning, whilst other firms after a lengthened strike had to allow for bad work; moreover, the want of practice often resulted not only in inferior production, but in the destruction of delicate machinery and of costly plant. The kindly and thoughtful treatment instituted by my host towards his employés freed him from all apprehension of the heavy losses so often suffered by others, and enabled him not only to repay himself all that he

had expended upon his workpeople, but at the same time actually to increase his business and his profits, whilst he benefited those dependent on him, and acquired their good-will and grateful esteem. And here it is only just to say that my host was not the originator of this kindly policy in the management of his business. Many of the institutions I have mentioned owed their origin to his father; and the son in inheriting the business inherited also the wisdom to see that, in developing the friendly feeling which he found in existence between employer and employed, he was taking the most practical steps to augment the family fortune, as well as to carry out the wishes of his wise and benevolent father.

There was something almost patriarchal in the way in which this business was managed. Although the present proprietor was a man of middle age with sons and daughters, there were those in his pay who still regarded him as a boy, and could not forget that time had slipped away since the days that their present employer ran in and out of the factory as a lad, when they were in the prime of life, striving to do their duty toward their old and beloved master.

If philanthropy in connection with commercial enterprise can be shown, as in this instance, to lead to increased profits, those of us who desire to see an improvement in the condition of the manufacturing population, and a better feeling springing up between employer and employed, may take heart of grace, for it will not be long before the example of my kindly host and of his father will be followed by many who cannot lay claim to any more generous desire than that of benefiting themselves.

Should the successful application of Christian principle to the management of a large business induce other employers to spend more time, more thought, more trouble, and more money in improving the condition of their workpeople, I shall have accomplished the purpose for which I have written the above short account of an interesting visit paid to what I feel justified in designating as a model factory.

MEATH.

GIRLS' SCHOOLS, PAST AND PRESENT.

I.

MISS SEWELL has, with great candour, admitted that she criticises with 'hesitation,' because she 'cannot feel' that she has a 'sufficient acquaintance with facts to justify an absolute conviction of the truth' of her 'impressions.' I venture therefore to supplement her interesting article by wider and more varied recollections. Mine do not date as far back as hers, but I can go back a long way. My experience as Principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College since 1858 enables me to speak with some confidence of the later educational developments. I can sympathise with what she says about 'the good old times when we were young,' but I feel also that one would no more go back to the educational methods of those times than one would to the oil lamps and rush-lights of one's childhood. As we talk of pre-Raphaelite painting, so we might speak of pre-Victorian education, so great has been the change. There are evils now, but those who have read the Reports of the Royal Commission of twenty years ago, must acknowledge that the improvement in the education of girls is something to be thankful for. Thackeray's description of the past is scarcely overdrawn. 'This is the condition of a young lady's existence: She breakfasts at eight; she does Mangnall's Questions with a governess till ten; she practises till one; she walks in the square with bars round her till two; then she practises again; then she sews, or reads French or Hume's History; then she comes down to play to papa, because he likes music, whilst he is asleep after dinner.'

This College was the first Proprietary Girls' School, and now they are innumerable; it was one of the first to send in pupils for University examinations. Though I have never taught in a High School, yet I have obtained as member of the Council of the Church Schools Company, which has already established seventeen schools, and in other ways, a sufficiently intimate knowledge of their working to be able to argue that they are not liable to at least some of Miss Sewell's censures, and that for others they are not responsible, though I shall willingly admit that she has pointed to some defects which might be remedied. I shall perhaps do well to follow Miss Sewell's lead in making my paper in part autobiographical.

If we look back forty years we shall find no day schools for girls, except for the poor. Above the national schools were self-supporting day schools, in which a meagre education was given, but the professional classes had private governesses, resident or daily, and supplemented their instruction by lessons from visiting teachers, or the girls were sent for a few years to finish at a boarding school.

That was the course pursued in our own home: the education was just such as Miss Sewell describes. We were familiar with Pinnock's *Catechisms*, Mangnall's *Questions*, and the various epitomes which contained the history of the world. We read Joyce's *Scientific Dialogues*, Marcet's *Natural Philosophy*. We were fortunate in obtaining one excellent governess, who had been educated in a good French school, and who grounded us well in the language; but, as there were no examinations by which governesses could be in any way tested, the choice was in several cases found to be unfortunate. One had to take a teacher 'at her own valuation,' or that of her friends. Governesses were often not only ignorant, but unaware of their ignorance, and would propose to teach things of which they had no real knowledge. Those who object to examinations altogether, little know the trouble that mothers in those days had in making a selection. I can remember the large basketful of letters, which my mother received in answer to an advertisement, and how she proceeded (in a way no longer pleasing to me as a spelling reformer)—rejecting those letters which contained original orthography. The teaching of those days was often only asking questions and listening to the answers of the catechisms, or at most setting a book to be read and asking questions on it. The only really inspiring teaching we had in our early years was the informal sort obtained from the reading and conversation of family life. When, after several failures, governesses were given up, and we went to a boarding school, the routine was very much that described by Miss Sewell. We learned by heart large portions of Scripture, and beautiful poems, which have been a treasure through life; but we learned by heart also worthless epitomes, and our thinking power was hindered from developing by intercourse with one another, because we were required to speak a tongue in which we could indeed talk, but in which conversation was impossible; and the language we spoke was one peculiar to English boarding schools. Still, though there were many disadvantages, I feel I gained much by my school experience; our mistresses were women who had read and thought; they had taken pains to arrange various schemes of knowledge, and so we left, as Miss Sewell says she did, with the consciousness that there were large tracts to be explored by us, and with the knowledge that our education was only begun.

The next few years were spent at home, helping our schoolboy brothers, reading omnivorously, taking up—with the help of visiting teachers—various subjects in succession, dreaming much, and seeking

for a fuller realisation of the great spiritual realities which make one feel that all knowledge is sacred, for it is in its measure a knowledge of God, and so 'work is worship,' a blessed service to Him who has called us to 'work on with Him in high companionship.'

It was the time of a great religious revival; the bald services of my childhood were beginning to develop into the musical services of our own time. It would lead me too far to attempt a discussion of its effects. The beautiful music of to-day is not more dear to me than those plain services, with often grotesque accompaniments, where I learned to see heaven opened. Miss Sewell's writings, especially the *Experience of Life*, helped me in early youth to work out the problems of my daily life. Religion quickened the intellectual life, for sacramental teaching was to the real leaders of that movement no narrow dogmatism, but the discovery of 'the river of the water of life,' flowing through the whole desert of human existence, and making it rejoice and blossom as the rose, revealing a unity in creation, a continuity in history, a glory in art, a purpose in life, making life infinitely 'worth living.' The interpreters of this consciousness were *par excellence* Ruskin and the pre-Raphaelites; it is expressed in Holman Hunt's last great work, the *Triumph of the Innocents*. Simultaneously with the religious movement there was, therefore, an intellectual one, resulting in the establishment everywhere of Literary Institutions, which women could join, and where lectures were given and libraries were formed. Most of them had a transitory existence, and have given place to more ambitious institutions; but these were of great use in awakening intellectual life, and the London Institution, the first and most important of its kind, with its splendid library and its learned librarians, was very advantageous to us.

The Gresham Professor of Astronomy, Mr. Pullen, of Cambridge, by his inspiring teaching stirred in me a passion for mathematics, which was considered by many of my friends unfeminine. I was delighted to find it possible to calculate the distance of the moon, even without the trigonometry which I lacked. For some years I was unable to get any teaching, but I read *Euclid* alone, going conscientiously through the fifth book, and even the eleventh and twelfth, and making some way in algebra. I certainly wasted much time, that a little friendly advice and guidance would have saved; yet it is good to have wrestled with difficulties, and this period helped me to feel that the chief work of the educator is to help others to find out for themselves. The great difference between an education during those after-school years from fifteen to eighteen and that of girls nowadays is, that ours was desultory, theirs is systematised. We had comparatively little help, and had to struggle over some stiles as best we could; they scarcely reach one, ere a hundred hands are held out to enable them to cross it gracefully and easily.

The most important influences of all, and which I suppose we

of the old school feel that no High Schools can supply, were derived from reading and conversation, and sympathy of our parents, relatives, and friends. I earnestly desire that this should never be omitted from the curriculum of our day schools, and I trust that, when the present transition period is over, mothers who know what day-school teaching is, will be able to enter with fuller sympathy into their children's studies, and to supplement them at home: already as I am gathering my grandchildren around me I find this is becoming increasingly the case. I shall never forget how we learned to love Shakspeare, through my father's reading to us, when we were quite young, selected portions. History and general literature we would read with our mother, and listen with delight to her stories of the eventful era she had lived through.

An aunt of hers, Mrs. Cornwallis, exercised also much indirect influence. She learned Hebrew when a grandmother to teach her grandson James Trimmer. She wrote a book in four volumes on the Canonical Scriptures, which was subscribed to by Queen Charlotte and the grandees of the day, and was found in most libraries early in this century. Her husband, a ripe scholar, a nephew of Archbishop Cornwallis, used to read Greek and Latin aloud to his daughter Caroline. Caroline was the anonymous author of many of the *Small Books on Great Subjects*, published by Pickering. From my invalid aunt, who was much with this cousin, I learned Italian; with her I read Latin, and together we worked at mathematics: but above all she let me talk out my religious and philosophical difficulties. She did not teach me to think of the Father, as of some mediæval schoolmaster, ready to chastise those who did not know, and could not understand; she was not shocked, as some of my relatives were, when I could not follow the beaten track, and if I took a wrong line she would first enter sympathetically into my way of thinking, and then gently lead me to see hers.

In 1847, with characters ripe for observation, my sisters and I went to one of the most expensive of the Parisian schools frequented by English girls; it was kept by English ladies of the *ancien régime*. It was excellent in all the mechanical details—the suites of rooms, the gardens, the time tables, the exercise books in uniform, the marking, &c.; but for the rest! Well, we learned by heart the rules of Noël and Chapsal, which warned us English girls against faults we 'had no mind to,' whilst omitting any mention of those 'we were inclined to.' Long lists of verbs and exceptions we had to get by heart, which proved about as useless as 'As in præsentî' and 'Propria quæ maribus,' which our brothers were simultaneously getting by 'heart' in England. We were required to learn all the prepositions, in order that we might parse without the fatigue of thinking. I learned them with such anger that the list was burnt into my brain, and I can say it now. It did not occur to our teachers that there

could be anything Protean in the nature of such words as 'before,' 'after,' &c.

Mrs. Trimmer was our text-book of English history. We used indeed to read collectively Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*; i.e. it was read aloud on dancing evening. Each class went out in succession for the dancing lesson. Thus no one read the whole book, though the school in its corporate capacity did. Another evening we learned the 'use of the globes,' and got our answers from Keith; but the mistress considered me impertinent, when I asked for an explanation of the process. Our time was so filled up that there was none left for the thinking to which I had been accustomed; yet I did learn a good deal, which has been of use in later life, in all those matters of systematic arrangement in which the French excel.

The revolution of 1848 hastened our return, and then I threw myself with joy into the Queen's College lectures and examinations. My sisters and I obtained some of the first certificates given, and I had the pleasure of being examined by Professor Maurice, the present Dean of Wells, and others of the distinguished men who were the founders of the college. It had grown out of the Governesses' Benevolent Society. The examinations offered to governesses showed how much they needed teaching. Then some of the professors of King's opened evening classes, and finally at their own expense took the house next to the Society's house in Harley Street, and began a college for grown-up students somewhat on the model of King's College. Until then lessons and lectures from leaders of thought had been unattainable. Now Professors Maurice, Brewer, Trench (afterwards Archbishop), and others condescended to lecture to women, and correct their exercises. Specially delightful were the Greek classes, in which we read Sophocles and Plato with Dean Plumtre. There were faults in the original constitution of the college, and in the management, which have prevented its becoming what it should have been—the best, as it was the first—but those who know what this college effected, how through it the minds of men and women were brought into closer intellectual sympathy, will always feel grateful to its founders.

After a connection of seven years, first as mathematical and afterwards also as classical tutor, I resigned my post at Queen's, because I could not be satisfied with the then management. Originally a college for women, it had properly allowed the students large liberty. Then a school had been established for children, which was more or less under the management of ladies. Parents soon found the liberty of a college unsuited to girls who required discipline, whilst the professors, who were the governing body, insisted on the children leaving the school. The want of discipline and thoroughness on the part of the pupils, the want of punctuality on the part of some teachers, the impossibility of getting learned professors to correct exercises in the way that is

necessary for children, but especially the want of womanly influence over them, all tended to make Queen's unsatisfactory to many. But pioneers must go astray in a new country where there are no roads; we have entered into their labours, and they have entered into their own, and much that was wrong has been righted now.

I may add that during this period I had taken advantage of my summer holidays to visit the schools of Germany.

My next experience was of a very different sort. I became head teacher in a boarding school of about 100 clergymen's daughters, in a secluded place where masters were not to be had. The school was in most of its characteristics conventual, though it was founded by the most Protestant section of the Church of England. The pupils were taught entirely by resident mistresses. Many went home only once a year, and there was almost nothing to break the monotony of their life. The Sundays were one continual round of lessons and services; hence restlessness and insubordination; besides, the want of family life led to an absurd worship of their teachers and to various extravagances.

Things have improved greatly since 1858, but I shall always think the isolation of a large school, and the sorting out of the children of one class or profession a mistake. Some things too, very important for girls, were omitted, e.g. the cultivation of the taste in dress. The girls were clothed by the school; they did not learn to exercise their judgment in such matters, or to take care of property, and the passing on of the dresses from one to another was a great grievance. They had also books in common. The mistresses, if they taught as they should, were terribly overworked. I was expected to give a daily lesson in Scripture, to teach not only my own subjects—classics, mathematics, arithmetic, and science—but those which required much reading. I had to give lessons in the highest classes in English, Modern, Roman, Grecian, and Church history, English literature, political and physical geography, and English composition. The old plan of hearing lessons I *could not* follow, so I had no time for exercise or recreation and not enough for sleep. Such a life could not long continue, and I left after a year.

Six months after I left Casterton a vacancy occurred at Cheltenham. This college had then existed four years. It had at first opened with about eighty pupils and increased to over a hundred; then a decline set in, and when I came in 1858, there were only sixty-nine. Here I found a girls' school established on the model of a boys' as regards classes, removes, &c. Studies and methods of teaching were careful and exact. Miss Proctor, the first principal, was an able organiser, and a painstaking and conscientious teacher, but there seemed to me many things that required remodelling. At first our funds would not admit of any great changes, but I set my face steadily to the establishment of a sort of mean between Queen's

College, where masters had all their own way, and Casterton, where there were none. I wished this to be a school and college combined; the mistresses to do the work which they could best do, thoroughly correcting exercises and giving the girls the womanly training which is so necessary for their characters; but I hoped that in time we should get the advantage for the elder ones of lectures from men who were masters of their subjects. When I came, only modern languages were taught—no science, no mathematics. I have always approved of beginning with modern languages, so I was content to wait for the classics. I did wish much to introduce geometry, for the sake of the help it gives in teaching girls to form clear ideas, and to set out their thoughts in order; but had I done so, many of the remaining pupils would have been frightened away, and I might have been the death of the college; so I had to wait for the tide. I was always hearing that girls would be turned into boys by studying the same subjects. I began my innovations with the introduction of scientific teaching, and under the name of physical geography I was able to teach a good deal. This subject was unobjectionable, as few boys learnt geography. Then we got lectures from a distinguished geologist who lived here, and spared no pains to interest the girls, taking them out for lectures and explorations on the hills.

In all reforms, and especially in financial matters, the college found in Mr. Houghton Brancker a most devoted and able helper.

Great was the agitation in the town when, after five years, we ventured to invite one of the lecturers of Christ Church, Oxford, to undertake the examination of the college. Mr. Sidney Owen threw himself heartily into the work; he obtained from other members of the University assistance in any subjects he did not himself undertake; his work was very helpful, though for some years he said his health was injured, and I believe he thought that the box which reached him in his summer holidays was likely to become his coffin, so terrible was the amount the girls wrote in their eagerness to tell all. An examination merely on the work done during the year, noncompetitive and prepared for only by a rapid review, which gives to the previous teaching definiteness and coherency, seems to me both necessary and useful; it is free from the objections which must always arise when the object is to gain scholarships and prizes. Still even this form of University examination did cause a stir at first, and some would not allow their girls to come. Suffice it to say that I kept on innovating little by little.

I was much cheered by the increasing sympathy of those parents who understood my aims, and I made then some warm and lasting friendships. Gradually, whilst retaining the class system, in order that each pupil might have some one who was altogether responsible for her, we introduced more and more specialists and lecturers, who took different branches, not always placing them permanently on the

staff, but getting also courses from lecturers of different Universities in England and Scotland or the excellent School of Science in Dublin.

The growth of this college was, however, no more due to its individual vitality, than the growth of a banyan tree or a tropical forest. It was the changed atmosphere, the changing conditions of national and social life, which produced the conditions under which such schools have arisen. It needs no giant force, no singular ability, to go with the tide, and during these last years we have not often had to contend with opposing currents. In London the success of Queen's College had led to the establishment during the fifties of Bedford College; and Miss Buss, who had drawn inspiration from the evening classes at Queen's, opened her excellent school in North London. I felt that ladies' colleges were becoming popular, when a brass plate on a suburban house announced classes on the 'principal' (*sic*) of Queen's College.

As soon as the dams of prejudice are broken the work of sweeping away old rubbish goes on quickly. Some who had despaired, and only

Wept like anything to see
Such quantities of sand;
If this were only cleared away,
Had said it would be grand;

now learned with complacency how much could be done by

Seven maids with seven mops
Sweeping for half a year.

Miss Davies and a few who worked with her induced the Royal Commission of 1864 to embrace in their inquiry the girls' schools. I gave evidence before the Commission in 1866, and afterwards published with their permission a volume relating to girls' schools.¹ The local examinations of Cambridge were opened to girls about the same time. An article I published in *Fraser's Magazine*, October 1866, under the name of Utopian, would raise a smile now, so absurd would the objections seem which I had to refute. Miss Davies soon after established her first women's college at Cambridge. When the London University in 1869 opened examinations to women, we at Cheltenham were the first to accept them. In 1870, of the nine women who passed, five were our pupils, and for several years about half were prepared at this college.

Foremost among the leaders of the women's education movement was one whom all now delight to honour, but who had a hard time of it at first, and whose health has never recovered from the strain of the first onset. I mean Mrs. William Grey, the founder of the Women's Union, out of which has grown up the Public Day Schools

¹ I shall be happy to give the volume to any interested in the matter.

Company, that has directly or indirectly covered the country with schools, and placed within the reach of nearly all an education such as the wealthiest could scarcely obtain when Miss Sewell and I were young. I think the improvement has been very great intellectually; if I could show my readers the entrance papers which I produced before the Commission, they would see that a change for the better has been effected, and I am sure that there has been a great development in consequence of power and moral earnestness, as seen in nearly all work done by women now.

Let me now try to show why I disagree in some respects with Miss Sewell as regards the methods and aims of teaching, though feeling more acutely than those who look at schools only from without how much we have still to amend; the orbit of human progress is not a geometric curve, but one distorted by aberration.

Miss Sewell is certainly right in warning us that 'in avoiding ignorance based on superficiality there is always danger of ignorance based on narrowness.' Let me take the subject on which she has dwelt most at length, the teaching of history, both because she and I attach great importance to it, and because I have paid more attention to the teaching of this subject than to any other except one. She complains that certain periods only are brought into the light, but others remain shrouded in utter darkness; whereas she would have a general knowledge of the whole course of history and historical mythology, obtained from epitomes, &c., with such further illustrations as an intelligent teacher could give. She would have dates learned, either by simply committing them to memory, or perhaps by some system of *memoria technica*.

Now what is the *raison d'être* of historical teaching for school girls? I am sure Miss Sewell does herself injustice when she seems to say it is to enable girls to join intelligently in conversation.² I know she would give a hearty assent to the statement that education has failed of its purpose, if it has merely added a grace or an ornament; we have to keep steadily before us, that the only worthy object is to make our pupils better, wiser, abler; then we may safely trust that their duties will be done faithfully, that their ways and conversation will not be 'pedantic' but intelligent, and that, whether married or single, they will prove themselves helps meet for those to whom God has given them.

Now history, as distinguished from mere story (chronicle), is an inductive science. True the subjective enters more largely into the interpretation than it does in the physical sciences; still its conclusions must be founded on observation; but the objects of our historical study, the actors in the *légende des siècles*, must be seen and known. Let any recall the effects of that epitome learning which Miss Sewell recommends. I could repeat, when at school, a little

² See pp. 224, 225.

book which contained each reign in about two pages: the king's name and descent, next wife and children, then wars, then principal events, then names of note. I am sure my experience, and that of all who learned thus, is that we never *realised* anything. A *very* few sovereigns may have had for us a distinct individuality, but that was obtained from extraneous reading, say of Shakespeare or Scott; we learned 'words, words, words.' Hence the extraordinary confusions which amused and astonished the commissioners who examined the girls' schools of twenty years ago; e.g. of Sir Thomas More and Tom Moore, of the two Cromwells; hence the possibility of one saying that Louis the Fourteenth was beheaded, and that Chaucer 'lived in the reign of George the Third, though it may have been in any other reign.'

I do therefore think that we should take a short period, and go into it thoroughly: a year is not too much to spend on the reign of Charles the First and the Commonwealth; and those who have, so to speak, lived through this era, will know how to set about getting a real knowledge of another (including their own).

Besides, individual life is too short for us to read the life of humanity: what is best then to be done is surely to take a few typical eras, to make these real, to connect them by a background more faintly outlined. We must teach history as we do geography, bring into prominence the great mountain chains and chief rivers, not try to mark in everything in the map of the world.

On the other hand I think Miss Sewell is right in saying there ought not to be utter ignorance of the intervening spaces, but that if we have some prominent figures in the foreground, we ought also to have a background of *Weltgeschichte*. The old-fashioned chronological trees, streams of time, &c., were too large to be held in the memory; for a background I think there is nothing comparable to the map system of the *Méthode Mnémonique Polonaise*, which I have adapted to the use of English people, and which I hope soon to bring out in a still cheaper form. For that I have discarded Slater and every other *Memoria-technica* of my youth. It is only when history is made real to us by the 'periodic' treatment, and each period is brought into relation with other periods, that we can deduce those moral and spiritual lessons which make us wiser and nobler, and in doing which we get the full use of our powers, and become abler.

Surely, if ever, we English ought now to feel the importance of making history a fruitful study for the educated classes. We find ourselves being swept along by the democracy. We hear men crying out, 'I must follow the multitude, for I am their leader.' Some are breaking down with axes and hammers the ancient temples. When we ask what they will erect, they tell us they know not, but they will think when the old is gone. Has history no lessons to teach the

good and earnest women who are labouring to ameliorate the condition of the masses, and sometimes rendering it worse, because history is not for them an applied science? One can scarcely doubt that we shall have to face times of national disaster, of social revolution, of terrible suffering. Ought we not to prepare our girls to be fit companions of those heroes who yet live in this 'faery-land,'

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England?

History elevates our moral judgment, for it shows us men as they are without the tinsel and the trappings and the many-coloured lights of earth, but in the 'dry light' of the eternal world. We judge the dead not by what they have, but by what they are. How tawdry looks the Field of the Cloth of Gold in the light of a later century? How silly seem those courtiers who carried their 'manors on their backs'! 'He is worth' so much has a different meaning for the dead and for the living. Every noble life leaves the world richer in spiritual energy, in great ideals; there is a treasury of saints, not of transferable righteousness, but of transforming, transfiguring; 'in the sight of the unwise they seem to perish,' yet is their hope full of immortality. History, which discourages as we look at a narrow tract, strengthens our faith in a Divine order as we take in the larger regions of time; the waves seem to recede while the tide advances; the stars seem to retrograde because our little world oscillates in space.

Such are some of the teachings of history, which should strengthen us all to lead nobler lives. It is not by thinking of what will make them successful or charming in society that the noble women of our own day have accomplished the work that God gave them to do. Those who have had the privilege of knowing the leading women of our time, who have distinguished themselves in literature and science, in art and the great philanthropic movements, will, I am sure, have found them more pleasant companions in the sunshine, as well as in the dark shadows, than any who have lived the prosaic life of society.

I regret the inadequate treatment by Miss Sewell of other subjects of study. As regards the teaching of literature I am heartily with her when she condemns 'the modern fashion of treating noble thoughts, feelings, and principles set forth in prose and verse merely as the material' for teaching grammar and etymology, when she calls this a kind of 'intellectual vivisection.' Still I do think it is better to master a few great works than to be always traversing the fields of literature, and I could scarcely find any book more admirable for developing the mind and character, and stimulating thought, than one she thinks unsuitable, viz. the *Areopagitica*. But I agree with her, that there is ground for complaint when examiners annotate books which have no educational value, and then force the sale by prescribing them for some University examination. I have had twice to

protest against volumes which were worse than worthless, and they have been changed.

Language-study too is surely not to be valued chiefly for its conversational uses; we learn other tongues that our thoughts may be enriched by varied expression, and our sympathies enlarged by a new literature. Miss Sewell asks whether grammatical analysis does more than enable us to affix technical names; but is not this 'giving names essential if we would recognise and fix in the mind distinctions? She sees this when she writes of architecture, 'Technical terms must be understood.'

Lastly, I must regret that Miss Sewell repeats the popular cry that women are to be 'educated for the home' by learning 'cookery and needlework and arithmetic enough for accounts.' These home arts are easily acquired by those whose minds are well trained, and the place for them to be learned is home, though they may and should be encouraged at school. But can it possibly be thought that such things can compare in importance with studies to which Miss Sewell does not even allude—elementary physiology and the laws of health—and those which open the eyes to see the wonders of the material universe, to

Find tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
Sermons in stones, and good in everything?

Besides, is it a sufficient objection to 'classics and mathematics' that they 'do not tell in society'? Is it true that they do not 'prepare girls for home and social life'? Surely they enable a mother to take an interest in the work of schoolboy sons, and to know whether they are being well taught; and the mythology to which Miss Sewell attaches so much importance as 'necessary at every turn,' if we would understand 'poetry and poets,' is worthless and dead if taken apart from the literature of antiquity. I am with her in deprecating the imitation of the curriculum of boys' schools; but if the classics, especially the Greek classics, are studied, not too early, and by those who have some taste for language, they can scarcely be overvalued. The want of intellectual and therefore of moral sympathy, the separation in everything that relates to intellectual life between the mothers and the sons, is felt, in countries where it exists, to be a great evil, especially in religious matters. For this reason it is good that the education of boys and girls should run on parallel lines. Still I agree with Miss Sewell that a wide culture, offering many points of sympathy, is of greater importance for women than for men. Women ought to be more adaptive, and I deeply regret the great specialisation which the present system of University life favours in both men and women. It certainly makes women less valuable as educators, when they are trained only as specialists: men *unius libri* may be able to accomplish great works in the world of Nature, but seldom in that of Mind. I do not want girls' educa-

tion to be what that of boys is now, but that both should move on together to a higher ideal, not as yet realised by either; and perhaps it may be even given to the girls, 'the weak things of the earth,' to improve the boys, and some day the vision of our Laureate may be realised—

And in the long years liker may they grow;
The man be more of woman, she of man;
He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind.

My experience is directly opposed to Miss Sewell's as regards girls ceasing now to have intellectual interests after they leave school. It seems as if they did find 'classics and mathematics more inspiring than boys do.' I think it is because they do not begin them until they are able to appreciate them, whereas the race for scholarships compels little boys to take up at seven and eight studies only suited for those of twice their age. I could produce a very large number of examples of women who have shown themselves exceptionally efficient as house-mothers, because quiet, thoughtful, systematic; and who are always sought out for philanthropic, educational, and intellectual work.

I am heartily at one with Miss Sewell in what she says about the consequences of too low a scale of fees, and about making the obtaining of prizes, scholarships, and certificates of knowledge the end of study: to sacrifice true culture for these, would be to sell one's birthright for a mess of pottage, an immortal crown for a parsley wreath.

Still I am sure we have much cause for thankfulness when we survey the great movement in which we are taking part. I believe that by the increased opportunities of culture God is preparing women to do work greater than they have yet known. Certainly educational forces have been vastly intensified by large schools, for, as Bacon says (using 'custom' for 'education'), 'if the force of custom, simple and separate, be great, the force of custom, copulate and conjoined and collegiate, is far greater; for there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth; so as in such places the force of custom is in great exaltation.' The marvellous changes that have taken place fill me with wondering expectation; certainly those who hold fast their belief in teleology may look forward with faith and hope;

For God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.

It is a great thing that the 'Communion of Labour,' for which Mrs. Jameson pleaded so eloquently, has been in some degree realised; that women have become more alive to their responsibilities as members of one body, and now take their share in all those works which form an integral part of our Christian civilisation.

Surely this too must make them feel still more the sacredness of the family as the unit of national and social life.

Let me conclude with the words of Bacon which we have chosen for our College motto :—

Let no man think or maintain that a man can search too far, or be too well studied in the Book of God's Word, or in the Book of God's Works ; but rather let them endeavour an endless progress or proficiency in both ; only let them beware that they apply both to Charity, and not to grovelling ; to use, and not to ostentation.

It is without all controversy, learning doth make the minds of men gentle, generous, amiable, and pliant to government ; whereas ignorance makes them churlish, thwart, and mutinous.

DOROTHEA BEALE.

The Ladies' College, Cheltenham.

OUR AUXILIARY CAVALRY.

It is a very general military opinion that our Auxiliary Cavalry as at present organised and equipped is not adapted for the duties which on an emergency it might be called upon to perform. Hussar jackets, antiquated head-dresses, gaudy horse-trappings, and clattering scabbards may still bring down the gallery at an inspection, but are out of touch with the practical ideas of the soldier of to-day.

At the same time we must remember that our Yeomanry material is all the best that England can produce, the health and strength and spirit and horsemanship of the country, officered and led by its country gentlemen. It is impossible to imagine a finer force or one more representative of the stuff of which the country districts are composed. It should be our aim to render it as efficient as possible for the work for which it is intended: it should be encouraged to keep pace with the march of military organisation and equipment, and to fit into its place in the machine of our Auxiliary Army.

The Yeomanry and the Militia are the representatives of a Reserve army of bygone days; they were raised when another military system existed, and to them has been added a Volunteer army of some 225,000 men. On whatever footing the three forces are serving, they at any rate represent an Auxiliary army intended specially for home defence, whose interests are practically identical; whilst the Volunteer movement has brought not only an addition of drilled men to our defensive strength, but has given rise to a flood of military thought and military criticism. Tactical societies for purposes of instruction in military subjects, lectures which are given under their direction, the 'war games' inaugurated by them, and the tactical examinations passed by many Volunteer officers, bear witness to the eagerness with which professional knowledge is sought for. The efficiency and the imperfections of the Auxiliary army are anxiously discussed, and amongst many burning questions none perhaps excites more interest than the organisation and equipment of our Auxiliary Cavalry. Is it possible to create efficient Cavalry in ten days' training? Are we making the best use of our Yeomanry material? Are we not pursuing a phantom in aiming at Cavalry perfection? Do we not sanction unnecessary expense and unsuitability for field

work in permitting unworkmanlike and gaudy uniforms? Are we not ignoring the great capabilities the men possess for reconnoitring work, outpost work, and above all of becoming good rifle shots?

This Auxiliary Cavalry is required for home defence—that is to say, the highest object of its ambition should be to render itself as capable as possible of assisting to repel an invasion; it is not intended for foreign service. What would its work be in case of an invasion? Would it be expected to act according to all the strictly Cavalry maxims—to manœuvre in regiments or brigades? to trust to its sword, and to watch for opportunities of ‘shock’? Or would its individual knowledge of country be its most valuable quality?—its power of scouting and giving rapid information, of orderly work, escorting of convoys, and, if properly armed, of holding important posts with small parties, and of checking an enemy’s advance in an unfriendly country by its long-range fire?

Criticism asserts that the force is not suitably armed or equipped for these latter duties. Our regular Cavalry have shortened their sling belts, have attached their swords to the saddle, have adopted a working-dress for campaigning; but the Yeoman is prepared only to take the field in a uniform that is out of date—in most cases an extremely expensive and unserviceable one—is taught to rely upon a bad sword as his first weapon, which in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he would never be called upon to use, and is supplied with an inferior firearm.

The Auxiliary Cavalry consists of thirty-nine regiments of Yeomanry, but there are also one regiment of Volunteer Light Horse, and one corps of Volunteer Mounted Rifles.¹ They represent a total strength of 11,500 men. All the regiments are recruited from the country districts, and though some of them draw a considerable number of men from the large towns in their neighbourhood, the ranks are filled as a rule by farmers riding their own horses, and their officers are the county gentlemen.

The Yeomanry are enrolled under the Army Act, and are subject to military law while assembled for training; Light Horse and Mounted Rifles serve under the Volunteer Act—the most visible difference between the two services being that the Yeoman draws pay, and the Volunteer does not.

Enrolment under the Army Act, giving as it does greater powers of discipline than the Volunteer Act, is probably the most suitable form of enlistment for a class of men who, usually living at great distances from headquarters, see nothing of their officers in a military sense except during their regimental training, and are perhaps hardly sufficiently inclined to recognise the seriousness of the duties they accept on joining their regiment. Both Acts provide for a money grant to regiments on certain conditions of efficiency, but the

¹ There are also several corps of Volunteer Mounted Infantry, but they are practically parts of certain Infantry battalions, and do not belong to the Volunteer Cavalry.

Yeomanry grant, besides being intended to cover expenses of equipment, provides for a certain scale of daily pay to officers and men. The Volunteer Act, of course, has no pay to deal with, and sanctions only a capitation allowance for efficiency.

It will be necessary later on to refer in greater detail to the distribution of these money grants; but I have no hesitation in saying that, from my experience in the command of a corps of Mounted Volunteers, the Yeomanry system of a daily payment to the men, and a money grant for their equipment, is the right one for an Auxiliary Cavalry, and that the Volunteer system of finance is entirely unsuitable for mounted corps, the capitation grant not being sufficient to meet the necessarily heavy expenses of a Cavalry equipment, or to make any provision for the extra risks incurred by a mounted man.

But though we may approve the terms of Yeomanry service, the extravagant expenditure on uniforms and equipment which the grant has been quite insufficient to meet, and the unpractical nature of the drill instruction of the force, cannot excite admiration.

The Yeomanry imitate all the full-dress magnificence of the Regular Cavalry, and in some cases even retain ornamental peculiarities which the Regular Cavalry have for the sake of greater efficiency discarded. They possess a purely Cavalry organisation; that is to say, they are drilled with the intention of making them as like a Cavalry regiment as possible. Their arms are those of the Regular Cavalry.

The Volunteer Light Horse and Mounted Rifles are in comparison very inexpensively clothed, whilst the latter differ from all other corps in that they carry the long Martini-Henry rifle and have adopted a drill more in accordance with the probable duties of the men on service than that of the Cavalry drill-book. It will, I think, be generally admitted that a system of instruction in purely Cavalry drill extending over a period of ten days annually, which is the time for which all the regiments assemble, is not likely to produce great Cavalry perfection.

A very cursory examination of the peculiarities of our Auxiliary Cavalry at once suggests the possibility of an enormous reduction in Yeomanry expenditure, with a corresponding increase in efficiency by the adoption of a working-dress in the place of the present unserviceable uniforms; and if the Yeoman could, whilst reforming his dress, be persuaded to accept the arms, accoutrements, and drill system of Mounted Riflemen, he would incalculably increase his capabilities in the field.

Without going into minute details of organisation and equipment, let us glance at the chief characteristics of the three species of Auxiliary Cavalry.

The commanding officer of a Yeomanry regiment receives from

Government annually a money grant, called a contingent allowance, of 2*l.* per man for every efficient Yeoman, and is also authorised to draw on the Bank of England for a sum sufficient for the payment of his men, calculated on an estimate made out by himself previous to the permanent duty of his regiment, and checked by the Treasury. Out of the annual revenue afforded him by the contingent allowance the commanding officer is expected to pay for clothing, equipment, and saddlery for his men, as well as for the cost of ranges, drill-sheds &c. Arms are supplied by Government.

The men are paid at the following rates:—

	£	s.
Six days' pay at 7 <i>s.</i> a day	2	2
Two troop drills at 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	0	7
Two days' marching at 7 <i>s.</i> (<i>i.e.</i> to and from place of assembly) ²	0	14
	£ 3	3

So that the actual cost of each Yeoman to the country is

	£	s.
Total pay	3	3
Contingent allowance	2	0
	£ 5	3

The Yeoman provides his own horse; but he gets a free kit on joining his regiment, with the exception of a very few articles, and besides his uniform is supplied with a military saddle and bridle, sheepskin, valise and other heavy military horse-furniture. The whole outfit is supposed to be paid for from the regimental fund constituted by the contingent allowance. It is difficult to estimate the exact cost of a recruit, but on an average it would appear to be—uniform, 12*l.*; saddlery, 7*l.* 18*s.*; or a total of nearly 20*l.* per recruit.

The uniform provided consists of the full dress and undress uniform of a Cavalry regiment.

Arms are supplied by Government, *viz.* the Cavalry sword in a metal scabbard, and the Martini-Henry carbine, carried in a bucket behind the saddle as in the Regular Cavalry. Ammunition is also supplied by Government; but the men's pouches hold only fifteen rounds.

The regiments assemble for ten days' training annually; and though the amount of outpost and reconnaissance work has increased of late years, the training may be said to be devoted almost entirely to Cavalry field movements; the regiment is to resemble a Cavalry regiment as much as possible, and the object aimed at is perfection in Cavalry drill. Much time is wasted over the sword exercise,

² Permanent duty is composed as follows: One day's marching in; two days' troop drills; six days' permanent duty; one day's marching (dismissals); total, ten.

whilst the amount of carbine practice officially required is next to nothing.³

Volunteer Light Horse and Mounted Rifles are on an entirely different footing financially to the Yeomanry. They serve on the Volunteer system of a capitation grant for efficient men, paid annually to the regimental fund. The grant at present amounts to 37*s.* per efficient,⁴ with which the Volunteer commanding officer is asked to meet exactly the same regimental requirements as the Yeomanry commanding officer is required to do with a grant of 2*l.* per man. Arms and ammunition are supplied by Government. The men provide their own horses, and they receive no pay. The cost of each man to the country is therefore 37*s.*

The Light Horse appear to have been raised with the intention of their working on exactly the same lines as the Yeomanry; they were to be Yeomanry Cavalry, but on the Volunteer financial system. There is at present only one regiment in existence—the Fife and Forfar, commanded by Colonel Anstruther Thomson. The Duke of Manchester's Light Horse, which had a great reputation, but which has long ceased to exist, was, I believe, the model upon which Colonel Thomson's corps was organised. The men's kit is very simple and workmanlike. Their tunics are loose and serviceable; they use hunting saddles and bridles; their arms are the Cavalry sword and Martini-Henry carbine. Part of a recruit's kit is paid for from the regimental fund; for, notwithstanding the simplicity of the uniform, the capitation grant is totally inadequate to meet the entire expense. Their commanding officer, fully recognising the importance of good shots, has, I understand, contrived to obtain rather more than the forty rounds of Government ammunition which is issued to the Yeomanry.

As in the case of Light Horse, there is only one corps of Mounted Riflemen—viz. the Border Mounted Rifles. To its organisation and equipment I would venture to call particular attention. Owing to some confusion as to the nature of such corps at the time they were originated, it possesses, according to the Volunteer regulations, an Infantry establishment, but as a matter of fact is organised as a squadron, and is under the Inspector of Auxiliary Cavalry for the Northern District. The first corps of this description was raised in Hampshire by Colonel Bower. His men carried the rifle (then the Snider); they were distinguished for the workmanlike simplicity of their uniforms, and for the ease with which they worked across-country, and they relied for drill instruction chiefly upon a very practical and simple drill-book drawn up by their commanding officer. The Hampshire regiment is unfortunately no longer in the Army List, but to Colonel Bower the credit of the original idea of raising Volunteer Mounted Riflemen must be conceded. The Border Mounted Rifles followed his example. Their

³ The amount of Government ammunition supplied is forty rounds ball, twenty-five rounds blank.

⁴ Capitation grant 35*s.*, and 2*s.* for each great-coat.

uniform consists of helmet, tunic, and pantaloons of the same grey as the county Infantry battalion, and 'butcher' boots. The great-coat is rolled and attached to the pommel of the saddle. Hunting saddles and bridles are used, and a headstall and white picket-rope. The pouches are of brown leather, and hold seventy rounds of ball ammunition; and the ordinary Cavalry sword, in a leathern scabbard, is worn in a 'Sam Brown Belt' in the short slings used by the Indian Irregular Cavalry. The Martini-Henry rifle (not the carbine) is carried in the 'Namaqua bucket' in front of the saddle, the barrel of the rifle passing across the man's thigh and under his right arm, pointing to the rear. The ammunition issued by Government is ninety rounds ball and sixty blank per efficient man, and every man is required to pass through the Infantry class-firing.

The men themselves find their complete kit. The corps being a small one, the capitation grant, which is its only source of income, is also small in proportion, and it has been impossible to attempt to contribute towards the men's outfit. Most of the saddlery which a recruit brings with him is in his daily civilian use, and cannot, therefore, be looked upon as an extra expense entailed upon him by the corps. The cost of uniform and extra saddlery which he is obliged to obtain amount to 12*l.* On the other hand, the grant has always been sufficient to pay not only for the ordinary rents for armoury and headquarters, but also for any expense entailed by a corps order, such as the movement of the whole corps by rail, which has occurred more than once, and for alterations in equipment, which have occasionally been heavy; the men have been asked for no subscription to the regimental fund as in some regiments, and the corps is not in debt.

It assembles annually for ten days' training, and with the exception of the necessary amount of parade and field movements to get men and horses handy, the training is almost entirely devoted to dismounted service, practice in mounting and dismounting, linking horses, the management of led horses under fire, reconnoitring, and flag-signalling; and besides the work done during the days the corps is together, much time is occupied throughout the year in class-firing, flag-signalling, and reconnaissance.

Such are the chief characteristics of the different branches of the Auxiliary Cavalry.

The following points at once attract attention:—

The comparative expense to the country of a Yeoman and a Mounted Volunteer (the former costing 5*l.* 3*s.* and the latter 1*l.* 17*s.*), and their comparative expense in uniform and equipment (the former costing about 20*l.* and the latter about 12*l.*); whilst there will be little doubt amongst practical soldiers that the equipment and training of Mounted Riflemen is far better adapted than that of the Yeomanry to the work which would be expected of Auxiliary Cavalry on service.

Such being the case, it would at first sight appear that the country is making a huge mistake in keeping up a very expensive force, when it can procure a far better article for less money. The success of the Volunteer Infantry has encouraged an idea that the Volunteer financial system might be adapted to our Auxiliary Cavalry—an opinion which I believe to be an entirely mistaken one, which a better knowledge of the composition of the Yeomanry regiments would dispel. Any attempt to introduce the capitation-grant system on its present scale to Yeomanry Cavalry regiments would, I have no doubt, result in failure.

There have been many regiments of Volunteer Cavalry, and they have gone to the wall one after the other. The fact that two corps still exist is due to exceptional circumstances. Colonel Thomson of the Fife Light Horse is a born leader of men, who could raise a corps without a grant; whilst the official mind can hardly be expected to understand what lifeblood the Border Mounted Rifles have derived from border songs and border stories of many moss-trooping raids of Border Horse that have gone before them.

Excellent as the system of Volunteer soldiering is, there must be a limit to the expense and risk which men can be expected voluntarily to incur. It is, I believe, the absence of some small daily payment to the Volunteer Cavalry, which would have enabled the men partially to meet the heavy expenses necessarily entailed upon them by ten days in quarters, that has been the chief reason for the collapse of so many corps.

It is impossible to judge of the suitability of the Volunteer system to Auxiliary Cavalry by the results of its working with the Volunteer Infantry. The requirements and the composition of the two forces are entirely different. Cavalry equipment in uniform alone is necessarily more expensive than an Infantry kit, and to it has to be added saddlery. The Mounted Volunteer, also, does not only give his own services but those of his horse, which he has to feed as well as himself, the expense of his own living and his stable account while he is in quarters during the corps-training making a heavy drain on his pocket, for he receives absolutely nothing towards the keep of himself or his horse while he is out. He also runs considerable risk of damage to his horse in the ranks, for which he is guaranteed no recompense. Such expenses the Volunteer Infantry have not to meet, whilst in the case of the Yeomanry they are very considerably lessened by the 7*s.* a day pay.

The supposition that if the Yeomanry ceased to exist a Volunteer Cavalry on the Volunteer system would spring up in its place is entirely erroneous. Men could not be recruited in large numbers, on a system so expensive to themselves, from amongst the agricultural population, on whom the present hard times have told so heavily.

A keen soldier here and there might succeed in raising a small corps in the country districts; and the large towns might possibly

contribute some squadrons ; but the Yeoman class would no longer be enrolled, and the Auxiliary Army would lose not only a mass of fine material, but an invaluable amount of local knowledge—for the power so useful to a soldier, of quickly comprehending the lay of a country and of finding a way about it, is the gift of a country life and field sports, and would not be found amongst the men from the towns.

It is therefore necessary to bear in mind, while comparing the expense to the country of Yeomanry and Mounted Volunteers, that the latter have failed, in all but a few exceptional cases, apparently owing to the necessary expense connected with all mounted corps, which the Volunteer capitation grant is quite incapable of meeting.

The suggestion which is occasionally advanced, that much of the expense to which I have alluded might be avoided by Volunteer Cavalry if instead of their ten days' training they adopted the Infantry system of drilling on named days at headquarters, appears to me misleading.

Volunteer Infantry are drawn very largely from the population of the towns. The men live near each other, can be easily assembled, and can be easily looked up by their own officers. In mounted regiments, on the other hand, the men are scattered at great distances over the country. I have in my own corps men from Edinburgh, Berwick, and Langholm ; and it would be unreasonable to expect them to make the journey with their horses to and from headquarters frequently. There is also the impossibility with men living at great distances apart of insuring the presence of all frequently on given days. Days for drill so arranged naturally extend the drill requirements of a corps over a greater space of time than if they follow each other consecutively, and are therefore more likely to interfere with business or holiday arrangements. Periodical drills were at one time tried with the Border Mounted Rifles, and the inconvenience to every one connected with the corps was apparent. Moreover, with mounted corps, and particularly with those in which much rifleman work is practised, it is necessary, to insure anything like efficiency, that the same sections of men and horses should habitually work together ; whereas with periodical drills this could never be counted upon. I am, of course, speaking of corps composed of the purely Yeomanry class, where the men live at considerable distances from each other.

No doubt there is a certain amount of risk of the ten days' training being looked upon by the men as a mere outing, and men of expensive tastes are apt to give a fast tone to regiments, which may occasionally prevent poorer and better ones from joining, and may introduce an unsoldierlike element which the regiment would do much better without. Nevertheless, with proper care on the part of the commanding officer, the assembly of his corps, though only for

ten days, must be beneficial to its efficiency; and expensive as it invariably is to officers and men, it is certainly the only way of insuring a regular attendance at drills of regiments composed of the Yeomanry class.

But necessary as the assembly in quarters is, much work might be done with Auxiliary Cavalry all the year round independently of the ten days' training. Regiments assemble, are inspected, and dismissed, and then all military duties are forgotten till the training of the following year. Without any attempt to assemble a regiment, much might always be done throughout the winter by small parties in reconnaissance work and flag-signalling. With Mounted Riflemen, class-firing alone gives a good deal of work throughout the year; and it is impossible to help drawing an invidious distinction between the amount of work done by officers and men of a crack Volunteer battalion and those of a Yeomanry regiment.

The expenses to which I have so far alluded refer chiefly to those necessarily incurred by the men of the Volunteer Cavalry owing to the nature of their drill system, and which might be sufficiently met by a daily payment, as in the case of the Yeomanry.

There are also, however, the expenses connected with purchase of uniform and equipment, which in the case of Mounted Volunteers are defrayed in great part by the men, whilst the Yeoman receives his kit free.

The Volunteer not receiving any pay, it may be taken for granted that the capitation grant of 37*s.* and the Yeomanry contingent allowance of 2*l.* are each devoted to much the same objects—to equipment, rent of armouries, headquarters, and ranges. But the Volunteer recruit does not expect a free kit, and his commanding officer is only asked to contribute towards it according to the capabilities of the regimental fund as constituted by the capitation grant; the simplicity of uniform, no doubt, facilitating such contributions from the fund.

In a Yeomanry regiment, a recruit receives all equipment free of cost to himself, while ordinary wear and tear is also made good to the men. The contingent allowance cannot be expected to meet the expense of such magnificent outfits; but the bill has to be paid, and on an average has been found to vary from 15*s.* to 30*s.* per man beyond the 2*l.* per man contingent allowance. And where does the money come from? Either out of the pocket of the unfortunate commanding officer or from private subscription. Either the 2*l.* contingent allowance is too small, or the expense of outfits is unnecessarily large. That the latter is the case must be the opinion of any one who studies the necessary expenses of an Auxiliary Cavalry soldier. It is a positive abuse that such expense should have been so long permitted to be incurred. Indeed, if it contributed in any way to the efficiency of the regiments on whom it is

expended, we could admire the patriotism of the commanding officers who so handsomely open their pockets ; but when the unserviceable, and in many cases ridiculous, costumes upon which the money is spent are proverbially the first characteristic of the Yeoman to provoke censure, we may wish the money had not been so easily forthcoming.

I am not prepared to say that the Yeomanry grant of 2*l.* per man is capable of furnishing a complete equipment to every recruit on joining his regiment ; but it is probably large enough to contribute quite sufficiently towards the outfit of a Cavalry who *ought* to give a good deal voluntarily.¹

The Volunteer spirit should be encouraged to permeate the Yeomanry force, and the country, recognising that the service which each man renders costs him more than that given by his Volunteer Infantry comrade, should in proportion deal more liberally with him, as by some payment for service and by a grant of certain allowances. But the Yeoman need not be taught to expect too much. At present he is over-equipped. A soldier of the regular army receives all his worldly property when he joins his regiment. His horse, uniform, and saddlery are given him, and his kit is intended to enable him to take the field in any part of the world. He has no clothes but his uniform. The Yeoman would be required to do his campaigning in his own country. He has a civilian wardrobe of his own, and possesses many little necessaries which would soon make their appearance on service. He would surely not turn out in his full-dress uniform, and he would certainly find a stable-jacket an extremely uncomfortable dress to rough it in. As a matter of fact, we should see uniforms quickly disappearing till the march past after the repulse of the invaders.

Colonel Oakes, C.B., Inspecting Officer of Auxiliary Cavalry, was in 1876 examined before a committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to inquire into the condition of the Yeomanry, and in support of what I have said as to over-equipment I refer to his opinion. After advocating the use of hunting-saddles, and stating that the men's equipment should be as light as possible, and that

¹ It may seem that if it is impossible to contribute to the expenses of equipment on the Volunteer capitation grant, the contingent allowance, which does not largely exceed it, must also prove inadequate. The fact is that probably the rise in the Volunteer grant from 30*s.* to 37*s.* will enable Mounted Volunteer corps to assist recruits considerably in outfit ; but it must also be borne in mind that most Yeomanry corps largely exceed in numbers the two existing Mounted Volunteer corps, and that their revenue is consequently much larger, whereas the expenses of rents and regimental expenses do not appreciably increase with the strength of the corps. Therefore the revenue available for equipment is largely increased by the strength of the regiment. Some of the Yeomanry regiments are several hundred strong, thereby drawing a large income, and, as regards equipment, only having their annual supply of recruits to deal with, which (as they have not short service) must be small.

there is no necessity for valises, he goes on to say, in answer to a question, the Yeoman

might have wallets, but he wants very little change; he only wants another shirt, another pair of socks, and a change of boots—that is all he would require; and if he was out for twenty days he would want a waterproof cape; but when they were called out for service in certain parts of the country where there were no plains where they could encamp, the portions of the country occupied would have farmhouses and sheds where they could get under cover. I do not think it is necessary that they should be equipped in the way suggested, as when you take cavalry out into a foreign country, or as if you encamped them constantly on Salisbury Plain. The portion of the country that the army would occupy would probably be on the outskirts of villages and towns. . . . I think it would be better to do away with the expense and make the equipment as light as possible.

Colonel Oakes then goes on to advocate a working-dress for the Yeomanry.

I have so far endeavoured to show that the Yeomanry terms of enlistment are the most suitable for the class of men from whom the force is recruited, and whose services it is most essential to retain; that the Volunteer capitation grant system is not calculated to meet the necessary expenses of an Auxiliary Cavalry; and that the Yeomanry grant for equipment and daily pay is probably sufficient to meet the reasonable requirements of what is really a Mounted Volunteer force, if that force would be content to adopt an inexpensive working-dress in which it could take the field in comfort.

But besides the question of expense and equipment, there is the all-important one of arms and organisation. There is scarcely a difference of opinion amongst soldiers, and I believe amongst Yeomanry officers too, who have thought over the calling of their service, that a ten days' imitation of a Cavalry regiment is a farce. Granted that the efficiency attained is wonderful, and that Yeomanry adjutants and the officers who have passed the School for Auxiliary Cavalry at Aldershot may well be proud of the results they can produce in the short period at their disposal; yet when they think of the perfection required of Cavalry, and realise the odds against their regiments ever being required to act as such in a purely Cavalry sense—above all, in this thickly enclosed country of ours—they must think their labour thrown away indeed. Still they are told to trust to their sabres.

I will again refer to Colonel Oakes's evidence. He says:—

I think they [*i.e.* the Yeomanry] can be made essentially useful for such duties as detached duties, and acting as small bodies as individuals over a wide extent of country in reconnoitring, patrolling, scouting, from having a thorough knowledge of the country to guide the troops. . . . With regard to manœuvring with a regiment in brigade, for instance, I do not think they would ever be made efficient enough.

Question.—Referring again to the instruction in the use of arms, should you attach the most importance to rifle practice or sword exercise?

Answer.—Rifle practice.

These were the opinions of a thoroughly practical soldier in 1876;

and in 1883 we find Colonel Edwards of the 2nd West York Yeomanry, in a lecture at the United Service Institution, speaking in exactly the same sense, advocating the adoption of a working-dress, and the rifle as the first arm rather than the sword.

We could hardly refer to two better opinions than that of Colonel Oakes in 1876, and of a Yeomanry commanding officer in 1883 distinguished for his knowledge of every detail of his profession. But as yet uniform, arms, drills, and equipment remain unchanged.

It is as Mounted Riflemen, such as I have endeavoured to describe, that Yeomanry should excel.

Success with the rifle seems characteristic of our cool English temperament; and give the Yeoman an equally good weapon and he should hold his own against any of his Infantry comrades.

Oddly enough, it is often urged by those who advocate the use of a firearm for the Yeoman rather than the sword, that he should be armed with the Martini-Henry carbine, that it is an excellent weapon, and is better adapted for a mounted man than a long rifle. There could not be a greater mistake. Granted that the carbine is good as an arm of precision, the long rifle is better; and if the love of rifle-shooting is to be fostered, the men must feel that as regards arms they are equally matched against all comers.

If a Yeoman could win the Queen's Prize at Wimbledon, we should find plenty of enthusiasm for the rifle throughout the force; but give him a weapon with which he cannot possibly hold his own at long distances in a county match, and you will nip his ambition in the bud.

The success of Mounted Infantry in our late wars has no doubt increased the criticism of the Yeomanry and has encouraged a mistaken idea that a Mounted Infantry organisation can be adapted with advantage to any mounted corps; it has even given rise to doubt as to the future *métier* of our Regular Cavalry—is the sword or the rifle to have precedence in the future?—and in all discussions which have taken place of late a confusion of ideas has prevailed on the subject, and Cavalry, Mounted Infantry, Mounted Riflemen, and the old Dragoon have been helplessly jumbled together. With a small force of regular Cavalry such as we possess, it would, in my humble opinion, be a thousand pities to attempt to alter their character as pure Cavalry. Cavalry should be Cavalry, and should not aim at anything else; if they do they will become an inferior article; and good Mounted Infantry will never be created from anything but good Infantry. I look upon Mounted Riflemen as a cross between the two—as an organisation which neither the Cavalry nor Infantry of the regular army need attempt to adopt, but one peculiarly suited to the irregular horsemen of a rifle-shooting nation, to men who naturally spend much of their time on horseback, but who cannot be kept together for a sufficiently long time to produce good Cavalry.

Mounted Riflemen are not Mounted Infantry. Mounted Infantry

are simply Infantry soldiers who, for the sake of rapid movement, are enabled to utilise the most suitable transport on the theatre of war, whether it be horses, camels, or carts. There may be a certain amount of risk of the loss of Infantry efficiency in the raising of such corps permanently from Infantry battalions in time of peace; though with regular Infantry in the hands of a Mounted Infantry officer who knows so well from service in the field what Mounted Infantry should be, we may expect from the force just organised at Aldershot something which ought to be invincible. But with a Volunteer force it is different. The risk of Mounted Infantry raised from Volunteer battalions inclining towards an attempt to become Cavalry is more considerable than Volunteer officers probably imagine. For my own part, I am not at all sure that in an emergency I would not rather trust to Mounted Infantry raised hastily from Volunteer battalions than to Mounted Infantry systematically organised from the same battalions in time of peace. Directly a man is placed on a horse he considers his social standing raised as well as himself; he thinks he has gone in for a higher line of life, and is inclined to ignore the pedestrianism of his former days. With good discipline, and officers who are on the look-out for this ambitious tendency, and know how to guard against it, there is little risk; but with officers who do not the risk is naturally increased. However, the matter as regards the Volunteers is an open question, and their eagerness to establish Mounted Infantry is only another of the many examples of their anxiety to keep pace with all military organisation. Of this, however, I am certain, that to create what might be properly called Mounted Infantry from the Yeomanry or Mounted Volunteers would be absolutely impossible.

At one time I wished to convert my own corps (the Border Mounted Rifles) into a purely Mounted Infantry corps. I considered the possibility of discarding the sword, I borrowed bayonets from the War Office to take its place; but I soon discovered that, to succeed, the men must, in the first place, be Infantry, and be told so, and be taught to act as such; and it was evidently hopeless with men to whom to be on horseback was a second nature. There is a certain amount of prestige connected with the wearing of the sword with which it is unadvisable to meddle. At any rate, the Yeoman would not welcome the bayonet of the foot-soldier in its place. But though it appeared impossible to organise what would, strictly speaking, pass as Mounted Infantry, it seemed to me absurd to aspire to be Cavalry. Yet to make good rifle-shots of the men, to make them look upon the rifle as their first weapon, and not the sword, was feasible, and the result has been that they have twice won the Lord Lindsay Prize at Wimbledon, and have sent men to compete in the Queen's Prize against the best shots that England can produce. I knew that the corps I commanded was a very small

one, but I recollected that the Mounted Infantry in Egypt in 1882 were only forty-one strong at Magfar on the 24th of August, and forty-two strong at Kassassin on the 28th, and those who were there will not deny the work that can be done by a few picked shots. I mention the Border Mounted Rifles as an example of a corps composed entirely of a Yeomanry class of men, in answer to those who seem to think that the rifle is not adapted to the Yeomanry. When I first adopted the Martini-Henry rifle in my corps, every conceivable objection was thrown in my way. I was told that it was entirely unsuited for mounted men, and could not be carried.

I have no doubt that any Yeomanry officer introducing the long rifle into his regiment in the place of the carbine would meet with similar objections in proportion to the number of Cavalry sergeant-instructors and old Cavalry officers that he had to deal with. But I insisted on it; and I can now say that I have seen the Martini-Henry rifle carried in the Namaqua bucket by Mounted Yeomen over every description of country without the slightest difficulty to man or horse. To be good rifle-shots, and to know every road and hill track from the Berwick coast to the Solway, and how to report on them, has been the object of the corps' training; while, notwithstanding our simplicity of dress, we are not prepared to yield in smartness on parade to any Yeomanry regiment under the sun.

No doubt any change in Yeomanry organisation which might appear to do away with its Cavalry characteristics would meet with much opposition from the force itself. It has been in existence a considerable time; it was raised under an Act of George the Third, and there is a certain amount of tradition connected with it. But far more glorious traditions than any the Yeomanry possess have been sacrificed for the good of the service. It is full of retired Cavalry officers; its adjutants and its sergeant-instructors come from the Cavalry; and it is hardly to be expected that they would receive the long Martini-Henry rifle with open arms, or relegate their swords to the background without a murmur. Nevertheless, the first Yeomanry colonel who takes the bull by the horns, who asks sanction for a working-dress, who does away with the old Cavalry sling belts and attaches his swords to the saddle, who applies to return his carbines into store and asks for Martini-Henry rifles in their place, will do good service to his country.

Any suggestion of Yeomanry reform is always met with the remark, 'You must remember the Yeoman would never like to alter his uniform.' May we not hope that he would be ready to sacrifice a certain amount of his magnificence for the sake of his efficiency?

MELGUND

(Major commanding Border Mounted
Rifle Volunteers).

MR. MAX MÜLLER'S 'SCIENCE OF
THOUGHT.'

It is with some misgivings that I venture to make a few observations on Mr. Max Müller's last and most-important work. The number of those who are entitled to discuss seriously the results of the labour of a lifetime devoted to studies of the most arduous and special kind must be very small, and it certainly does not include me. His work, however, though founded on the author's study of language, goes far beyond mere philology and connects it with so many subjects of the most general interest that I wish to make some observations upon it, especially because it appears to have attracted less general attention than its extraordinary interest seems to call for.

Mr. Max Müller considers that he has opened and followed up to a great extent a track which will ultimately lead to the solution of all the fundamental philosophical problems which have been considered insoluble for thousands of years and have led many people to regard metaphysics as a disease of the mind.

Such an assertion in the mouth of an unknown man would hardly deserve attention, but when a man who, after most successful studies lasting over nearly half a century, tells us that, by following a road on which he has travelled for a considerable distance, 'philosophy would have and could have no longer any secrets, it would cease to exist,'¹ it appears, to say the very least, worth while to try to understand the grounds of his opinion.

I will try to give a sketch of his principal positions and of the grounds on which they rest, and will make a few remarks which they suggest. My attempt to do so is justified by a passage in the work itself.

It is no easy task (he observes) to attempt to give in a few words a true abstract of Kant's philosophy; yet if we wish to gain a clear view of the . . . movement of human thought we must be satisfied with short abstracts. . . . Whole pages, nay, whole volumes, must here be represented by one or two lines, and all that is essential is that we should not lose sight of the salient points in each system.²

¹ *The Science of Thought*, by F. Max Müller. Longmans, 1887.

² P. 515.

The *Science of Thought* fills 618 pages, and though the whole of it is logically connected together, I think that the force and interest of the argument may possibly be increased by compression, as it requires somewhat careful reading to follow the author through the mass of proofs and illustrations which he has accumulated, and the collateral though related subjects into which from time to time he diverges.

The best means of summarising his work will be to collect into one view what I conceive to be his main propositions so as to show their logical connections, and then to examine each of them successively with its proofs. These propositions seem to me to be as follows:—

1. Thought is an operation which proceeds in every reasonable man. Thought, *cogito*, means *co-agito*, a word which is nearly equivalent to a Sanscrit term which Mr. Max Müller says means 'working-within.' Also 'a thing,' the most general term in language, means 'a think.' The subject by which this operation is conducted or in which it proceeds Mr. Max Müller calls 'the Ego as personating the Self'—an obscure phrase which he does not explain, but which seems not to mean more than the word 'man.' The operation he calls Mind, including under that word sensation, perception, conception, and naming, as well as various modes of combining and separating the results of those processes.³

2. Thought is identical with language, the only difference between them being that language is, and that thought is not until it is uttered as language, made audible or visible by means of external signs. Hence the history and science of thought are identical with the history and science of language.

3. There are four stages in the formation of language which may be separately named and thought of, but which are no more separable in fact than a substance and its qualities. These are sensation, perception, conception, and naming. An act of imagination is necessary to convert mere sensation into perception; and an act of generalisation to convert perceptions of the same sort into conceptions.⁴ The representation of the conception by a sound is naming, and names are language. This represents what may be called the anatomy of language.

4. Though sensation is an essential part of thought without which it cannot exist, yet sensation alone cannot account for all our

³ See especially p. 64 and following.

⁴ I call them conceptions, and not, as Mr. Max Müller does, concepts, because the word 'concept' jars on my ear as a technical metaphysical expression. Such a phrase as 'I have no conception what he means' is perfectly natural. 'Conceit' would be less objectionable in sound than concept, but would not be understood; no one is likely to confound conception, the act or process, with conception, the result. Mr. Max Müller himself uses 'sensation' to express both the process and the result. He does not talk of pleasure or pain as 'sensates.'

thoughts. The proper way of accounting for the whole arrangement of our thoughts is by Kant's theories as to space, time, and the categories. His philosophy arrives from a different point of view at the same results as Mr. Max Müller.

5. Language is the specific difference which distinguishes men from animals, and disproves the theory that men were developed out of animals. This is not inconsistent with the theory of evolution rightly understood, though to some extent it is inconsistent with Darwin.

6. The history of language shows that the languages spoken by the most important nations of modern Europe may all be derived from about 800 roots, expressing 121 conceptions which are turned into cognate words by the application of prefixes, suffixes, affixes, &c.—the parts of speech devised by grammarians and referable to and confirmed by the categories established by Kant and other philosophers.

7. Language is subject to the diseases of mythology and metaphor, the only cure for which is definition. By this means it is capable of such improvements as would reduce all human knowledge to the clearest and simplest form possible in the nature of the case.

These are the principal matters comprised in Mr. Max Müller's great work. I will try to develop them somewhat more fully and make a few observations upon each, though it is obvious that in a matter of such magnitude hardly any one is entitled to speak with authority.

1. The first of the propositions which I have stated is rather assumed than proved by Mr. Max Müller, and indeed it stands in no need of proof, for it is little more than a definition of the word 'mind,' and a description of the process of thinking.

The view that sensation is a part of the process, and indeed the foundation on which the whole edifice of thought is built, may to some persons appear paradoxical. It appears to me to be the fundamental truth of all rational speculation on these subjects, and indeed to mark the point of union between Mr. Müller and the most popular and influential school of philosophy of the day, that of John Mill and his disciples and adherents. Nothing is more characteristic of Mr. Müller than the way in which he holds fast by sensation and refuses to proceed a single step without its support, although the theory that in sensation itself there is a mental element is equally characteristic of him. He invariably insists that the mind is not a mere looking-glass, that in thought it is not a mere passive recipient of impressions from without. I do not believe that any one ever did hold these views. The metaphor about the looking-glass could be used by reasonable persons only as a vivid way of denying what Mr. Max Müller denies himself, the possibility

of thought without sensation. Indeed, I may go a step further—I do not believe that any one who has ever watched children or noticed a picture or a tune can possibly doubt that we learn to see and to hear as we learn to speak and to walk. The conception of mind as a process in which sensation, perception, conception, and naming take place will in these days be denied by few to be correct, and most people will be ready to agree that the processes described are simultaneous and inseparable. A name is, no doubt, in some cases consciously imposed, such as the words 'ohm' &c., used in reference to electricity, but when this is done the thing named is always previously known by some more elaborate and less convenient name. Dog is a name as well as Argus. Manuscript or book is a name as well as the Science of Thought.

In restricting his list of mental operations to perception and conception Mr. Max Müller is very moderate. His knowledge of language enables him to make ceaseless efforts to simplify it. Some of his observations on the extent to which, according to his views, condensation might be carried in the matter of philosophical terms deserve gratitude which can hardly be exaggerated.

I believe it would really be the greatest benefit to mental science if all such terms as impression, sensation, perception, intuition, presentation, representation, conception, idea, thought, cognition, as well as sense, mind, memory, intellect, understanding, reason, soul, spirit, could for a time be banished from our philosophical dictionaries, and not be readmitted till they had undergone a thorough purification. . . . I deny that there are any such things as soul, mind, memory, intellect, understanding, and reason, or that the conscious monon [why not man or men?] can be said to be endowed with them, whether in the shape of separate faculties or useful instruments.⁵

He does not, however, object to the use of such words 'as the names of certain modes of action of a self-conscious monon,'⁶ or man.

2. The second proposition affirms the identity of thought and language, and draws the inference that the history and science of the two must be identical.

The assertion and illustration of this proposition occupy a large part of the book. Mr. Müller carefully examines the views upon this subject of a number of philosophers. He says that, amongst the Germans, W. von Humboldt, Schelling, and Hegel held his view,⁷ but that of English writers no one has held it without qualification except Archbishop Whately. This inquiry is most interesting, but I cannot

⁵ P. 18.

⁶ A good instance of an early objection taken to the existence in men of these numerous subsidiary beings is to be found in an extract from Richter's *Levana*, given in Max Müller's *German Classics*, ii. 632; Richter's 'siebenjährige Tochter behauptete, wenn die Seele im Kopfe wieder Arme und Beine und einen Kopf hätte, so müsste in diesem wieder eine Seele wohnen und diese hätte wieder einen Kopf und so immer fort.' In Jeremy Taylor's *Ductor Dubitantium* the will and the conscience are always conceived of as subordinate human beings with rights, duties, reasons, consciences, and wills of their own.

⁷ P. 46.

follow it here, neither can I enter upon the still more interesting and curious inquiry which he makes into the reasons which may have induced these writers to hesitate before admitting his views. The matter has given rise to a great controversy in *Nature* and elsewhere as to the truth of the assertion itself, a good deal of which I have read, and I will confine myself to giving the reasons which lead me to agree absolutely with Mr. Max Müller's opinion, and to pointing out one of the inferences which follow from the admission of its truth.

In the first place it must be understood what Mr. Max Müller means by language. He means by it significant sounds or other signs made perceptible to the senses and conveying some conception of a more or less general character. Language would thus include words spoken, words written, and significant gestures indicating any conception of a general character.

He says:—

Other signs may take the place of words. Five fingers or five lines are quite sufficient to convey the concept of five between people speaking different languages, possibly between deaf and dumb people who speak no language at all.

On the other hand, the word language, according to this definition, would not apply to sounds, signs, or gestures which indicated only particular passive states of feeling such as a cry of rage, pain, or fear, a gesture of attack or defence uttered or employed either by a man or an animal.

If language is thus defined, it is, I think, impossible to suggest any real exception to what is admitted to be the general rule that thought and language are identical. Such apparent exceptions as that the deaf and dumb can think are disposed of by the terms of the definition, for such persons think by means of significant signs, though it can never be known in what way such a sign presents itself to their minds.⁸

Two arguments only against Mr. Max Müller—and at bottom they are different forms of the same argument—appear to me to have any considerable weight.

These cases are, first, that animals perform many acts which might be the result of thought, in which case, if thought and language are identical, they would use language, which is admittedly not the case. Secondly, that in all sorts of cases in which men act rationally, they

⁸ The way in which the deaf and dumb are taught to speak is as follows: The teacher puts the hands of the scholar one on the teacher's and one on the scholar's throat, so as to feel the movements of the muscles while the teacher speaks. The scholar's attention is also directed to the motions of the teacher's lips. The words must thus represent to the scholar's mind certain motions of the lips as associated with other motions of the muscles of the throat. The result of this sort of treatment is most surprising. A person so trained, being told that her brothers had been playing quits, said, 'Ko-its! is that right? What a very odd word!'

act without thinking in words. A fencer, for instance, in fencing, a sportsman in aiming his gun, a musician in playing on an instrument. Almost everyone, in a word, who does an act requiring address and rapidity of execution acts without any external use of language, though he certainly thinks and acts as he would act if he did think.

With regard to animals Mr. Max Müller's answer is that we are entirely ignorant of the minds of animals and are wholly unable to say that they think. All that can be said is that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they use any significant sounds, vocal or otherwise. That they have senses like our own, often more acute and possibly in some cases different in kind, is proved by an immense amount of evidence. That something which as a mere cover for our ignorance we call instinct leads them to do acts which, if the result of reflection, would require much thought and experience is equally clear.⁹ But all this shows only our ignorance and the impossibility of making any satisfactory assertions about animals and their thoughts or whatever in them does instead of thought.

In short, the case of animals proves, not that it is possible to think without language, but that it is possible to act intelligently without language by means with which mankind are not acquainted.

As for those parts of human conduct which are referred to, many of them may be explained by the fact that there are cases in which a man must not stop to think if he wishes to act properly, but must trust to an acquired habit, as people do in repeating what they have learnt by heart, or when fencing, dancing, or playing on a musical instrument. There are other cases in which a man thinks so rapidly and in so condensed a fashion that he is not aware that he thinks at all, but it does not follow that so far as he does think it is not in words. A man who is making a speech, and decides in a moment to avoid a particular statement or to change the topic on which he is dwelling, would, I think, do so because some thought, some unspoken word, forgotten as soon as the warning which it conveyed had operated, passed through his mind, no matter how quickly and in how summary a way. He would read, for instance, into the half-uttered 'stop' or 'don't' a momentary expression in the face of a person whom he wished to persuade.

The decisive test upon the whole subject, however, appears to

⁹ A wonderful instance of this is given by Mr. Max Müller in the case of the emperor moth and the provision which it makes when a grub for its protection in passing from the condition of a chrysalis into that of a butterfly, by spinning a case of a very peculiar construction. How could a creature which became an orphan as an egg, and which never had any friends, know that it was to be a chrysalis and was afterwards to become a butterfly? How could it tell what facilities a butterfly would require for getting out of the case spun by the grub for the chrysalis, or how bristles of three different degrees of stiffness and pointing in different directions would afford those facilities? (pp. 13-14.) It is as if a new-born baby was able to make a shroud suitable for its easy resurrection.

me to be the one which Mr. Max Müller suggests: let any one try to think of a dog without using mentally the word dog, or some equivalent word, or to think the phrase, 'Cogito ergo sum,' without those words in one language or other, and he must, I think, if honest, confess that the attempt is like trying to breathe without air, or to see in the dark. It is prohibiting yourself from using the only means by which the required thing can be done.

A strong illustration of the truth of this view is to be found in one of the popular arguments against it. Thoughts, it is said, must in some cases be deeper than words, because no words can express the thoughts which are excited by particular objects. A beautiful woman, a beautiful piece of music, a beautiful view, all raise, as the phrase is, thoughts too deep for words. To ask that the thoughts so raised may be indicated in some other way than by words is, no doubt, to ask an impossibility; but if this is so, how can any one be sure that he has such thoughts? A thought which cannot be expressed or recalled to the mind, or be in any way fixed in a definite shape, is not a thought at all, but only a state of feeling; and though it is impossible to imagine a state of feeling which cannot be named, there is no state of feeling which can be adequately described. This is shown by all attempts to do so.

A lady once described to a friend her feelings on having a strong double tooth pulled out, by saying that she felt as if her head was coming off. The friend asked what it felt like to have your head come off. Pain, pleasure, hope, fear, in all their innumerable varieties, are words with which we cannot dispense, but which tell us very little. How much do we learn by being told that a rose smells sweet, or that flowers in a bedroom are often oppressive? The noblest piece of music ever written conveys no definite meaning whatever, nothing which can be called thought, because it is not sufficiently definite. It is sometimes said of a first-rate player on the violin that he can make it speak. The phrase indicates in its exaggeration the impassable limit between language or thought and mere sound, however expressive. Every one knows what is meant by the speaking of a musical instrument, but no two persons, asked what it said, would give the same answer. The beginning of 'The heavens are telling' is identical, or nearly identical, with that of 'The Lass of Richmond Hill.' Do the notes say, 'The heavens are telling the glory of God,' or, 'On Richmond Hill there lives a lass, more fair than Mayday morn'? The truth is that a thought which cannot be put into words is not thought at all; it is only an attempt to think. A word which does not call up a thought is not a word but a mere noise.

The practical consequences of admitting this doctrine are the subject of the whole of Mr. Max Müller's book, and I believe he is the first person who has ever recognised them, or set them forth in

an intelligible form. In his examination of the views of different philosophers who have treated of it, and after quoting Humboldt, Schelling, and Hegel, he says, 'None of them seems to have had a suspicion how, if these words be true, all that we call philosophy will have to be put on a new footing.'¹⁰

I do not think that any one who carefully reads the *Science of Thought* will be able to deny this, though there are many particular parts of the contents of the book which are open to great question, and many others in which Mr. Max Müller's assertions can be tested by only an infinitesimal number of persons.

The principal and the strongest point in his case seems to me to be that, whatever may be said of thought, language is, at all events, a definite, permanent thing, which can be studied and discussed according to fixed rules. A very large part of what is commonly called philosophy consists of statements which it is impossible to test, and which it is often impossible to understand at all, or at least without an amount of labour probably disproportionate to the advantage to be derived from it. Both of these defects arise from the notion that indistinct feelings in the philosopher's own mind are thoughts, and that the task before him is that of devising language fitted to express them. The result frequently is the invention of a whole mass of new words and new names, or the use of old ones in question-begging senses which greatly puzzle both writers and readers, and often have no distinct meaning whatever.

If the identity of thought and language were fully understood, it would have a stronger tendency than anything else to the encouragement of plainness and simplicity in speculation, especially upon subjects which have been under discussion for thousands of years.

It would be still more useful in marking the limits of such discussion. The whole tone of them would be changed, if it were generally understood that they are discussions about words, and that they can be conducted to advantage only by definitions of the fundamental terms contained in them. They might thus in most cases be brought to an end in a reasonable time. Suppose, for instance, the subject of discussion is free will. How much more likely it is that it will be brought to some conclusion if the meaning of the two monosyllables 'free' and 'will' be considered as the meaning of any other word would be than if the disputants assume without any such examination that they know what they respectively admit and deny, and appeal on the one side to their own consciousness by assertions which no one can test, or to arguments about statistics and other matters the relevancy of which is continually denied, and is impossible to be proved on the other.

Suppose, again, that the history of all important words were to be made known; and that the degree to which they originally were, or

¹⁰ P. 45.

in the course of time came to be, metaphors were fully understood, what a flood of light would this throw upon all sorts of controversies! Fifty or perhaps even forty years ago Coleridge was a great name in English speculation. In all Carlyle's writings there is no more striking description than that which depicts him as sitting in the character of a giver of oracles at Highgate, entreating mankind to prepare themselves for his work on the *Logos* (which never was written) by grasping the fundamental and all-important distinction between the Reason and the Understanding, which, says Carlyle, you could never understand. How much trouble it would have saved to him and to others to learn that Reason and Understanding are only two metaphors which describe mental operations respectively as 'counting,' and resisting or standing up against external facts until you can conceive their relations and connections. So that the distinction is as important as one by which I was puzzled as a boy, the distinction namely between the Tully who was so much admired in the last century and the Cicero to whom my admiration was directed on similar grounds in the present.

This, however, is a matter to which I shall return in a later part of this article.

3. Mr. Max Müller's third proposition is that which gives what I have called the anatomy of thought and language.

There are, he says, four stages in it: sensation, perception, conception, naming. Practically they are inseparable and simultaneous. But they can be conceived of and named separately. I have already made one or two observations on this subject, in considering what I have remembered as his first proposition. I may add to what I have already said, that the proposition to be correct must be confined to human beings. Mr. Max Müller would, I think, admit himself and even insist that animals possess both sensation and perception, which, as he says, imply some power of generalisation. The evidence to each man that animals feel and perceive is, if we except the evidence given by language, precisely the same as the evidence that other men besides himself feel and perceive. That perception is not distinguishable except in name and theoretically from conception seems equally plain. In perceiving a tree or any other natural object, we combine into one an immense number of things which might be separately named and thought of, and what is this but an early stage of conception? The same thing might be said of the perception of a leaf or a grain of dust. It thus seems impossible to separate, and therefore not expedient to distinguish, the two processes. The power of naming seems to be the point at which a plain recognisable difference between men and animals comes in. For this reason I should prefer for Mr. Max Müller's percept and concept to use the word 'idea.' It is noticeable that he has very little occasion to speak of percepts in the course of

his book. Indeed, there is nothing to say of percepts, as he calls them, except that they mark an ideal step in the history of a name.

4. What I have stated as the fourth proposition, namely, that the formation of conceptions is due not merely to our senses but to certain conditions stated by Kant as those under which we think, appears hardly necessary to the main course of his argument, though it is necessary to what he says of Darwin, and though it is easy to understand the satisfaction which Mr. Max Müller feels in connecting himself so emphatically with Kant and his views. To expect him to abstain from doing so would be to show ignorance of the almost invincible attractions which the discussions lying at the basis of all philosophy exercise over all who have ever taken part in them, and are specially likely to exercise over one who celebrated Kant's centenary by publishing an English translation of Kant's greatest work in a form as little difficult to be understood as the nature of the case allows.

The impression left on my mind by a careful study of Mr. Max Müller's book is that, if he is right in his account of the part of Kant's philosophy with which he has to do, it makes no difference at all to the Science of Thought whether it is true or false, for the essence of it is only this, that without sensation thought is impossible, but that as soon as we use our senses we arrange our thoughts with reference to time and space and also with reference to certain lists or categories under one or more of which all our thoughts about our sensations may be arranged, and that neither time nor space nor any of these categories or lists can be referred to experience, because without them no experience would be possible.

That this is true as a general description of human thought and sensation no one disputes or ever did or could dispute, though of course the lists or categories may be differently named and numbered. Kant recognises twelve, Aristotle ten, Mill four, and Schopenhauer only one, but did any sane human being doubt that in all our thinkings time and place are always to be found more or less distinctly, or that our thoughts, if they are not to be chaotic, must be capable of some classification; that, for instance, it is one thing to think of the quantity of water in the sea (*πόσον*) and another to think of its quality as salt or fresh, green, blue, or transparent (*ποῖον*)?

I cannot believe that any sane person ever disputed this statement or any part of it, except the assertion that as time and space and the categories are formative of experience they cannot be derived from it. The answer to the question whether this is so or not depends upon the meaning of the word experience. Mr. Max Müller, like some other writers, sometimes writes as if he thought that a fact learnt by experience must be learnt by degrees. He argues, for instance, that as soon as we understand what is meant by the assertion that two straight lines cannot inclose a space we

assent to it at once and are not strengthened in our assent by any amount of specific evidence as to particular straight lines. It seems to me as reasonable to say that we do not learn by experience that a particular piece of paper is blue or red because after once looking at it carefully we are as sure of the fact as if we had it always under our eyes. He also leaves unnoticed facts from which many people infer that our conceptions of both space and time are acquired gradually. I think anyone accustomed to the proceedings of children will agree with me in saying that for a considerable time their movements show a complete unconsciousness of the nature of space. The young man born blind who was couched by Cheselden in the last century learned to see by very slow degrees. He said that 'all objects seemed to touch his eyes, as what he felt did his skin.' Moreover, 'he knew not the shape of anything, nor any one thing from another, however different in shape or magnitude.'¹¹ Many of a young child's proceedings give a similar impression. It is by moving about in different directions that it learns what space means.

To say that space is formative of or essential to these experiences appears to me to be true only in the sense in which every object is formative of and essential to our experience of it. Unless the particular piece of paper on which I am writing at this moment were before my eyes, I should have no experience at all of it, and it is essential to and formative of such experience as I have. Our experience of space is derived from seeing its contents, and noticing their positions in it and their distance from ourselves and each other, of which we are warned by slight differences of colour, the meaning of which it takes much experience and reflection to learn.

The truth, I think, is that the word 'experience' is something of a snare, and that it would be better to use instead of it, in reference to this matter, 'sensation' and 'inferences from sensation.' This would show how narrow and unimportant are the differences between (e.g.) Kant and Mill on these subjects. Kant, as interpreted by Mr. Max Müller, would strenuously contend that thought and language rest ultimately upon sensation, and Mill, I think, would have admitted that men are not mere passive recipients of impressions in sensation.

Those who say we get the idea of space from experience, and those who say that space is a form of sensuous intuition 'given' in sensation, both appear to me to mean that without sensation space could not be known, and that sensation makes it known.

To speak of anything as being 'given' in sensation instead of being learnt by experience seems to me to be what Mr. Max Müller would call mythology. That is to say, in order to explain sensation itself and to avoid the admission that the nature of space is perceived by the senses as much as colour, it resorts to a fabulous process of

¹¹ Quoted by Mill on Bailey; review of Berkeley's theory of vision. *Dissertations and Discussions*, ii. 110-12.

gift, a conception subsequent to that of property and transfer and wholly inapplicable to the origin of the process of perception. I can perceive no difference at all between the combined action of light, touch, taste, and smell, which makes us aware of an orange, and the combined action of light, touch, and what has been called the muscular sense, which makes us aware of space, nor have I ever been able to see what you add to the assertion that the geometrical amount of space is true by the assertion that its truths are necessary. A necessary truth has always appeared to me to be no more than a common truth encumbered with an unnecessary and almost unmeaning epithet. When it is said that food is necessary to life or an eye to sight I clearly understand what is meant, namely that if a man have no eyes he cannot see, and that if he has no food he cannot live. If all that is meant by a necessary truth is a truth the knowledge of which is necessary to other knowledge, I admit that the truths about space, time, and the categories are necessary truths; but this is not the sense in which the word is used by Mr. Max Müller. If I understand him aright he means by a necessary truth a truth of which the negation is inconceivable.¹²

This appears to me to be open to an objection which may be thrown into many forms and illustrated in many different ways, but which can be very shortly stated. It makes mankind judges not only of what is, but of what might have been, and thus appears to me to exaggerate the human powers. If we ascribe the origin of space to God, how can we possibly say what God could have done? If we do not see our way to ascribing it to anything or anybody, what more can we possibly say of it than that it is? The proposition 'Whatever is is' is useless. The proposition 'Whatever is' (except A, B, C, and D) might have been something else appears to me to be doubtful in the extreme, incapable of being proved, and highly objectionable because it affords to uncandid persons an opportunity to dispense with the proof that common and popular opinions are true by calling them 'necessary truths' which require no proof.¹³

There is one more of Mr. Max Müller's utterances about Kant

¹² 'Dr Whewell's real position was that an *à priori*, or better a necessary, truth is a proposition the negation of which is not only false but inconceivable' (p. 585). This position Mr. Max Müller appears to accept. He gives a more elaborate account of the matter (pp. 597-601) which is not so shortly summed up, but which appears to me to involve Dr. Whewell's principle.

¹³ The late Professor Clifford denied the absolute truth of geometry, with unquestionable sincerity, but on grounds which I do not pretend to explain. I think he held that space had a definite shape, such as not to admit of the existence of ideally straight lines. Whether he thought there was any place where space stopped, and how, if he did, he conceived of it, I do not pretend to know, but it is easy to imagine a limit beyond which there was no object capable of being perceived, no light, no electricity, no air. Between such a space and no space at all (for space is known to us only by its contents) I do not profess to distinguish, neither does Mr. Max Müller, though on grounds from which I think I differ (see pp. 614, 615).

on which I will say a word. Some expressions in the *Science of Thought* seem to show that in one cardinal point Mr. Max Müller differs from him, I think rightly. According to him, one great object of Kant's Critique is to solve the problem approached by Locke, Hume, and Berkeley, and, as he considered, not solved by them, of the nature of human knowledge, or, what was to him much the same, of 'reason, pure and simple.' With this solution, Mr. Max Müller professes himself to be perfectly satisfied, and yet he uses language which to me at least conveys the impression that he differs from it in an essential particular. Kant, he says, admitted 'that the raw material of our sensations and thoughts is given to us from without, not from within.'¹⁴ He maintained in consequence that our sensations must have a substantial cause which was from without, in the shape of 'substances of which our sensations are supposed to tell us the attributes.' In a word he held with what is sometimes called 'common sense,' against Berkeley, and in order to do so he appealed to what he called transcendental considerations, that is to say, considerations which, though made manifest by and in sensation, are independent of and antecedent to it. This view seems to me to involve the admission that a necessary truth may assert contradictory nonsense, for to assert that sensation is the foundation of all thought, and that our sensations necessitate us to believe that they are caused by a 'thing,' of which they tell us absolutely nothing, seems to me contradictory, while the expressions 'substance' and the like appear to me either to be nonsense, sounds without meaning, or at least to be the names of things which do not exist invented in order to satisfy the imagination—in Mr. Max Müller's phrase, if they are not nonsense they are mere mythology.

I think that Mr. Max Müller ought to agree in this, for the following reason. He says (p. 133) that Kant was 'much more successful against Locke and Hume than against Berkeley.'

This must be a delicate way of saying that Kant was successful against Locke and Hume and not against Berkeley, for the sort of contest in which they were engaged is one in which there are no degrees in success and no medium between success and failure.

Again he says (p. 448), 'We cannot enter here on the question whether there is such a thing as a substance different from its attributes. Language does not take cognisance of these refinements, but follows the 'vulgus;' and after a reference to Berkeley he proceeds: 'Philosophically there is much to be said for this,' &c. This is a similar admission.

Again, his remarks on 'fundamental metaphor' (pp. 327, 495, &c.) do not exactly say, but distinctly suggest, that as we attribute unity to external objects by thinking of them more or less as living, so

we attribute substance to groups of sensations—I will call them percepts as a little peace-offering—merely for our own convenience.

In a word, I suspect Mr. Max Müller of being a Berkeleyan, like myself, on this particular matter.¹⁵

J. F. STEPHEN.

(To be concluded.)

¹⁵ The word 'substance' seems to me to have two meanings: (1) Anything regarded as independent of other things (and as capable of being touched). (2) The parts of anything which are important for the purpose for which it is used or applied as distinguished from what is 'immaterial' (a most expressive word), as when we speak of the 'substance' of a book or of an argument; so you might speak of a German mark as being substantially equal in value to an Englishshilling, because the difference in small sums is unimportant, being a fraction of a farthing, the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ grain of silver.

ONE DAY'S SPORT IN INDIA.

NOT in the feverish jungles of the Terai or the Central Provinces, not in the hot and steamy lowlands of Bengal, but on the grassy and undulating slopes of the Nilgiris, at an elevation of eight thousand feet in a climate where, if you toil all day and get nothing, you may yet say at nightfall, *Appone lucro*, 'I have lived to-day.' It is commonly believed, I think, that only in the hottest weather, in the hottest places in India, can you see a tiger and have a fair chance of making a bag including the royal animal and other heads of big game. In fact it is the case that almost everywhere the pursuit of big game and of health are incompatible, and that the one is generally obtained at the expense of the other. Hence I think a brief account of one day's sport in a locality where you can pursue both may not be without interest.

In the last days of 1887, or of any other year, there should be a bright warm sun all day and a mean temperature of 60° on the Nilgiri Hills, distant about forty miles from the western and 250 miles from the eastern coast, and accessible from both sides by rail to within forty-five miles of the place where I was shooting, at which an excellent bungalow awaits the traveller, in the charge of an ancient Hindulady; who, like Catullus,¹ bids you sup well, if you bring with you your salt, wine, and supper.

However, the climate is of that variable character dear to the Atlantic islander before he took to wintering at Cannes, and during the whole of my stay of one week rain fell at intervals, sun shone now and again, and thick clouds settled over grass and forest, and shrouded the heights where the ibex live in impenetrable gloom. You could only wait till the clouds rolled by, and as they did they disclosed bare hillside or thick forest and a gleam of wintry sun.

On the morning of one of the last days of the year I sent a shikari to carry my rifle, and another to carry my gun, a few miles on ahead, up a steep ascent whence on the other side grassy plains

¹ *Cœnabis bene, mi Fabulle, apud me*

*Si tecum attuleris bonam atque magnam
Cœnam.*

descend sometimes abruptly, and sometimes gradually, to the ordinary level of the hills, i.e. some seven thousand feet above the sea. I must pause to explain and to admire the Hindustani word *shikári*, which has no English equivalent. It means a hunter in the sense in which we use the word, in the sense in which our American cousins use it, in the sense in which a Red Indian is called a hunter, and in any other sense connected directly or indirectly with guns or horses, shooting or riding, or sport in any shape or form whatsoever. Ere long a cloud settled down upon the hillside, and I had to dismount and lead my pony, who took the opportunity to seize me by the shoulder and shake it as a dog does a rat. Strange horses in India are not to be trusted. I could not find the men with the guns. Driving rain soon wetted me through: I could not see my hand in front of me, and it was impossible not to think regretfully of a warm fire which in the morning the best of companions had blown into a blaze through the barrels of his gun, and at which he had toasted the bread for breakfast with the help of a special arrangement of forks made to screw into his cleaning rod. It is astonishing what a useful domestic utensil a gun can be turned into by a resourceful sportsman.

Little by little, as the lifting cloud allowed, I crept along the hillside, in some fear of the cliffs in front and in much more of the pony behind. At last a junction was effected with the rest of my party, and then all three cowered on the hillside, in thick cloud and occasional rain, for two hours by the clock. At last in despair a move was made to pastures new and situated lower down, where haply it might be finer, and on the way little brakes were passed where on previous days jungle fowl and woodcock had been bagged, and swamps which can be counted on to provide a snipe or two for the larder. The weather not improving, we sat down by the side of a deserted *mund*, or wicker oven-like house, in which the mysterious inhabitants of these hills make their dwelling-places, and there we proceeded to derive cold comfort from pieces of cold meat and draughts of cold water.

It was but little encouragement to see on the soft bare ground around the deserted dwelling the marks of two or more tigers, who had obviously been fighting or playing at our luncheon ground not many hours before. It will happen so often to everyone who goes out shooting to see the tracks of big beasts that he never sees in the flesh, that he grows to look upon them as rather matter of aggravation than promise of success. During another half-mile walk a hare was kicked up within a little covert, and then suddenly the cloud lifted, revealing a long silent valley down which flowed a river that fertilises fields upon fields of rice in the low country before it is lost in the distant Bay of Bengal.

In every fold of the valley nestle compact and self-contained

little evergreen woods, locally called sholas, among the characteristic trees of which are the ilex and eugenia, the reddening shades of which recall at one stage the autumnal beauties of Dunkeld, at another the glories of the maple forests in the lovely woods around Kioto. The rhododendron, which abounds, does not recall the stunted shrub familiar to the Londoner. It is a big tree, and its gnarled and twisted trunk is generally covered with soft green moss, and from its branches hangs the light green moss called 'old man's beard,' from which descend sparkling drops of rain. There is no such thing as a solitary tree on the hill slopes, unless it be here and there a rhododendron blushing to find itself alone. The smallest woods range themselves into compact little fringes to the streams that run down to meet the inevitable river at the bottom of each valley, that flows down to meet the big river at the bottom of the hills.

It was now three o'clock, a time when samber—the deer called by the erudite *Rusa Aristotelis*—leave the cover of the sholas and come out on the surrounding grass-land. Straight below us, at a distance of perhaps half a mile, amidst all these beauties of nature, the biggest stag that ever was seen was peacefully grazing. Under cover of the cloud we had unconsciously come straight above him, and the problem now was to get down in the open sunlight without being seen. It is not only classical heroes, however, who have been saved by the sudden intervention of a cloud such as now drifted slowly up and enveloped everything. One of my two companions and myself let ourselves down along the face of the rock and through the long grass, a recurring shower bath at every step, to a point a hundred feet or so below the place where the stag had been sighted, and then proceeded to crawl stealthily along the edge of the shola, which is as sharply defined, it must be remembered, as a box hedge in an English garden. It was exciting work, for no one could tell at what minute we might chance upon the stag; and just as I was thinking of this the largest head I ever saw loomed larger than ever in front of my face. Two white tips a prodigious distance apart, a loud bell, a whisk, and a crash, and the stag was off in the friendly shola before you could get your rifle to your shoulder or had fully realised that he was there.

Disappointedly we climbed back, and then the clouds lifted for the last time, and from four o'clock till nightfall bright sunshine illuminated the silent valleys and all but the tops of the hills. In front of us in the uplands we spied a young stag, and stalked him, wasting a long shot, and then sat down on a rock which formed a most convenient point of vantage, and scanned the surrounding country with the glass. I saw nothing, but the shikari's keen eye made out a jungle sheep, or barking deer, at a distance from a quarter to half a mile below us. Everything is below or above here. There

is no level ground. I turned the glasses in the direction given, and saw what looked at first, I must say it, however absurd, like an enormous bird with his legs well under him and his wings half folded. On a longer inspection the bird looked more and more like an enormous owl. As it could not be an owl, what could it be? The sun, shining brighter and brighter, revealed marks on its back which suggested a panther, but when these marks looked long and black the thing actually developed into a tiger. Remember I was sitting straight above it; it was so foreshortened that the relations between fore legs and hind legs were confounded, and hind legs looked very much like wings. Besides, who ever expected to see a tiger sitting out on an open plot of grass warming himself in the sun? The problem again was how to get near him. There was some very difficult ground to get over; all down the hill were rocks and tussocks of coarse grass and thorny bushes. There was cover, however, and my shikari and I in a state of feverish excitement made a prodigious detour, a mile to the left of the tiger, to the edge of the opposite side of the shola a long way beneath, and then climbed slowly and silently up the long side of the shola till we reached the corner on the other side of which we had seen him. This was the time to cock the rifle and prepare for battle; but, alas! on rounding the corner there was no necessity for either; the grass plot was as bare as a London back garden.

However exciting to experience, there is a sameness about the narration of such events. Suffice it to say that as with the biggest stag that ever was seen so with the only tiger that ever looked like a colossal owl; the result was disappointment and a long climb back to the point of departure. The other shikari, who had stayed behind, had, from the top of the hill, seen the tiger go into the shola, and had been a probably complacent witness of our fruitless labours.

All these descents and ascents had taken much time, and there was hardly enough daylight left for a walk of six very bad miles back to the bungalow when, at half-past five, we turned our faces homewards, leaving on the left a forest which clothed the whole of one precipitous side of the valley, and in the centre of which was situated an ideal waterfall which tumbled in and out of the trees and splashed and frothed and roared in the sunlight till it joined the hidden stream below. As we tramped along the opposite hillside, we put up a pheasant, but met no other living thing except some brother sportsmen, owls and hawks, like ourselves in search of prey, and probably more successful. It is quite dark at seven in these lonely valleys, and it was half-past six when we were climbing the last ascent preparatory to dropping down a few hundred almost perpendicular feet to the bungalow. The sun was sinking, and could not penetrate the cloud which enveloped the top of the hill. We walked along quietly, with those mixed feelings which a day induces when game is seen but not bagged, and the excitement of stalking is

uncrowned with the glory of a kill. I say mixed feelings, for I suppose that in shooting, as in love-making, it is better to have seen and lost than never to have seen at all. I thought regretfully of the biggest stag that ever was seen, and reproachfully of the impatient tiger, who, doubtless disgusted by doubts as to his identity, declined to wait till a view within rifle-shot should settle the point. A stray sambur might at any minute be seen grazing; so I had my rifle, a .450 express, loaded, and a few spare cartridges in my pocket; and my shikari behind me had a couple of ball cartridges in his muzzle-loader, which had been put there for the benefit of the above-mentioned tiger. I was the first to top the brow of the hill, from which grass land slopes with a gentle descent to a burn fringed with rhododendrons, beyond which was a tiny lawn flanked by a thick shola.

The cloud still lingered on the top of the hill; there was no trace of the departing sun, and the burn, the rhododendrons, the lawn, and the shola were invisible. You could only see about gunshot distance, and the foreground was occupied by—tigers. The sight that met my eyes as I topped the crest of the hill was this: three full-grown tigers in a cloud—you could see nothing else.

The cloud, which deprived them of a background, added to their apparent size, and on this occasion there was nothing of the owl about them. On reflection I think the first impression produced by tigers met in this way is that it is very fortunate to have met them, and that it *might* be as well to leave them alone. However, there was only one thing to be done, whatever one might think; and the instant I saw them I took aim and fired at the one which presented a broadside, and a discharge behind me showed that the occasion was not one for etiquette, and that my shikari had followed suit with one barrel. The smoke hung like a thick cloud in front of us; the spring of the pin of my rifle was broken, and in loading I could not close the breech before pushing it back with my finger. Looking up, I saw one of the tigers had moved upwards in our direction. He was not charging; the impression he produced on my mind was that of a person annoyed at an interruption and not certain whence it had proceeded. Of course it was only a glimpse. As I closed the breech of my rifle the shikari from behind fired at the approaching tiger and turned him. At the same moment the cloud lifted, the smoke of rifle and gun cleared away, the burn, the rhododendrons, the little lawn and the shola, all was clear as day, as was the form of one tigress, now across the brook, whose yellow coat streaked with black showed up plainly through the trees as she painfully dragged behind her two broken legs towards a point where the burn took off from the bottom of the shola. Before she reached that tree she had received four more express bullets, fired from close quarters, and underneath the tree she lay down and after a few groans died. The

tigers, with the mist, had disappeared, but one of them was found dead of his wounds a week later hardly a hundred yards from where we met him.

I measured the dead one with my scarf. She was a scarf and half long from the tip of her nose to the tip of her tail, that is to say seven and a half feet, not by any means a big tiger; but then to have met her in that way just at the end of a blank day, to find oneself in a cloud with three tigers and to kill even one, was immensely, unspeakably satisfactory. So thought the two natives, who, like myself, had never dreamt of getting a tiger, and I think had never seen one before. When the big cat was well dead they boxed her ears, bowed to her, and talked to her with endearing and ironical expressions. We were bound to skin her at once, for the jackals would have eaten her before morning. One of the hind legs was completely shattered by the first express bullet, and inside her were lots of little bits of the express bullets.

They cut out her liver; they judged her by reason of its five lobes to be a tigress of five years; they cut some fat from her belly to eat, which gives courage. As they skinned her one would say to the other, 'I hope she won't run away,' 'How are you, younger sister? you won't kill any more cattle.' At last we got her head and skin tied up in a coat and cloth and belt, and carried them home. And here ends this brief account of one day's sport in India.

I should like to violate the unities and include in this day a stag—not, alas! the biggest that ever was seen—killed on the morrow. I should like to tell how, in search of ibex, I met him in the open, shot him in the neck, and tracked him down the long shola by his blood, and found him at last prostrate by the burn-side. These and other pleasures may those expect who shoot upon these lovely mountains. Health, scenery, and *some* sport they may count upon, but few can hope as I did in one day to meet one tiger in the open and to chance upon three others in a cloud.

J. D. REES.

CENTURY FOR CENTURY.

STARTED in 1830 by M. Buloz, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has maintained an undisputed supremacy in French periodical literature. The *Revue* has always extended its hospitality to unknown authors with a generosity tempered by discrimination. Alfred de Musset's masterpiece in comedy, *The Caprice*, was not admitted to the Théâtre Français until ten years after its publication, though all his poems had found a place in the *Revue*. But whilst rising luminaries gain admission to the sanctuary of M. Buloz, as the ante-chamber to the Academy, the great writers of the day deem it an honour to be among his contributors. Thus in every number are found such names as those of M. Taine, the Duc de Broglie, M. Maxime Ducamp, the Comte de Paris, M. Octave Feuillet, M. Renan, M. François Coppée, and M. Cherbuliez. Naturally, the articles of the *Revue* deal principally with French topics. Our own magazines, which largely exceed in number those of France, rarely devote their space to subjects of a foreign nature. It is therefore a source of satisfaction when the well-known salmon-coloured cover of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* contains the title of an article on English history, politics, or letters. In recent years Queen Elizabeth, Shakespeare, Hogarth, Carlyle, Darwin, and the fiction of George Eliot and Ouida, to quote at haphazard, have been treated of in its pages. A writer of repute, M. Augustin Filon, sometime tutor to the Prince Imperial, has made English worthies the subject of various papers. Having devoted his attention to Lord Tennyson and Hogarth in articles deserving of commendation, he has more recently criticised the works of our two leading contemporary historians. Valued as are the achievements of Mr. Froude and Mr. Lecky, and great as is their importance in our eyes, it is still an agreeable surprise that a writer who has so ample a mass of material for his investigations nearer home should occupy himself with the analysis of these comprehensive narratives of the progress of England and her institutions. I purpose dealing only with M. Filon's essay on Mr. Lecky which appeared in the *Revue* for the 1st of March of this year, and it is to be regretted that when we turn from its matter to its manner M. Filon should fail to display that impartiality which characterised his former articles. We should not

accuse M. Filon of writing for those readers who believe in the stage Englishman with red whiskers and suit of glaring check, nor of sympathising with those politicians who profess to believe that England's chief characteristic is her perfidy. In estimating Mr. Lecky's position as an historian, M. Filon shows a scholarly appreciation of his merits. But he indulges in reflections on the eighteenth century of England which ignore facts of historical and intellectual importance, and engender a suspicion that he is not wholly above appealing to Gallic prejudices. Having paid a tribute to Mr. Lecky's work, M. Filon observes :—

The causes are easily explained which always lead us Frenchmen back to the analytical and impassioned study of our eighteenth century. Our eighteenth century interests us like a well-conceived drama ; it is a piece according to the taste of our time, a high comedy which develops into a tragedy. For many persons, too—and I confess to being one of them—this magic century has another great charm. It is, in the history of our social life, a delightful hour which will not be repeated ; it is the culminating point of our language and of our race, the time when France was most French. Above all, it has the supreme merit of having prepared the present century. . . . But where in the English eighteenth century are we to look for its unity, its importance, its attraction ? Where are we to find the salient feature which marks the century ?

Were I a Frenchman, it would seem to me that the seventeenth century would appeal more to my national pride than the eighteenth. France is apt to style the seventeenth century the *siècle* of Louis the Fourteenth, but we must remember that Louis the Fourteenth only ascended the throne in 1643, and he was then but five years old. The earlier part of the seventeenth century is dominated by the figure of Richelieu, the founder, for good or evil, of autocratic sovereignty in France ; the destroyer of the feudal system and power of the nobility ; the originator of the French Academy of Letters ; the minister who brought Canada and the West Indies under the sceptre of France. The one administration of Cardinal Richelieu did as much to enhance the power of France as those of the three Cardinal ministers of the eighteenth century, Dubois, Fleury, and Bernis, combined to lower it. Paris may owe to Louis the Fifteenth the *École Militaire*, the *Panthéon*, and the *Place de la Concorde* ; but the French eighteenth century did not produce a Colbert, who gave a fresh impetus to trade and manufactures ; furrowed the face of the country with high roads and canals ; established the academies of science, architecture, and inscriptions ; paved and lit Paris ; re-established order and averted bankruptcy and famine, and who certainly was not equalled by such ministers as Maurepas, St. Florentin, Maupeou, D'Aiguillon, and even Choiseul, the men who guided the fortunes, or rather invited the misfortunes, of France during the reign of Louis the Fifteenth.

Can the marshals of Louis the Fifteenth compare their laurels

with those of the marshals of Louis the Fourteenth? The most successful of the French military commanders of the eighteenth century was Marshal Saxe, who won the battle of Fontenoy from the English, and that of Raucoux from the Imperialists. But Marshal Saxe was a German, and among the regiments he led at Fontenoy was a strong Irish contingent. Are the ephemeral successes of Marshal Richelieu, his conquest of Port Mahon, or his Hanoverian campaign, to be classed with the victories of Turenne and Villars? Is the Prince de Condé of Louis the Fifteenth, the future leader of the Emigration, as illustrious as his ancestor the great Condé, the hero of Rocroy and Nordlingen? Finally, will the personal bravery of the Prince de Soubise redeem the rout of his army by Frederick the Great at Rossbach? It is not my intention to be the apologist of Louis the Fourteenth. His egotism; his successful policy of centralising the power of the State in his own person; his destruction of the independent existence of the nobility, producing absenteeism and transforming high-spirited chieftains into abject courtiers; his bigotry, resulting in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; his recognition of James the Second after the Revolution of 1688, which led to Malplaquet, Oudenarde, and Blenheim; his reckless expenditure, instanced by his outlay on the Château of Versailles, which Mirabeau estimated at fifteen million pounds, but which has since been shown by the accounts of the architect, Mansart, to have reached the handsome figure of six millions; his entire disregard of all conjugal propriety in establishing his favourites under the same roof as the queen and legitimising their children; in all these respects he was equalled, if not surpassed, by his successor. In fine Louis the Fourteenth initiated a royal road to bankruptcy, corruption, immorality, and national decay, which had its issue in the reaction of 1789, and renders him in the seventeenth century as responsible as the eighteenth for the downfall of the monarchy. But the seventeenth century of France has a grandeur which the eighteenth lacks—which is exemplified in the minutest details. Louis the Fifteenth is credited with the epigram, ‘After me the deluge.’ When, after the battle of Ramillies, Marshal Villeroi appeared crestfallen at Versailles, Louis the Fourteenth received him with the words: ‘At our age, Marshal, fortune no longer smiles on us.’ The seventeenth century had its many dark and gloomy pages, but was a century of boundless activity. It saw the conquering arms of France cross the Pyrenees and the Rhine. In literature it was the period in which the French language was moulded into the shape which the eighteenth century turned to such excellent account. Louis the Fourteenth extended his enlightened protection to Molière, who was hated by the clergy and the nobility because of his satires. If the king did not ask the poet-actor to his table, as tradition would make us believe, he invited him to eat from his *en tout cas*, the tray which was always at

hand containing delicacies for the royal palate. When Voltaire was presented to Louis the Fifteenth, the king turned his back upon the greatest writer of the day. Louis the Fourteenth was distinguished by ceaseless energy; Louis the Fifteenth, the incarnation of boredom, was the thorough representative of a time when *ennui* was the affliction of society and wit was prized above the qualities of the heart—as typified in D'Argenson's sorrowful exclamation, 'My son's heart is stupid.'

M. Filon speaks of the want of unity in the English eighteenth century, and, in order to prove that it lacks importance, attraction, and salient features, he asks: 'The victories of Marlborough? But their consequences were partly annulled by the battle of Denain.' Is he correct in stating this? Undeniably the battle of Denain, in which Marlborough took no part, saved France from annihilation. But the concessions France gained in the Treaty of Utrecht were the outcome not of the victory of Denain, but of the state of party feeling in England. Bolingbroke, who was responsible for the treaty, has been condemned for criminal ambition in consenting to a peace at any price in order to retain the emoluments of office. M. Filon says: 'The foundation of the Indian Empire? A mere accident, the personal work of two men of genius, Clive and Warren Hastings.' M. Filon disposes himself of his argument. Without men of genius no empire can be founded, and the simple fact that Clive and Warren Hastings were Englishmen of the eighteenth century is sufficient to illustrate the genius of the English eighteenth century. Furthermore, may not the question be asked why two Frenchmen of genius, Lally Tollendal and Dupleix, failed where Clive and Hastings succeeded? Because they were not supported by the national sentiment and resources. How is it that the former was condemned to an ignominious and unmerited death, and the latter allowed to perish in a garret? Because an ungrateful sovereign and a careless people allowed them to be sacrificed to the jealousy of their enemies. 'The extension of the American Colonies?' goes on M. Filon. 'But almost immediately these colonies went to pieces, the best part of them was irrevocably lost to the mother country.' But M. Filon leaves out of consideration the hand which the English nation had in founding these colonies, the advantage they subsequently afforded for emigration, and the influence Great Britain and the United States—one in blood, creed, and language—have acquired over the face of the globe. M. Filon continues: 'Will it be said that it is literature or art which gives the English eighteenth century its originality? Art, when Hogarth reproduces, with heavy and graceless brush, the outlines of reality, and presents with cruel exactitude the most vulgar scenes of life.' It is difficult to reconcile this view with M. Filon's former impression of Hogarth, that his 'fame has survived for 120 years, that he initiated the triumphs of the modern realistic

school, and that, whilst many a genius has been unproductive, the cuttings of Hogarth filled every nursery of art.' In days when public opinion had not the facilities and means of expression which it has in our own, Hogarth's presentments of fashionable vices brought them into prominence and consequent discredit. 'Or with Reynolds?' M. Filon asks. 'He composes with mysterious recipes and puts into small labelled bottles the complexion of all the pretty women of England.' The meaning of this sentence is almost as mysterious as Sir Joshua's recipes. If M. Filon had crossed the Channel during the winter months of these last eighteen years, and visited the exhibitions at the Royal Academy, and of late at the Grosvenor Gallery, he would have carried away a clearer conception of the countless beauties and great men whose varied lineaments not only Reynolds, but Gainsborough and Romney, have preserved.

With regard to literature, M. Filon states that 'it is altogether borrowed and reflected.' On reading such a sentence we might be tempted to ask whether he has studied Mr. Lecky's history attentively, or in fact any history of the literature of the eighteenth century. We may grant that the writings of Bolingbroke, who is generally recognised as a master of the English language, had been influenced by his long sojourn in France, and to a certain extent repeat with Voltaire that his books, though filled with leaves, bore no fruit. But we may remind M. Filon of the fact that Voltaire, during the composition of the *Henriade*, took his manuscript to Bolingbroke, and asked him for corrections and suggestions, which he gladly adopted. Moreover, were not Voltaire himself, Montesquieu, and many of the other leading French writers indebted for their leading doctrines to Locke and the English deists? Has M. Filon never heard of the *Rape of the Lock* or the *Essay on Man*? If Addison's *Cato* and *Campaign* are beneath his notice, could he really assert that the inimitable figure of Sir Roger de Coverley is borrowed or reflected? Again, we may concede that Sir Horace Walpole acquired the piquancy of his epistolary style from his long residence in Paris; but is Gibbon's history a 'borrowed and reflected' work? Of Dr. Johnson, M. Filon says that he was 'an old pedant, and half mad, though dictator of English letters.' Of late a controversy has been going on in this country whether Dr. Johnson's works are still read; but no one has denied that his *Dictionary* is a standard work, and that his table talk, over his innumerable cups of tea and his ferocious and ugly appetite, remodelled the whole style of English conversation, and imparted to it a hitherto unknown brilliancy and elegance. M. Filon condescends to remark that he finds an original accent in Defoe and Richardson behind their counters, and in the poems of the peasant Burns, 'who composes sublime songs written to the step of his oxen.' But of Gray's *Elegy*, which Wolfe declared he would rather have written than have taken Quebec, M. Filon

says nothing. He dismisses all the other authors of the English eighteenth century with the general observation, 'The rest are not worth the honour of being mentioned.' Poor Oliver Goldsmith was too homely a genius to deserve this honour. Certainly the idyllic scenes of the *Vicar of Wakefield* may appear tame beside the Abbé Prévost's spicy apotheosis of Manon Lescaut, whilst the adventures of Tom Jones and Sophia may be too coarse for the admirers of the erotic tales of Crébillon *films*. He goes on to say: 'Shall we seek in the eighteenth century of England that refinement, that flower of worldly civilisation, which expands in our French *salons* of the day? If we look at the princes . . . there have been more infamous ones, but none more vulgar, than the first two Hanoverian kings.' He then proceeds to review the lives of the first two Georges, in words which are exaggerated from the pages of Thackeray. Whatever the shortcomings of the first two Georges may have been as individuals, it seems as if they might not unworthily bear comparison with Louis the Fifteenth, *le bien-aimé*. At any rate, George the Second won his spurs on the field of battle, and fought like a soldier at Dettingen. Rapacious as were the favourites of George the First and George the Second, the wealth of England was not exhausted in satisfying their profligate demands. The king had a civil list and a fixed income which he was able to dispose of as he chose; and George the Second is known for his economical disposition. Whereas the whole revenue of France, wrung from an oppressed peasantry, went towards purchasing the twenty-four residences of Madame de Pompadour, the sale of whose effects after her death occupied a year, and furnishing the cabinets of Madame du Barry, of which we are told that every lock and every window-fastening was a work of art. Contrast the simplicity of St. James's Palace, Kensington, Kew, and even Windsor Castle, with the lavishness, not of Versailles only, but of Fontainebleau, Marly, Choisy, Rambouillet, and other palaces which were swept away in 1793. Each royal removal entailed a fabulous outlay; each residence had its special and costly costume; every royal birth or wedding served as a pretext for festivities, which, as neither nobility nor clergy were taxed, were paid for by the people. At the marriage of the king's daughter, the future Duchess of Parma, the expenditure on public entertainments amounted to 32,000*l.*, the item for the dresses of the gentlemen-in-waiting and equeries alone being upwards of 2,000*l.* Marie-Antoinette spent on the Petit Trianon during the fifteen years of its existence the sum of two million francs. However much we may suffer from the increase in the National Debt, owing to the war policy of the younger Pitt, at least it saved and strengthened the empire; whereas the expenditure of Louis the Fifteenth, which was imitated by a servile nobility, ruined the country, and hastened and aggravated the Revolution. M. Filon says that George the First mortally hated his son George the Second, who

transmitted the hatred to his son Frederick Prince of Wales. Was there so much domestic affection to be found at Versailles? The Dauphin's piety was ridiculed by his father, and the contempt which the king showed for him is said to have shortened his life. M. Filon quotes Thackeray's words that in the English Court 'there was neither dignity, morality, nor wit.' But was there so much dignity at the court of France? Madame de Pompadour was the daughter of a clerk who was condemned to be hanged for embezzlement. His sentence was commuted to exile, and when he returned he was made a marquis. The connection of Louis the Fifteenth with Madame du Barry was one long episode of want of dignity. To accustom the king to the dismissal of the minister he liked—the Duc de Choiseul—we read that Madame du Barry sat on the king's knee, tossing oranges into the air, and exclaimed, 'Saute Choiseul, saute Praslin.' To induce the king to dismiss his parliament, she pointed repeatedly to the portrait of Charles the First by Vandyke, which is now in the Louvre, and, calling the king 'La France,' exclaimed, 'Your parliament, too, will cut off your head.' Did the king display much dignity in the following incident? One of his courtiers died suddenly in his presence while the royal party were playing at billiards, and his wig fell off. The next morning he asked, 'Did you hear how — parted with his wig?' Or was the French court rendered dignified by the king devoting his time to practising the art of embroidery and the preparation of truffled dishes? As to morality, surely M. Filon could not wish us to draw a parallel? When we come to wit, however, we confess that we must strike our colours. The palm undeniably belongs to France.

In his further indictment of the English eighteenth century, through which it would be tedious to follow M. Filon step by step, he devotes several pages to the Revolution of 1688, to the internal policy of England during the reign of William the Third, Queen Anne, and the first Georges. A glance into Mr. Lecky's conscientious and picturesque narrative will give the reader cause to regret that a critic of M. Filon's authority should present so misleading a picture of the time of which he writes. The Revolution of 1688, he says, 'arose ostensibly through hatred of the Roman Catholic religion, but really through hatred of France.' Superficially this is correct. Dislike of the foreigner and of foreign influence has always been one of the strongest motives of all great national movements. That sentiment is not confined to the British race. Has France or any other country ever been so partial to foreign influence? Was it not that sentiment which enabled the tattered legions of the Republic to beat back the German armies? and in more recent times have we not seen the unity of Italy accomplished chiefly through the hatred of foreign dominion and influence? Unquestionably, shortly before her death, Queen Anne's sympathies were strongly in favour of a restoration of the Stuarts; and

if the queen's life had been prolonged, the order of succession might have been changed. The country naturally preferred the heir of an ancient and native line of kings to an unsympathetic, and to them unknown, prince. As late as the Rebellion of 1745 the feelings of the people were so divided that old Horace Walpole wrote: 'I apprehend that the people may perhaps look on and cry, "Fight dog! fight bear!" if they do no worse.' But there can be no doubt that the accession of the House of Hanover and its firm hold on the throne were due to the national dislike of Roman Catholicism. If the Old Pretender had renounced his creed, and had been willing to adopt that of his sister Queen Anne, the course of history might have been altered. But we must abide by facts, and the bigoted intolerance of the Stuart monarchs was too fresh in the recollection of the people to render any Catholic sovereign acceptable. How superficial in reality was the devotion of the nation to the Stuarts, the failure of the Old Pretender's expedition in 1715 and the rapid collapse of the rebellion of 1745 proved. The intense craving of a considerable portion of the people for an even more ascetic Protestantism found its expression in the revival of 1750, to the mention of which M. Filon allows only two lines. M. Filon's account of the statesmen of the eighteenth century is remarkable for its omissions. He makes no mention of Godolphin, Somers, Bolingbroke, Harley, or Pulteney. Sir Robert Walpole's long administration he ignores altogether, and is satisfied with stating that 'he reconciled the Hanoverian dynasty with the provincial gentry, because being issued from them he knew their feelings, practised their habits, and spoke their language; he reconciled the Church with the Government because during twenty years he filled it with rationalist bishops, or, to speak the language of the day, latitudinarians.' Of William Pitt, the statesman who at twenty-three was appointed Prime Minister, remained at the head of the Government seventeen years, and in times of unequalled difficulty and during struggles of vital importance, M. Filon sums up a long and acrimonious criticism by saying that he was 'more like an old maid than an old bachelor,' 'that many traits of manliness were missing in his nature,' though he condescends to state of him that 'he was otherwise strong, audacious, and resolute.' In enlarging on Edmund Burke's words, M. Filon calls Pitt 'a mediocrity, and devoid of a single great idea.' Pitt's father, 'the great commoner,' M. Filon rapidly dismisses with the remark that he was 'imposed on the choice of the king by an explosion of public feeling, and that he exercised his authority only too well.' M. Filon does not like to dwell on the Treaty of Paris of 1763.

The limits of this article would prevent me from entering into a survey of the great political and military achievements of the English eighteenth century, but an emphatic answer must be given to M. Filon's constantly repeated question, 'Where is the interest, where is the greatness, of the English eighteenth century?' The English

eighteenth century saw the consolidation of the results of the Revolution of 1688. That Revolution, of which M. Filon presents so original a view, saw the establishment of liberty of speech, and the birth and growth of modern parliamentary government which superseded the autocratic rule of an intolerant monarchy. It cannot be sufficiently borne in mind that England at that time and for many a year to come was the only country in Europe where popular representation existed on a free and sound basis, where the prerogative was kept in abeyance, and where liberty of discussion was permitted. The country may have suffered from parliamentary corruption and bribery and inadequate representation; but it witnessed the liberty of the press and the publication of parliamentary proceedings, which has led to the complete control of the Legislature by public opinion. John Wilkes—of whom Mr. Gladstone in one of his speeches said that, whether we choose it or not, he must be enrolled among the great champions of English freedom, and who, whether directly or indirectly, bore so large a share in assisting the free representation of the nation—M. Filon ignores as a nonentity. The English eighteenth century inaugurated an era of discovery and science, and a development of trade and civilisation, the full results of which we have not yet fathomed. If it saw the loss of the American Colonies, it saw also the expansion of the British race over the globe. But the great and important achievement of the English eighteenth century was that, whereas the influence of France promised to become paramount in the East Indies and in North America, the Treaty of Paris of 1763 transferred that influence to the British Empire. By that treaty England obtained the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia, and secured her supremacy in the Indian peninsula. Nations and centuries are not free from those defects which are the unfortunate heritage of individual members of the community, and the history of the English eighteenth century was marked by some deplorable events; but the eighteenth century ended in internal peace and prosperity for England, whilst for France it ended on the scaffolds of the Republic, in bankruptcy and internal dissension.

In contrasting the eighteenth century of England with that of France, it is not my intention to appear to undervalue the latter. When M. Filon remarks that 'it is a magical century,' he can meet with no denial. It is too, as he observes, 'an æsthetic century, and, so far as its social life is concerned, it exercises upon us an irresistible attraction.' He might have added that it was endowed with the girdle of Venus. To Talleyrand's remark that he who did not live before 1789 could not know the full charms, we can give an unqualified assent as far as the life of the upper classes is concerned. The many memoirs of the period introduce us to an exuberance of intellectual activity and social luxury, a perfection of form and manner, a courtliness and an elegance, which must ever appeal to our taste, our fancy, and our senses. Every nerve was strained, every responsibility dis-

carded, every principle forsaken, every duty abandoned, in the effort to idealise the forms of enjoyment. If we turn from the memoirs to the prints, they disclose pageants, the splendour of which the modern imagination can scarcely realise, or unveil mysteries of life which only the accompaniment of inimitable grace redeems from grossness.

Under Louis the Fourteenth society was still linked with that of the sixteenth century, and the rude and primitive conditions of those earlier days first began to give place to the pleasing conventionalities of later times under the influence of the Hôtel de Rambouillet; whereas under Louis the Fifteenth, dress, manners, conversation, all the thousand and one amenities of life, reached a pitch of perfection which has never been surpassed, because they were made the subject of profound study, and were the essentials of success.

One of the seductive attributes of society was that beauty in women and talent in men acted as an 'open sesame,' and, for the first time in modern history, levelled the distinctions of caste. Strange scenes sometimes occurred, revealing that a tinge of barbarism still survived to remind men of genius that their position was still inferior to that of the nobles with whom they mixed. Thus Voltaire, having cleverly retorted on the Chevalier de Rohan for some impertinence, received a thrashing the next day at the hands of the lacqueys of the Chevalier. Voltaire demanded satisfaction, but received a *lettre de cachet* which sent him to the Bastille.

However desirous we may be of doing justice to the eighteenth century, it is still impossible to absolve Louis the Fifteenth from the political and moral obloquy which is indelibly attached to his name. Some allowance must be made for the circumstances in which he was placed. It was his lot to occupy the throne at the time when the evils of the autocratic system reached their culminating point. What could be expected of a sovereign who, at the age of twelve, was taken by his governor, old Marshal Villeroi, to a window of the Tuileries within sight of the assembled people, and told, 'Look, sire, at all those people; they are yours. You are their master; look at them a little in order to please them;' then, having been married at fifteen to an unattractive woman older than himself, was subjected to the wiles of all the highest ladies in the land. But of his heartlessness, it is true, many proofs are extant. Count Durfort, a court official, contradicts the well-known story that, when the funeral of Madame de Pompadour left Versailles in a downpour of rain, the king exclaimed: 'The poor marquise will have bad weather for her journey,' and asserts that the king wept, and, on being rallied for his emotion, replied, 'It is the only tribute I can pay to the memory of the marquise.'

The influence of Madame de Pompadour was certainly deplorable. Politically she showed some discernment in inducing the king to fight the growing forces of Prussia, though she neutralised the

possible good effects of the counsel by giving the command of the army to the Prince de Soubise, for the war was disastrous and terminated in the Treaty of Paris. She deserves more recognition for her share in bringing about the institution of the *École Militaire*, as well as for her patronage of Voltaire and many of the great thinkers of the time, whom the king cordially detested. Old Crébillon, her former master, she relieved from misery and pensioned; no mean artist herself and a singer of unusual talent, she provided the painters, sculptors, and engravers with constant employment, and called the manufactory of Sèvres into existence.

Unsuccessful as were most of the French military commanders of the eighteenth century, the courage and gallantry of individual soldiers and officers were as conspicuous in those days as at any time before or since. The episode of the Chevalier d'Assas—to mention only one of the many heroic acts which were repeated on every battlefield—proves how capable the soldiers of Louis the Fifteenth were of acts of chivalrous self-sacrifice. The Chevalier d'Assas, in advance of his regiment, came suddenly on a party of the enemy. He was seized, and threatened with death if he gave the alarm; but, nothing daunted, he cried out to his comrades, paying the penalty with his life. The nobility of France, who must be counted not by hundreds, but by hundreds of thousands, were imbued with a love for king and country which enabled them to turn at a moment's notice from the supreme attraction of dancing in a royal ballet, or squandering their fortunes at the royal gaming-tables, to the hardships of campaigning.

One of the prominent features of the French eighteenth century was the efficiency and integrity of the magistracy. A member of that order was Turgot, who became what we may call Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1774, shortly after the accession of Louis the Sixteenth. Any one who takes an interest in the birth and progress of political economy might read with advantage a short biography of Turgot written by M. Léon Say, and one of a series of biographies which is being published in France in imitation of Mr. Morley's *English Men of Letters*. M. Léon Say, unlike his compatriot M. Filon, does not class Adam Smith and David Hume among the not-to-be-mentioned nonentities of the English eighteenth century; and, while he states that Adam Smith owes much to the economists of France and to Turgot, acknowledges that 'the philosophy of Turgot owes much to the Scottish school, to Hutchison, the master of Adam Smith, and to Adam Smith himself.' Between David Hume, the friend and patron of Rousseau, and Turgot, there was a long and interesting correspondence, from which the French minister could not but derive some profit, and some of those reflected impressions which M. Filon attributes to English thinkers. After a term of office of twenty months and three weeks Turgot had to resign, owing to the intrigues of an infuriated clergy and nobility, whose privileges he wished to

infringe, and chiefly to the influence of Marie-Antoinette, then still the frivolous princess of nineteen, whose extravagant demands on the exchequer the minister would not comply with. If Turgot, on the one hand, was one of the originators of the present system of political economy, he was also the first man of his day who had a settled and powerful policy for the re-establishment of the finances of his country, consisting in the abolition of the abuses and privileges of the nobility, clergy, magistracy, army, and guilds, and the enfranchisement of labour, trade, and industry, which were crippled by restrictions and monopolies; thus endeavouring to realise peacefully the reforms which the Revolution of 1789 accomplished with so much violence and suffering. How ineffectively he struggled with these abuses may be exemplified by one instance. In 1780 Marshal Ségur, the Minister for War, promulgated a law to the effect that none but nobles could rise to the rank of officers in the French army, a law which went not a little towards intensifying the hatred of the Tiers État for the nobility.

Though unprincipled as a class, the nobility of France comprised individual members who were examples not only of personal bravery, but of high mental capacity and culture. The aristocratic element which pervaded all customs and institutions—for instance, the wife of an untitled man was called *Mademoiselle* instead of *Madame*, and none but titled women were allowed to *rouge*—had been of long and steady growth; but if we put ourselves in the place of persons who lived under the old *régime*, we shall not be surprised at their dislike of innovation. Notwithstanding the reverence for rank and blood, the importance and number of social functions, the burdens of court life and etiquette, many of the French nobles distinguished themselves in science and letters, so that one of their chief ambitions often was to be enrolled as members of the Academy. The French nobility which was so wedded to its privileges waived all considerations in favour of intellectual enjoyments; and though to gain admission at Versailles a patent of nobility dating back to 1399 was necessary, in Paris men and women of the highest rank mixed with the wives of citizens, elbowed artists and writers, in assemblies where intellect reigned supreme. Madame Geoffrin, the daughter of a royal servant, remained the friend of Stanislas Poniatowski after he became King of Poland, and in his familiar correspondence he calls her his mother. The *salon*—to mention one out of many—of Madame d'Epainay, the wife of a *fermier général*, the friend of Rousseau and Grimm, was the centre of all that was brightest and cleverest in France. The Prince de Conti showed a generous hospitality to Rousseau, and after Beaumarchais' conviction invited him to spend a day at his house in order 'to show France the way a great citizen should be treated.' The great citizen came and supped with the prince and forty persons of quality. Strange contrasts and anomalous situations were the result of the familiar intercourse of all classes,

and contribute not a little to make the society of that time so amusing to us. Perhaps the greatest anomaly of all was the position of actors and actresses. An antiquated law deprived them of all civil rights; they could not appear as witnesses in a court, nor fill any public post. They were sent to prison for the slightest peccadillo on the mere whim of the court authorities, and if they died whilst following their profession were refused religious rites at their burial. Adrienne Lecouvreur was taken out at night in a cab by two porters and buried in a hole hastily dug at the corner of the street. Yet Adrienne Lecouvreur was so sought after in her lifetime that she complained she could not comply with all the invitations she received from the great, and that their attentions prevented her from enjoying a peaceful and quiet life. The actress Clairon was an intimate friend of the Duchesse de Villeroi and the Duchesse de Duras. Not only actresses, but actors infatuated the leaders of society. The actor Molé received from Marshal Richelieu a costume worth ten thousand francs, and Fleury from a noble friend a dress that had only been worn once and for which 18,000 francs had been paid. Two ladies—one French, one Polish—fought a duel for an actor. The Frenchwoman was wounded and locked up in a convent. Quaint incidents of all kinds illustrate the relations between the stage and its patrons. Actresses were sometimes present at State concerts, and on one occasion Sophie Arnould was seated next to a duchess, who exclaimed disdainfully: ‘Honest women should wear badges to distinguish them.’ ‘Then you would wish,’ replied the actress, ‘to give the public a chance of counting them.’ A young abbé, accompanied by two young and pretty women, entered the box of the Marshal de Noailles, who was known for his misfortunes on the battle-field. The marshal soon afterwards came and claimed the box. In the height of the dispute, the abbé called out to the pit, which had looked on with much interest: ‘Gentlemen, I appeal to you. Here is the Marshal de Noailles, who has never taken a place in his life, and now wants to take mine. Am I to go?’ ‘No! No!’ cried the pit, and the marquis was forced to give way.

Some palliation for the levity of society is to be found in the system of education, which was itself the outcome of the exigencies of fashion. Fathers brought up their sons to consider that the smiles of the king were the only source of honour and preferment. The entire day of a lady of rank was taken up by dress, conversation, and amusement. No mother was able under such circumstances to devote her thoughts to her daughter, who was sent off at an early age to an aristocratic convent. How peculiar was the education which she there received may be judged from the fact that the same prizes were given for history as for dancing. In order to preserve the purity of blood and the equality of position, the pupil was affianced and often married by her parents when hardly in her teens to a man whom she had never seen.

But the tact and power of assimilation peculiar to Frenchwomen enabled them, notwithstanding their faulty education, to acquire that culture and brilliancy which was so highly prized. Domestic affection and purity were scarcely compatible with the conditions under which their lives were passed. Owing to the educational teachings of Rousseau, combined with the Anglomania—which declared itself not only in the diffusion of constitutional aspirations, but even in the practice of horse-racing—and to the participation in the War of American Independence, a desire for a better state of things began to make itself felt. The literary and philosophical doctrines of the encyclopædists contributed towards the reform of the abuses of the aristocratic system, but they must also bear the responsibility of having produced that contempt for religion and for authority which accelerated the Revolution. That Revolution contributes a fitting antithesis and climax to the levity and enchantment of the earlier portions of the century. When, however, we throw off the spell exercised by the superficial attractions of the French eighteenth century, then we perceive beneath the brilliant veneer of art, wit, and refinement, those vices of character and constitution which could only be eradicated by a supreme convulsion. As in tropical countries the rotting trunks of ancient trees are covered by a rank and gorgeous vegetation, so the processes of decomposition at work in the political, aristocratic, clerical, and social systems of France were concealed by a luxuriant and vivid intellectual overgrowth. M. Filon gleefully improves on Lord Chesterfield's observation and says that the graces were not natives of Great Britain; but when we come to judge impartially the cardinal merits of the English and French eighteenth centuries, when we emancipate ourselves from the glamour of the Gallic graces, and only compare stern historical facts in their immediate effects on the welfare of the nation, the consequences of the old *régime* in France with those of the new in England, we are forced to conclude that the English kings of the eighteenth century deserved better of their country than the Bourbons of France, that English statesmen adapted themselves to the growing demand for popular and democratic changes, that England's soldiers and sailors brought victory to her arms, that her religious and philosophical reforms sowed the seeds of the greater purity and greater prosperity of the nineteenth century; while in France princes, statesmen, and nobles brought the throne into disrepute, the finances to ruin, and the country to anarchy—that, in a word, all the forces of England were united in building up the empire, whilst those of France were united in destroying hers. Century for century, the eighteenth century of England was a century of ascent, the eighteenth century of France a century of descent.

BEN JONSON.

I.

IF poets may be divided into two exhaustive but not exclusive classes,—the gods of harmony and creation, the giants of energy and invention,—the supremacy of Shakespeare among the gods of English verse is not more unquestionable than the supremacy of Jonson among its giants. Shakespeare himself stands no higher above Milton and Shelley than Jonson above Dryden and Byron. Beside the towering figure of this Enceladus the stature of Dryden seems but that of an ordinary man, the stature of Byron—who indeed can only be classed among giants by a somewhat licentious or audacious use of metaphor—seems little higher than a dwarf's. Not even the ardour of his most fanatical worshippers, from the date of Cartwright and Randolph to the date of Gilchrist and Gifford, could exaggerate the actual greatness of his various and marvellous energies. No giant ever came so near to the ranks of the gods: were it possible for one not born a god to become divine by dint of ambition and devotion, this glory would have crowned the Titanic labours of Ben Jonson. There is something heroic and magnificent in his lifelong dedication of all his gifts and all his powers to the service of the art he had elected as the business of all his life and the aim of all his aspiration. And the result also was magnificent: the flowers of his growing have every quality but one which belongs to the rarest and finest among flowers: they have colour, form, variety, fertility, vigour: the one thing they want is fragrance. Once or twice only in all his indefatigable career of toil and triumph did he achieve what was easily and habitually accomplished by men otherwise unworthy to be named in the same day with him; by men who would have avowed themselves unworthy to unloose the lachets of his shoes. That singing power which answers in verse to the odour of a blossom, to the colouring of a picture, to the flavour of a fruit,—that quality without which they may be good, commendable, admirable, but cannot be delightful,—was not, it should seem, a natural gift of this great writer's: hardly now and then could his industry attain to it by some exceptional touch of inspiration or of luck. It is 'above all strangeness' that a man labouring under this habitual disqualification should have been competent to recognize

with accurate and delicate discernment an occasion on which he had for once risen above his usual capacity—a shot by which he had actually hit the white: but the lyrical verses which Ben Jonson quoted to Drummond as his best have exactly the quality which lyrical verse ought to have and which their author's lyrical verse almost invariably misses: the note of apparently spontaneous, inevitable, irrepressible and impeccable music. They might have been written by Coleridge or Shelley. But Ben, as a rule,—a rule which is proved by the exception—was one of the singers who could not sing: though, like Dryden, he could intone most admirably: which is more—and much more—than can truthfully be said for Byron. He, however, as well as Dryden, has one example of lyrical success to show for himself, as exceptional and as unmistakable as Jonson's. The incantation in *Œdipus*, brief as it is, and the first four stanzas of the incantation in *Manfred*, imitative as they are, reveal a momentary sense of music, a momentary command of the instrument employed, no less singular and no less absolute. But Jonson, at all points the greatest and most genuine poet of the three, has achieved such a success more than once; has nearly achieved it, or has achieved a success only less absolute than this, more than a few times in the course of his works. And it should be remembered always that poetry in any other sense than the sense of invention or divination, creation by dint of recollection and by force of reproduction, was by no means the aim and end of his ambition. The grace, the charm, the magic of poetry was to him always a secondary if not always an inconsiderable quality in comparison with the weight of matter, the solidity of meaning, the significance and purpose of the thing suggested or presented. The famous men whose names may most naturally and most rationally be coupled with the more illustrious name of Ben Jonson came short of the triumph which might have been theirs in consequence of their worst faults or defects—of the weaker and baser elements in their moral nature: because they preferred self-interest in the one case and self-indulgence in the other to the noble toil and the noble pleasure of doing their best for their art's sake and their duty's, to the ultimate satisfaction of their conscience: a guide as sure and a monitor as exacting in æsthetic matters—or, to use a Latin rather than a Greek word, in matters of pure intelligence—as in questions of ethics or morality. But with Ben Jonson conscience was the first and last consideration: the conscience of power which undoubtedly made him arrogant and exacting made him even more severe in self-exaction, more resolute in self-discipline, more inexorable in self-devotion to the elected labour of his life. From others he exacted much; but less than he exacted from himself. And it is to this noble uprightness of mind, to this lofty loyalty in labour, that the gravest vices and the most serious defects of his work may indisputably be traced. Reversing the famous axiom of Goldsmith's professional art-critic, we may say

of Jonson's work in almost every instance that the picture would have been better if the artist had taken less pains. For in some cases at least he writes better as soon as he allows himself to write with ease—or at all events without elaborate ostentation of effort and demonstrative prodigality of toil. The unequalled breadth and depth of his reading could not but enrich as well as encumber his writings: those who could wish he had been less learned may be reminded how much we should certainly lose—how much of solid and precious metal—for the mere chance of a possible gain in spontaneity and ease; in qualities of lyrical or dramatic excellence which it is doubtful whether he had received from nature in any degree comparable with those to which his learning gave a fresh impulse and a double force of energetic life. And when his work is at its worst, when his faults are most flagrant, when his tediousness is most unendurable, it is not his learning that is to blame, for his learning is not even apparent. The obtuseness and accumulation of details and references, allusions and citations, which encumber the text and the margin of his first Roman tragedy with such a ponderous mass of illustrative superfluity, may undoubtedly be set down, if not to the discredit, at least to the disadvantage of the poet whose resolute caprice had impelled him to be author and commentator, dramatist and scholiast, at once: but however tedious a languid or a cursory reader may find this part of Jonson's work, he must, if not abnormally perverse in stupidity, admit that it is far less wearisome, less vexatious, less deplorable and insufferable, than the interminable deserts of dreary dialogue in which the affectations, pretensions, or idiocies of the period are subjected to the indefatigable and the lamentable industry of a caricaturist or a photographer.

There is nothing accidental in the work of Ben Jonson: no casual inspiration, no fortuitous impulse, ever guides or misguides his genius aright or astray. And this crowning and damning defect of a tedious and intolerable realism was even exceptionally wilful and premeditated. There is little if anything of it in the earliest comedy admitted into the magnificent edition which was compiled and published by himself in the year of the death of Shakespeare. And the humours of a still earlier comedy attributed to his hand, and printed apparently without his sanction just seven years before, are not worked out with such wearisome patience nor exhibited with such scientific persistency as afterwards distinguished the anatomical lecturer on vice and folly whose ideal of comic art was a combination of sarcasm and sermon in alternately epigrammatic and declamatory dialogue. I am by no means disposed to question the authenticity of this play, an excellent example of romantic comedy dashed with farce and flavoured with poetry: but, as far as I am aware, no notice has yet been taken of a noticeable coincidence between the manner or the circumstances of its publication and that of a spurious play

which had nine years previously been attributed to Shakespeare. Some copies only of *The Case is Altered* bear on the title-page the name of Jonson, as some copies only of *Sir John Oldcastle* bear on the title-page the name of Shakespeare. In the earlier case, there can of course be no reasonable doubt that Shakespeare on his side, or the four actual authors of the gallimaufry on theirs, or perhaps all five together in the common though diverse interest of their respective credits, must have interfered to put a stop to the piratical profits of a lying and thieving publisher by compelling him to cancel the impudently mendacious title-page which imputed to Shakespeare the authorship of a play announced in its very prologue as the work of a writer or writers whose intention was to counteract the false impression given by Shakespeare's caricature, and to represent Prince Hal's old lad of the castle in his proper character of hero and martyr. In the later case, there can be little if any doubt that Jonson, then at the height of his fame and influence, must have taken measures to preclude the circulation under his name of a play which he would not or could not honestly acknowledge. So far, then, as external evidence goes, there is no ground whatever for a decision as to whether *The Case is Altered* may be wholly or partially or not at all assignable to the hand of Jonson. My own conviction is that he certainly had a hand in it, and was not improbably its sole author: but that on the other hand it may not impossibly be one of the compound works on which he was engaged as a dramatic apprentice with other and less energetic playwrights in the dim back workshop of the slavedealer and slave-driver whose diary records the grinding toil and the scanty wages of his lean and laborious bondsmen. Justice, at least since the days of Gifford, has generally been done to the bright and pleasant quality of this equally romantic and classical comedy: in which the passionate humour of the miser is handled with more freshness and freedom than we find in most of Jonson's later studies, while the figure of his putative daughter has more of grace and interest than he usually vouchsafed to be at the pains of bestowing on his official heroines. It is to be regretted, it is even to be deplored, that the influence of Plautus on the style and the method of Jonson was not more permanent and more profound. Had he been but content to follow his first impulse, to work after his earliest model—had he happily preferred those 'Plautinos et numeros et sales' for which his courtly friend Horace expressed so courtierly a contempt to the heavier numbers and the more laborious humours which he set himself to elaborate and to cultivate instead, we might not have had to applaud a more wonderful and admirable result, we should unquestionably have enjoyed a harvest more spontaneous and more gracious, more generous and more delightful. Something of the charm of Fletcher, his sweet straightforward fluency and instinctive lightness of touch, would have tempered the severity and solidity of his deliberate satire and his heavy-handed realism.

And the noble work of comic art which followed on this first attempt gave even fuller evidence in its earlier than its later form of the author's capacity for poetic as well as realistic success. The defence of poetry which appears only in the first edition of *Every Man in his Humour* is worth all Sidney's and all Shelley's treatises thrown together. A stern and austere devotion to the principle which prohibits all indulgence in poetry, precludes all exuberance of expression, and immolates on the altar of accuracy all eloquence, all passion, and all inspiration incompatible with direct and prosaic reproduction of probable or plausible dialogue, induced its author to cancel this noble and majestic rhapsody; and in so doing gave fair and full forewarning of the danger which was to beset this too rigid and conscientious artist through the whole of his magnificent career. But in all other points the process of transformation to which its author saw fit to subject this comedy was unquestionably a process of improvement. Transplanted from the imaginary or fantastic Italy in which at first they lived and moved and had their being to the actual and immediate atmosphere of contemporary London, the characters gain even more in lifelike and interesting veracity or verisimilitude than in familiar attraction and homely association. Not only do we feel that we know them better, but we perceive that they are actually more real and cognisable creatures than they were under their former conditions of dramatic existence. But it must be with regret as well as with wonder that we find ourselves constrained to recognize the indisputable truth that this first acknowledged work of so great a writer is as certainly his best as it certainly is not his greatest. Never again did his genius, his industry, his conscience and his taste combine to produce and succeed in producing a work so faultless, so satisfactory, so absolute in achievement and so free from blemish or defect. The only three others among all his plays which are not unworthy to be ranked beside it are in many ways more wonderful, more splendid, more incomparable with any other product of human intelligence or genius: but neither *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, nor *The Staple of News*, is altogether so blameless and flawless a piece of work; so free from anything that might as well or better be dispensed with, so simply and thoroughly compact and complete in workmanship and in result. Molière himself has no character more exquisitely and spontaneously successful in presentation and evolution than the immortal and inimitable Bobadil: and even Bobadil is not unworthily surrounded and supported by the many other graver or lighter characters of this magnificent and perfect comedy.

It is difficult to attempt an estimate of the next endeavours or enterprises of Ben Jonson without incurring either the risk of impatient and uncritical injustice, if rein be given to the natural irritation and vexation of a disappointed and bewildered reader, or the no less imminent risk of one-sided and one-eyed partiality, if

the superb literary quality, the elaborate intellectual excellence, of these undramatic if not inartistic satires in dialogue be duly taken into account. From their author's point of view, they are worthy of all the applause he claimed for them; and to say this is to say much; but if the author's point of view was radically wrong, was fundamentally unsound, we can but be divided between condemnation and applause, admiration and regret. No student of our glorious language, no lover of our glorious literature, can leave these mis-called comedies unread without foregoing an experience which he should be reluctant to forego: but no reader who has any sense or any conception of comic art or of dramatic harmony will be surprised to find that the author's experience of their reception on the stage should have driven him by steady gradations of fury and consecutive degrees of arrogance into a state of mind and a style of work which must have seemed even to his well-wishers most unpromising for his future and final triumph. Little if anything can be added to the excellent critical remarks of Gifford on *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *Poetaster, or his Arraignment*. The first of these magnificent mistakes would be enough to ensure immortality to the genius of the poet capable of so superb and elaborate an error. The fervour and intensity of the verse which expresses his loftier mood of intolerant indignation, the studious and implacable versatility of scorn which animates the expression of his disgust at the viler or crueller examples of social villainy then open to his contemptuous or furious observation, though they certainly cannot suffice to make a play, suffice to make a living and imperishable work of the dramatic satire which passes so rapidly from one phase to another of folly, fraud, or vice. And if it were not an inadmissible theory that the action or the structure of a play might be utterly disjointed and dislocated in order to ensure the complete presentation or development, the alternate exhibition or exposure, of each figure in the revolving gallery of a satirical series, we could hardly fear that our admiration of the component parts which fail to compose a coherent or harmonious work of art could possibly carry us too far into extravagance of applause. The noble rage which inspires the overture is not more absolute or perfect than the majestic structure of the verse: and the best comic or realistic scenes of the ensuing play are worthy to be compared—though it may not be altogether to their advantage—with the similar work of the greatest succeeding artists in narrative or dramatic satire. Too much of the studious humour, too much of the versatile and laborious realism, displayed in the conduct and evolution of this satirical drama, may have been lavished and misused in the reproduction of ephemeral affectations and accidental forms of folly: but whenever the dramatic satirist, on purpose or by accident, strikes home to some deeper and more durable subject of satire, we feel the presence and the power

of a poet and a thinker whose genius was not born to deal merely with ephemeral or casual matters. The small patrician fop and his smaller plebeian ape, though even now not undiverting figures, are inevitably less diverting to us, as they must have been even to the next generation from Jonson's, than to the audience for whom they were created: but the humour of the scene in which the highly intelligent and intellectual lady, who regards herself as the pattern at once of social culture and of personal refinement, is duped and disgraced by an equally simple and ingenious trick played off on her overweening and contemptuous vanity, might have been applauded by Shakespeare or by Vanbrugh, approved by Congreve or Molière. Here, among too many sketches of a kind which can lay claim to no merit beyond that of an unlovely photograph, we find a really humorous conception embodied in a really amusing type of vanity and folly; and are all the more astonished to find a writer capable of such excellence and such error as every competent reader must recognize in the conception and execution of this rather admirable than delightful play. For Molière himself could hardly have improved on the scene in which a lady who is confident of her intuitive capacity to distinguish a gentleman from a pretender with no claim to that title is confronted with a vulgar clown, whose introducers have assured her that he is a high-bred gentleman masquerading for a wager under that repulsive likeness. She wonders that they can have imagined her so obtuse, so ignorant, so insensible to the difference between gentleman and clown: she finds that he plays his part as a boor very badly and transparently; and on discovering that he is in fact the boor she would not recognize, is driven to vanish in a passion of disgust. This is good comedy: but we can hardly say as much for the scene in which a speculator who has been trading on the starvation or destitution of his neighbours and tenants is driven to hang himself in despair at the tidings of a better market for the poor, is cut down by the hands of peasants who have not recognized him, and on hearing their loudly expressed regrets for this act of inadvertent philanthropy becomes at once a beneficent and penitent philanthropist. Extravagant and exceptional as is this instance of Jonson's capacity for dramatic error—for the sacrifice at once of comic art and of common sense on the altar of moral or satirical purpose, it is but an extreme example of the result to which his theory must have carried his genius, gagged and handcuffed and drugged and blindfolded, had not his genius been too strong even for the force and the persistence of his theory. No reader and no spectator of his next comedy can have been inclined to believe or encouraged in believing that it was. The famous final verse of the epilogue to *Cynthia's Revels* can hardly sound otherwise to modern ears than as an expression of blustering diffidence—of blatant self-distrust. That any audience should have sat out the five

undramatic acts of this 'dramatic satire' is as inconceivable as that any reader, however exasperated and exhausted by its voluminous perversities, should fail to do justice to its literary merits: to the vigour and purity of its English, to the masculine refinement and the classic straightforwardness of its general style. There is an exquisite song in it, and there are passages—nay, there are scenes—of excellent prose: but the intolerable elaboration of pretentious dullness and ostentatious ineptitude for which the author claims not merely the tolerance or the condonation which gratitude or charity might accord to the misuse or abuse of genius, but the acclamation due to its exercise and the applause demanded by its triumph,—the heavy-headed perversity which ignores all the duties and reclaims all the privileges of a dramatic poet—the Cyclopean ponderosity of perseverance which hammers through scene after scene at the task of ridicule by anatomy of tedious and preposterous futilities—all these too conscientious outrages offered to the very principle of comedy, of poetry, or of drama, make us wonder that we have no record of a retort from the exhausted audience—if haply there were any auditors left—to the dogged defiance of the epilogue:—

By God 'tis good, and if you like 't you may.

—By God 'tis bad, and worse than tongue can say.

For the most noticeable point in this tediously brilliant and studiously erratic design is that the principle of composition is as conspicuous by its absence as the breath of inspiration: that the artist, the scholar, the disciple, the student of classic models, is as undiscoverable as the spontaneous humourist or poet. The wildest, the roughest, the crudest offspring of literary impulse working blindly on the passionate elements of excitable ignorance was never more formless, more incoherent, more defective in structure, than this voluminous abortion of deliberate intelligence and conscientious culture.

There is a curious monotony in the variety—if there be not rather a curious variety in the monotony—of character and of style which makes it even more difficult to resume the study of *Cynthia's Revels* when once broken off than even to read through its burdensome and bulky five acts at a sitting; but the reader who lays siege to it with a sufficient supply of patience will find that the latter is the surer if not the only way to appreciate the genuine literary value of its better portions. Most of the figures presented are less than sketches and little more than outlines of inept and intolerant caricature: but the 'half-saved' or (as Carlyle has it) 'insalvable' coxcomb and parasite Asotus, who puts himself under the tuition of Amorphus and the patronage of Anaides, is a creature with something of real comic life in him. By what process of induction or deduction the wisdom of critical interpreters should have discerned in the figure of his patron, a fashionable ruffler and ruffian,

the likeness of Thomas Dekker, a humble, hard-working, and highly-gifted hack of letters, may be explicable by those who can explain how the character of Hedon, a courtly and voluptuous coxcomb, can have been designed to cast ridicule on John Marston, a rude and rough-hewn man of genius, the fellow-craftsman of Ben Jonson as satirist and as playwright. But such absurdities of misapplication and misconstruction, once set afloat on the Lethean waters of stagnating tradition, will float for ever by grace of the very rottenness which prevents them from sinking. Ignorance assumes and idleness repeats what sciolism ends by accepting as a truth no less indisputable than undisputed. To any rational and careful student it must be obvious that until the publication of Jonson's *Poetaster* we cannot trace, I do not say with any certainty of evidence, but with any plausibility of conjecture, the identity of the principal persons attacked or derided by the satirist. And to identify the originals of such figures as Clove and Orange in *Every Man out of his Humour* can hardly, as Carlyle might have expressed it, be matter of serious interest to any son of Adam. But the famous polemical comedy which appeared a year later than the appearance of *Cynthia's Revels* bore evidence about it, unmistakable by reader or spectator, alike to the general design of the poet and to the particular direction of his personalities. Jonson of course asserted and of course believed that he had undergone gross and incessant provocation for years past from the 'petulant' onslaughts of Marston and Dekker: but what were his grounds for this assertion and this belief we have no means whatever of deciding—we have no ground whatever for conjecture. What we cannot but perceive is the possibly more important fact that indignation and ingenuity, pugnacity and self-esteem, combined to produce and succeeded in producing an incomparably better comedy than the author's last, and a considerably better composition than the author's penultimate attempt. Even the 'apologetical dialogue' appended for the benefit of the reader, fierce and arrogant as it seems to us in its bellicose ambition and its quarrelsome self-assertion, is less violent and overweening in its tone than the furious eloquence of the prelude to *Every Man out of his Humour*. The purity of passion, the sincerity of emotion, which inspires and inflames that singular and splendid substitute for an ordinary prologue, never found again an expression so fervent and so full in the many and various appeals of its author to his audience, immediate or imaginary, against the malevolence of enemies or of critics. But in this Augustan satire his rage and scorn are tempered and adapted to something of dramatic purpose; their expression is more coherent, if not less truculent,—their effect is more harmonious, if not more genuine,—than in the two preceding plays.

There is much in the work of Ben Jonson which may seem strange and perplexing to the most devout and rapturous admirer of

his genius : there is nothing so singular, so quaint, so inexplicable, as his selection of Horace for a sponsor or a patron saint. The affinity between Virgil and Tennyson, between Shelley and Lucretius, is patent and palpable : but when Jonson assumes the mask of Horace we can only wonder what would have been the sensation on Olympus if Pluto had suddenly proposed to play the part of Cupid, or if Vulcan had obligingly offered to run on the errands of Mercury. This eccentricity of egoism is only less remarkable than the mixture of care and recklessness in the composition of a play which presents us at its opening with an apparent hero in the person, not of Horace, but of Ovid ; and after following his fortunes through four-fifths of the action, drops him into exile at the close of the fourth act, and proceeds with the business of the fifth as though no such figure had ever taken part in the conduct of the play. Shakespeare, who in Jonson's opinion 'wanted art,' assuredly never showed himself so insensible to the natural rules of art as his censor has shown himself here. Apart from the incoherence of construction which was perhaps inevitable in such a complication of serious with satirical design, there is more of artistic merit in this composite work of art than in any play produced by its author since the memorable date of *Every Man in his Humour*. The character of Captain Pantilius Tuca, which seems to have brought down on its creator such a boiling shower-bath or torrent of professional indignation from quarters in which his own distinguished service as a soldier and a representative champion of English military hardihood would seem to have been unaccountably if not scandalously forgotten, is beyond comparison the brightest and the best of his inventions since the date of the creation of Bobadil. But the decrease in humanity of humour, in cordial and genial sympathy or tolerance of imagination, which marks the advance of his genius towards its culmination of scenical and satirical success in *The Alchemist* must be obvious at this stage of his work to those who will compare the delightful cowardice and the inoffensive pretention of Bobadil with the blatant vulgarity and the flagrant rascality of Tuca.

In the memorable year which brought into England her first king of Scottish birth, and made inevitable the future conflict between the revolutionary principle of monarchy by divine right and the conservative principle of self-government by deputy for the commonweal of England, the first great writer who thought fit to throw in his lot with the advocates of the royalist revolution produced on the boards a tragedy of which the moral, despite his conscious or unconscious efforts to disguise or to distort it, is as thoroughly republican and as tragically satirical of despotism as is that of Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*. It would be well for the fame of Jonson if the parallel could be carried further : but, although *Sejanus his Fall* may not have received on its appearance the credit

or the homage due to the serious and solid merit of its composition and its execution, it must be granted that the author has once more fallen into the excusable but nevertheless unpardonable error of the too studious and industrious *Martha*. He was careful and troubled about many things absolutely superfluous and supererogatory ; matters of no value or concern whatever for the purpose or the import of a dramatic poem : but the one thing needful, the very condition of poetic life and dramatic interest, he utterly and persistently overlooked. *Tiberius*, the central character of the action—for the eponymous hero or protagonist of the play is but a crude study of covetous and lecherous ambition,—has not life enough in the presentation of him to inform the part with interest. No praise—of the sort which is due to such labours—can be too high for the strenuous and fervid conscience which inspires every line of the laborious delineation : the recorded words of the tyrant are wrought into the text, his traditional characteristics are welded into the action, with a patient and earnest fidelity which demands applause no less than recognition : but when we turn from this elaborate statue—from this exquisitely articulated skeleton—to the living figure of *Octavius* or of *Antony*, we feel and understand more than ever that Shakespeare ‘hath chosen the good part, which shall not be taken away from him.’

Coleridge has very justly animadverted on ‘the anachronistic mixture’ of Anglican or Caledonian royalism with the conservatism of an old Roman republican in the character of *Arruntius* : but we may trace something of the same incongruous combination in the character of a poet who was at once the sturdiest in aggressive eagerness of self-assertion, and the most copious in courtly effusion of panegyric, among all the distinguished writers of his day. The power of his verse and the purity of his English are nowhere more remarkable than in his two Roman tragedies : on the other hand, his great fault or defect as a dramatist is nowhere more perceptible. This general if not universal infirmity is one which never seems to have occurred to him, careful and studious though he was always of his own powers and performances, as anything of a fault at all. It is one indeed which no writer afflicted with it could reasonably be expected to recognize or to repair. Of all purely negative faults, all sins of intellectual omission, it is perhaps the most serious and the most irremediable. It is want of sympathy : a lack of cordial interest, not in his own work or in his own genius,—no one will assert that *Jonson* was deficient on that score,—but in the individual persons, the men and women represented on the stage. He took so much interest in the creations that he had none left for the creatures of his intellect or art. This fault is not more obvious in the works of his disciples *Cartwright* and *Randolph* than in the works of their master. The whole interest is concentrated on the intellectual composition

and the intellectual development of the characters and the scheme. Love and hatred, sympathy and antipathy, are superseded and supplanted by pure scientific curiosity: the clear glow of serious or humorous emotion is replaced by the dry light of analytical investigation. *Si vis me flere*—the proverb is something musty. Neither can we laugh heartily or long where all chance of sympathy or cordiality is absolutely inconceivable. The loving laughter which salutes the names of Dogberry and Touchstone, Mrs. Quickly and Falstaff, is never evoked by the most gorgeous opulence of humour, the most glorious audacity of intrigue, which dazzles and delights our understanding in the parts of Sir Epicure Mammon, Rabbi Zeal-of-the-Land Busy, Morose and Fitzdottrel and Mosca: even Bobadil, the most comically attractive of all cowards and braggarts on record, has no such hold on our regard as many a knave and many a fool of Shakespeare's comic progeny. The triumph of 'Don Face' over his confederates, though we may not be so virtuous as to grudge it him, puts something of a strain upon our conscience if it is heartily to be applauded and enjoyed. One figure, indeed, among all the multitude of Jonson's invention, is so magnificent in the spiritual stature of his wickedness, in the still dilating verge and expanding proportion of his energies, that admiration in this single case may possibly if not properly overflow into something of intellectual if not moral sympathy. The genius and the courage of Volpone, his sublimity of cynic scorn and his intensity of contemptuous enjoyment,—his limitless capacity for pleasure and his dauntless contemplation of his crimes,—make of this superb sinner a figure which we can hardly realize without some sense of imperious fascination. His views of humanity are those of Swift and of Carlyle: but in him their fruit is not bitterness of sorrow and anger, but rapture of satisfaction and of scorn. His English kinsman, Sir Epicure Mammon, for all his wealth of sensual imagination and voluptuous eloquence, for all his living play of humour and glowing force of faith, is essentially but a poor creature when set beside the great Venetian. Had the study of Tiberius been informed and vivified by something of the same fervour, the tragedy of *Sejanus* might have had in it some heat of more than merely literary life. But this lesser excellence, the merit of vigorous and vigilant devotion or application to a high and serious object of literary labour, is apparent in every scene of the tragedy. That the subject is one absolutely devoid of all but historical and literary interest—that not one of these scenes can excite for one instant the least touch, the least phantom, the least shadow of pity or terror—would apparently have seemed to its author no argument against its claim to greatness as a tragic poem. But if it could be admitted, as it will never be by any unperverted judgment, that this eternal canon of tragic art, the law which defines terror and pity as its only proper objects, the

alpha and omega of its aim and its design, may ever be disregarded or ignored, we should likewise have to admit that Jonson had in this instance achieved a success as notable as we must otherwise consider his failure. For the accusation of weakness in moral design, of feeble or unnatural treatment of character, cannot with any show of justice be brought against him. Coleridge, whose judgment on a question of ethics will scarcely be allowed to carry as much weight as his authority on matters of imagination, objects with some vehemence to the incredible inconsistency of *Sejanus* in appealing for a sign to the divinity whose altar he proceeds to overthrow, whose power he proceeds to defy, on the appearance of an unfavourable presage. This doubtless is not the conduct of a strong man or a rational thinker: but the great minister of Tiberius is never for an instant throughout the whole course of the action represented as a man of any genuine strength or any solid intelligence. He is shown to us as merely a cunning, daring, unscrupulous and imperious upstart, whose greed and craft, impudence and audacity, intoxicate while they incite and undermine while they uplift him.

The year which witnessed the appearance of *Sejanus* on the stage—acclaimed by Chapman at greater length if not with greater fervour than by any other of Jonson's friends or satellites—witnessed also the first appearance of its author in a character which undoubtedly gave free play to some of his most remarkable abilities, but which unquestionably diverted and distorted and absorbed his genius as a dramatist and his talent as a poet after a fashion which no capable student can contemplate without admiration or consider without regret. The few readers whose patient energy and conscientious curiosity may have led them to traverse—a pilgrimage more painful than Dante's or than Bunyan's—the entire record of the 'Entertainment' which escorted and delayed, at so many successive stations, the progress through London and Westminster of the long-suffering son of Mary Queen of Scots, will probably agree that of the two poetic dialogues or eclogues contributed by Jonson to the metrical part of the ceremony, the dialogue of the Genius and the Flamen is better than that of the Genius and Thamesis: more smooth, more vigorous, and more original. The subsequent prophecy of Electra is at all points unlike the prophecies of a Cassandra: there is something doubly tragic in the irony of chance which put into the mouth of Agamemnon's daughter a prophecy of good fortune to the royal house of Stuart on its first entrance into the capital and ascension to the throne of England. The subsequent *Panegyre* is justly praised by Gifford for its manly and dignified style of official compliment—courtliness untainted by servility: but the style is rather that of fine prose, sedately and sedulously measured and modulated, than that of even ceremonial poetry.

In the same energetic year of his literary life the Laureate pro-

duced one of his best minor works—*The Satyr*, a little lyric drama so bright and light and sweet in fancy and in finish of execution that we cannot grudge the expenditure of time and genius on so slight a subject. *The Penates*, which appeared in the following year, gave evidence again of the strong and lively fancy which was to be but too often exercised in the same field of ingenious and pliant invention. The metre is well conceived and gracefully arranged, worthy indeed of nobler words than those which it clothes with light and pleasant melody. The octosyllabics, it will be observed by metrical students, are certainly good, but decidedly not faultless: the burlesque part sustained by Pan is equally dexterous and brilliant in execution.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

The year which witnessed the appearance of *Swainburne's* poems—acclaimed by a nation of greater length than any other of England's—was also the first appearance of its author in a character which marked the first step for some of his most successful abilities, but which unquestionably exercised and directed and improved his genius as a dramatist and his talents as a poet after a fashion which no capable student can contemplate without admiration or consider without regret. The few readers whose talents, energy and conscientiousness naturally may have led them to invent—a different name for the than Dante or than Bunyan's—the entire record of the literature which ascended and delayed as so many consecutive stations the progress through London and Westminster of the long-suffering son of Mary Queen of Scots will probably agree that in the two heroic dialogues or tragedies attributed by common to the national part of the economy, the dialogue of the Greeks and the Roman is better than that of the Germans and Thuringians: more simple, more vigorous and more original. The subsequent prophecy of *Swainburne* is at all points unlike the prophecies of a *Swainburne*: there is some thing doubly tragic in the irony of chance which put into the hands of *Swainburne's* daughter a prophecy of good fortune to the royal house of Stuart on its first entrance into the capital and accession to the throne of England. The subsequent *Swainburne* is hardly matched by *Swainburne* for its manly and dignified style of official command—courtliness maintained by severity: but the style is rather that of the prose, sedately and absolutely measured and modulated, than that of even occasional poetry.

In the same energetic year of his literary life the *Swainburne* pro-

THE CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.

THE Government of the United States and the various Australian Governments object to the immigration of Chinese. In each case the popular vote has guided the Government. Those who admit that the objection to the influx of Chinese into an Anglo-Saxon community is well founded will probably acknowledge that the objection is really stronger in Australia than in the United States. Nevertheless the United States have succeeded, where the Australian Governments have failed. It was announced in New York on the 14th of March that a treaty between the United States and China prohibiting the entry of Chinese labourers into the United States for a period of twenty years has been signed. Whilst this effectual remedy has been secured for the United States, the Australian colonies are still fighting the question with their hands tied.

At the very moment when American diplomacy had succeeded, the Premier of Queensland issued an address to the North Brisbane electors in which he declares his belief that all Queensland can be cultivated by whites, and that the Chinese should be excluded; but the exclusion is to be partial only, an exclusion dependent on the operation of an increased poll tax, the prohibition of naturalisation, and a tax on residence.

In Sydney, Victoria, and New Zealand leading statesmen are propounding remedies somewhat similar to Sir Samuel Griffith's. But all their speeches are in a half-hearted and despairing vein. For ten years past the Chinese have paid a poll tax, and have continued arriving in Australian ports in larger numbers. Every one knows that they will pay the increased tax, but that their numbers will not diminish. No foreign nationality is so indifferent to the advantages of naturalisation in our colonies generally as the Chinese, and the threat of stopping the naturalisation of Chinese will have no real effect on their immigration.

The partial remedies discussed more warmly than ever in Australia have all been tried and have all failed in the United States. Why should not our self-governing colonies adopt the radical cure that the statesmen of America are now applying? The answer is, they are not allowed to do so. Downing Street rightly interprets the sentiment of the House of Commons in objecting to the prohibi-

tion of Chinese. Our Foreign Office, directly under the same influence and moved indirectly by some Indo-Chinese questions, objects to prohibition. Therefore we say to our self-governing colonies, 'In this matter, of such general interest to you and so vital to your future, you are not to be self-governing.' There is a twofold danger in this: there is the direct injury to Australia; there is the risk of embittering the relations between Australia and England.

I believe the parliamentary sentiment on this subject in England is founded on a misapprehension, and that the traditional policy of the Foreign Office is mistaken.

The common opinion in Parliament is that the governing classes in China as well as the people of China would be offended if we prohibited Chinese immigration into a British colony. During the five years that her Majesty entrusted to my care the government of British China, that is the island of Hong Kong and the territory of Kowloon on the mainland of China, I had some opportunity of ascertaining how far this common opinion was well founded. When I assumed the administration of Hong Kong in 1877 I entertained a similar opinion. But direct communication with intelligent Chinese, and especially with the *litterati* of China (from whom the governing classes are drawn), soon taught me that I was mistaken. My interviews at Tientsin with Li Hung Chang and at Peking with Prince Kung and other members of the Tsung-li-Yamen convinced me that the experience I had gained in Hong Kong and Canton was well founded, and that, so far from there being in China any general objection to the policy of prohibition, such a policy would be viewed at least with indifference and probably with satisfaction.

The argument on the subject was briefly stated by an interesting guest that I had the honour of entertaining. When the Chinese envoy to the German Emperor was returning from Berlin to Peking, in speaking of Prince Bismarck he gave two reasons for doubting the infallible statesmanship of the Prince, one connected with the overgrown armies that he traced to him; the other he thus referred to: 'The Prince said that China and Germany were natural allies, because, unlike Russia, England, or France, no territorial jealousies could arise, and because there were plenty of German steamships now ready to convey away the surplus population of China to San Francisco, to Australia, to Peru, and other places suited to Chinese emigrants.' 'Fancy,' said the envoy, 'a European statesman addressing the latter argument to me—to me, a Chinaman!' And then he went on to explain how hateful to a true Chinaman was the idea of Chinese emigration to foreign countries—how objectionable it was on political and religious grounds. He described vast regions of the Chinese Empire where a migration of the agricultural population was taking place followed by an increase of food sent in to the great cities. 'We have no desire,' he said, 'to see the enormous resources of our own country undeveloped by our own industrious people. He is a bad

Chinaman,' he said emphatically, 'who, except on the Emperor's business, leaves his country, for every Chinaman has duties to his family, to the village community in which he lives, and to the Emperor, which cannot be discharged when he emigrates.' He explained how essential it was for every Chinaman to visit at stated periods the graves of his ancestors. Again he repeated, 'The Chinaman who voluntarily puts thousands of miles of sea between himself and the graves of his ancestors—between himself and the ancestral tablet—is a bad Chinaman, always excepting a servant of the Emperor proceeding abroad on official duty.'

But even without meeting leading Chinamen in Hong Kong, Canton, or Peking, a careful observer of the sources of Chinese emigration will have some reason to suspect the true feeling of the Chinese Government and people on this subject. Chinese emigration is practically conducted through the British colony of Hong Kong. That colony is the conduit pipe of Chinese emigration to Australia. When I discovered that it had been the practice to export Chinese convicts from Hong Kong to Australia, I issued a proclamation denouncing the system, and with reference to the general employment of coolie ships I gave instructions to the harbour officials which tended to check Chinese emigration to Australia. What happened? No complaints came from the Australian Governments or from the Government of China. On the contrary, the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Henry Parkes, wrote to thank me warmly, and the Viceroy of Canton also cordially supported me. But complaints, loud and persistent, were made by British, American, and German shipowners in Hong Kong. Even one of my harbour officials wrote to Downing Street complaining that my action threatened injury to a flourishing branch of Hong Kong trade—the Chinese coolie trade to Australia. It is easy to guess the result. A trade from which a few influential shipowners in Hong Kong make a profit has been kept up, though it has been alike distasteful to the governing classes of China and to the people of Australia.

And is there no remedy for all this? Evidently there is if Lord Knutsford can do that which has enabled him to solve with success some older and more difficult problems—if he can get at the real facts and can induce the Foreign Office to act upon them.

No doubt the unsettled question of treaty revision with China indirectly complicates the question. For temporary purposes it may suit Chinese officials abroad to make a grievance of a prohibitory act in Australia if such an act were passed. But if we learn to treat China frankly and with more justice, or if we would probe the whole of this question to the bottom, our Government would soon secure for Australia a treaty similar to that which President Cleveland's Cabinet has obtained for the United States.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS

At about a fortnight's interval the two Houses of Parliament have discussed the question of the maintenance or abolition or the restriction of the hereditary principle in legislation, and indirectly that of the abolition of the House of Lords, and the substitution for our dual system of the rule of a single chamber. If the title of the two Houses to exist were to be judged by the quality of the two debates, the balance would incline to the House of Lords. More than half a century ago Mr. Rush, then United States minister to the Court of St. James's, expressed the opinion that the debating capacity of the House of Lords was superior to that of the House of Commons. The balance probably still inclines to the same side. But the question of debating power, though considerable, is not vital. The discussions in the Lords, it has been said with truth, though the objection came from a strange quarter, are apt to be too largely academical.

The debates in the Commons, it might be retorted, are apt too closely to resemble those of a vestry. The House of Commons is little likely to lose its vestry character; and it is urgent to consider whether a reform may not be instituted which shall give the House of Lords closer relations with public business. A considerable minority in the House of Commons met the idea of any such reform with a direct negative. The hundred and sixty-six members who voted in favour of Mr. Labouchere's resolution, though some of them qualified its plain declaration, practically voted in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords as an hereditary chamber. If effect were given to the resolution, that House would consist solely of the Bishops and of the three Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, a reform which would certainly thin the swollen numbers of the House, but would scarcely leave it, even in the view of the most Radical reformers, a satisfactory second chamber. The resolution was one of the root-and-branch kind. The House of Commons was asked to affirm that 'it is contrary to the true principles of representative government and injurious to their efficiency that any person should be a member of one House of the Legislature by right of birth, and it is therefore desirable to put an end to any such existing rights.' Mr. John Morley in supporting that resolution declared that the extension of the elective principle in local govern-

ment showed that there was a movement in every quarter but one from privilege and from hereditary privilege, and insisted that this movement weakened the whole foundation on which the House of Lords rests. Mr. Labouchere would probably be surprised to hear that like Plato's deity he geometrises, but both he and Mr. Morley exemplify what Mr. J. S. Mill describes as—

The habitual error of many of the political speculators whom I have characterised as the geometrical school, especially in France, where ratiocination from rules of practice forms the staple commodity of journalism and political oratory. . . . The commonplaces of politics, in France, are large and sweeping practical maxims from which, as ultimate premisses, men reason downwards to particular applications and this they call being logical and consistent. For instance, they are perpetually arguing that such and such a measure ought to be adopted because it is a consequence of the principle on which the form of government is founded, of the principle of legitimacy, or of the principle of the sovereignty of the people. . . . Inasmuch, however, as no government tends to produce all possible beneficial effects, but all are attended with more or fewer inconveniences; and since these cannot be combated by means drawn from the very causes that produce them, it would be often a much stronger recommendation of some practical arrangement, that it does not follow from what is called the general principle of the government than that it does. Under a government of legitimacy, the pæsumption is far rather in favour of institutions of popular origin; and in a democracy in favour of arrangements tending to check the impetus of popular will. The line of argumentation so commonly mistaken in France for political philosophy, tends to the practical conclusion that we should exert our utmost efforts to aggravate, instead of alleviating, whatever are the characteristic imperfections of the system of institutions which we prefer, or under which we happen to live.¹

The argument that because the representative principle is predominant in England, and is becoming every day more and more powerful, therefore every other principle must be hunted out of its last refuge, and every institution not resting on an elective basis must be destroyed, when it is something more than sheer demagoguism, flows from the perverse political philosophy which Mr. Mill describes. This is not to say that the hereditary principle is sound, but the reasons given by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. John Morley do not show it to be unsound in its application to English politics. The presumption is rather the other way.

A preliminary objection may be taken by English politicians to a condemnation of the hereditary principle in legislation, based on the ground that it is inconsistent with the principle of representation. Because it is a different principle it is not necessarily an inconsistent principle. They may both be elements in a larger system. The English Constitution is not in theory, at least, based exclusively, or mainly, on the representative principle. Parliamentary government and representative government are not necessarily identical. The two principles may precisely coincide in their application, as in France, Switzerland, and the United States, where the two Chambers and the Chief of the Executive are named by a direct or indirect

¹ *System of Logic*, vol. ii. pp. 520-1 (3rd edit.).

election. They may have nothing in common, as in the early parliamentary history of most countries and of England itself, in which, up till the time of Simon de Montfort, the great Council of the Barons of the realm alone qualified the royal power. King and Parliament were alike hereditary. They may partially coincide, as in most parliamentary monarchies, including England, where the representative principle commands one branch of the Legislature, while the hereditary principle is recognised and embodied in two. It is not necessary, however, to lay stress upon this point. The advocates of the abolition of the hereditary principle affirm what in their view ought to be, not what actually is. They hold that the representative principle ought not to be in any way qualified, and especially that it ought not to be qualified by the longer tolerance of a title in any person to take part in legislation by right of birth. The elective principle has become, they say, the ruling principle of the constitution, and everything else ought to be subordinated to it. It has become so paramount, members of Mr. Mill's school would urge, that some check and restriction are needed if the despotism of a single chamber, with all that involves, is to be avoided. The state of facts scarcely admits dispute: whether it calls for remedy or further development is the question at issue.

In substance the Constitution, as it is described in text-books, has already been to a great degree set aside. The forms remain, and will probably long remain. Political sovereignty nominally rests with the Queen in Parliament, as executive authority rests with the Queen in Council. But in fact the three powers in the State are ceasing, if they have not already ceased, to be the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. They are, to a large extent at present, and are likely to be to a larger extent in the future, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the House of Commons. For the Queen in Parliament we have the Prime Minister in Parliament, usually in the House of Commons; for the Queen in Council we have the Prime Minister in the Cabinet. I do not say that this transfer of functions has been, or is likely to be, precisely accomplished and formally acknowledged. The two systems at present subsist side by side, the younger and more vigorous clothing itself in the forms of the older and feebler, using the mechanism and the instruments which it presents, and submitting to the qualification and restriction which these methods, and the personal influence associated with them, impose on it. This habit of compromise and mutual adjustment between the old and new runs through our history; the essence of institutions is completely transformed, while the exterior aspect is retained, and the shells and framework of ancient edifices remain masking a reversal of their real function and character. In the political life of England, evolution has played the part which revolution has played in France, and in the long run evolution has been

more revolutionary than revolution itself. The monarchical, or more properly royal, aristocratic, and popular elements in the Constitution have shifted their places. With many ups and downs in the struggle, the monarchical element was predominant until the Revolution of 1688; the aristocratic element from 1688 to the Reform Act of 1832; the middle classes (bourgeois) element, 1832 to the Reform of 1868, or perhaps we ought to say till 1885; the people at large, or, if we name it from its most numerous portion, the working classes in town and country, from 1885. It is customary to speak of the English Constitution as a limited monarchy. It would now be more truly called a limited democracy. There are many signs that the democracy has become conscious of itself, and impatient of its old limitations.

The three new powers are only so many forms of one and the same power—that which is exercised by the electoral body of the United Kingdom. It chooses the House of Commons, which practically chooses the Prime Minister, who selects his own colleagues. At an earlier stage of our history, the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons were powers of different origin, and represented different forces and interests. The Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the House of Commons are diverse incarnations of one principle. It was a saying of Mr. Pitt that the Government of the many was practically the government of the very few. The representative system of England shows a tendency to degenerate into government by the caucus, the parliamentary agent, and the whip. The question which reformers or abolishers, enders or menders, of the second chamber have to consider is how far it is desirable further to weaken the restraints, already feeble, which check the popular impulse or the wire-pulling manœuvrer of the moment, or how far it is desirable or possible to invigorate them.

The first of these restraining influences is that of the monarchy. Its exclusion from the condemnation involved in the resolution submitted the other day to the House of Commons is purely arbitrary. For though there are only two Houses, there are three branches of the Legislature, of which it is one. The fact is that with respect to the power of the Crown, the maxim *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio* does not hold. It continues to exist because it does not show itself in active political work. The real influence of the Crown on legislation is no longer exercised in its last stage by freedom of assent or veto. The words *La Reyne le veult* are sure to be uttered with respect to any measure which has passed both Houses. But the royal power, nevertheless, is by no means abolished. It has its place in the earlier stages of a measure, and may possibly affect the form in which it shall be introduced, the greater or larger scope of its provisions, and even prevent its introduction in any shape. During the present reign it has, in all probability, never seriously interfered with the exercise of ministerial discretion. But this is a

state of things which began with the present reign. George the Third and George the Fourth both interposed to prevent the introduction of measures which their ministers considered imperatively called for by the public interest. Mr. Pitt would have carried Catholic emancipation but for the former; Mr. Canning might have carried it but for the latter. The dismissal of the ministry of Lord Melbourne by William the Fourth, in 1834, directly interfered with the principle of representative government, by imposing on the country an administration which was in a minority in the House of Commons, and which turned out, on appeal to the constituencies, to be in a minority in the country too. In this case the authority of one of the two hereditary branches of the Legislature—the Crown—directly suspended representative government by confiding power to a ministry which was not the choice of the majority of the House of Commons. If at any future time it should prove to be the fact that a ministry was hindered in the initial and preparatory stages of legislation in introducing such measures as it deemed right, and in the form which it deemed best, the power of the Crown would be viewed with the suspicion and dislike which now in many quarters attach to the House of Lords. But the discontent would be, not with the Crown as hereditary, but with the Crown as meddling and obstructive. Such a result would be a public misfortune. There is considerable advantage in the presence at the head of affairs and of society of a chief magistrate; trained in the methods and forms of government, disciplined by an experience which is continuous, and not interrupted, as that of every minister is, by long periods of opposition; accustomed to deal with the leaders of both parties; able to ease political change, and to moderate political contention; and introducing into public life that element of deference and ceremony which gives stateliness to public affairs, and, like the forms of courtesy in private life, becomingly clothes what would otherwise be the unseemly nakedness of individual self-will.

Where, as has been the case in England during the last fifty years, the hereditary principle, embodied in the Crown, cordially allies itself with the representative principle, as embodied in the House of Commons and in the ministers who are indirectly chosen by the House of Commons, co-operating with each party in turn as it comes into possession of power, and making itself its ally and instrument, no exception is taken to it. It is not, therefore, the hereditary principle in itself which is challenged by many of those who consider that the House of Lords has shown its inability to understand and to adapt itself to the political conditions which have existed since 1832, and to which the Parliamentary Reform of 1867-68 and of 1884-85 have given a more pronounced character. It is less as an hereditary chamber than as a partisan chamber, as an element of obstruction and conflict, interfering with the thoroughness and effi-

ciency of legislation, keeping open questions the prompt settlement of which is required by the public interest and by social peace, and impairing the authority of the executive government at home, and still more in the presence of foreign nations, that the House of Lords is criticised. It is regarded as the jarring and irreconcilable element in the Constitution enabling a defeated party to keep possession of one of the three branches of the Legislature. Measures are framed in a less perfect form than would otherwise be given to them in order to conciliate the peers. They are further marred when they reach the House of Lords; and this marred imperfection, this deformed, not transformed, but still further deformed, is accepted by the House of Commons and the country in order to avoid indefinite delays. The essential point in the smooth working of our constitutional system is that the three branches of the Legislature shall be in harmony as regards general principles; that the will of the country, shown primarily in the election of the House of Commons, shall also be expressed in the constitutional action of the Crown, and shall be reflected in the composition and predominant opinion of the House of Lords. This condition is satisfied as regards the monarch; it is set aside and reversed as regards the House of Lords. Fourteen Parliaments have been summoned since 1832. In only three of these, those of 1841, 1874, and practically 1886, has a Conservative majority been returned to the House of Commons. The Liberal party has had a parliamentary majority during forty-two of the fifty-six years which have passed since the first Reform Act. The Conservatives have had a majority in the House of Commons during about fourteen years of that time, yet, during the whole of this period, they have commanded, and have relentlessly used, an unwavering majority among the peers, rarely acquiescing in reform except as an escape from revolution.

The plea has lately been advanced that the House of Lords represents hereditary capacity, inherited genius; that it is the refuge and shelter of political ability; that it is a House of Statesmen, while the House of Commons is a House of Demagogues. It contains all these elements, but it contains much else. As a matter of fact, almost all the statesmen who have distinguished themselves in the House of Lords have first distinguished themselves in the House of Commons—the Duke of Argyll and Lord Rosebery are the only very conspicuous exceptions—and probably most of them would have been very glad if they could have remained there, and would be well pleased if they could return thither. The plea is an after-thought, and a rather ridiculous after-thought. The House of Lords has never, save by way of rare exception, represented hereditary brains, and was never intended to represent them. It represented in the first instance hereditary force. The great barons were the tenants in chief of the Crown, bound to render feudal service, with power to bring retainers into the field on the king's behalf, and ready enough

sometimes to bring them into the field against him. Primogeniture, as the rule of succession accompanied by the disability to alienate land without licence, came into use as the condition of keeping in one hand estates large enough to render efficient feudal service. The titles of Duke and Earl were not then, as now, mere fancy names, conferred for the sake of the look and sound, as a fashionable novelist might distribute them among his characters, but designations of office expressive of real functions of government, which were transmitted from father to son in the line of primogeniture. The Wars of the Roses practically destroyed the feudal aristocracy, which has scarcely a score of representatives in the present House of Lords. The old nobility, which the Duke of Rutland used to be so anxious to preserve, had disappeared three centuries and a half before he wrote. Only twenty-nine temporal peers were summoned to the first Parliament of Henry the Seventh. For the inheritance of force under the Plantagenet kings was substituted the inheritance of great estates under the Tudors, Stuarts, and the first three Georges. The new nobility had its beginning out of the spoil of the Church lands by Henry the Eighth, and peerages were sold by the Stuarts in almost open market. From that time until nearly the close of the eighteenth century the House of Lords was in the main an assemblage of the heads of great houses. The larger part of the wealth of the country was in its hands, in its most stable, secure, and ostentatious form, the land. The government from the close of the seventeenth until nearly the close of the eighteenth century, was government by great families and political connections. Mr. Pitt carried into the new Tory party, of which he was the founder, the dislike entertained by Chatham and Shelburne and the Whigs of their school to the great oligarchical families. It was his aim to swamp them in a mob of *parvenu* nobility. The new wealth which found openings in the institution of the Funding system, the spoil brought by adventurers from India, the development of manufacturing and commercial industry, as well as the ambition of the squirearchy, gave him materials for the new creations, by which he obtained political mastery of the House of Lords.

The same principle has been followed since. No one will pretend that Mr. Pitt and his successors have conferred peerages with the view of creating a house of hereditary ability. They have been given to reward or to secure service, faithful, though usually obscure, sometimes respectable, sometimes ignoble, and now and then to get rid of importunity. Therefore, if we admit to the full the doctrine of inherited intellectual qualities, the question arises, what sort of intellectual qualities are the majority of peers likely to hand down to their descendants? 'The twelfth transmitter of a foolish face' has as good a chance of being represented there as the possessor of inherited genius. The doctrine of heredity applies to dullness and feebleness quite as much as to force and ability.

The fact is that the majority of the peers are simply the audience before whom a few men of real capacity perform, men who would much rather perform in the House of Commons. Hereditary ability, moreover, does not require the protection of an hereditary chamber, especially when associated with hereditary wealth. It may trust itself to open competition. It is sure to be frankly and even in excess acknowledged. M. Baudrillart remarks that to bear the name and be the descendant of a 'Conventionnel' is in France a recommendation to the popular suffrage, and constitutes a sort of republican nobility. It is probably the name which he bears, quite as much as his personal qualities, which has made M. Carnot President of the French Republic. The Adamses and Lees have exhibited the working of the same principle in the United States. Political ability can take care of itself, and inherited political ability, associating the recollection of services, with the possession of wealth, does not need the protection of a second chamber. If the whole of the family brains, like the whole of the family estate, could be entailed on the eldest son, the principle of an hereditary legislature might have more to say for itself on the ground of heredity of genius than it has. Dr. Johnson, however, advocated the rule of primogeniture, on the ground that it made only one fool in a family. The principle that sent the second Lord Chatham and the second Lord Holland into the House of Lords, and retained the younger Pitt and the younger Fox in the House of Commons, cannot be recommended as securing an inheritance of ability for the upper chamber. If Pitt and Fox had succeeded to their father's peerages, our parliamentary history would have wanted its noblest illustrations, and the course of our national life might have been changed. The present Lord Salisbury, too, is a younger son, owing his place in the House of Lords to the accident of death as much as to the accident of birth. The Conservative party would probably be stronger in Parliament and the country if he had remained Lord Robert Cecil. So far, therefore, as the doctrine of inherited ability has any place in politics, it tells quite as much against as in favour of an hereditary second chamber. It often banishes to the House of Lords men whose true place is in the House of Commons. By a happy chance, it spared Pitt and Fox to the representative-chamber, but this was as purely an accident.

The House of Lords does not, then, represent hereditary ability save in a very few instances. The majority of its members are descended from ancestors who had little ability to transmit to their descendants. Its effect is to banish men of inherited ability from the chamber in which they could do the best service to the State, to one in which they are to a great degree thrown away. It dooms them to a sort of political exile. The doctrines of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Galton have been very wildly misapprehended by some of those who have applied them to the support of an hereditary second

chamber. Natural selection or the survival of the fittest depends on the struggle for existence which develops the powers of those who are engaged in the conflict. The secure position of the majority of the peers exempts them from the conditions of struggle and from the development of capacity consequent on it. The principle of artificial selection, to which we owe the creation of useful varieties of animals, which has produced the racehorse for speed, the dray-horse for strength, the foxhound for the chase, the house-dog for domestic protection, cannot be applied to the creation of a race of statesmen. If the Cotswold sheep or the Alderney cattle were allowed freedom of matrimonial alliance, their peculiar characters and usefulness would soon be lost. An Act of Parliament regulating the marriages of statesmen, and prohibiting unions outside the limits of certain chosen families, coupling Stanleys and Cecils, Cavendishes and Russells, would be necessary to give anything like a fair chance to the Darwinian theory in politics. This is indeed an experiment which Mr. Galton is apparently desirous of trying. He argues that as by careful selection of parents, and by preventing the more faulty members of the flock from breeding, a new race can be obtained in animals and plants, 'so a race of gifted men might be obtained under exactly similar conditions.' The scheme is one which might have suggested itself to Swift if he could have anticipated the doctrines of Darwin, and might have been worked out in detail in his college of political projectors at Lagado. As regards the House of Lords, Mr. Galton is very explicit. 'I cannot,' he says, 'think of any claim to respect put forward in modern days that is so entirely an imposture as that made by a peer on the ground of descent, who has neither been nobly educated, nor has any eminent kinsmen within three degrees.' As regards the majority of peers, therefore, the pretence of hereditary ability is, in Mr. Galton's view, a delusion. Noble education and inspiring family traditions are not confined to the peerage, still less to the eldest sons of peers. The scarce and scattered hereditary ability which is found in the House of Lords is to a great extent wasted, and would be more conspicuous and useful in another place.

It is not, therefore, as representing the heredity of political genius that the House of Lords can defend its existence. It has maintained itself hitherto because it represented an immense variety of social forces penetrating the community, and occupying nearly every field of the national life. It has only lately ceased to be in virtual possession, through its younger members and its dependants and allies, of the public services at home and abroad, in Church and State, officering the army and navy, filling diplomatic posts and colonial appointments, occupying the best places in the civil service, monopolising the lord-lieutenancies of counties, and discharging the duties of local magistracy, as well as securing more than its share in ministries of State. This support is now being withdrawn from it. The introduction of

free competition into the civil service, the abolition of purchase in the army, the limitations likely to be imposed upon private patronage in the Church, to say nothing of the possibility of disestablishment, the reconstruction of the whole system of county government, the probable abolition of an unpaid magistracy, the proper and inevitably increasing demand of the commercial and working classes for direct admission to political office, are cutting away the social supports on which the hereditary House has hitherto rested. It has come to be out of relation with the general constitution of society. It no longer represents, as it once did, the greater part even of the wealth of the country. With the abolition, which cannot long be delayed, of the rule of primogeniture and of entail, and the assimilation of the laws of inheritance in the case of real and personal property, the ground will probably be in a great degree almost literally cut from under the feet of a merely territorial aristocracy.

If a second chamber is to be maintained in our political system, it may continue to be called the House of Lords, but it is not likely to be very much longer the House of Lords as up to the present time we have known it. What is essential is that the three branches of the Legislature shall be in harmony with each other and with the Executive Government, co-operating and not conflicting. This condition, after a long struggle involving two revolutions, and sometimes coming dangerously near to a third, has been accomplished as regards the Crown, the Ministry, and the House of Commons. But the House of Lords is still, with the rare intervals of Conservative ascendancy, in opposition and hostility, limited by prudential fears, to the other powers of the State. It can only be brought into accord with the other elements of the Constitution by adding other qualifications to that of hereditary title. That is still a force, and it is desirable to retain it to some degree; but it is only one of many forces, and if we are to have a useful second chamber, co-operating with, and in co-operating on occasions restraining but not obstructively thwarting the House of Commons, it must ally itself with other forces.

-It is to the credit of Lord Rosebery that he has seen and has sketched the outlines of a second chamber which would complete the national representation in Parliament by including in it many elements which direct popular representation does not at present and is not likely in future to contribute to it. His proposals may be briefly summarised. He wisely adheres to what he calls that cardinal principle of English politics which respects old names and traditions, and would give a large place to the hereditary principle though associating it with a method of election which would presumably lead to the choice of the fittest, and would do much to convert the House of Lords into a genuine assembly of notables. He thinks that the Scotch and Irish peers should be created peers of the United Kingdom,

and that the body so enlarged should choose a certain number of representatives to sit in the House of Lords. The peerage would thus become as a whole a body of hereditary electors and of hereditary eligibles. There is no doubt that they would choose the most competent members, and if the principle of the representation of minorities were adopted, as in this case would be essential, no considerable peer of either party would fail to be chosen. The black sheep of the peerage would thus be automatically excluded, together with the vast body of habitual absentees, and those whom Lord Hervey called the mutes and starers—he was speaking of the Cabinet, the cheerers and starers is the parliamentary equivalent. The debating superiority and the business capacity of the House of Lords would still be maintained; and the hereditary principle which has a strong hold upon human nature would be respected, and by being associated with conspicuous talent and public service would be strengthened. To the peers thus chosen, Lord Rosebery would add a certain number of members ‘elected either by the future county boards or by the larger municipalities, or even by the House of Commons, or by all three.’ These members, owing their seats to popular election, direct or indirect, would presumably keep the House of Lords in closer touch with the national feeling and with the variations of that feeling. Lord Rosebery would further give seats to the Agents-general of the Colonies, so that, through the second chamber, the Empire at large would acquire direct parliamentary representation, and our greater dependencies an immediate parliamentary hearing, an arrangement which would lead to a more accurate understanding in England of colonial feelings and ideas, and to a more cordial and closer union of heart and mind.

Lord Rosebery does not directly take notice of the objection that the strict limitation, involved in his scheme, of the House of Lords to a fixed number not admitting of increase except by an Act of Parliament, would interfere with the prerogative of the Crown in creating peers to whom writs of summons should be issued, while it would leave to the minister of the day such a power of packing what we may call the electoral college of peers as to go far in determining a future election in his favour. This objection might be met by adopting and extending the rule now in force with respect to the Irish peerage, and allowing no peerage to be created except when an old peerage became extinct. This would prevent the minister from meeting obstruction by the creation or the threat of the creation of new peers. It might, moreover, revive the controversy which raged in the beginning of the eighteenth century against the Peerage Bill of Stanhope and Sunderland. To guard against the possibility of a dead-lock between the two Houses, and to ensure the carrying of measures passed through the House of Commons by considerable majorities, Lord Rosebery proposes that in case of difference between

the two Houses, they should meet in one assembly as a Grand Council of the nation, and that the measure should be determined by certain fixed majorities. The minority of the Lords added to the majority in the Commons would ordinarily secure a decision in favour of the latter, except when the majority in the Commons was very small and the minority in the Lords was very great. We doubt whether there is adequate security in this project for the exercise of that delaying power in the second chamber which enables it to appeal from a blind and passing impulse in the people to its wiser second thoughts. The difficulty would be to find a proportional majority which would not be at once too severe a restriction in ordinary, and an insufficient restriction in exceptional, instances. Take the case of a measure for the legislative separation of England and Ireland. It is quite possible that a large casual majority, the accident of an accident, a majority which would be too strong for the associated forces of opposition in the Grand Council, might carry such a measure through the House of Commons, against the deliberate judgment of the nation. The way in which this danger could be best guarded against would be by a reform, not of the House of Lords, but by a further reform of the House of Commons, establishing a system of proportional representation which should ensure that the majority in the House of Commons should correspond with the majority in the country. With this further safeguard Lord Rosebery's scheme would probably be as free from dangers and difficulties as political ingenuity can secure.

Lord Rosebery further proposes that those peers who decline or who have not received a writ of summons to the House of Lords—peers, that is, who have been elected and who refuse to sit, or who have not been elected—should be eligible for the House of Commons. In that case, we assume they would cease to belong to what we have called the electoral College of Peers. We do not gather from Lord Rosebery's speech whether he proposes that the representative peers of the United Kingdom shall be elected for life according to the Irish fashion, or for each successive Parliament in the Scotch manner. The latter scheme would probably be the best, as affording means for introducing young men of vigorous capacity, and getting rid of superfluous veterans whose part is played out although they do not know it.

Lord Rosebery rather pooch-poochs the idea of conferring life peerages in any considerable number on men eminent in literature, science, and art, as tending to convert the House of Lords into a zoological collection of celebrities. He does not, we think, attach sufficient importance to the desirability of associating the second chamber with the idea of intellectual distinction capable of popular recognition. The House of Lords should so far as possible be a splendid institution, and the theatrical and imposing side of it, on which Mr. Bagehot used strenuously to insist, cannot safely be left out of account. The presi-

dents of the Royal Society and of the Royal Academy, and of other bodies, might conveniently be members of the House of Lords during their terms of office. The suggestion of Lord Dunraven that the heads of the leading Nonconformist bodies should sit in the House of Lords deserves consideration. Their inclusion would probably abate some social and ecclesiastical jealousies, and would give the peers direct means, which they now lack, of acquaintance with the feelings and wishes of important classes.

Whatever may be thought of the details of Lord Rosebery's scheme, of what it takes in and what it leaves out, it essays in no unskilful way to reconcile ancient traditions with the new interests and ideas of society and politics, and to provide a safeguard against unchecked popular impulse, and the dominance of fixed ideas and fluctuating passions. It would make the House of Lords more truly representative of the various elements of the national life than it has been since the days when it monopolised many of them. It is matter for regret that Lord Salisbury did not feel himself able to give it more favourable consideration. He is not prepared to do more than consider the question of creating a quantity of life peerages connected with office, to call into political existence—such political existence as is possible to them—a quantity of Red-Tape Peers, qualifying an aristocracy by a bureaucracy. This would be to make narrowness more narrow. Special experience of one kind of work may make an expert in that work, but it seldom contributes to large judgment and prompt and fine appreciation of matters lying outside it. The elderly functionary will not supply the new blood which is needed to strengthen the system and stimulate the languid circulation of the House of Lords.

FRANK H. HILL.

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THE DEFENCELESSNESS OF LONDON.

THERE is no need to describe for the inhabitants of London the consequences of the seizure of the capital by a foreign army. The paralysis of law, administration, trade and commerce, the financial earthquake, its vibrations extending to distant lands, the misery of a population lying at an enemy's mercy, can be imagined by anybody. But what has never yet been made clear is the way in which the catastrophe may be obviated. If this were set distinctly before the mind of the people there can be little doubt that any approved measure of defence would receive general assent. It will be the object of this paper to describe briefly the military conditions of the case, to consider in general terms what means of defence we have, and how far they fulfil the purpose of rendering London secure.

It must be understood at the outset that this military problem only presents itself because it is necessary to supplement on land the means of protection which any fleet we have, or are likely to have, could afford. If the navy were augmented to the extent necessary for the full defence against all comers of our foreign possessions, our commerce, and our home waters, that would be all that we could desire. It is the insufficiency, under certain circumstances, of our fleet for these purposes, and the consequent possibility that an enemy, or combination of enemies, might obtain for a time the command of the Channel, which renders it so incumbent on us to place this island in a condition to take care of itself for a while; a condition which would in any case confer on the fleet the inestimable advantage of perfect freedom of movement.

Considered as the vital point in a theatre of war, the position of London is exceptionally perilous. An invading army always has, or should have, a distinct object in view, the attainment of which will be either victory, or a step giving assurance of victory. If the capital be near the invaded frontier, its seizure will be the object. If at a distance so considerable that it can hardly be reached in one campaign, then an intermediate locality will be aimed at where the invader can secure himself, can repair damages, re-organise his army, and establish an advanced base of operations. Thus Paris and Berlin are both removed far from the Rhine; Vienna is beyond the reach of a sudden blow from a bordering power; lines of defence, natural or fortified, exist between the frontier and the capital; so that the army of each country will have ample opportunities of interposing to protect the heart of the state, which can only be immediately threatened after a protracted conflict.

It is obvious that these conditions do not exist in the case of London. A large extent of our shore—the coast of Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire—presents landing places at an average distance of seventy miles from the metropolis. Ashore at any of these, the invader would be only four marches from the suburbs. Thus, no sooner has the enemy landed than the capital is imminently threatened. Nor is this its only, or, perhaps, its chief disadvantage. When the Germans arrived before Paris a long and arduous siege was before them. The fortifications enabled the French capital to hold out while the armies in the field tried their fortune elsewhere. But the invader of England would find no such obstacles awaiting him. Once in the suburbs a vast number of routes would conduct him to the heart of the city, and any opposition then possible must be offered in the streets.

It will be justly said that an invader could not march upon London without first disposing of our defensive army. The disembarkation would be observed, even by night, when the electric light would discover it; while it was proceeding our troops would be concentrating on the side threatened, where we must deliver battle, and it would only be after a decisive victory that he could continue his march. But this is not the case specially contemplated when speaking of the undefended condition of London. The case is rather that in which a corps, organised and equipped for a rapid movement, might either be thrown ashore by the invader at some other point when his main army is advancing, or might be detached from his main army to move round the flank of the defenders, and thence direct on the capital. Such a movement, if successful, would fully answer the purposes of paralysing the general plan of defence, of spreading indescribable panic, and of bringing pressure, perhaps irresistible, to bear on what in the shape of a Government might remain to us. And such a movement is within the scope of an

invader's plan because of the peculiar conditions of the case—namely, the proximity of London to so large a portion of our coast, and its undefended condition. These are the circumstances which, taken along with the immense augmentation of the fleets and armies of other powers, and the duties other than home defence which must be performed by our own, render the military problem at once so difficult and so pressing. In foreign states it is only necessary to perceive that certain measures of defence are necessary to render it certain that they will be taken. Invasion is a possibility which presents itself to the mind of every citizen. When a man can remember to have heard his grandmother describe what took place when the foreign troops marched in, it needs little to persuade him of the necessity of keeping them out next time. In England we are haunted by no such recollections. We look on the Continent with its great armies ready to move as a spectator looks on a game of chess in which he has a placid interest but no stake. If great armies exist, eager for war, that is no concern of ours. 'Let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung.' This easy confidence has no substantial foundation. It rests on fanciful bases; on the notion that we still retain that supremacy as a naval power which existed some generations ago; that for long centuries nobody has invaded us and nobody ever will; that people who talk of invasion are 'alarmists'; that we spend a great deal of money on our army and navy, and therefore it is incredible that they should not be sufficient for their purpose. The reason why a question so momentous can be disposed of in this slipshod fashion is that our people have not been accustomed, as continental peoples are, to look directly at it. As small objects in the foreground conceal the large features of the distance, so the wine and coal duties, the conversion of the Three per Cents., nay the exposure of the unverity of prominent politicians, the antics of light-headed seekers for notoriety, the howls of some truculent treason-monger at being subjected to a discipline all too light for his offences, and a succession of similar incidents which will be forgotten in a week, fix the attention of the public; while for the comparatively far-off event, on our security from which every social and political calculation must be based, we can only spare a passing glance. Until the last year or two the question of rendering the country safe has never excited any general interest; happily the people are now awakening to a sense of its importance, and it seems more than probable that measures of defence, if the need of them could be made clearly evident, would have a better chance now than ever before of being approved by those who will supply the means for their accomplishment.

A year ago the present writer pointed out in the House of Commons what the principal deficiencies were, gave an estimate of the sum necessary to place this island in a condition to defend itself,

whether from attacks on our ports or from invasion, and suggested that a sum should be raised by loan sufficient to render us secure, and that the work should be begun at once and pushed forward with all possible expedition as something which ought to be viewed as admitting of no delay. This year the Secretary for War has proposed to raise and set apart a sum for completing a portion of our defences. It is far short of what is wanted, or what the country may be expected to give; but that the Ministry should recognise the necessity of setting about the business in a special and earnest way, is a circumstance so full of hope that it ought to be accepted in a cheerful spirit. Now among the many pressing matters which still remain as a task for the future is the defence of London. In dealing with this subject it is necessary to distinguish between London as a port and London as a capital.

First, considered as a port. London is classed by the War Office as a military port because of the arsenals and dockyard involved in the defence of the Thames, and for the defence of the river provision is now to be made. But it evidently belongs to a different class from the purely military ports, Plymouth and Portsmouth, which derive their importance, not from their trade or wealth, but from their harbours and dockyards. London, in whatever class it may be convenient to place it, remains in the first rank among the commercial ports of the kingdom. Therefore when we read in the Secretary for War's memorandum that, in undertaking any works at these (the commercial ports) beyond the submarine defences, 'the Government is entitled to expect the co-operation of the localities which are to be so largely benefited by the protection of their trade,' London must be included among these localities with the very first and foremost. It will be expedient, then, to consider what kind of co-operation may be expected from it as a commercial port.

The War Office will undertake, in the case of the commercial ports, to supply not only the submarine mines and the light artillery which must in most cases be associated with them, but also the large guns required to keep cruisers at a distance, and the works in which to place the guns. On the other hand it may be expected that the ports will provide the sites for the works.

But, besides the War Office, the Admiralty must also bear an important part in the defence of these ports. The War Office undertakes the stationary defences; but floating defences are also considered indispensable and these must be determined by the Admiralty, and it is held that these should consist of gun-boats and torpedo boats, which, supported by the batteries on shore, will issue from the ports to meet the enemy's cruisers. In order to prepare for the successful action of these it will be necessary to maintain in each port a force of naval volunteers and also a permanent staff of trained men and officers who will instruct these volunteers, and supply the necessary

element of experience and authority when the time may come for manning these vessels, and employing them against an enemy. It will probably be expected that the ports will contribute as their share of the naval defence both the naval volunteers and the sum necessary to maintain the permanent staff. Neither of these bodies will be numerous—the crew of a gun-boat or torpedo boat may be calculated with the necessary reliefs as fifty men, and the permanent staff would only amount to seven or eight officers and men.

All this is, however, independent of the other pressing question, namely, the defence of London by land against the enterprises of an enemy's army. A point which is generally agreed on is this: that the troops for this duty should be a special and separate body, not subject to be summoned elsewhere on any emergency. And, although it would be no part of its purpose to recruit or reinforce the field army, it would be of essential service to that army by liberating it from the necessity of always interposing to defend the capital. Plans have formerly been set forth for defending London by surrounding it with permanent works, and if it were of reasonable dimensions this plan might be the best. But a consideration of the extent of the radius from the centre to the open country, and the consequent enormous sweep of the circumference, will show that the works would be so numerous as to require a vast force for their garrisons and an enormous sum for the purchase of sites and for their construction.

In view of these circumstances the present writer set forth a certain plan in this Review in March 1885, and in other ways since. It was offered, not as the best plan imaginable, but as one attainable with such means as were likely to be afforded. It was based on these suppositions:—(1) That the only force practically obtainable for the purpose would be Volunteers; (2) That the defence of London should be assigned to troops resident in and near it, specially designated and trained for that purpose, and independent of the field army or of the needs of other localities; (3) That instead of permanent works, an *entourage* of positions should be defined, and the mode of intrenching and occupying each of them studied by competent officers in all its particulars, and taught, and practised so far as can be done without actual execution on the ground, to the troops assigned for its defence.

In the case of the Volunteer Infantry, the idea at the base of the plan was this. It is in vain to expect from them, with their limited opportunities of instruction, the proficiency as a manœuvring force which regular troops attain to. Yet if they are to be of use, they must be capable of opposing the regular troops of the invader. This end is to be sought by restricting their instruction (after the elementary training, which should be the simplest possible) to a knowledge of how to prepare, occupy, and defend given portions

of actual ground. In this way not only all parts of the force, but to a great extent its individual members, would become familiar with their places in the line of battle, with the work they would be called on to perform in fortifying it, and with the mode in which they would be expected to defend it; and as the defence is a much simpler operation, and one which demands much less training and practice, than the attack (to say nothing of the power of manœuvring on the battle-field) all this ought to be within the capacity of the Volunteer Infantry, besides that essential accomplishment, efficiency in the use of the rifle.

The Volunteer Artillery would have an advantage of another kind, that of being armed with a weapon of much greater power than that which could accompany the landing and advance of an invader. In order to become efficient in its duties, it must be trained to work its own guns of position, and to place and use them in the works assigned to them in the line of battle. These guns should be drawn by teams of strong horses, levied by requisition, according to an organised system of registration, and driven by their own carters. And it would obviously be expedient that on fixed occasions the batteries should be thus horsed for practice, and exercised along with the infantry, so far as practicable, in their destined positions.

The Engineer Volunteers would be instructed in their own localities in the business of preparing the position defined in all its details, intrenchments, batteries, field-works, farms, villages, woods, buildings of all kinds; and must qualify themselves to plan and direct the construction of the works, and the necessary demolitions.

In this way, when invasion was expected, these Guards of London, assembled in convenient camps, would at once proceed to create, in the shortest possible time, on all sides where attack might be anticipated, intrenched positions, strengthened with field works and garnished with powerful artillery; which, when occupied by good riflemen, trained specially in the business of defending those particular positions, must needs be very formidable to the assailant. The riflemen would at once take up the places assigned to them, as the shooting line, the feeding line, the local reserves, and the general reserves; the gunners would know the exact distance of every point on the field of battle. In this way the disadvantage of brief time for training would to a great extent be obviated, the natural intelligence of the troops turned to account, and the confidence inspired which the feeling that they knew their business must impart.

In the before-mentioned plan it was estimated that it might be put in practice with 60,000 riflemen, 3,000 artillerymen, and 1,400 engineers directing workmen enrolled for the occasion.

It would become obviously a question, seeing the development to

which machine guns have attained, how far these should be added to the armament of the Volunteer force, for the purpose of meeting the attacks of the invader's infantry.

Now it is not pretended that the plan thus set forth is the best possible. But it has now been before the public for a considerable time—it was subjected when first made public to prolonged discussions by officers of all departments of the service—and it is the lowest estimate in point of force which, I believe, has been given. Let us see, then, how far its requirements could be met by the means at our disposal.

The London corps of Volunteer Riflemen available for the purpose muster, in round numbers, 30,000; of Militia 5,000, of Artillery 3,300, of Engineers 1,400.

First, then, as to how to make good the deficiency of riflemen. In all schemes for employing the Volunteers the fact must be allowed for that a great number of them are engaged in carrying on the daily business of the country. It is assumed therefore that, at the utmost, only one half of any corps could be employed at once for any length of time, to be relieved at due interval by the other half. On this ground it is computed that, after providing for garrisons and the defence of their own localities, there would still be from 50,000 to 60,000 Volunteers available for general purposes, taken from districts, such as the Midlands, not exposed to attack, and from others, like Scotland, where the Volunteers are more numerous than is needed. But to employ these in the defence of London would entail two disadvantages: first, that the army in the field and the garrisons would have no available reserve of Volunteers; secondly, that the principle of training men to occupy particular ground must be sacrificed. Thus the first line of the Volunteer force would be left without reinforcements, and the men would be used in a way that would deprive them, in an indefinite degree, of their value.

The Volunteer Artillery of the capital number between 3,000 and 4,000. A large part of these would be absorbed in the defence of the Thames—a perfectly legitimate duty of course for metropolitan troops—and it is at present uncertain what addition should be made for the defence of London. It would seem, therefore, that to put the above scheme, or any one grounded on similar bases, in execution, at least 25,000 riflemen, and a certain number of artillerymen, must be added to the Volunteers or Militia of London. It is assumed that, at a crisis, not half but the whole of these defenders of the capital would be forthcoming; if not, the number must be increased accordingly.

In the matter of artillery, not only the defenders of London, but also our army in the field (which will be by no means too strong for its purpose) should have the aid of guns of position. It goes without saying that to meet an emergency we must use what is at hand, and

we might scrape together of old 40-pounders, old 20-pounders, muzzle-loading 16-pounders, and the lighter part of the siege-train, enough in number for the defence of London; but any scheme of defence must include a sufficient supply, for all purposes, of guns of position of the most effective kind and newest pattern, and these have still to be manufactured.

Such, then, is the result of a comparison of the plan described with our existing resources. But it is needless to say that no plan could be adopted without being maturely considered and approved. And not till it is approved can it be set in operation. Meanwhile events will not await our convenience; foreign states will obstinately pursue their own plans without reference to it; and the outlook which the Continent affords at the present moment is at least uncomfortable. There are probably millions of people in this country who flatter themselves that nobody can possibly harbour evil designs against such an inoffensive and excellent nation as ourselves, and that if such designs did exist they would excite general reprobation. The facts, unfortunately, are quite different. Who are the friends that are to stand by us in time of need? All our great neighbours have known at one time or other what it is to be dominated by an enemy; our immunity has caused them no special satisfaction; and our calamities would excite no other general tone of reflection than this—that the turn of England, so long in coming, had come at last. The statesmen of the Continent, who without emotion saw Germany rise upon the ruin of France, would set about fresh schemes for the balance of power, in which England would no longer count, with dry eyes and cheerful countenances.

It is, then, because the subject of defence is so pressing that the present writer again and again invites attention to it. It is also because the concurrence of the public is so essential. All Governments in this country have a great reluctance to enter on any scheme which involves a large expenditure; therefore, however needful it may be, they prefer not to look at it, which it is easy not to do when there are so many less risky subjects to which to direct their attention. It is certain, therefore, that any serious and sufficient measures for the defence of London must be approved and aided, if not originated, by the municipal authorities of London, supported by the desire of the inhabitants. To them I would, then, commend the consideration of this paper. The fact must be accepted that any plan will cost money and entail inconvenience. To many minds these objections are insurmountable; but if they are to be allowed to prevail, that will be to proclaim that we are such slaves to our love of money and our dislike to incur inconvenience as to be incapable of exercising the faculty of self-defence which is an attribute of all who call themselves men.

EDWARD HAMLEY.

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

AN attempt was made in a previous number to give an account of the most material factors which require to be taken into consideration in framing any scheme of Local Government. They were shown to be—Counties, Unions, Urban Sanitary districts, Rural Sanitary districts, School Board districts, Highway districts and parishes. With the exception of counties and certain parishes, each of these districts has an elective administrative body involving the expenses of a separate registration and all the paraphernalia of a little local kingdom, and, above all, speaking generally, a separate rate or tax.

Two important factors in addition to the foregoing have to be considered: police, and, above all, licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors. The police are usually paid out of a separate rate, but are managed by the county and town authorities. The authority having jurisdiction in respect of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors is the justices acting either in quarter sessions, petty sessions, or licensing sessions; but no rate is required for the purposes of the licensing authority, as the expenses are paid out of the county rate as part of the expenses of the justices.

The origin of these areas and authorities is as various as their descriptions; three principles have been involved in their creation:—

1. Historical considerations.
2. Natural selection.
3. Official pedantry.

The county and the parish may be selected as having derived their birth from historical, or rather mythical, parentage, on the ground that no one can exactly discover the reasons why they assumed their present shape.

Probably counties owe their origin to small kingdoms formed by conquerors; and the resulting division of the land amongst the conquerors generated either manors or village communities, the germ of parishes—the one area, the county, being at the top, and the other, the parish, at the bottom of the scale of local areas in England. However this may be, their origin must be attributed to conditions arising rather from the political situation of the then existing communities than from any considerations as to their aptitude or

inaptitude for purposes of local government. Natural selection or a sense of the necessity, with a view to social advancement and mutual assistance, of combining together on particular spots, has led to the foundation of cities and towns. The larger towns require for their regulation larger powers of self-rule than smaller towns; and if from the first this principle had been followed, if the investiture of urban communities with judicial and sanitary powers had been graduated according to the scales of population, the contrast which now exists between towns of large populations with powers only a little more extensive than those of a country village, and of country towns scarcely larger than country villages, with a government not much less powerful than that of a large town, would never have existed, and consequently would not have led to the difficulties which occur in readjusting urban government.

Still even thus counties, towns, and parishes, had they been left to their natural affinities, would have admitted of rearrangement without any serious alteration of the existing powers of local government, or disturbance of existing obligations and liabilities. The possibility, however, of fitting on the new garments required by increasing civilisation to the old bodies was almost destroyed by the official pedantry which set down in the midst of the old authorities the new organisation of unions, in many cases overlapping counties, and mixing up in hopeless confusion towns and country villages, by reducing towns for the purposes of the poor law to the condition of mere aggregates of villages. Even so a hope remained of a satisfactory readjustment till the counter process took place under the sanitary laws of extracting the towns from the unions, and setting them apart each on its own isolated pedestal, and creating an area called a rural sanitary district out of the residue of the union.

Never were words so skilfully devised to disguise the real state of the county as the names urban and rural sanitary districts. The words seem to express the results of a careful and systematic organisation. An urban district implies an aggregation of men requiring police, sanitary laws, and other special laws for the regulation of a considerable number of individuals packed closely together. A rural district should properly mean a group of villages containing a considerable population, and so situate as to be adapted for subordination to a common system of rural government; instead of which urban districts are towns scattered over the whole county, varying in population, powers, and forms of government, and rural districts are broken scraps of unions grouped together from the mere accident of their having formed for poor-law purposes part of an area called a union.

The existing local authorities for the county are the Justices in Quarter Sessions and the Justices in Petty Sessions; the Guardians govern the unions, and are the sanitary authorities in both urban and

rural districts; Highway Boards in certain cases manage the highways; School Boards preside in school-board districts; and Vestries constitute the parochial authorities.

The powers of local government, having reference to the mode in which they have been and should be dealt with in Acts of Parliament, may be divided into three classes and be roughly described as follows:—

Class 1. County Powers.

1. Police.
2. Main roads.
3. Confirmatory and appellate powers in relation to licences for sale of intoxicating liquors.
4. General administrative powers of justices in quarter sessions.
5. Special administrative powers in relation to carrying into effect various Acts of Parliament—e.g. cattle-plague—and vested in counties and quarter-session boroughs.
6. The exercise of the central powers intended to be delegated and now exercised by the Local Government Board, Board of Trade, and the Home Office, with the reservation to the central authority of the power of making inquiries, receiving reports and appointing auditors.
7. The administration and distribution of subventions out of national funds.
8. The collection of certain taxes proposed to be handed over to the county authority.

Class 2. Intermediate or District Powers.

9. Poor-law relief and administration.
10. Town improvement and urban powers.
11. Powers of assessment committees.
12. Administrative powers of justices in petty sessions in respect of licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors and otherwise.
13. Inspection and prevention of nuisances.
14. Roads other than main roads.

Class 3. Parochial Powers.

15. Sewerage and drainage.
16. Elementary education.
17. Gas and water supply.
18. The establishment of public libraries and the execution of Acts the execution of which is vested in the parish authorities.
19. Powers and duties relating to registration and other matters vested in or imposed on the vestries or overseers.

Such are the materials which must necessarily enter into the construction of any Local Government Bill. It is time to see how

they have been arranged in the vast scheme of legislation proposed by the Government. The primary administrative areas of local government consist of counties and ten boroughs named in the schedule. The counties, with the exception of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, are counties at large, the Ridings of Yorkshire and the Parts of Lincolnshire being treated as separate counties. The Isle of Ely, the liberties of Peterborough and Ripon, and all other liberties are merged in the counties.

The boroughs named in the schedule are to be increased by the addition of eight more. They would properly have been named counties of towns, and practically include all towns having a population of more than 100,000 persons. The secondary administrative areas are called county districts. The faulty organisation of the union is here followed. The county districts are the existing urban and sanitary districts. An attempt is made to surmount the numerous overlapping towns and overlapping rural districts by declaring that an overlapping urban district is to be situate in that county in which the greatest part of the population is situate; and that overlapping rural sanitary districts are to be divided by the county boundary, the part in each county forming a separate rural district, or else being annexed to some existing rural district.

Four administrative areas are thus created: two primary areas—namely, counties at large, and boroughs of 100,000 inhabitants and upwards; two secondary areas called county districts, and consisting of urban sanitary districts and rural sanitary districts. How are these areas to be governed? With respect to the eighteen boroughs of 100,000 inhabitants or upwards the answer is obvious. They retain their municipal councils; but a new elective body must be created in the county, to be called the County Council, in place of the justices in quarter sessions.

The county council is to be constituted and be in the like position in all respects as the council of a borough, divided into wards, with the difference (why this condescension to old-world and antiquated prejudices?) that the mayor is to be addressed as chairman, the aldermen as selected councillors, and the other councillors as elective councillors, with a few other variations. In short, every county in England is to be assimilated to Birmingham, and to be parcelled out after the fashion of the wards of Birmingham.

The resemblance, however, between a county and a municipal borough is not so close as to preclude the necessity for giving special instructions as to the principles to be adopted in forming the wards. First as to the towns. Is it intended that the towns should be considered as altogether merged in the county, and that the whole area is to be cut up into sections containing equal populations, or is any provision to be made for a separation of the urban from the rural population? The answer to this question is to be found in the clauses

constituting the electoral areas—namely, 2, 41, 52. It appears to be as follows: Each electoral division is to contain as nearly as possible an equal number of electors, and such number, in the case of each county, will be considered the unit of population for that county. Each electoral division is to consist of entire county districts or combinations of entire county districts—that is to say, of whole towns, or whole rural sanitary districts, or combinations of such localities.

Each electoral division is to return one member only. Every borough having a single unit of population is to constitute a separate electoral division. Every borough having two or more units of population is to be divided into two or more electoral divisions. Every borough having a population of less than the required unit in amount will form part of some other electoral division. Such may be considered as the instructions of the Bill to the agents intended to parcel out the county. These agents are, for some reasons not intelligible at first, of two descriptions. The Local Government Board are to determine the number of members to be elected to the council, and, as a consequence, the county unit of population. They are next to determine the boroughs entitled to form an electoral division or more than one electoral division—a process which, as each electoral division is to return one member, will have the effect of fixing the number of borough members. The work of the Local Government Board is then concluded with respect to a county. The whole number of borough members is fixed; the boroughs are fixed which are to return county members and the number which each is to return. It follows as a consequence that the residue of members, after deducting the borough members, is to be returned by the rural districts—that is to say, by the whole county population, exclusive of the specified boroughs. Two more operations are required to complete the council arrangements—namely, to determine the boundaries of the rural divisions, and to determine, in the case of boroughs returning more than one member, the wards or urban electoral divisions. The rural part of this business is committed to the justices at quarter sessions; the urban boundaries of borough electoral divisions will be fixed by their municipal councils.

The scheme is so complicated that it can hardly be understood without an illustration. Take for example the county of Somerset—an instance extremely favourable to the Bill, as it is an agricultural county, and raises none of the difficulties which counties such as Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire present. Somersetshire has a population of 469,109, and contains seven boroughs: Bath, pop. 51,814; Bridgwater, pop. 12,007; Chard, pop. 2,411; Glastonbury, pop. 3,719; Taunton, pop. 16,614; Wells, pop. 4,634; Yeovil, pop. 8,479. Assume that the Local Government Board assign to Somersetshire 100 members, the county unit of population will be about 4,600. The Local Government Board must now deter-

mine the number of boroughs entitled to return members. Applying the above unit of population to the boroughs, it will be found that the borough members will be as follows: Bath, 11; Bridgwater, 2; Taunton, 3; Yeovil, 1; Wells, 1; total, 18. The other two boroughs not containing a unit of population will be merged in the counties. This leaves 100 members minus 18—that is to say, 82 members for the rural part of the county. The justices now step in, and divide the rural part of the county into 82 electoral divisions, consisting of groups of sanitary districts, each of which will be entitled to return one member. Bath, Bridgwater, and Taunton will also be divided into wards, each returning one member; but this division will be made by the municipal councils of the constituent boroughs.

This preference for boroughs over other towns will be productive of great injustice. For the purposes of the present Bill, boroughs have no claim whatever over local government districts or Improvement Act districts, and yet the two latter description of towns are not allowed to have any share of the urban representation. For example, reverting to Somersetshire, Weston-super-Mare, with a population of 12,882, has no separate representation, while Bridgwater, with a population of 12,007, is separately represented. A similar fate attends Frome, although it has a population of 9,376. Indeed a glance at any list of urban sanitary districts showing the population of the several towns will prove at once that no test but population can properly be adopted as the measure of the right of towns to be represented on the county council.

The county constituencies being settled, how are the members of the county council to be elected? This, as the Bill stands, can only be ascertained by the severest study. The words of the Bill are:—

Clause 2.—The council of a county and the members thereof shall be constituted and elected and conduct their proceedings in manner and be in the like position in all respects as the council of a borough divided into wards subject nevertheless to the provisions of this Act and in particular to the provisions mentioned in the clause.

This reference incorporates sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 22 (23, 24?), 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, of the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882, with the variations mentioned in Clause 2 of the Bill. The result would seem to be as follows: The council will consist of a chairman, elected councillors, and selected councillors. The elected councillors form the nucleus of the body.

The qualification of a councillor is found in section II. of the Municipal Corporations Act 1882, which, as amended by the Bill, provides that a person shall not be entitled to be a councillor unless he (a) is enrolled and entitled to be enrolled as a burgess, or registered or entitled to be registered as a county elector; or (b) being entitled to be so enrolled or registered in all respects except that of residence, is resident beyond seven miles but within fifteen miles of the county,

and is entered in the separate non-resident list directed to be made in pursuance of Act of Parliament; and (c) in either of those cases, is seised or possessed of real or personal property or both, to the value or amount, in the case of a county having four or more electoral divisions, of one thousand pounds, and in the case of any other county of five hundred pounds, or is rated to the poor rate in the county, in the case of a county having four or more electoral divisions, on the annual value of thirty pounds, and in the case of any other county of fifteen pounds.

Provided, that every person shall be qualified to be elected and to be a councillor who is, at the time of election, qualified to elect to the office of councillor; which last-mentioned qualification for being elected shall be alternative for and shall not repeal or take away any other qualification.

But if a person qualified under the last foregoing proviso ceases for six months to reside in the county, he shall cease to be qualified under that proviso, and his office shall become vacant, unless he was at the time of his election and continues to be qualified in some other manner.

A councillor will be disqualified according to section 12, if and while he (a) is an elective auditor or a revising assessor, or holds any office or place of profit, other than that of chairman, in the gift or disposal of the council; or (b) is in holy orders, or the regular minister of a dissenting congregation; or (c) has directly or indirectly, by himself or his partner, any share or interest in any contract or employment with, by, or on behalf of the council.

But a councillor will not be so disqualified, or be deemed to have any share or interest in such a contract or employment, by reason only of his having any share or interest in (a) any lease, sale, or purchase of land, or any agreement for the same; or (b) any agreement for the loan of money, or any security for the payment of money only; or (c) any newspaper in which any advertisement relating to the affairs of the county or council is inserted; or (d) any company which contracts with the council for lighting or supplying with water or insuring against fire any part of the county; or (e) any railway company, or any company incorporated by Act of Parliament or Royal charter, or under the Companies Act, 1862.

The term of office of a councillor will be three years.

The selected councillors shall be fit persons elected by the council.

The number of selected councillors will be one-third of the number of councillors.

A person will not be qualified to be elected or to be a selected councillor unless he is a councillor or qualified to be a councillor.

If a councillor is elected to, and accepts, the office of selected councillor, he vacates his office of councillor.

The term of office of selected councillor shall be six years.

On the ordinary day of election of selected councillors in every third year one half of the whole number of selected councillors shall go out of office, and their places shall be filled by election.

The half to go out shall be those who have been selected councillors for the longest time without re-election.

The chairman must be a fit person elected by the council from among the selected councillors, councillors, or persons qualified to be such.

An outgoing selected councillor is eligible.

The term of office of the chairman will be one year, but he will continue in office until his successor has accepted office and made and subscribed the required declaration.

He may receive such remuneration as the council think reasonable.

He will, with certain exceptions in relation to county justices, have precedence in all places in the county.

The chairman may appoint a deputy.

Clauses 42, 43 and 44 of the Bill give the constitution of the rural and urban district councils.

A rural district is governed in all respects as if it were a county, the council being elected in the same manner and with the same reference to the Municipal Corporations Act, with this inexplicable difference, that one-third of the district councillors retire each year: and with the same absurdity of apparently making the chairman of the district council have precedence in his own district, not only over the lord lieutenant and sheriff, but over the chairman of the county council itself. The urban districts, if boroughs, will be governed by their councils; improvement commissioners and local boards will be superseded by district councils.

One word, before passing away from the county and district areas, on the form of the Bill. The establishment of the county and district areas and the constitution of the county and district authorities by incorporating certain clauses of the Municipal Corporations Act, instead of setting out the provisions at length, are alike inconvenient and deceptive. It is inconvenient to the reader, because it requires him to adjust in his mind a long and complicated series of enactments to a different set of circumstances. It is inconvenient in a parliamentary sense, because it renders it impossible to move amendments in an intelligible form. It is deceptive, because it disguises the real character of the new institutions by a general reference which conveys no intimation whatever of their nature.

For example, who would discover without minute investigation that as soon as the Bill is passed into an Act a person in holy orders or the regular minister of a dissenting congregation is disqualified from being elected as a councillor either on a county or district council? Yet this follows from the fact that a person holding such an office is disqualified from being a municipal councillor. It will

be said that incorporation of enactments is the fashion at the present moment and shortens and simplifies Bills. Undoubtedly incorporation is right or wrong according to circumstances: it is right if it merely refers to well-known procedure, such as the sections of the Summary Jurisdiction Act; it is wrong if it evades direct enactments, each of which may very properly form the subject of amendment, by substituting a reference to an Act no part of which is brought under the notice of Parliament.

Having established as primary authorities the county council and the municipal councils of boroughs made co-ordinate with counties, and as secondary authorities the county urban districts and the county rural districts, the Bill distributes between these authorities the whole mass of local government powers, with the exception of the poor-law and school-board powers, which are left outstanding. To state these powers in detail is impracticable, but speaking generally the county council takes—

1. County police.
2. Main roads.
3. The powers of the justices, both in and out of quarter sessions, in relation to licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors.
4. The general administrative powers of the justices in quarter sessions.
5. The special administrative powers in relation to carrying into effect various Acts of Parliament—e.g. Cattle-plague Acts—and vested in counties and quarter-sessions boroughs.
6. The exercise of certain central powers now exercised by government departments.
7. The administration and distribution of subventions out of national funds, and the proceeds of certain taxes made over to the county council.

The urban district council takes—

1. Town improvements and urban powers.
2. Inspection and prevention of nuisances.
3. Sewerage and drainage and highway powers.
4. Gas and water supply, and the parochial powers relating to the establishment of public libraries, and the execution of Acts the execution of which is vested in the parish.
5. Certain licensing powers.

Rural district councils take the powers 2, 3, 4, 5, with the exclusion of gas supply.

The scheme relating to the police seems to be as follows (clauses 3, 7, 29, 35, 40):—Counties and boroughs with a population of 10,000 will be the only areas which retain a separate police force. All other police areas, however large or small, will be forthwith extinguished. This extinction extends to liberties such as the Isle of Ely and to combined police districts. The police thus

centralised and consolidated are, as hitherto in the boroughs authorised to have police, to be raised, managed, and maintained by the council; but in the counties a dual government, or perhaps it may be called with more justice a triple government, is to prevail. The power of the purse-strings—*i.e.* the making, assessing, and levying a police rate, and the application and expenditure thereof—is to rest wholly with the county council, so that not a man can be raised or maintained without the permission of the county council; and, further, the council will have full powers to give or withhold the imperial grant. The appointment and *control* and dismissal of the chief constable—that is to say, of the commander-in-chief of the county army—is to remain with the justices in quarter sessions (Clause 7), but the power of directing the police to perform all ordinary duties is vested in a joint committee of the county council and justices, whilst quarter sessions and the county council have concurrent jurisdiction as to extraordinary duties. Who shall decide when councils and justices disagree?

The proverbial incompetence of a council of war to conduct a campaign or fight a battle would be perfection compared with this scheme, if tested by an order by the justices in quarter sessions directing the chief constable to make a raid on adulterations of food. The joint committee forbid the constables to obey their chief, and the county council, dissatisfied alike with the obedience of the chief constable and the disobedience of the constables, refuse to pay either the one or the other. Assuredly a more certain plan for making the maintenance of order impossible, and creating a standing feud between the police and the county council, was never devised by the ingenuity of man. And why this distrust of the county council, to be composed, we are told, of the flower of the country gentlemen and yeomen? Are not the yeomen of Warwickshire as law-abiding and true as the burghers of Birmingham? Are the country gentlemen of Lancashire so inferior to the aldermen of Manchester that the one can be trusted with the absolute control of their town, while the others are not worthy to keep the Queen's peace in their county?

Surely the proper course would be to make the chairman of the county council responsible for the peace of his county to the same extent as the mayor of a borough is responsible for the peace of his borough, and to give the council absolute control over the police.

The roads are divided between the county and district authority according to their importance. The main roads throughout the county are placed under the management of the county council, with this exception, that any urban authority may claim to retain in their own hands the management of their roads. This provision placing in the hands of the county authority roads leading through large towns would seem open to considerable objection, as the repairs of the pavement in a town of considerable magnitude, and the maintenance

of carriageways requiring wood pavement or other expensive covering, would seem to specially fall under the management and be liable to be maintained by the town itself.

Urban authorities retain their jurisdiction over all highways except main roads, while by Clause 46 the rural roads, so to speak, hitherto maintainable by parishes and highway boards, are transferred to the rural district councils.

All the powers of granting licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors relatively exercised by the justices in quarter sessions or petty sessions are transferred to the county council. In order to enable the council to carry these powers into effect, the county is to be parcelled out in new divisions to be called licensing divisions, and to be presided over by a licensing authority. The licensing divisions are to be towns consisting of 50,000 inhabitants and upwards, and groups of electoral divisions returning not less than six elective county councillors.

The licensing authority consists in towns of not less than 50,000 inhabitants of six members, being county councillors if the number of councillors representing the town on the county council equal six, or, if their number is less than six, of county councillors and councillors chosen by the municipal or district council to make up the deficiency. In rural licensing divisions the county councillors will form the licensing authority. In both urban and rural licensing divisions the county council are to add to the licensing authority a number of selected councillors not exceeding a third. The licensing authority is obliged to refuse the renewal of licences which are forfeited by conviction or otherwise. If it refuses to renew licences for the purpose of diminishing the number of public-houses and not for cause shown, they must grant compensation to be settled by arbitration, and to be paid as a general rule out of a rate levied in the licensing district, but with power for the council to impose the burden of paying the compensation on the whole county or on any part of the county.

The selection of the franchise was an important point to be determined by the Bill. The choice was a narrow one; it lay between the parliamentary franchise and the municipal franchise.

The parliamentary franchise is fourfold: the freehold franchise, which is a property franchise, and consists in the ownership of a freehold of the annual value of 40s. and upwards; the dwelling-house franchise, which means the occupation of a dwelling-house; the lodger franchise, which depends on the occupation of lodgings of the clear yearly value of 10*l.*; the 10*l.* land and tenement occupation franchise, which enables any man to vote who occupies any land or tenement of the value of 10*l.* within the constituent area.

The distinguishing characteristics of the parliamentary franchise are, shortly, as follows: The freehold franchise involves ownership; the dwelling-house and lodger franchises require residence or in-

habitaney—that is to say, the voter must sleep or dwell in the house or lodgings. No value is required in the case of a dwelling-house, while 10*l.* clear yearly value is essential in the case of lodgings. The line of demarcation between a dwelling-house and lodgings is not readily traced as respects tenement houses; but the law is settled for practical purposes, and need not be discussed here. The 10*l.* land and tenement franchise involves, as respects tenure, occupancy, but not residence. For example, a man may reside in one county, and in another hold land which has no dwelling-house on it or even a shed; but if the land be of the requisite annual value he is entitled to the land and tenement franchise.

The municipal franchise was established by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, 6 & 7 Wm. IV. ch. 76, s. 9, and was materially extended in 1869, to bring it more into accord with the Conservative Reform Act of 1867, and is now found in section 9 of the Consolidation Act of 1882. Its material conditions are occupation of a house, warehouse, counting-house, shop, or other building, and residence within the borough or within seven miles of the borough.

On comparing the parliamentary and municipal franchises little difference is apparent in respect to their greater or less degree of Radicalism or Conservatism. As a chain is not stronger than its weakest link, so a franchise is not more Conservative than its lowest qualification. Now the lowest parliamentary qualification is the occupation of a dwelling-house. The lowest municipal qualification is the occupation of any shed—which is at first sight less than that of a dwelling-house; but, as residence in the borough or within seven miles of the borough is a condition of the municipal qualification, it is practically a franchise involving a dwelling-house plus a shed. Apart, however, from political considerations, there is a certain grotesqueness in the idea that a resident at Chertsey, who owns a pigsty in Berkshire, has an interest in the local politics of Berkshire, six miles off, because a merchant residing at Chorlton and having a warehouse in Manchester is rightly considered to have an interest in the local politics of Manchester. Further, why cut the county connection so completely as to exclude the old historical freeholder, the 10*l.* lodger and the 10*l.* occupier? Is not a non-resident owner of 100,000 acres in a county, although he resides more than seven miles from its boundary, as much interested in the welfare of that county as if he resided within seven miles of its limits, and was the possessor of three acres and a cow-stall for the proverbial cow situate within the county? Similar arguments apply to the 10*l.* occupier franchise and the lodger franchise. Surely in this case what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The higher parliamentary franchise should at least be treated as equal to the lower municipal franchise.

It is a matter of rather curious speculation as to what merit raised the municipal franchise to this bad eminence of being exalted above

the parliamentary. Everybody knows that women can vote under the municipal franchise and not under the parliamentary. Everybody knows that women must have the franchise for local purposes. Is it possible that the Government wished to do good by stealth, and therefore incorporated a provision of the Municipal Corporations Act, instead of adopting the parliamentary franchise and adding that 'man' should, in the interpretation of the Franchise Act, include 'woman' for local purposes? If so, they will blush to have their secret benevolence disclosed. Or is it the case that the President of the Local Government Board has sought to bury his intention in a multitude of clauses to escape debate, possibly with the same success as the ostrich who buries his head in the sand to escape pursuit? It must be admitted that female influence has not been wholly predominant. A woman acquires a vote for the county and district councils, but by the same mysterious incorporated clauses she is disqualified from sitting on the district council for sanitary matters, though she may sit on the Board of Guardians, having jurisdiction within a portion of the same area for poor-law purposes. Why this exclusion? It would seem to require further explanation.

The most serious question of all is the necessity for a double registration if the municipal franchise be adopted for the counties. The parliamentary franchise is universal; the other, the municipal, is confined to the boroughs. Select the first, and you will have one revision, one register, practically—one system of law. Take the second, and you have the county overlaid with two systems, and not the less difficult to carry into execution that, as regards the lowest qualification, the one is only distinguishable from the other by an almost microscopic examination. A single amendment would suffice—abolish the municipal franchise, and the parliamentary franchise steps at once into its place, with the addition, for local purposes, of qualified women.

Pausing to take stock of the Bill, it is wonderful how little improvement it effects in its 109 pages, except the transfer of the county powers of the justices to an elective county council—a very little bread to a great deal of sack. It makes two new areas—an electoral area and a licensing area; it abolishes none—except here and there a burial-board district, and here and there a highway district. It does not correct the anomaly of the small boroughs having far too great powers, and the large towns which are not boroughs enjoying too little. It does not, in apportioning the representation of a county, take any account of the large towns, unless they occupy the favoured position of boroughs. With respect to parishes, these disappear for practical purposes from the map of England; their powers are thrust indiscriminately into the hands of the district council. In the case of the urban districts, the change amounts only to a merger in the town of its constituent parishes. To this there seems little objection, as the fact that parishes have elected to combine together into urban

communities shows that their inhabitants have common interests, common wants, and common sympathies; but how about the rural districts? What is the fate of the rural villages, the pride of English scenery, the one feature in which England excels the world? Assuredly the framer of the scheme in the Bill loved to hear 'the mouse squeak rather than the eagle shriek.' The village powers are crushed and transferred to a council elected by communities which, it cannot be repeated too often, have no common bond, except the accidental circumstance that for the most part they constitute the rural fragments of a union formed by pedantry and maintained by uncompromising officialism. Where is now the Mr. Goschen of 1871, who incorporated the parish and consolidated the rate? Surely his second thoughts are not best which have assented to a measure by which a parish of 1,000 or 1,500 inhabitants ceases to have any vitality, and is governed by a council which, except through its representatives, knows nothing of the parish and has no interest in its well-being. What has Hodge done to merit this social degradation? Is it that squires in certain counties are afraid that the worms may turn, that the 'village Hampdens' may, if the power of parochial rating be retained, 'withstand the little tyrants of their fields'? Why, forsooth, are the parson and the dissenting minister—the natural protectors of the poor—to be excluded from the district council? They have hitherto sat on boards of guardians, and why is this exclusion not openly avowed, instead of being hidden under the ever-recurring phrase that this or that locality is to be assimilated to a borough?

The clergymen and the dissenting ministers may well be excluded in a borough where there is no lack of active and pushing candidates for municipal offices; but in many country districts they are the sole representatives of culture and education. Above all, why disqualify the unbeneficed clergyman and leave the unattached dissenting minister to take office?

By what means has the old English gentleman been got at to make him believe that a plan which unsettles the whole of rural England without settling any one area or dealing with the greatest of all grievances—the multiplicity of rates—constitutes a proper basis of self-government and local independence?

But is there no alternative to the Government scheme? Is the simplification of areas and of local authorities an object beyond attainment? Let us try, at all events, to devise some other plan by starting on our enterprise from a standpoint differing altogether from that from which the President of the Local Government Board set out to frame the Bill which he has laid before Parliament. Let us forget for a moment that aspect of England presented in the Bill. Let us regard a county not as a borough divided into wards, but as an area in which are to be found here and there towns of greater or

less size, but the larger part of which is occupied by rural parishes consisting of small groups of houses and a population scattered over fields, heaths, and commons. Each of the parishes is a unity having a common interest, an ancient government, a capacity and a habit of providing for its own necessities. In some cases the parish is too small to be left to itself, and requires to be grouped with or annexed to other parishes. The towns are also made up of parishes or parts of parishes; but there the unity is the town, the parochial is merged in the town interest, and it might be well to merge the parishes for secular purposes in the town.

The problem is this: A county council has to be formed supreme over towns and country; the towns must be represented on the county council, as it will exercise superintending county powers, especially the central powers; as they might be called, over them. On the other hand, the towns will, to a great degree, stand aloof from the rest of the county under their own government.

The first step in whatever plan is adopted is to vest in the county council all county powers; the next, to vest in the parish all the parochial powers.

Is an intermediate area necessary, or may the intermediate powers be parcelled out between the county and the parish? Now, without deciding this question, it may be stated at once that an absolute necessity arises for an intermediate area from the impossibility of electing a county council without providing electoral divisions. A list of from fifty to two hundred members to be chosen *en masse* by a county would amount to little more than a commission to a caucus on one side or the other to select a body of members to be blindly returned by dependent voters. What, then, should be the area? Can any existing division be adopted? The rural sanitary districts are, as has been said above, mere groups of disjointed parishes extending frequently beyond the boundaries of the county; petty-sessional divisions are of too unequal a size to qualify them for adoption. Highway districts might perhaps have successfully competed for the honour, but they have been so partially adopted as to afford little aid to a general plan for the division of counties. The conclusion then seems inevitable that the intermediate district must be groups of parishes and towns framed in the first instance by the Local Government Board, or a commission, or the justices in quarter sessions, or some other delegated authority, with power for the county council to alter such groups with the approbation of the Local Government Board or some other central authority. No doubt some parliamentary instruction must be given for the guidance of the authority to whom the powers of division are given; for example, towns of 20,000 population and upwards must form separate electoral urban areas, and towns under that population must be grouped with the county villages into rural electoral areas. A further question is important in relation to the demarca-

tion of electoral areas—namely, should they be mere electoral areas, as is the case with parliamentary divisions, or should they also be administrative areas; and, if administrative areas, should such areas be governed by subordinate councils or by committees of the county council? With respect to the town of 20,000 inhabitants and upwards, the question is answered at once. They are necessarily, by their very constitution, administrative areas: if boroughs, governed by the town council; if Improvement Act districts, by improvement commissioners; if local board districts, by the local boards. The authorities of such areas should of course retain their existing powers, with the exception of quarter-session boroughs invested with what have been called special administrative county powers, which would be surrendered to the county. The case, however, of a rural electoral district differs widely from that of an urban; it may consist of a number of small towns, being parishes or local government districts, and of country villages. The towns must be left to their urban organisation. There remain only the villages to be governed by a district council.

Now, if it were possible to transfer at once the poor-law powers to the district, a council would at once be required, as the poor-law administration would in itself be of sufficient consequence to give employment to a district council. No doubt such a transfer would be for the best, and the whole system of local government would thus be *totus teres atque rotundus*, as symmetrical as the Anglo-Saxon divisions of county, borough, hundred, tithing, or parish. Such a plan, however, involves the readjustment to a great extent of the poor-law unions, and consequently the disturbance of the existing incidence of poor-law rating.

No changes in the union are or can be made at once; but the electoral divisions should be so formed as to admit of their being substituted as soon as practicable, say within three or four years, for the present unions. When this is done, a district council will be required for each electoral district; but until then the intermediate powers might be delegated to a committee of the county council, consisting of the members representing the electoral area, with the addition, if necessary, of other members to be added by the county council.

Throughout the above observations relating to counties it is assumed that towns of 100,000 inhabitants and upwards should, as in the Bill, be made separate urban counties, retaining their municipal organisations and invested with county and all other powers of local government. Proceeding thus far, we have, as primary areas, counties and counties of towns; as primary authorities, county councils and the municipal councils of counties of towns. We have, as secondary areas, electoral divisions framed by some local authority, with the obligation to make every town of 20,000 inhabitants or upwards into a separate urban electoral district. Let the towns of 20,000 inhabitants be called district boroughs, the rural electoral

divisions hundreds. The superintending authorities of these districts will in the case of the district boroughs be their municipal councils, in the case of the hundreds be a hundred committee of the county council. There remain to be considered the constituent elements of the hundreds. These elements are:—

1. Parishes and parts of parishes.
2. Towns of less than 20,000 inhabitants. *a.* Boroughs; *b.* Improvement Act districts; *c.* Local government districts, which may be called corporate towns.

Begin at the bottom of the scale. Parishes under a population of 500 are too small to exercise any power of government, and should be grouped into tithings of 1000 and upwards. Both parishes and tithings should be incorporated after the model of Mr. Goschen's Bill of 1871, and should be governed by a parochial committee of not less than three nor more than twenty persons. This committee should have at its head a chairman elected annually, who should in all matters concerning the parish represent the parish in its intercourse with other bodies. The parochial committee should have vested in them all the parochial powers, but they should be subject to the control of the district committee and of the county council.

Boroughs should retain their existing powers, and in addition should be invested with all the secular powers of their component parishes. A similar form should be adopted with Improvement Act districts and local government districts, with this exception—that where a local government district has a population of less than 1000 it should cease to be incorporated, and should be resolved into its component parishes. Each of these bodies—parishes, tithings, corporate towns—should be a separate unit of rating, forming the area for the levy of a consolidated rate out of which the expenses of the area itself and contributions to other rates would be paid.

The result of the foregoing observations may be gathered into a few sentences. England, as in the Government Bill, should be divided into counties and counties of towns; the counties of towns to consist of the eighteen towns having a population of more than 100,000 and upwards. These towns would be governed by their municipal councils, who should have concentrated in them all the local powers of government. The county would be divided into one-membered electoral districts, containing as nearly as possible the same unit of population, to be determined by dividing the population by the number of members allotted to the county by the Local Government Board.

The electoral divisions would be named hundreds and district towns; the district towns to consist of towns containing a population of 20,000 and upwards. The district towns would be governed by their existing councils, improvement commissioners, or local govern-

ment boards. They would be deprived, where they possess them, of their county special statutory powers, but should possess all other powers of local government except the county powers. The hundreds would consist of the smaller towns and villages. Until the unions are readjusted and poor-law powers given them, they would be governed by a committee of the county council, which should be clothed with the intermediate powers, especially the licensing powers of petty sessions. Villages should be incorporated and governed by parochial committees, as was proposed in Mr. Goschen's Bill of 1871, and when containing a population of less than 500 should be grouped together. The smaller towns would be left to their existing government, with the addition of parochial powers. The villages and groups of villages to be called tithings would exercise parochial powers. There should be an appeal from the local authorities of the smaller towns and villages to the hundred committee of the county council, and from them to the county council itself. When the unions have been readjusted, it would be advisable, probably, to have hundred councils elected by the inhabitants of the hundred.

One word with respect to the metropolis. By the Bill the whole affair is despatched in about two clauses. The metropolis is to be a county called the county of London, with the City of London degraded to the position of a quarter-sessions borough in that county—Gog and Magog to be deposed from the Guildhall, and to adorn a quarter-sessions court. The most powerful, the richest city in the world is to be classed with Bedford and Buckingham, and one hundred other small quarter-sessions boroughs. The Lord Mayor—the envy of foreigners, the theme of song, the successor of Whittington—to be reduced to a level with the mayor of a quarter-sessions borough! And for what reason? *Divide et impera*. would seem to be the maxim of the present Government. A county council outside the City, an antagonistic municipal council inside the City—two kings, not in Brentford, but in the metropolis, are safer than one. Why this distrust of friends? Surely the obvious course is to make one united London; to expand the City, with its ancient traditions, its world-wide renown, its mythical wealth, into the metropolis, and subject all to a reformed City government. Far better retain matters as they stand than continue under another name the present absurd division of jurisdiction between the metropolis and the City.

The last but most important portion of the Bill which requires to be noticed is the financial scheme. Here is to be found the motive power—the Bill moves on wheels of gold.

Two million has hitherto been the amount of Imperial subventions for local purposes; 5,000,000*l.* will henceforth go into the pockets of the ratepayers, giving 3,000,000*l.* as the 'solatium' to the justices for disestablishment. The 5,000,000*l.* is provided as

follows: The duties on publicans' licences and retail licences for the sale of intoxicating liquors, and licences to deal in game, are to be collected by the county council for local purposes. The amount of these duties is calculated to be 1,378,143*l.* The Imperial officers will continue to receive the duties in relation to the following licences: Beer-dealers, spirit-dealers, sweets-dealers, wine-dealers, refreshment-house-keepers, tobacco-dealers, carriages or other vehicles, horses, armorial bearings, male servants, dogs, killing game, guns, appraisers, auctioneers, house-agents, pawnbrokers, plate-dealers, but will hand over the proceeds derived from each county to the county council. Besides this a contribution is to be made from personalty or probate duty for local purposes. Here at once a question arises as to how the amount is to be distributed among the several counties. The reply is somewhat startling to those unversed in the learning of political economy. It is this: according to the indoor pauperism—that is to say, the number of paupers in the workhouses of the county. At first sight this would seem an excellent mode for multiplying paupers, somewhat in the same manner as, if an imperial contribution for the punishment of crime in a county were to be distributed in proportion to the number of summary convictions in that county, people would think that it would not be improbable that fines for small crimes would diminish and imprisonment increase. It is justified, however, on the plea of the necessity that exists of keeping in check the mischievous tendency of false humanitarianism to grant outdoor relief indiscriminately. It must be admitted, however, that it is a plan calculated to grind the faces of the poor, and it may be doubted whether a milder remedy might not have been applied to the cure of an admitted evil.

The total of the above-mentioned contributions for local purposes will amount, we are told, to 5,000,000*l.* The expenditure will be, shortly, as follows: The subventions now paid from the imperial exchequer to teachers in poor-law schools, poor-law medical officers, medical officers of health and inspectors of nuisances, registrars of births and deaths, pauper lunatics, criminal prosecutions, police, grants to poor school-boards, awards to public vaccinators, will cease, and will henceforth be paid by the county council out of the moneys granted to them. Next, the county council is required to pay 4*d.* per head per day towards the maintenance of the indoor poor; further, they must provide for the expenses of keeping up the main roads and general county purposes. Lastly, if any surplus remains, it will be divided between the quarter-sessions boroughs not contributing to special county purposes, and the rest of the county according to rateable value. The result being, as was stated above, a bribe to the ratepayers of 3,000,000*l.*

The car of the local Juggernaut with such a golden impetus may well crush alike Gog and Magog, the City of London, and every rural

village. Pity it is that in a Bill which rouses no party opposition, so little should be done to conform to the old historic associations of county, hundred, parish; so great a deference should be shown to municipal organisation as practically to adopt it as the only institution for the regulation of every county, every borough, every town, every village, from Berwick-on-Tweed to the Land's End.

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THE DISENCHANTMENT OF FRANCE.

Quod procul a nobis flectat Fortuna gubernans!

Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa

Succidere horrisono posse omnia victa fragore.

LUCRETIVS.

It has fallen to the lot of the French people to point more morals, to emphasise more lessons from their own experience than any other nation in modern history. Parties and creeds of the most conflicting types have appealed to Paris in turn for their brightest example, their most significant warning. The strength of monarchy and the risks of despotism; the nobility of faith, and the cruel cowardice of bigotry; the ardour of republican fraternity and the terrors of anarchic disintegration—the most famous instance of any and every extreme is to be found in the long annals of France. And so long as the French mind, at once logical and mobile, continues to be the first to catch and focus the influences which are slowly beginning to tell on neighbouring States, so long will its evolution possess for us the unique interest of a glimpse into stages of development through which our own national mind also may be destined ere long to pass.

Yet there has of late been a kind of reluctance on the part of other civilised countries to take to themselves the lessons which French history still can teach. In Germany there has been a tone of reprobation, an opposition of French vice to Teuton virtue; and in England there has been some aloofness of feeling, some disposition to think that the French have fallen through their own fault into a decadence which our robust nation need not fear.

In the brief review, however, which this paper will contain of certain gloomy symptoms in the spiritual state of France we shall keep entirely clear of any disparaging comparisons or insinuated blame. Rather we shall regard France as the most sensitive organ of the European body politic; we shall feel that her dangers of to-day are ours of to-morrow, and that unless there be salvation for her our own prospects are dark indeed.

But in the first place, it may be asked, what right have we to speak of France as *decadent* at all? The word, indeed, is so constantly employed by French authors of the day that the foreigner may assume without impertinence that there is some fitness in its

use. Yet have we here much more than a fashion of speaking? the humour of men who are 'sad as night for very wantonness,' who play with the notion of national decline as a rich man in temporary embarrassment may play with the notion of ruin? France is richer and more populous than ever before; her soldiers still fight bravely, and the mass of her population, as judged by the statistics of crime, or by the colourless half-sheet which forms the only national newspaper,¹ is at any rate tranquil and orderly. Compare the state of France now with her state just a century since, before the outbreak of the Revolution. Observers who noted that misgovernment and misery, those hordes of bandits prowling over the untilled fields, assumed it as manifest that, not the French monarchy only, but France herself, was crumbling in irremediable decay. And yet a few years later the very children reared as half-slaves, half-beggars, on black-bread and ditch-water were marching with banners flying into Vienna and Moscow. One must be wary in predicting the decline of a nation which holds in reserve a spring of energy such as this.

Once more. Not physically alone, but intellectually, France has never, perhaps, been so strong as she is now. She is lacking, indeed, in statesmen of the first order, in poets and artists of lofty achievement, and, if our diagnosis be correct, she must inevitably lack such men as these. But on the other hand her living *savants* probably form as wise, as disinterested a group of intellectual leaders as any epoch of her history has known. And she listens to them with a new deference; she receives respectfully even the bitter home-truths of M. Taine; she honours M. Renan instead of persecuting him; she makes M. Pasteur her national hero. These men and men like these are virtually at the head of France; and if the love of truth, the search for truth, fortifies a nation, then assuredly France should be stronger now than under any of her kings or her Cæsars.

Yet here we come to the very crux of the whole inquiry. If we maintain that an increasing knowledge of truth is necessarily a strength or advantage to a nation or an individual, we are assuming an affirmative answer to two weighty questions: the first, whether the scheme of the universe is on the whole good rather than evil; the second, whether even granting that the sum of things is good, each advancing step of our knowledge of the universe brings with it an increased realisation of that ultimate goodness. Of course if we return to the first question the pessimistic answer—if the world is a bad place and cosmic suicide the only reasonable thing—the present discussion may at once be closed. For in that case there is

¹ *Le Petit Journal* has a circulation of nearly a million. What it does contain, or why it is taken, it might be hard to say; but at least it does *not* contain anything which could raise a blush, or prompt to an unlawful action. Provincial life in France seldom finds literary expression (see Theuriet, Pierre Loti, Ferdinand Fabre); when it rises to a certain intellectual level it seems to merge irresistibly into the life of Paris.

no such thing as progress, no such thing as recovery; and the moral discouragement of France does but indicate her advance upon the road which we must all inevitably travel.

Let us assume, however, as is commonly assumed without too curious question, that the universe is good, and that to know the truth about it is on the whole an invigorating thing. Yet even thus it is by no means clear that each onward step we make in learning that truth will in itself be felt as invigorating. All analogy is against such a supposition; whether we turn to the history of philosophy, and the depression repeatedly following on the collapse of specious but premature conceptions, or to the history of individual minds, and the despair of the beginner in every art or study when he recognises that he has made a false start; that he knows almost nothing; that the problems are far more difficult than his ignorance had suspected.

Now I think it is not hard to show that France, even on the most hopeful view of her, is at present passing through a moment of spiritual reaction such as this. In that country where the pure dicta of science reign in the intellectual classes with less interference from custom, sentiment, tradition than even in Germany itself, we shall find that science, at her present point, is a depressing, a disintegrating energy.

And therefore when we compare the present state of France with her state a century ago, we must not rank her dominant *savants* as a source of national strength. Rather they are a source of disenchantment, of *disillusionment*, to use the phrase of commonest recurrence in modern French literature and speech. Personally, indeed, the class of *savants* includes many an example of unselfish diligence, of stoical candour, but their virtues are personal to themselves, and the upshot of their teaching affords no stable basis for virtue.

We may say, then, that in 1888 France possesses everything except illusions; in 1788 she possessed illusions and nothing else. The Reign of Reason, the Return to Nature, the Social Contract, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity—the whole air of that wild time buzzed with new hatched Chimæras, while at the same time the old traditions of Catholicism, Loyalty, Honour, were still living in many an ardent heart.

What, then, is in effect the disenchantment which France has undergone? What are the illusions—the so-called, so-judged illusions which are fading now before the influence of science? How is a foreigner to analyse the confused changes in a great people's spiritual life? Must not his own personal acquaintance with Frenchmen, which is sure to be slight and shallow, unduly influence his judgment of the nation? It seems to me that he must set aside his personal acquaintanceships and form his opinion from current literature and current events; endeavouring so far as may be

to elicit such general views of life as may be latent in the varying utterances of novelist, essayist, politician, philosopher, and poet. Thus reading and thus comparing, we shall discern a gradual atrophy of certain habits of thought, certain traditional notions; and if we class as *illusions* these old conceptions from which the French people seems gradually to be awakening, we find them reducible to four main heads: the *religious*, the *political*, the *sexual* and the *personal* illusions.

I. By the 'religious illusion'—speaking, it will be remembered, from the point of view of the Frenchman of the type now under discussion—I mean a belief in the moral government of the world, generally involving a belief in man's future life, in which life we may suppose virtue victorious, and the earth's injustices redressed. These cardinal beliefs, now everywhere on the defensive, are plainly losing ground in France more rapidly than elsewhere. And the strange thing is that while Christianity thus declines it seems to leave in France so little regret behind it; that its disappearance is signalised only by loud battles between 'Liberalism' and 'Clericalism,' not, as in England, by sad attempts at reconciliation, by the regrets and appeals of slowly-severing men. A book like Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*, nay even a book like Lamennais' *Paroles d'un Croyant*, would now be felt to be an anachronism. Militant Catholicism seems almost to have died out with M. Veuillot's articles in the *Univers*; and an application to a high ecclesiastical authority for recent defences of the faith brought only a recommendation to read the Bishops' Charges, the *mandements d'évêque*. Paradox as it may seem, M. Renan is almost the only French writer of influence who believes that Christianity—of course a Christianity without miracles—will be in any sense the religion of the future; and his recent utterances show that pious sentiment, in his hands, is liable to sudden and unexpected transformations. A passage from the preface to his play *L'Abbesse de Jouarre* (1886) will illustrate the facility with which 'the cult of the ideal' when freed from 'the support of superstition' flows along lines of least resistance, and into a less austere and strenuous mould.

The Abbess, too intelligent to believe in the dogmas which (from the highest motives) she has outwardly supported, and finding herself, under the Reign of Terror, confronted with the immediate prospect of death, yields (from the highest motives) to the solicitations of a fellow-prisoner, who ardently admires her. But it so happens that she is *not* guillotined; and she afterwards experiences a delicate distress in reconciling what may be termed the morality of great crises to the conventions of ordinary life. In a passage which in these pages I can only partially quote M. Renan explains and defends her.

That which, at the hour of death, must needs assume a character of absolute sincerity, is love. I often imagine that if humanity were to acquire the certain knowledge that the world was to come to an end in two or three days, love would break out on every side with a sort of frenzy; for love is held in check only by the absolutely necessary restrictions which the moral preservation of human society has imposed. When one perceived oneself confronted by a sudden and certain death, nature alone would speak; the strongest of her instincts, constantly checked and thwarted, would reassume its rights; a cry would burst from every breast when one knew that one might approach with perfect lawfulness the tree guarded by so many anathemas. . . . The world's last sigh would be as it were a kiss of sympathy addressed to the universe—and perhaps to somewhat that is beyond. One would die in the sentiment of the highest adoration, and in the most perfect act of prayer. . . .

I hope that my Abbess may please those idealists who have no need to believe in the existence of disembodied spirits in order to believe in duty, and who know that moral nobility does not depend on metaphysical opinions. In these days one hears men for ever talking—and from the most opposite camps—of the enfeeblement of religious beliefs. How careful, in such a matter, one should be to avoid misunderstanding! Religious beliefs transform themselves; they lose their symbolical envelope, which is a mere encumbrance, and have no further need of the support of superstition. But the philosopher's soul is unaffected by these necessary evolutions. The true, the beautiful, the good are in themselves sufficiently attractive to need no authority which shall ordain, nor reward which shall sanction them. Love, especially, will for ever maintain its sacred character. Modern paradoxes inspire me with no more anxiety as to the persistence of the cult of the ideal than as to the perpetuation of the race. The danger would begin only on that day when women ceased to be fair, flowers to open voluptuously, birds to sing. In our temperate climes, and among our pleasure-loving peoples, this danger, thank God, seems still sufficiently remote.

The ancient maxim, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' has never lacked, and will never lack, its eager advocates; but this is perhaps the first time that it has been preached as virtually *identical* with that very religion to which 'le fougueux apôtre,' as M. Renan gently terms St. Paul, imagined it to be directly *opposed*. The best *pendant* to the optimistic hymn above quoted may be found in a passage from M. Bourget, a critic of no starched austerity nor bigoted temper, but whose imagination pictures the mind of our successors when the flowers, the birds, the women, delight no more; when the thorns, to speak with Biblical plainness, have ceased to crackle under the pot.

Science (he says) has rendered it impossible to repose faith in any supernatural revelation, while at the same time she proclaims herself unable to unriddle the problems of which revelation offered a solution. There are some who have thought to find the remedy for this new and singular crisis by imagining the human race in the future as delivered from all thought of the Beyond, and indifferent to what we call the Absolute. But this is a gratuitous hypothesis, and seems little in harmony with the general march of thought. We have a better right, on the other hand, to predict that civilisation as it advances will subtilise ever further our nervous sensibility—will develop the weary sadness of hearts which no known pleasure satisfies, and whose unquenchable ardour yearns to slake itself at some inexhaustible spring. It is probable that in the final bankruptcy of hope to which science is leading us, many of these souls will sink into a despair such as Pascal would have

sunk into had he lost his faith. The gulf whence we issue painfully, and which with pain we re-enter, will open itself before them, for ever black and void. There will be revolts of spirit, rebellions more typical than any age has known. Life will be unbearable with the knowledge that there is no more hope to understand it, and that the same sign of fruitless question hangs for ever over the horizon of man. It will not be strange if in those days a sect of nihilists should arise, possessed with a frenzy of destruction such as those alone can comprehend who have felt within themselves the tightening clutch of spiritual death. To know that one cannot know—to be assured that no assurance is possible—ah, cruel anguish! which, spreading like a plague through the millions of men, will summon them as it were to an anti-crusade—a war against the spirit. Then in that day, and if the nightmare which I am evoking becomes fact indeed, other souls, gentler and more inclined to a happy interpretation of man's fate, will oppose to this rebellious pessimism an optimism of melancholy peace. If the problem of the universe is insoluble, an answer may be conjectured which harmonises with our moral needs, our emotional cravings. The hypothesis of hope has its chance of being true no less than the hypothesis of despair. In M. Renan we have a finished exemplar of the religious sentiments which would unite the uncertain believers of that cruel age; and who shall venture to assert that the impulse of formless faith which sums up the disenchanted optimism of this historian of our dying religion does not express the essence of all of worship that shall remain immortal in this splendid and miserable temple which is the heart of man?

II. Let us pass on to the second class of illusions from which France seems finally to have awakened. Under the title of 'the political illusion' we may include two divergent yet not wholly disparate emotions—the enthusiasm of loyalty and the enthusiasm of equality. Each of these enthusiasms has done in old times great things for France; each in turn has seemed to offer a self-evident, nay a divine organisation of the perplexed affairs of men. But each in turn has lost its efficacy. There is now scarcely a name but General Boulanger's in France which will raise a cheer; scarcely even a Socialistic Utopia for which a man would care to die. The younger nations, accustomed to look to France for inspiration, feel the dryness of that ancient source. 'Ils ne croient à rien,' said a Russian of the Nihilists, 'mais ils ont besoin du martyre.' The Nihilists, indeed, are like the lemmings, which swim out to sea in obedience to an instinct that bids them seek a continent long since sunk beneath the waves. Gentle anarchists, pious atheists, they follow the blind instinct of self-devotion which makes the force of a naïve, an unworldly people. But there is now no intelligible object of devotion left for them to seek; and they go to the mines and to the gibbet without grasping a single principle or formulating a single hope. These are the pupils of modern France; and in France herself the nihilistic disillusionment works itself out unhindered by the old impulse to die for an idea. The French have died for too many ideas already; and just as they have ceased to idealise man's relationship to God, so have they ceased at last to idealise his relationship to his fellow-men.

III. But the process of disillusionment can be traced deeper still.

Closer to us, in one sense, than our relation to the universe as a whole, more intimate than our relation to our fellow-citizens, is the mutual relation between the sexes. An emotion such as love, at once vague, complex, and absorbing, is eminently open to fresh interpretation as the result of modern analysis. And on comparing what may be called the enchanted and disenchanted estimates of this passion—the view of Plato, for instance, and the view of Schopenhauer—we find that the discordance goes to the very root of the conception; that what in Plato's view is the accident is in Schopenhauer's the essential; that what Plato esteemed as the very aim and essence is for Schopenhauer a delusive figment, a witchery cast over man's young inexperience, from which adult reason should shake itself wholly free. For Plato the act of idealisation which constitutes love is closely akin to the act of idealisation which constitutes worship. The sudden passion which carries the lover beyond all thought of self is the result of a memory and a yearning which the beloved one's presence stirs within him—a memory of antenatal visions, a yearning towards the home of the soul. The true end of love is mutual ennoblement; its fruition lies in the unseen. Or if we look to its earthly issue, it is not children only who are born from such unions as these, but from that fusion of earnest spirits great thoughts, just laws, noble institutions spring, 'a fairer progeny than any child of man.'

Not one of the speculations of antiquity outdid in lofty originality this theme of Plato's. And, however deeply the changing conditions of civilisation might modify the outward forms or setting of love, this far-reaching conception has been immanent in the poet's mind, and has made of love an integral element in the spiritual scheme of things. 'Love was given,' says Wordsworth in a poem which strangely harmonises the antique and the modern ideal—

Love was given,
Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end;
For this the passion to excess was driven—
That self might be annulled: her bondage prove
The fetters of a dream, opposed to Love.

And even when the passion has not been thus directly linked with ethical aims it has been credited with a heaven-sent, a mysterious charm; like the beauty and scent of flowers, it has been regarded as a joy given to us for the mere end of joy.

In recent years, however, a wholly different aspect of the passion of love has been raised into prominence. This new theory—for it is hardly less—is something much deeper than the mere satirical depreciation, the mere ascetic horror, of the female sex. It recognises the mystery, the illusion, the potency of love, but it urges that this dominating illusion is no heaven-descended charm of life, but the result of terrene evolution, and that, so far from being salutary

to the individual, it is expressly designed to entrap him into subserving the ends of the *race*, even when death to himself (or herself) is the immediate consequence. It was in England that the facts in natural history which point to this conclusion were first set forth; it was in Germany that a philosophical theory was founded (even before most of those facts were known) upon these blind efforts of the race, working through the passions of the individual, yet often to his ruin; but it is in France that we witness the actual entry of this theory into the affairs of life—the gradual dissipation of the ‘sexual illusion’ which nature has so long been weaving with unconscious magic around the senses and the imagination of man.

In the first place, then, human attractiveness has suffered something of the same loss of romance which has fallen upon the scent and colour of flowers, since we have realised that these have been developed as an attraction to moths and other insects, whose visits to the flower are necessary to secure effective fertilisation. Our own attractiveness in each other’s eyes seems no longer to point to some divine reminiscence; rather it is a character which natural and sexual selection must needs have developed if our race was to persist at all; and it is paralleled by elaborate and often grotesque æsthetic allurements throughout the range of organised creatures of separate sex.

Once more. The great Roman poet of ‘wheat and woodland, tilth and vineyard, hive and horse and herd’ insisted long ago on the divergence, throughout animated nature, of the promptings of amorous passion and of self-preservation. Passing beyond the facile optimism of pastoral singers, he showed the peace, the strength, the life of the animal creation at the mercy of an instinct which they can neither comprehend nor disobey. *In furias ignemque ruunt.* Advancing science has both confirmed and explained this profound observation. She has discovered instances where the instinct in question conducts not merely to a remote and contingent but to an immediate and inevitable death; and where yet it works itself out with unflinching punctuality. And she has demonstrated that in the race of races the individual must not pause for breath; his happiness, his length of days, must be subordinated to the supreme purpose of leaving a progeny which can successfully prolong the endless struggle. And here the bitter philosophy of Schopenhauer steps in, and shows that as man rises from the savage state the form of the illusive witchery changes, but the witchery is still the same. Nature is still prompting us to subserve the advantage of the race—an advantage which is not our own—though she uses now such delicate baits as artistic admiration, spiritual sympathy, the union of kindred souls. Behind and beneath all these is still her old unconscious striving; but she can scarcely any longer outwit us; we now desire neither the pangs of passion, nor the restraints of marriage, nor the burden of

offspring ; while for the race we need care nothing, or may deem it best and most merciful that the race itself should lapse and pass away.

The insensible advance of this sexual disenchantment will show itself first and most obviously in the imaginative literature of a nation. And the transition from Romanticism to so-called Naturalism in fiction which is the conspicuous fact of the day in France is ill understood if it is taken to be a mere change in literary fashion, a mere reaction against sentimental and stylistic extravagance. The Naturalists claim, and the claim is just, that they seek at least a closer analogy with the methods of Science herself ; that they rest, not on fantastic fancies, but on the *documents humains* which are furnished by the actual life of every day. But, on the other hand, the very fact that this is all which they desire to do is enough to prove that even this will scarcely be worth the doing. The fact that they thus shrink from idealising bespeaks an epoch barren in ideal. Schopenhauer boasted that he had destroyed 'die Dame,' the chivalrous conception of woman as a superior being ; and such novels as those of Flaubert, Zola, Maupassant, Huysmans, exhibit the world with this illusion gone. If, moreover, the relations between men and women are not kept, in a sense, *above* the relations between men and men, they will rapidly fall *below* them. We are led into a world of joyless vice from the sheer decay of the conception of virtue.

Mr. Henry James's analysis of M. de Maupassant's works will be fresh in many recollections. And I may add some corroborative words, not from Scherer or Brunetière or any critic who stands upon the ancient ways, and whose disapproval may be discounted beforehand, but from the friendly pen of M. Lemaître, whose description is not meant to carry moral reprobation along with it.

M. de Maupassant, too, is affected with that newest malady of authors—namely, pessimism, and the strange desire to represent the world as ugly and brutal, governed by blind instincts . . . and at the same time to exhibit with an amount of detail never previously equalled this world which is neither interesting in itself nor as a subject of art ; so that the pleasure which the writer and the reader who comprehends him enjoy is derived only from irony, pride, egoistic gratification. There is here no thought of what was once termed the ideal, no preoccupation with morality, no sympathy with mankind, but at most a contemptuous pity of the absurd and wretched race of men. On the other hand, we find a scientific skill in playing with the world as an object of sense, apt for our delectation ; the interest which is refused to things in themselves is bestowed wholly on the art of rendering them in a form as plastic as possible. On the whole, the attitude is that of some misanthropic, scornful, and lascivious god.²

Yet neither this criticism nor Mr. Henry James's exhibits fully, as it seems to me, the essential weakness and emptiness of M. de Maupassant and others of the same school. Their vigour is the mere expression of their own youth and health, cleverness and prosperity ;

² *Les Contemporains*, p. 301.

there is no indication of any reserve of moral strength, of any stoical courage, any assured philosophy which would render them in a true sense superiors of the objects of their contemptuous dissection. A few lines from M. Bourget, describing the disciples of Flaubert, will illustrate my meaning here.

They exhibit the human animal as dominated by his environment, and almost incapable of an individual reaction against surrounding things. Hence springs that despairing fatalism which is the philosophy of all the existing school of novelists. Hence the renunciation, ever more marked, of larger hopes, of generous ardours, of whatsoever among our intimate energies can be called faith in an ideal. And since our age is smitten with a malady of the will, the psychology of our fashionable literature adjusts itself to the gradual weakening of the inward spring. Slowly, in many a mind which the romances of our day have shaped, the conviction is formed that effort is useless, that the force of external causes cannot be withstood.³

IV. And thus we are brought, by a natural transition, to the fourth and last illusion from which French thought is shaking itself free—the illusion which pervades man more profoundly than any other—the dream of his own free-will, and of his psychical unity. It is in the analysis of this *personal illusion* that much of the acutest French work has lately been done; it is here that ordinary French opinion is perhaps furthest removed from the English type; and it is here, moreover, as I shall presently indicate, it is on this field of experimental psychology that the decisive battles of the next century seem likely to be fought. In this paper, however, I must keep clear of detail, and must touch only on the general effect of the mass of teaching of which Taine and Ribot on the psychological side, Charcot and Richet on the physiological side, may serve as representatives. These names might be supplemented by many more; and indeed it is in this direction of physiological psychology, in the widest sense, that the strongest stream of French intellect seems to me to be at present flowing.

As regards the freedom of the will, indeed, it might have been supposed that the controversy had now been waged too long to admit of much accession of novel argument. Nor, of course, can any theory which we hold as to human free-will reasonably influence our actions one way or the other. Yet we know that as a matter of actual observation Mahomedan fatalism does influence conduct, and the determinism which is becoming definitely the creed of France may similarly be traced throughout their modern pictures of life and character as a paralysing influence in moments of decisive choice, of moral crisis. The following passage—the only one for which I can here find space—will show the unhesitating way in which the French mind presses home conclusions which, though based in a large measure on English doctrines, are seldom so trenchantly formulated at home:—

³ *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*, 1st series, p. 166.

Is personality (inquires M. Ribot), is character independent of heredity? The problem is important, since it involves the question whether the power of heredity has any assignable limit. It is plain that there are only two possible hypotheses: we may either admit that at each birth a special act of creation infuses into each being the germ of character and personality, or we may admit that this germ is the product of earlier generations, and is inevitably deduced from the character of the parents and the circumstances under which the new life is originated. The first of these hypotheses is so far from scientific that it is not worth discussing. We are left to the second view. And here we find ourselves brought abruptly back to the very heart of our subject. We thought that we were escaping from heredity, and now we find it in the very form which forms the most intimate and personal element of our being. After having shown by a long enumeration of facts that the sensitive and intellectual faculties are transmitted, that one may inherit a given instinct, a given passion, a given type of imagination, just as easily as a tendency to consumption, to rickets, to longevity, we hoped at least that a part of the psychic life lay outside determinism, that the character, the person, the self, escaped the law of heredity; but no, heredity, which is equivalent to determinism, envelops us on every side, without and within.⁴

We have now traced the spread in France of what I have termed disenchantment over the main departments of moral and intellectual life. It might remain to ask whether any definite test exists, reducible to numbers, by which we can measure the effect on national prosperity of this less firm and eager grasp on existence. This might be attempted in many ways, though considering the subtlety of the motives at work we cannot expect more than an inferential, an approximate result. Setting aside in this paper the subject of relative frequency of *suicide* (where the comparison between one nation and another is much complicated by differences in the material welfare of the lower classes), I will briefly consider in what way this disenchanted temper affects the central problem of the French publicist—the practical cessation of the growth of population. ‘A vrai dire, c’est le péril national tout entier,’ says Professor Richet of this check in numbers; ‘il n’en existe pas d’autre.’

To us in England, of course, the opposite view is more familiar. We feel the perils, not of defect of population, but of excess; and so far as our own comfort is concerned we should be glad indeed if our numbers were as stationary as in France. And if all European nations agreed to limit population—just as if all nations agreed to disarm—an epoch of marked material prosperity would no doubt ensue. At present, however, there seems no chance whatever of this, and we are engaged in a general scramble to overstock our own countries, and thence to overspread the earth. A nation which falls out of this scramble may gain in comfort for the time, but it will lose its status; its specific type will become relatively unimportant; its thought and literature will lose their power with mankind. Great and powerful though France is now, such countries as Holland and Belgium are not without their warning for her in the near

⁴ *L'hérédité psychologique*, 2nd edit. p. 323.

future. In fifty years, if the present rates of increase are maintained, she will rank sixth only among European nations. In 150 years she will have sunk almost beneath consideration in a world of Russians and Germans, Anglo-Saxons and Chinese.⁵ Without reproducing the elaborate computations by which the relative decline of France has been exhibited by statisticians, it is enough to say that in the present acute phase of national competition France cannot afford to forego the motive power of the *ver sacrum*—of yearly swarms of young men pressing forward to develop their country either by colonisation without her borders, or by novel and eager enterprise within. At the same time it is of course desirable that multiplication should be combined with *providence*—that the increase of numbers should not proceed from the lowest and most reckless classes alone. Now in comparing the natality or rate of increase of different provinces in France, it seems that the increase is rapid in two main quarters—first (as with ourselves) among the degraded inhabitants of the poorer quarters of great cities, and secondly in those provinces where Catholicism is still a dominant power. Between Catholic Brittany and freethinking Normandy the contrast is striking; and the more so inasmuch as the difference of *race* between these provinces seems all in favour of the Norman population, whose young mothers, indeed, are in special request for the benefit of infants other than their own. Yet the annual births in Brittany are thirty-three for each thousand of population; in Normandy only nineteen.

Now in the educated classes, where rapidity of increase is still more important, the impulses in either direction, though less crudely defined, are not therefore less potent. On the one side there are the wish for new objects of affection and the satisfaction with the lot upon which the children will enter; on the other side, besides the obvious economical reasons, there are the decline in the value set upon existence and the doubt whether it is well to summon new beings as sensitive as ourselves into a world which to each fresh generation seems to loom more awful in the obscurity of its meaning and of its end.

A few quotations may show that this is no imaginary picture; and my first instance shall be taken from the loftiest, the sincerest of living French poets—the author whose name comes first to the lips of a Frenchman, challenged to prove that the tradition of ‘high thinking’ is not yet extinct. In his poem *Le vœu* M. Sully-Prudhomme

⁵ See Professor Charles Richet's articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15 and June 1, 1882; and M. E. Cheysson's paper in *La réforme sociale*, July 1, 1883. M. Guyau in his *L'irréligion de l'avenir* (p. 274, &c.) draws out the connection between this decline in population and the decay of religious belief. As between Brittany and Normandy, for instance, the difference is not due to Norman prudence alone; for the Breton is also prudent, but in a different way;—he postpones marriage till (at an average age of 34 for men, 29 for women) a property sufficient for a good-sized family has been amassed.

draws the following practical lesson from a contemplation of the misery of man :—

Du plus aveugle instinct je me veux rendre maître,
Hélas ! non par vertu, mais par compassion.
Dans l'invisible essaim des condamnés à naître,
Je fais grâce à celui dont je sens l'aiguillon.

Demeure dans l'empire innommé du possible,
O fils le plus aimé qui ne naîtras jamais !
Mieux sauvé que les morts et plus inaccessible,
Tu ne sortiras pas de l'ombre où je dormais !

These words do not fall from a mere fantastic artist ; they come from a philosopher and moralist, a man of strong human sympathies, and who by no means despairs altogether of the future of mankind. I pass on to the passionate cry of an avowed, but not a morbid, pessimist. I must not here stop to discuss Madame Ackermann, one of the most significant figures in contemporary literature ; but it should be understood that her sadness is in no way a personal matter, but represents the impression irresistibly wrought upon her by the mere ' riddle of the painful earth.' I quote the lines which close her poem on *Pascal* with the wild conception of some such insult offered to man's distant and cruel Lord as might move Him to shiver into fragments this planet which is our scene of pain.

Notre audace du moins vous sauverait de naître,
Vous qui dormez encore au fond de l'avenir,
Et nous triompherions d'avoir, en cessant d'être,
Avec l'Humanité forcé Dieu d'en finir.
Ah ! quelle immense joie après tant de souffrance !
A travers les débris, par-dessus les charniers,
Pouvoir enfin jeter ce cri de délivrance :
Plus d'hommes sous le ciel, nous sommes les derniers !

I will call one more witness ; this time a less serious but still a noteworthy personage ; a novelist who by a certain mixture of Flemish realism and Parisian perversity has become the most advanced (I do not say the ablest) representative both of the decadent and of the naturalistic school.

M. J. K. Huysmans, speaking through the mouth of his decrepit hero, Des Esseintes, strenuously deprecates the cruelty of adding fresh sufferers to the condemned-list of miserable men ; nay, he carries his propagandist (or anti-propagandist) zeal so far as to recommend the legalisation of infanticide, and to denounce the child-saving labours of St. Vincent de Paul.

Thanks to his odious precautions, this man had deferred for years the death of creatures without intelligence or sensation, so that becoming later on almost rational, and at any rate capable of pain, they might foresee the future ; might await and dread that Death of which, when he found them, they knew not the very name ; might perhaps even invoke that Death upon themselves, in anger at the condemnation to existence which he inflicted on them in obedience to a ridiculous code of theology.

We have here, I think, indications, as clear as in so complex a matter could be reasonably expected, that this 'disenchantment of France,' this general collapse of hopes and ideals, does enter as a moral factor into the causes which are now arresting the advance of French population. If, therefore, population is to receive a fresh impulse, it would seem desirable either that some fresh value should be found for life, or that the race should accustom itself more thoroughly to the narrowed ideal. And this view is supported, so to say, from the opposite quarter by the growing influence throughout French politics, business, society, of a race whose distinguishing peculiarity lies in the fact that they have already traversed their great disappointment; that they have learnt at last to silence the heart's infinite appeal; that they walk among us, but not of us, grimly smiling when our voices repeat, in new tones of yearning, those very phrases from Hebrew psalmist or prophet which the Chosen People themselves have found to fail. For—with the exceptions which sheer atavism must needs produce in the race of a David and a Paul—the modern Jew has crystallised his religion into a mere bond of race; it steadies rather than disturbs his worldly endeavour, and he stands before us in complete adaptation to changed spiritual conditions, the type of what we all may some day become, if our inward Jerusalem also is destroyed, and the Holy City of our dreams laid level with the dust of the earth. The Jews at one end of the scale, the Chinese at the other—these are the races that have already fitted themselves for a universe without hope. Who shall say that they shall not therefore gradually subdue us? as after some age-long heaping of sand-banks along a solitary coast the creatures which can first endure the life of land-locked pools will displace those through whose structure runs an indomitable yearning for the tides and vastness of the sea.

The prospect at which we have arrived is a gloomy one—so gloomy that we instinctively shrink from accepting it as inevitable. There must surely, we feel, be some outlet, some direction in which we may find the dawn of a new hope for France. The classification which we have thus far followed will aid us in an inquiry as to the possible reformation, on a more stable basis, of any of those hopes and beliefs whose evanescence seems to threaten a national decline.

(1) First and most important is the question of religion. And here there are three main channels in which we could imagine a religious revival, in the broadest sense, as tending to flow. We might have a revival in the Christian direction, or in the mystical, or in the Stoic. Any one of these convictions, if sufficiently widespread, might regenerate a nation. But each in turn must be regarded as an *emotional* impulse, as a *subjective* view; each appeals to minds predisposed to receive it, but fails to convince the egoist or the pessimist by irrefragable logic or indubitable historical proof.

As regards Christianity: in the first place, it is scarcely possible that the historical proof can at this late day be materially strengthened. That proof, we may fairly suppose, will continue to seem adequate to many minds which nature or grace has cast in the Christian mould. But as to the Christianity without miracles—the Theism with a Christian colouring, which in England is sometimes suggested as a substitute for the orthodox creeds—for this growth there seems in France no soil prepared, no temper from which this religion of compromise could spring. The same is the case with mysticism, and with the *a priori* or affirmative schools of metaphysic. Names which command respect might be cited in either group, but none have a real hold on the national intelligence. With perhaps greater plausibility the neo-Stoics—if we may so term the agnostics who still cling to duty and feel their last enthusiasm in resignation to universal law—might claim for their creed the prospect of ultimate triumph. Assuredly men like these are essential in every country, if any high morality is to be upheld in this ebb of fixed beliefs. Yet an act of faith, for which the French mind in general is ill-prepared, is still necessary if we are to accept the Cosmos even on Stoic terms. For there is a possibility that even here we may be duped once more; that we may find *vacuus sedes et inania templa* in the sanctuary of Duty herself; that in the veritable and intimate scheme of the universe there may be no such conception as Virtue.

I will not, however, press into my argument any of the darker currents of French thought—the cynicism or the pessimism of a Flaubert, an Ackermann, a Baudelaire. I will rather sum up the situation in one of the last utterances of a noble mind, ‘the conclusion of the whole matter’ as it seemed at last to Emile Littré—once the most enthusiastic of all those who embraced the too-sanguine synthesis which still draws back some wistful glances to the memory of a Worship of Humanity which has brought little strength to man. The words which I shall quote are simple and personal; but they may stand as the expression of more than an individual fate.

Voltaire in old age writes in one of his letters that at the sight of a starry night he was wont to say to himself that he was about to lose that spectacle; that through all eternity he should never see it more. Like him, I love to contemplate—with the reflection that it is perhaps for the last time—the starlit night, the greenness of my garden, the immensity of the sea. I go yearly to the seaside; I went thither this year. My room opened upon the beach, and when the tide was high the waves were but a few paces from where I sat. How often did I sink into contemplation, imagining to myself those Trojan women who *pontum adspectabant flentes!* I did not weep; but I felt that these solemn spondees best harmonised with the grandeur of that sight, and with the vagueness of my own meditations.⁶

Pontum adspectabant flentes! Fit epigraph for a race who

⁶ *Conservation, Révolution, Positivisme, Remarques*, p. 430.

have fallen from hope, on whose ears the waves' world-old message still murmurs without a meaning: while the familiar landmarks fade backwards into shadow, and there is nothing but the sea.

(2) As regards the revival of what I have called the *political illusion*, the enthusiasm either of loyal subordination or of co-operant equality, there is no need for much discussion here. Changes of some kind impend; but the peculiarity of the situation is that from no change is any real or definite good expected by reasonable men. And of course, on the view taken in this essay, little advantage can be hoped for a mere *rearrangement* of existing material—the material in this case being represented by the beliefs and aspirations of the best minds of France. There must be, not rearrangement only, but *renewal*—a fresh influx of hope, conviction, felicity, if outward institutions are to reflect anything save the inward uncertainty or despair.

(3) And still more markedly is this the case as regards that ideal relation between the sexes which, as I have already intimated, seems to be in danger of fading in France into something less permanent and pure. Our estimate of the value of human affections must depend largely on our estimate of the value of human personality itself. Now it is of course true that the Stoic may rank human dignity high, though he looks for no individual survival; his loves may even take an added solemnity from the nearness of their final hour. But from man's transitory state we find French dramatists and romancers drawing, not *this*, but the opposite, the more obvious inference; and amid all the brevity and instability of human life there is nothing that seems to him more brief or more unstable than the passion in which that life culminates with strongest charm. There is something melancholy, and the more melancholy for its very unconsciousness, in the way in which 'quelques années' come to be assumed as the natural limit of any intimate fusion of souls. A few years! and the lovers who enter thereupon are resigned already to an ultimate solitude, and count beforehand the golden moments which are all that they can steal from fate.

(4) It seems, then, that in our search for some prospect of a renewal of spiritual energy in France we are driven back on our fourth heading, on what I have termed the *personal illusion*; or, in other terms, the belief in the unity and persistence of the personality of man. For in no other direction can we foresee any great change to be effected either by subjective emotion or by scientific discovery. Speculations on the moral government of the universe lie too far beyond the range of proof; and on the other hand the problems of social progress and the elevation of the sexual tie depend in the last resort on what is held to be the profounder truth as to man's inward being, and his place in the scheme of things.

But have we any instrument of self-investigation such as this in-

quiry needs? Shall we not here also be reduced to mere vagueness, to mere emotional appeals, or to those metaphysical arguments which are little more than disguised or regulated emotion? Is our psychology more than a mere descriptive system? Can the 'introspective method' afford anything beyond an empirical knowledge of the processes of thought as they appear to the thinker? Or if we turn to psycho-physiology, with its new promise of exact experiment, what do we get beyond such determinations of the rapidities and connections of nervous processes as merely prolong into the brain itself the analysis already applied to the operation of the organs of sense? Can either of these methods get down into the region where the answers to our real problems might perhaps be found?

No doubt the lessons of introspection are limited; the lessons of objective experiment are as yet rudimentary. Yet in France at this moment psychology is in a more rapidly progressive, a more revolutionary condition than any other science whatever. It has so happened that to a new group of theoretical conceptions—namely, to the evolution doctrine, as applied to mankind by Darwin, and the psychical analysis of Spencer and Taine—has been superadded a still newer group of psycho-physiological observations and experiments: the observations, namely, on hysteria and the experiments in hypnotism of which Dr. Charcot's wards at the Salpêtrière form the most celebrated centre. We have here in psychology some kind of approach to a prediction of small perturbations; to something deeper than the old-fashioned manual's sharp partition of the sane mind and the insane;—the sane mind treated like some orrery unwinding itself with diagrammatic regularity; the insane mind relegated to an inscrutable chaos. Readers of Dr. Hughlings-Jackson's 'Croonian Lectures on the Evolution and Dissolution of the Nervous System' and similar tractates are of course prepared for novel methods of analysis, for the discovery of unsuspected lines of cleavage amid the strata of mental operation. But to the ordinary English reader such a book, for instance, as Binet and Féré's Hand-book of Hypnotism (miscalled Animal Magnetism) in the *International Scientific Series* will come with a string of surprises which will almost suggest a mystification. Yet Dr. Féré is one of the most distinguished of rising French physiologists; M. Binet is a psychologist of repute; and the book is a quasi-official *résumé* of the doctrines of the Salpêtrière school. And if we take a somewhat wider view, I believe that many Frenchmen will concur with me in accounting the *Revue philosophique*, with the Société de Psychologie physiologique (including MM. Taine, Charcot, Ribot, Richet, Janet, Sully-Prudhomme, &c.), as perhaps the most vital, the most distinctive nucleus of modern French thought.⁷

⁷ As I write these lines I observe in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for April 1 an article of Professor Paul Janet explaining a very unusual step which has been taken by the authorities of the Collège de France, 'the transformation of the old traditional

Yet even if this be so, and the strongest tide of French speculation is now running in the channel of experimental psychology, can we expect that these specialised researches can deeply influence men's general conception of human fates? It is at least not easy to say in what *other* way that general view is to be affected. It will hardly be permanently altered by emotion, by rhetoric; if modified at all, it must be modified by scientific discovery. And if by scientific discovery, then why not by discovery in that which, if a science at all, is the highest of sciences? In default of other revelations, *de celo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν*.

In thus judging, we do but return to the doctrine of Socrates and Plato. In their eyes man's knowledge of himself was the all-important, the light-bringing truth. The central question in Plato's philosophy—it must needs be a central question in all philosophies—was whether there exists in man a principle independent of the material universe. Plato supports his affirmative view partly by metaphysical arguments which, like most metaphysical arguments, have now passed out of date. But he supports it also by an argument based on actual, though insufficient, observation and experiment—namely, by the argument that our apparently intuitive recognition of geometrical truths and the like proves that we must have been already familiar with those truths in some previous existence. This special chain of reasoning seems now no longer valid. We explain 'reminiscence' by heredity, or by the unconscious generalisations of the child. But Plato's method of attacking the great problem on a side where actual observation was possible—this was surely eminently reasonable, eminently sound; and methods similar, but of greater potency, lie ready to our hand to-day.

Of course, however, any discoveries which can be thus reached by definite inquiry are likely to be of modest dimensions as compared to the large utterance of priest or prophet. They may be significant; they will scarcely be overwhelming. Personally, indeed, for reasons which I shall not here repeat, but with which some readers of this Review may be already acquainted, I am disposed to think that such discoveries are likely to prove highly favourable to human hopes. I do not attribute this view to the psycho-physiological school of France. Yet no one who watches the vigour and rapidity of the intellectual movement in which they are concerned can doubt that we are on the verge of some considerable readjustment of our conceptions of the intimate nature of man. And at the same time it becomes every year more and more difficult to conceive of a spiritual regeneration of France which shall start from an emotional,

chair of Natural and International Law into a chair of Experimental and Comparative Psychology.' Of the new chair M. Ribot, the editor of the *Revue philosophique*, is the first occupant. See also Professor Janet's remarks (p. 549) on the Société de Psychologie physiologique.

as opposed to a scientific, basis. Her educated classes, at least, seem equally insusceptible to old and to new forms of religious contagion. Catholicism seems to be slowly dying, but the 'Religion of Humanity' was stillborn. And the moral fervour, the enthusiastic resignation, of a Clifford or a George Eliot amongst ourselves is replaced in a Taine or a Ribot by a tone of pure neutrality, as of men conscientiously analysing a Cosmos for which they are in no way responsible.

Let us hope that in this very neutrality there may be a certain element of advantage. Just as a Goncourt or a Maupassant may see certain facts of life the more lucidly on account of his detachment from moral interests, from moral dignity, so may the psycho-physiologists of France be aided in discovering some of the deeper elements in man's nature by dint of their very indifference to everything save the discovery itself.

In expressing these hopes, no doubt, we seem to be assuming that religion is essentially an affair of *knowledge*—the knowledge of those vital facts on which our general conception of the universe must necessarily repose. And this seems at variance with the view that religion is essentially an affair of *faith*—the clinging of the soul to the beliefs and ideals which she feels as spiritually the highest. Yet the two points of view are not radically inconsistent. Rather it may be said that faith in this sense will always be indispensable; but that whereas in all ages a certain nucleus of ascertained fact has been regarded as faith's needful prerequisite, the only difference is that in our own day so much of that ancient nucleus has shrivelled away that some fresh accession is needed before the flower of faith can spring from it and shed fragrance on the unseen. And to this quest of fresh *material for religion* the disengaged temper of the French mind may contribute some added alertness, adaptability, power.

The position of this type of Frenchman may perhaps be formulated as follows. 'In the first place,' he would say, 'I cannot respond to stimuli addressed to my emotions alone. I have had too many of such stimuli; and after the break-down of Catholicism, with its ancient appeal and its majestic promises, I have no appetite for the vague Theism, the austere Stoicism, which are all that you can now offer me. I see little reason to suppose that we survive death, or that life has a moral meaning; and I cannot feel much enthusiasm for a world so incurably incomplete, so fundamentally unjust as our own. Not that I am a fanatical pessimist; I shall simply do my work, enjoy my pleasures, and think as little as may be about anything beyond. At the same time I am quite aware that we are still at the beginning of our scientific knowledge of the universe and of man. It is possible that you may discover something which will change my attitude. You will not, I think, discover a God, or prove a moral government of the world. But short of that you may

unearth some fact in man's nature which may make his destinies somewhat more hopeful, and a Providence somewhat less improbable than at present. Supposing—to take the extreme limit of what I can conceive you as proving—supposing that you could show me that I should survive death, I should certainly readjust my conceptions from top to bottom. In that case I would produce emotions worthy of the occasion. Meantime I shall keep them till they are really called for, and shall pay no attention save to definite experiment, definite reasoning, addressed to problems which do not lie plainly beyond the scope of human intelligence, even though they may thus far have wholly baffled human inquiry.'

Somewhat in this fashion do the great questions present themselves to minds no longer prepossessed in favour of the Scheme of Things. The group of conceptions which we call the universe—like the group of experiences which we call human life—when viewed, as Wordsworth says, 'in disconnection dull and spiritless,' cease to impose themselves overwhelmingly on the mind. Their glory seems unable to resist a gaze which analyses without idealising; and analysis without idealisation is the very impulse and outcome of disenchanted France.

I have now, though in a very brief and imperfect way, accomplished the task which seemed to me to have some promise of instruction. I have tried to decompose into its constituent elements the vague but general sense of *malaise* or decadence which permeates so much of modern French literature and life. And after referring this disenchantment to the loss of certain beliefs and habits of thought which the majority of educated Frenchmen have come with more or less distinctness to class as *illusions*, I have endeavoured—it will be thought with poor success—to suggest some possibility of the reconstitution of these illusions on a basis which can permanently resist scientific attack. In *experimental psychology* I have suggested, so to say, a nostrum, but without propounding it as a panacea; and I cannot avoid the conclusion that we are bound to be prepared for the worst. Yet by 'the worst' I do not mean any catastrophe of despair, any cosmic suicide, any world-wide unchaining of the brute that lies pent in man. I mean merely the peaceful, progressive, orderly triumph of *l'homme sensuel moyen*; the gradual adaptation of hopes and occupations to a purely terrestrial standard; the calculated pleasures of the cynic who is resolved to be a dupe no more.

Such is the prospect from our tower of augury—the warning note from France, whose inward crises have so often prefigured the fates through which Western Europe was to pass ere long. Many times, indeed, have declining nations risen anew, when some fresh knowledge, some untried adventure, has added meaning and zest to life. Let those men speak to us, if any there be, who can strengthen

our hearts with some prevision happier than mine. For if this vanward and eager people is never to be 'begotten again unto a lively hope' by some energy still unfelt and unsuspected, then assuredly France will not suffer alone from her atrophy of higher life. No; in that case like causes elsewhere must produce like effects; and there are other great nations whose decline will not be long delayed.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

IN THE BAHAMAS.

A land

In which it seemed always afternoon.

ANYONE who has been there must allow that the description might have been written of the archipelago of coral rocks known as the Bahamas, and few of those who live in the rush and hurry of our great cities but must long for a brief glimpse of such islands of repose, where the burden of the day may be laid aside, and the too pressing realities of life may, for a time, be forgotten. Even progress has its monotonous side, and there is an undeniable charm in countries where railroads and telephones do not exist, and where even tramways and telegraphs have not yet penetrated. Although the Bahamas were the portal by which the devastating rush of European civilisation was first admitted to the Western world, it was not for some years after the simple Lucayans knelt in adoration of the white men, who seemed to them as gods descended from above, that they experienced what a scourge the supposed deities would prove to them and their red-skinned brethren. When oppression and brutality had so devastated the Indians of Hispaniola (Haiti) that hardly enough remained to satisfy the conqueror's greed for wealth by working the gold mines, Ovando (the Spanish governor) remembered the 'simple-hearted' Lucayans 'of good size, good demeanour, and well-formed,' and despatched an expedition with instructions to capture the people and transport them to Hispaniola. A few gifts of red caps, hawks' bells, and 'other trifles of insignificant worth' made to them by Columbus, had convinced the Lucayans of the divine origin and friendly disposition of the white men. When seventeen years afterwards Ovando's ships appeared, the natives of the Lucayos flocked to greet the new arrivals. The Spaniards represented themselves as having come from the land where the spirits of the departed Lucayans were living in sunshine and gladness, and by promising to restore them to their lost friends and relatives, the unhappy natives were enticed on board the Spanish vessels and transported, to perish in slavery and wretchedness in the mines of Hispaniola. As many as forty thousand of the natives are supposed to have been thus deported; a few who may have escaped captivity

must speedily have died out, and for more than a hundred years the three hundred and sixty-seven islands of the archipelago remained uninhabited by man or beast, no four-footed mammal being indigenous to the Bahamas.

After alternately owing allegiance to lords, proprietors, pirates, and Spaniards, the latter finally relinquished their nominal claim to the Bahamas in 1783, and at the termination of the American War of Independence the islands received a considerable addition to the number of their settlers by the immigration of loyalists from the American States, who brought with them their goods and chattels (their slaves being included amongst the latter), and made themselves new homes around which to raise cotton, bananas and pine-apples. In Abaco and other islands the descendants of these men still remain, and their stalwart figures and fine physique show that the white man does not necessarily degenerate in hot climates. We are so accustomed to associate the negro with the West Indies that we are apt to forget that he is just as much an importation as the white man. Though the older negroes look back with regret to the hotter suns and more luxuriant fields of their own land, after the second generation the darkies consider themselves real creoles, or natives of the West Indies, and regard with considerable contempt their brethren born on the dark continent, whom they disdainfully designate as 'dem Africans.' Towards the mixed race or 'coloured people' the attitude of their full-blooded ebon brethren is a mixture of distrust, contempt and envy, mulattos occupying the doubtful position assigned to that which is 'neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring.' There is a negro saying 'Black people are a basket dat hab a handle, and de buckras (white men) are a basket dat hab a handle, but de coloured people dey be a basket dat hab no handle,' by which they mean that mulattos belong to no race or nation.

While embracing various forms of Christianity with tropical fervour, the negroes retain a strong faith in the potency and virtues of Obeahism. Indeed a secret belief in Obeahism is by no means confined to black men, but is shared by the coloured people, and the West Indian whites are not always free from a mysterious dread of the powers of the Obeah-man. In his capacity of 'bush doctor' the dread is not altogether groundless.

The West Indies abound with shrubs and plants of medicinal properties, not a few of them being highly poisonous; in the use of these the Obeah-men are proficient. In most of the islands the manchineel (*Hippomane Mancinella*) grows in more or less abundance. The tree is so poisonous that it is not considered safe to take refuge from sun or storm beneath its branches, and when it is desirable to destroy the tree, it is usual to make a circle of fire around the trunk and burn it down, so as to avoid the risk of cutting it. Not unfrequently leaves and branches of manchineel have been vindictively

dropped into tanks or wells of those against whom certain persons may have a grudge. Anyone who drinks water thus contaminated will, it is said, gradually waste away, and if the use of the water is continued, death is the result. So poisonous is the manchineel that during very dry weather it is not safe to eat the land crabs, which, at other seasons, are reckoned delicacies. However during a drought land crabs cannot resist a salad of the shining evergreen leaves, rather like those of the camellia in appearance. The flesh of crabs that have fed on this tree becomes impregnated with the poison. In proof of the danger of the diet we were told the following story. Not very long ago two men went on a shooting expedition to one of the Bahama group, known as Acklin's Island. One day three land crabs were caught which were cooked and eaten for supper, each man taking a crab and sharing the other between them. During the night one of the men was taken alarmingly ill, his body swelled tremendously, and before morning he was dead. His companion experienced no ill effects; it therefore seems probable that one of the three crabs must have been poisonous, but on a remote tropical island, some two or three hundred miles from a doctor, a post-mortem examination would be impossible, so no positive certainty could be arrived at. As the poisons used by the Obeah-men are all vegetable and can be gathered everywhere in the bush, and as the negroes are extremely averse to speaking on the subject, it is difficult to obtain positive evidence about the matter; but there seems a very general belief in the West Indies amongst those whose opinion is worthy of respect that the process of 'putting Obeah' upon a man is not always a purely spiritual weapon. The reliance on the powers of the bush doctor is almost universal amongst the black people, who greatly prefer him to the authorised practitioner. In some cases the remedies prescribed are simple, if not efficacious. A dose of sea water is considered beneficial for a broken arm, and to hold salt in both hands is reckoned a certain remedy for various of the ills to which flesh is liable, and is also held to be of use in warding off ghostly enemies in the shape of evil spirits. Singularly enough, I have known the same shield against the powers of darkness used by peasants in the West of Ireland.

It is common when the bush doctor is consulted for him to pronounce that the patient is suffering from an ailment caused by the presence of a beetle or a spider in one of the limbs. The doctor proceeds to extract the intruder, by sucking the afflicted limb, producing the creature from his mouth at the end of the operation, in proof of its efficacy. Spools of cotton, buttons, nails, and so forth are sometimes alleged to be the cause of the illness, and are extracted in a similar fashion. In his character as wizard, the Obeah-man is in request to guard the crops of pineapples or oranges from the hands of the spoiler, the ships from storm and shipwreck, and the crew from death and disaster. Not a schooner leaves the port but has a bit of

Obeah attached for good luck to the mast, while beneath their shirts a string of charmed twine preserves the men from danger by land or water. Vacant houses are also protected from intruders during the owner's absence by the Obeah-man. To effect this police duty, a ball is rolled up containing a few rusty old nails and some pieces of rushes, and laid on the threshold of the cabin; on seeing this mysterious ball, no negro dares to enter the house unlawfully. A rudely carved head, fastened on a tree, is a secure guardian for cocoanut or orange grove, while a horn with a cork on it stuck full of pins and a bottle of water underneath is a favourite protection against thieves or spirits. It would be a bold evil spirit who would enter the field so guarded; he knows right well that the pins would prick him and force him to enter the bottle of water; no negro would dream of intruding within an enclosure where such a bottle was displayed. When the Obeah-man's charges are high, or faith is weak, occasionally the owner of a farm throws himself on the good feeling of depre-dators. I have seen a placard fixed to a post in a field of maize on which was painted the polite request, 'If you steal the corn, do please leave the blades.'

Though the Obeah-man is usually resorted to by owners who may have been robbed of their goods, anyone in authority may be appealed to on an emergency when no clue can be had to the delinquent. The following paper was one day sent to the Governor's secretary:—

Mr. Secretary,—Will you please have the person arrested who stole my clothes? This is the prayer of your humble servant, John Smith.

When free from physical pain and not immediately pressed by his creditors, of whom he has in general many, the darkey is full of enjoyment of life, and there is much in life for him to enjoy. What would be the object of wasting existence in wearisome toil or monotonous drudgery, in a delicious climate where a cotton garment is ample for comfort, and sufficient money can be obtained by a few weeks' 'sponging' to supply frock-coat, chimney-pot hat and umbrella for a man on high days and holidays; while a week or two spent in digging holes in which to plant maize—a labour our little Congo gardener declined to perform on the grounds of its being especially the work of 'femilly wimmany'—or in weeding the pine-fields, will procure for the women the wherewithal to purchase ostrich feathers, white or coloured satin boots, muslins and laces for festive occasions, amongst which funerals and attendance at divine service are not the least popular, and the longer the service or sermon the better? At a church a little distant out of Kingston in Jamaica, the clergyman proposed to shorten the afternoon service so as to enable the congregation to take advantage of a tram (Jamaica not sharing the exemption from tramways) that passed the church in returning to the city. On hearing of the threatened change a black

man remonstrated with the rector. 'Indeed, sir,' he urged, 'our ladies will neber tink it worth while to dress merely to sit in church for one hour!' It must be observed that in the West Indies negresses are almost invariably spoken of as 'ladies.' At first it sounds peculiar to hear, 'Missus, dere's a lady at de back door wants you to gib her a pair of old boots,' or 'Dat lady hab basket of eggs to sell,' but one quickly gets used to it.

In speaking of 'going for a few weeks' sponging' it must not be supposed that unsophisticated darkies resort to the civilised method of extortion known in England as 'sponging.' In the Bahamas the term is applied to a cruise undertaken for the purpose of fishing up sponges from the banks of coral sand which extend for great distances in the archipelago. The water in these banks averages only three fathoms. On this submarine Sahara, the black leathery roundish lumps which, after undergoing much tribulation, eventually develop into the inviting looking adjunct to the morning tub, have settled down, after their brief but erratic youth, to sedate repose in the crystal waters, till snatched from their retreat by the penetrating hook of the sponger. Very unsightly and evil-smelling objects the sponges are when first torn from their native element, a sulphur stream or steeping flax being hardly more obnoxious to the olfactory nerve. Sponging has all the attractions of a gambling adventure. Should the cruise be successful, the profits are large, enough money may be made in a short time to ensure the enjoyment of months of idleness. And idleness is a real luxury when a man can recline under the shade of his own guava or orange tree, and have the latest news from the passing neighbours as they saunter along, their fanners (round flat baskets of palm leaves) piled with glowing tomatoes, large green avocado pears, or red and yellow peppers, for sale in town—or else chew sugarcane or smoke a pipe as the spirit moves him, taking no thought for the morrow, which is pretty sure to be sunny and balmy as to-day. Dwellers in the dark and sombre north can hardly realise the charm and joyousness that seem to radiate from earth and air in the lotos-eating southern climes. The mere sense of existence becomes in itself a happiness; one can understand what animals probably feel in pleasant pastures on brilliant days. Then, as the sun sinks slowly downwards, the golden heaven glows over a rejoicing earth, flushing every moment into richer beauty beneath the departing rays, while rosy beams of light streaming upwards like so many auroras is a singular and very beautiful effect often to be seen in a Bahama sunset. When the sun has set new beauties appear, every bush and tussock becoming alive with thousands of fire-flies: and when a silvery green moon rises in the calm deep sapphire sky, it is difficult to decide whether night or day be the more full of loveliness. Besides the fire-flies, a fire-beetle—one of the *Elytra*—is a singular insect with a brilliant green phosphorescent

light proceeding from two round spots on the thorax, added to which when excited, the insect has the power to emit a regular blaze of light from the segments of the abdomen, of such brilliancy that one can read by its light. In Cuba ladies fasten these elytra as ornaments in their hair, or let them flash beneath the folds of tulle dresses.

The avocado or alligator pear (*Persea gratissima*) already alluded to, is one of the best of tropical fruits. In outward appearance it is altogether a pear, but on cutting it open a single very large seed is found in the centre, and the custard-like pulp adheres to the rind. Avocado pears have their ardent devotees and their determined detractors. Like most things with a peculiar character, one either greatly appreciates or strongly dislikes them. The flavour is something between that of green peas and walnuts, and though called a fruit, the avocado pear is usually eaten with pepper and salt.

Pineapples, oranges and bananas are so well known that one can hardly reckon them as distinctively tropical fruits; for they can be had nearly everywhere, though no fruit has such fine flavour as when it is eaten first glowing from the sun. There is a common idea in England that West Indian pineapples are not equal to those produced in our hot-houses at home, and probably the delusion is maintained by English fruiterers selling the finest of a West Indian cargo of pines at exorbitant prices as home-grown fruit, while the refuse pines are hawked about the streets as West Indian pineapples only fit for the costermonger's cart. The fruiterers have thus fleeced the West Indian fruit of its good name, to their own profit, and the no small detriment of the planters, who find that it does not pay them to export their pines to England. In the Bahamas pineapples average from eighteenpence to two shillings and sixpence a dozen.

The mango is a fruit rarely seen out of the tropics. Undoubtedly the liking for mangoes is an acquired taste, and should one's first experiment be on a mango, like many of its kind, with a strong flavour of turpentine, it requires a certain amount of resolution to try again. To the connoisseur a No. 11 mango is, however, a delicious fruit. Its singular name is said to have arisen in the following manner. Several boxes containing various kinds of mangoes were sent many years ago from the East to the West Indies. To distinguish the different kinds of mangoes each box was marked with a number. On nearing its destination the vessel was lost, and but one box, on which was the number 11, was saved from the wreck. The mangoes were planted and thrived, and trees derived from this stock have ever since retained the name of 'Number 11 mangoes.'

The sapodilla (*Achras Sapota*) is of the pear family. It is exceedingly luscious and juicy, and though somewhat mawkish in

flavour, is not a fruit to be despised. Sapodillas bought in the market are often exceedingly nasty, and it is not appetising to learn that fruit prematurely fallen from the tree is ripened by the negroes putting it in their beds.

The cashew nut (*Anacardium occidentale*) and ackee are both very handsome for decoration. Some persons think the cashew pleasant to eat, but the taste is exceedingly astringent. The cashew resembles the Australian cherry in the fact that the stone is attached to the outside of the fruit; its branches of crimson or amber fruits look very pretty hanging amid the glistening leaves.

The ackee (*Blighia sapida*) is gorgeous in scarlet and gold; each fruit is about the size of a large swan's-egg plum, and the fruits hang in bunches. Only a small portion of the interior pulp is edible. It is eaten cooked and served like marrow, which it greatly resembles. When fit to eat the fruit bursts open; if gathered before this it is said to be poisonous.

The Bahama cherry is a fruit that might with advantage be introduced into English hot-houses. It is both pleasant to the eye and good for food. In appearance it is much like a large ruby-coloured cherry and its flavour greatly resembles that of the raspberry.

As for the innumerable star-apples (*Chrysophyllum Cainito*), custard-apples (*Anona reticulata*), rose-apples (*Jambosa vulgaris*), sour-sops (*Anona muricata*), mammees (*Mammea americana*), and mammee sapotes (*Lucuma mammosum*), fruits of strange names, novel forms, and sickly flavours, few Europeans really like them, though to West Indian palates they are agreeable.

Embowered amidst fruit trees, a negro's cottage is a picturesque abode—a small wooden shanty half hidden by roses, jessamine, and honeysuckle. A shrub of gardenia often grows near the miniature verandah, over which trails stephanotis, or passion flowers, and winter is heralded by the poinsettia near the fence assuming its crimson crown. The cottage is generally much too small for the teeming family, and even when his means admit of doing so, the owner rarely enlarges his house, as a superstition exists against it—to add to a house is unlucky. Fortunately the windows are usually unglazed, so that during the day air circulates freely; but at night the shutters are fast closed, and every chink and cranny stuffed to exclude ventilation, and in a hot climate the consequences are disastrous. In slavery days consumption was almost unknown amongst the black people, but now much the largest proportion of deaths amongst them have been stated to arise from pulmonary complaints. So rapid is the progress of the disease that a month is a long time for the patient (if coloured) to last, once he has been seized by consumption, and cases are not uncommon in which the sufferer succumbs in a few days. The people themselves ascribe the malady to the influx

of American invalids who of late years flock to Nassau (the capital of the Bahamas) during the winter. The negroes will tell you that before the Americans came there was no consumption in the place, but that the disease has spread amongst them from their taking in the washing of the foreign consumptives. Before emancipation the slave's health was a matter of importance to his master. A sick slave would not be sold, and could not work, but had to be supported; it was therefore the master's interest to secure that his slave was as strong and healthy as possible, and the present habit of sleeping in overcrowded unventilated rooms would not have been permitted. A free negro is of course at liberty to follow his own inclinations on such matters as ventilation. There are various reasons assigned for the careful exclusion of air at night. Some say every chink and cranny is closed to prevent the intrusion of those bugbears of the black man—evil spirits; others pronounce that the precaution is taken against the physical torments of mosquitoes.

Sometimes a casual remark brings the slavery times startlingly near. It sounds strange to European ears to hear a man talk of events that happened 'when he was a slave.' An old man on one of the out islands told us that he remembered when he 'was young and a slave, his master taking two racehorses to run at Nassau. On the way back the schooner was attacked and captured by buccaneers, who cut the horses' throats and flung them overboard. His master escaped by paying a ransom.' Sometimes the old negroes pine for the 'flesh-pots' of slavery and deplore the miseries of emancipation.

'Gubbenor Smith, him bad gubbenor,' remarked an old woman to her clergyman; 'if he had not come, dey no make us free. Den I had no rent to pay, no food to buy. Now I must pay for de house, pay for de tea, pay for de clothes, pay for ebbery ting. When I had a massa, he gib me ebbery ting.'

A pig is as necessary to the well-being of a negro as of an Irishman, but the black man never permits the animal to share his abode, as does the Paddy. The pigs when not wandering on the road or in the yard are confined in a hog-pen, an erection a few feet square made of logs interlaced loosely, and looking like a magnified crib for catching birds. The neighbourhood of pigs has its drawbacks; their presence renders that of 'jiggers' more than probable.

'I wish I may be jiggered If I don't love Rose' is an expression in the refrain of a well-known old negro ditty, the force of which comes home to one in regions infested by these insects. The jigger or chigoe (*Pulex penetrans*) is a very minute flea, found in dry weather in sandy places. The insect has the obnoxious habit of burrowing into the flesh, under the toe-nails being a favourite spot in which to make a nest, lay eggs, and rear a numerous family. A jigger is so minute that when it first penetrates under the skin it probably escapes observation. After three or four days the place begins to swell, and

becomes slightly itching, and may be mistaken for a mosquito bite by the uninitiated. A few days more and the increased pain and irritation reveal the real nature of the annoyance. When the egg sack is extracted unbroken, the sore soon heals; but if any of the eggs escape, they will hatch and thrive, causing much inconvenience. An egg sack that has been in the foot for about a week, when removed leaves a hole about the size of a pea; into this tobacco ashes and alcohol are inserted so as to ensure the destruction of all the eggs. Jiggers especially affect the feet of pigs, on which they sometimes cluster in regular bunches.

In the Bahamas one learns how the simile of 'casting pearls before swine' may have been a familiar image to our Lord's hearers in the far-off East. There the unclean beast was a forbidden animal, tended by lepers and outcasts, who no doubt flung the creatures any food they could get, shell-fish—also forbidden food for Jews—amongst the rest. In the Bahamas none but the negroes eat the native pork, which is fed on offal, refuse, and whatever can be obtained. The fish of the conch (*Strombus gigas*) is the usual fare for pigs in the out islands, where conches are plentiful. In these conches pink pearls are found from time to time, and I have seen a large pearl that had been found in the pigs' trough, and which was scratched and discoloured from having been champed by the hogs. Formerly before pink pearls became an article of commerce in the Bahamas, and no search was made for them, it happened not infrequently that pearls were picked up in the hogs' pens. May not pearls from mussels or other shells have been found in a similar manner in Palestine, and thus have rendered the Saviour's warning easily comprehensible to his listeners, the great mass of whom were 'common people'?

Pink pearls fetch large prices; a fine pearl is worth from one to eight pounds sterling a grain, according to size, colour and 'nacre.' Thousands of conches are annually destroyed in a vain quest for pearls, which are oftenest found accidentally. It has happened that a man has bought a conch for his morning's repast, for which he has paid one halfpenny, and on going home has found in it a pearl soon afterwards sold for sixty pounds. A curious case occurred this summer (1887). A woman in one of the settlements on Abaco was one day taking some conches out of their shells; while so engaged a duck seized one of the fish (culinary operations are all carried on in the open air), and ran off with it, pursued by the woman. A child who happened to be standing by saw a pearl drop from the conch which the duck had seized, and while the woman was busy rescuing her fish, the child secured the pearl and carried it to her mother. The latter took the pearl to Nassau, where she sold it for forty pounds. In a short time the affair came to the ears of the original owner of the conch, who demanded the price of the pearl, which she claimed as belonging to her. A lawsuit was threatened, but the matter was

eventually compromised by the first woman receiving a third of the money for which the pearl had been sold. The pearl was an exceedingly fine one, worth about two hundred pounds.

In a short sketch there would not be space to touch upon the bewildering variety of the flowers, fishes, birds, corals, and living things innumerable that render the 'Isles of Summer' a veritable paradise to the lover of nature. In the bush the trees are clothed with numerous orchids, some of them bearing flowers of great beauty and having a delicious perfume. Nineteen or twenty different orchids are found in the Bahamas, nearly half the number being Epidendrums. Like a pure and joyous soul that throws charm and grace over sombre and uncongenial surroundings, these most spiritual of flowers clothe decrepitude and decay with life and beauty and turn many a dead and leafless stump into a miniature Eden.

Before concluding, I must say a few words about those much-abused denizens of tropical waters—the sharks. These Ishmaels of the deep have such a villainous reputation that it would be useless to attempt to change it, but I must confess that, as far as our experience went, they were 'not so black as they are painted.' It may be that even sharks acknowledge the mild influence of the climate, and that the benignant atmosphere of the land of eternal afternoon has, like music, 'charms to soothe the savage breast;' for certainly in the Bahamas the shark appears to be a cowardly fish, and unless impelled by hunger rarely assails a human being, except first attacked. Instances of their devouring the bodies of people who have been drowned are frequent, but we did not hear of any case in which any living person had been taken by a shark. Personally, we found the sharks really forbearing creatures. On one occasion some members of our party, including two little boys, who would have been toothsome morsels for a shark, were bathing in the harbour close to the barracks. A soldier was observed shouting and gesticulating, but my husband failed to catch what the man said. On leaving the water he learnt that the soldier had been trying to caution him about the vicinity of a large shark. The small boys had heard the man cry 'A shark! a shark!' but had maintained a judicious silence about it, as they were afraid of being made to leave the water sooner than usual. This shark was killed a couple of days afterwards, and measured fifteen feet in length. One of the most singular instances of the voracity of the shark was related to us by a gentleman on whose testimony reliance may be placed. At a little distance from the town of Nassau there is good sport catching 'Black Fish,' as they are locally termed. These fish are found in deep water, so that it is necessary to play out sixty fathoms or so of line; on hauling up, it is often tantalising to find that a shark has been beforehand and taken the prize off the hook. On one occasion this happened so frequently that, in order to secure some fish and get rid of the robber,

the men let go a shark hook and soon captured a large shark. They cut the unhappy creature open, extracted the liver (which contains a considerable quantity of oil), and flung the carcass overboard. In a few minutes there was another tug at the hook, and to the no small surprise of the fishermen they brought up the very shark they had just thrown away as dead.

As scavengers sharks are of use in clearing away refuse from the slaughter-houses and dead animals flung into the sea. Ferocious they may be, but certainly they never meet with mercy, and, like many other vagabonds, the friendless sharks are as much sinned against as sinning.

EDITH BLAKE.

BEN JONSON.

II.

In 1605 the singular and magnificent coalition of powers which served to build up the composite genius of Jonson displayed in a single masterpiece the consummate and crowning result of its marvellous energies. No other of even his very greatest works is at once so admirable and so enjoyable. The construction or composition of *The Alchemist* is perhaps more wonderful in the perfection and combination of cumulative detail, in triumphant simplicity of process and impeccable felicity of result: but there is in *Volpone* a touch of something like imagination, a savour of something like romance, which gives a higher tone to the style and a deeper interest to the action. The chief agents are indeed what Mr. Carlyle would have called 'unspeakably unexemplary mortals': but the tragic fervour and passionate intensity of their resolute and resourceful wickedness give somewhat of a lurid and distorted dignity to the display of their doings and sufferings, which is wanting to the less gigantic and heroic villainies of *Subtle*, *Dol*, and *Face*. The absolutely unqualified and unrelieved rascality of every agent in the later comedy—unless an exception should be made in favour of the unfortunate though enterprising *Don Surly*—is another note of inferiority; a mark of comparative baseness in the dramatic metal. In *Volpone* the tone of villainy and the tone of virtue are alike higher. *Celia* is a harmless lady, if a too submissive consort; *Bonario* is an honourable gentleman, if too dutiful a son. The Puritan and shopkeeping scoundrels who are swindled by *Face* and plundered by *Lovewit* are viler if less villainous figures than the rapacious victims of *Volpone*.

As to the respective rank or comparative excellence of these two triumphant and transcendent masterpieces, the critic who should take upon himself to pass sentence or pronounce judgment would in my opinion display more audacity than discretion. The steadfast and imperturbable skill of hand which has woven so many threads of incident, so many shades of character, so many changes of intrigue, into so perfect and superb a pattern of incomparable art as dazzles and delights the reader of *The Alchemist* is unquestionably unique—above comparison with any later or earlier example of kindred genius in the whole range of comedy, if not in the whole world of fiction.

The manifold harmony of inventive combination and imaginative contrast—the multitudinous unity of various and concordant effects—the complexity and the simplicity of action and impression, which hardly allow the reader's mind to hesitate between enjoyment and astonishment, laughter and wonder, admiration and diversion—all the distinctive qualities which the alchemic cunning of the poet has fused together in the crucible of dramatic satire for the production of a flawless work of art, have given us the most perfect model of imaginative realism and satirical comedy that the world has ever seen; the most wonderful work of its kind that can ever be run upon the same lines. Nor is it possible to resist a certain sense of immoral sympathy and humorous congratulation, more keen than any Scapin or Mascarille can awake in the mind of a virtuous reader, when Face dismisses Surly with a promise to bring him word to his lodging if he can hear of 'that Face' whom Surly has sworn to mark for his if ever he meets him. From the date of Plautus to the date of Sheridan it would surely be difficult to find in any comedy a touch of glorious impudence which might reasonably be set against this. And the whole part is so full of brilliant and effective and harmonious touches or strokes of character or of humour that even this crowning instance of serene inspiration in the line of superhuman audacity seems merely right and simply natural.

And yet, even while possessed and overmastered by the sense of the incomparable energy, the impeccable skill, and the indefatigable craftsmanship, which combined and conspired together to produce this æsthetically blameless masterpiece, the reader whose instinct requires something more than merely intellectual or æsthetic satisfaction must recognise even here the quality which distinguishes the genius of Ben Jonson from that of the very greatest imaginative humourists—Aristophanes or Rabelais, Shakespeare or Sterne, Vanbrugh or Dickens, Congreve or Thackeray. Each of these was evidently capable of falling in love with his own fancy—of rejoicing in his own imaginative humour as a swimmer in the waves he plays with: but this buoyant and passionate rapture was controlled by an instinctive sense which forbade them to strike out too far or follow the tide too long. However quaint or queer, however typical or exceptional, the figure presented may be—Olivia's or Tristram Shandy's uncle Toby, Sir John Brute or Mr. Peggotty, Lady Wishfort or Lady Kew,—we recognize and accept them as lifelike and actual intimates whose acquaintance has been made for life. Sir Sampson Legend might undoubtedly find himself as much out of place in the drawing-room of the Countess Dowager of Kew as did Sir Wilful Witwoud, on a memorable occasion, in the saloon of his aunt Lady Wishfort: Captain Toby Shandy could hardly have been expected to tolerate the Rabelaisian effervescences of Sir Toby Belch: and Vanbrugh's typical ruffians of rank have little apparently in common with

Dickens's representative heroes of the poor. But in all these immortal figures there is the lifeblood of eternal life which can only be infused by the sympathetic faith of the creator in his creature—the breath which animates every word, even if the word be not the very best word that might have been found, with the vital impulse of infallible imagination. But it is difficult to believe that Ben Jonson can have believed, even with some half sympathetic and half sardonic belief, in all the leading figures of his invention. Scorn and indignation are but too often the motives or the mainsprings of his comic art; and when dramatic poetry can exist on the sterile and fiery diet of scorn and indignation, we may hope to find life sustained in happiness and health on a diet of aperients and emetics. The one great modern master of analytic art is somewhat humaner than Jonson in the application of his scientific method to the purpose of dramatic satire. The study of Sludge is finer and subtler by far than the study of Subtle; though undoubtedly it is, in consequence of that very perfection and sublimation of exhaustive analysis, less available for any but a monodramatic purpose. No excuse, no plea, no pretext beyond the fact of esurience and the sense of ability, is suggested for the villainy of Subtle, Dol, and Face. But if we were to see what might possibly be said in extenuation of their rogueries, to hear what might possibly be pleaded in explanation or condonation of their lives, the comedy would fall through and go to pieces: the dramatic effect would collapse and be dissolved. And to this great, single, æsthetic end of art the consummate and conscientious artist who created these immortal figures was content to subdue or to sacrifice all other and subordinate considerations. Coleridge, as no reader will probably need to be reminded, 'thought the *Ædipus Tyrannus*, *The Alchemist*, and *Tom Jones*, the three most perfect plots ever planned.' With the warmest admiration and appreciation of Fielding's noble and immortal masterpiece, I cannot think it at all worthy of comparison, for blameless ingenuity of composition and absolute impeccability of design, with the greatest of tragic and the greatest of comic triumphs in construction ever accomplished by the most consummate and the most conscientious among ancient and modern artists. And when we remember that this perfection of triumphant art is exhibited, not on the scale of an ordinary comedy, whether classic or romantic, comprising a few definite types and a few impressive situations, but on a scale of invention so vast and so various as to comprise in the course of a single play as many characters and as many incidents, all perfectly adjusted and naturally developed out of each other, as would amply suffice for the entire dramatic furniture, for the entire poetic equipment, of a great dramatic poet, we feel that Gifford's expression, a 'prodigy of human intellect,' is equally applicable to *The Fox* and to *The Alchemist*, and is not a whit too strong a term for either. Nor can I admit, as I cannot discern, the blemish or imperfection

which others have alleged that they desecrate in the composition of *Volpone*—the unlikelihood of the device by which retribution is brought down in the fifth act on the criminals who were left at the close of the fourth act in impregnable security and triumph. So far from regarding the comic Nemesis or rather Ate which infatuates and impels *Volpone* to his doom as a sacrifice of art to morality, an immolation of probability and consistency on the altar of poetic justice, I admire as a master-stroke of character the haughty audacity of caprice which produces or evolves his ruin out of his own hardihood and insolence of exulting and daring enjoyment. For there is something throughout of the lion as well as of the fox in this original and incomparable figure. I know not where to find a third instance of catastrophe comparable with that of either *The Fox* or *The Alchemist* in the whole range of the highest comedy: whether for completeness, for propriety, for interest, for ingenious felicity of event or for perfect combination and exposition of all the leading characters at once in supreme simplicity, unity, and fullness of culminating effect.

And only in the author's two great farces shall we find so vast a range and variety of characters. The foolish and famous couplet of doggerel rhyme which brackets *The Silent Woman* with *The Fox* and *The Alchemist* is liable to prejudice the reader against a work which if compared with those marvellous masterpieces must needs seem to lose its natural rights to notice, to forfeit its actual claim on our rational admiration. Its proper place is not with these, but beside its fellow example of exuberant, elaborate, and deliberately farcical realism—*Bartholomew Fair*. And the two are not less wonderful in their own way, less triumphant on their own lines, than those two crowning examples of comedy. Farcical in construction and in action, they belong to the province of the higher form of art by virtue of their leading characters. Morose indeed, as a victimized monomaniac, is rather a figure of farce than of comedy: Captain Otter and his termagant are characters of comedy rather broad than high: but the collegiate ladies, in their matchless mixture of pretension and profligacy, hypocrisy and pedantry, recall rather the comedies than the farces of Molière by the elaborate and vivid precision of portraiture which presents them in such perfect finish, with such vigour and veracity of effect. Again, if *Bartholomew Fair* is mere farce in many of its minor characters and in some of its grosser episodes and details, the immortal figure of Rabbi Busy belongs to the highest order of comedy. In that absolute and complete incarnation of Puritanism full justice is done to the merits while full justice is done upon the demerits of the barbarian sect from whose inherited and infectious tyranny this nation is as yet but imperfectly delivered. Brother Zeal-of-the-Land is no vulgar impostor, no mere religious quacksalver of such a kind as supplies the common food for

satire, the common fuel of ridicule : he is a hypocrite of the earnest kind, an Ironside among civilians ; and the very abstinence of his creator from Hudibrastic misrepresentation and caricature makes the satire more thoroughly effective than all that Butler's exuberance of wit and prodigality of intellect could accomplish. The snuffling glutton who begins by exciting our laughter ends by displaying a comic perversity of stoicism in the stocks which is at least more respectable if not less laughable than the complacency of Justice Overdo, the fatuity of poor Cokes, the humble jocosity of a Littlewit, or the intemperate devotion of a Waspe. Hypocrisy streaked with sincerity, greed with a cross of earnestness and craft with a dash of fortitude, combine to make of the Rabbi at once the funniest, the fairest, and the faithfullest study ever taken of a less despicable than detestable type of fanatic.

Not only was the genius of Jonson too great, but his character was too radically noble for a realist or naturalist of the meaner sort. It is only in the minor parts of his gigantic work, only in its insignificant or superfluous components or details, that we find a tedious insistence on wearisome or offensive topics of inartistic satire or ineffectual display. Nor is it upon the ignoble sides of character that this great satiric dramatist prefers to concentrate his attention. As even in the most terrible masterpieces of Balzac, it is not the wickedness of the vicious or criminal agents, it is their energy of intellect, their dauntless versatility of daring, their invincible fertility of resource, for which our interest is claimed or by which our admiration is aroused. In *Face as in Subtle*, in *Volpone* as in *Mosca*, the qualities which delight us are virtues misapplied : it is not their cunning, their avarice, or their lust, it is their courage, their genius, and their wit in which we take no ignoble or irrational pleasure. And indeed it would be strange and incongruous if a great satirist who was also a great poet had erred so grossly as not to aim at this result, or had fallen so grievously short of his aim as not to vindicate the dignity of his design. The same year in which the stage first echoed the majestic accents of *Volpone's* opening speech was distinguished by the appearance of the *Masque of Blackness* : a work eminent even among its author's in splendour of fancy, invention, and flowing eloquence. Its companion or counterpart, the *Masque of Beauty*, a poem even more notable for these qualities than its precursor, did not appear till three years later. Its brilliant and picturesque variations on the previous theme afford a perfect example of poetic as distinct from prosaic ingenuity.

Between the dates of these two masques, which were first printed and published together, three other entertainments had employed the energetic genius of the Laureate on the double task of scenical invention and literary decoration. The first occasion was that famous visit of King Christian and his hard-drinking Danes which

is patriotically supposed to have done so much harm to the proverbially sober and abstemious nation whose temperance is so vividly depicted by the enthusiastic cordiality of Iago. The *Entertainment of Two Kings at Theobalds* opens well, with two vigorous and sonorous couplets of welcome: but the Latin verses are hardly worthy of Gifford's too fervid commendation. The mock marriage of the boyish Earl of Essex and the girl afterwards known to ill fame as Countess of Somerset gave occasion of which Jonson availed himself to the full for massive display of antiquarian magnificence and indefatigable prodigality of inexhaustible detail. The epithalamium of these quasi-nuptials is fine—when it is not coarse (we cannot away, for instance, with the comparison, in serious poetry, of kisses to—cockles!): but the exuberant enthusiasm of Gifford for 'this chaste and beautiful gem' is liable to provoke in the reader's mind a comparison 'with the divine original': and among the very few poets who could sustain a comparison with Catullus no man capable of learning the merest rudiments of poetry will affirm that Ben Jonson can be ranked. His verses are smooth and strong, 'well-torned and true-filed': but the matchless magic, the impeccable inspiration, the grace, the music, the simple and spontaneous perfection of the Latin poem, he could pretend neither to rival nor to reproduce. 'What was my part,' says Jonson in a note, 'the faults here, as well as the virtues, must speak.' These are the concluding words of a most generous and cordial tribute to the merits of the mechanist or stage-carpenter, the musician, and the dancing-master—Inigo Jones, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and Thomas Giles—who were employed on the composition of this magnificent if ill-omened pageant: and they may very reasonably be applied to the two translations from Catullus which the poet—certainly no prophet on this particular occasion—thought fit to introduce into the ceremonial verse of the masques held on the first and second nights of these star-crossed festivities. The faults and the virtues, the vigour of phrase and the accuracy of rendering, the stiffness of expression and the slowness of movement, are unmistakably characteristic of the workman. But in the second night's masque it must be noted that the original verse is distinctly better than the translated stanzas: the dispute of Truth and Opinion is a singularly spirited and vigorous example of amœbæan allegory. In the next year's *Entertainment of the king and queen at Theobalds*, then ceded by its owner to the king, the happy simplicity of invention and arrangement is worthily seconded or supported by the grave and dignified music of the elegiac verse which welcomes the coming and speeds the parting master. Next year *The Masque of Beauty* and the masque at Lord Haddington's marriage, each containing some of Jonson's finest and most flowing verse, bore equal witness to the energy and to the elasticity of his genius for apt and varied invention. The amœbæan stanzas in the later of these two masques have more

freedom of movement and spontaneity of music than will perhaps be found in any other poem of equal length from the same indefatigable hand. The fourth of these stanzas is simply magnificent: the loveliness of the next is impaired by that anatomical particularity which too often defaces the serious verse of Jonson with grotesque if not gross deformity of detail. No other poet, except possibly one of his spiritual sons, too surely 'sealed of the tribe of Ben,' would have introduced 'liver' and 'lights' into a sweet and graceful effusion of lyric fancy, good alike in form and sound; a commendation not always nor indeed very frequently deserved by the verse of its author. The variations in the burden of 'Hymen's war' are singularly delicate and happy.

The next was a memorable year in the literary life of Ben Jonson: it witnessed the appearance both of the magnificent *Masque of Queens* and of the famous comedy or farce of *The Silent Woman*. The marvellously vivid and dexterous application of marvellous learning and labour which distinguishes the most splendid of all masques as one of the typically splendid monuments or trophies of English literature has apparently eclipsed, in the appreciation of the general student, that equally admirable fervour of commanding fancy which informs the whole design and gives life to every detail. The interlude of the witches is so royally lavish in its wealth and variety of fertile and lively horror that on a first reading the student may probably do less than justice to the lofty and temperate eloquence of the noble verse and the noble prose which follow.

Of *The Silent Woman* it is not easy to say anything new and true. Its merits are salient and superb: the combination of parts and the accumulation of incidents are so skilfully arranged and so powerfully designed that the result is in its own way incomparable—or comparable only with other works of the master's hand while yet in the fullness of its cunning and the freshness of its strength. But a play of this kind must inevitably challenge a comparison, in the judgment of modern readers, between its author and Molière: and Jonson can hardly, on the whole, sustain that most perilous comparison. It is true that there is matter enough in Jonson's play to have furnished forth two or three of Molière's: and that on that ground—on the score of pure intellect and laborious versatility of humour—*The Silent Woman* is as superior to the *Misanthrope* and the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* as to *Twelfth Night* and *Much Ado about Nothing*. But even when most dazzled by the splendour of studied wit and the felicity of deliberate humour which may even yet explain the extraordinary popularity or reputation of this most imperial and elaborate of all farces, we feel that the author could no more have rivalled the author of *Twelfth Night* than he could have rivalled the author of *Othello*. The Nemesis of the satirist is upon him: he cannot be simply at ease: he cannot be happy in his work

without some undertone of sarcasm, some afterthought of allusion, aimed at matters which Molière would have reserved for a slighter style of satire, and which Shakespeare would scarcely have condescended to recognize as possible objects of even momentary attention. His wit is wonderful—admirable, laughable, laudable—it is not in the fullest and the deepest sense delightful. It is radically cruel, contemptuous, intolerant: the sneer of the superior person—Dauphine or Clerimont—is always ready to pass into a snarl: there is something in this great classic writer of the bull-baiting or bear-baiting brutality of his age. We put down *The Fox* or *The Alchemist* with a sense of wondering admiration, hardly affected by the impression of some occasional superfluity or excess: we lay aside *The Silent Woman*, not indeed without grateful recollection of much cordial enjoyment, but with distinct if reluctant conviction that the generous table at which we have been so prodigally entertained was more than a little crowded and overloaded with multifarious if savoury encumbrance of dishes. And if, as was Gifford's opinion, Shakespeare took a hint from the mock duellists in this comedy for the mock duellists in *Twelfth Night*, how wonderfully has he improved on his model! The broad rude humour of Jonson's practical joke is boyishly brutal in the horseplay of its violence: the sweet bright fun of Shakespeare's is in perfect keeping with the purer air of the sunnier climate it thrives in. The divine good-nature, the godlike good-humour of Shakespeare can never be quite perfectly appreciated till we compare his playfulness or his merriment with other men's. Even that of Aristophanes seems to smack of the barbarian beside it.

I cannot but fear that to thorough-going Jonsonians my remarks on the great comedy in which Dryden found the highest perfection of dramatic art on record may seem inadequate if not inappreciative. But to do it anything like justice would take up more space than I can spare: it would indeed, like most of Jonson's other successful plays, demand a separate study of some length and elaboration. The high comedy of the collegiate ladies, the low comedy of Captain and Mrs. Otter, the braggart knights and the Latinist barber, are all as masterly as the versions of Ovid's elegiacs into prose dialogue are tedious in their ingenuity and profitless in their skill. As to the chief character—who must evidently have been a native of Ecclefechan—he is as superior to the *malade imaginaire*, or to any of the Sganarelles of Molière, as is Molière himself to Jonson in lightness of spontaneous movement and easy grace of inspiration. And this is perhaps the only play of Jonson's which will keep the reader or spectator for whole scenes together in an inward riot or an open passion of subdued or unrepressed laughter.

The speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers, written by the Laureate for the occasion of the heir apparent's investiture as Prince of Wales, are noticeable for their fine and dexterous fusion of legend with

history in eloquent and weighty verse. But the Masque of Oberon, presented the day before the tournament in which the prince bore himself so gallantly as to excite 'the great wonder of the beholders,' is memorable for a quality far higher than this: it is unsurpassed if not unequalled by any other work of its author for brightness and lightness and grace of fancy, for lyric movement and happy simplicity of expression.

Such work, however, was but the byplay in which the genius of this indefatigable poet found its natural relaxation during the year which gave to the world for all time a gift so munificent as that of *The Alchemist*. This 'unequalled play,' as it was called by contemporary admirers, was not miscalled by their enthusiasm; it is in some respects unparalleled among all the existing masterpieces of comedy. No student worthy of the name who may agree with me in preferring *The Fox* to *The Alchemist* will wish to enforce his preference upon others. Such perfection of plot, with such multiplicity of characters—such ingenuity of incident, with such harmony of construction—can be matched, we may surely venture to say, nowhere in the whole vast range of comic invention,—nowhere in the whole wide world of dramatic fiction. If the interest is less poignant than in *Volpone*, the fun less continuous than in *The Silent Woman*, the action less simple and spontaneous than that of *Every Man in his Humour*, the vein of comedy is even richer than in any of these other masterpieces. The great Sir Epicure is enough in himself to immortalize the glory of the great artist who conceived and achieved a design so fresh, so daring, so colossal in its humour as that of this magnificent character. And there are at least nine others in the play as perfect in drawing, as vivid in outline, as living in every limb and every feature, as even his whose poetic stature overtops them all. The deathless three confederates, Kastrill and Surly, Dapper and Druggier, the too perennial Puritans whose villainous whine of purity and hypocrisy has its living echoes even yet—not a figure among them could have been carved or coloured by any other hand.

Nor is the list even yet complete of Jonson's poetic work during this truly wonderful year of his literary life. At Christmas he produced 'the Queen's Majesty's masque' of *Love freed from Folly*; a little dramatic poem composed in his lightest and softest vein of fancy, brilliant and melodious throughout. The mighty and majestic Poet Laureate would hardly, I fear, have accepted with benignity the tribute of a compliment to the effect that his use of the sweet and simple heptasyllabic metre was worthy of Richard Barnfield or George Wither: but it is certain that in purity and fluency of music his verse can seldom be compared, as here it justly may, with the clear flutelike notes of *Cynthia* and *The Shepherd's Hunting*. An absurd misprint in the last line but three has afflicted all Jonson's

editors with unaccountable perplexity. 'Then, then, angry music sound,' sings the chorus at the close of a song in honour of 'gentle Love and Beauty.' It is inconceivable that no one should yet have discovered the obvious solution of so slight but unfortunate an error in the type as the substitution of 'angry' for 'airy.'

The tragedy of *Catiline his Conspiracy* gave evidence in the following year that the author of *Sejanus* could do better, but could not do much better, on the same rigid lines of rhetorical and studious work which he had followed in the earlier play. Fine as is the opening of this too laborious tragedy, the stately verse has less of dramatic movement than of such as might be proper—if such a thing could be—for epic satire cast into the form of dialogue. *Catiline* is so mere a monster of ravenous malignity and irrational atrocity that he simply impresses us as an irresponsible though criminal lunatic: and there is something so preposterous, so abnormal, in the conduct and language of all concerned in his conspiracy, that nothing attributed to them seems either rationally credible or logically incredible. Coleridge, in his notes on the first act of this play, expresses his conviction that one passage must surely have fallen into the wrong place—such action at such a moment being impossible for any human creature. But the whole atmosphere is unreal, the whole action unnatural: no one thing said or done is less unlike the truth of life than any other: the writing is immeasurably better than the style of the ranting tragedian Seneca, but the treatment of character is hardly more serious as a study of humanity than his. In fact, what we find here is exactly what we find in the least successful of Jonson's comedies: a study, not of humanity, but of humours. The bloody humour of Cethegus, the braggart humour of Curius, the sluggish humour of Lentulus, the swaggering humour of *Catiline* himself—a huffcap hero as ever mouthed and strutted out his hour on the stage—all these alike fall under the famous definition of his favourite phrase which the poet had given twelve years before in the induction to the second of his acknowledged comedies. And a tragedy of humours is hardly less than a monster in nature—or rather in that art which 'itself is nature.' Otherwise the second act must be pronounced excellent: the humours of the rival harlots, the masculine ambition of Sempronia, the caprices and cajoleries of Fulvia, are drawn with Jonson's most self-conscious care and skill. But the part of Cicero is burden enough to stifle any play: and some even of the finest passages, such as the much-praised description of the dying *Catiline*, fine though they be, are not good in the stricter sense of the word; the rhetorical sublimity of their diction comes most perilously near the verge of bombast. Altogether, the play is another magnificent mistake: and each time we open or close it we find it more difficult to believe that the additions made by its author some ten years before to *The Spanish Tragedy* can possibly have been those

printed in the later issues of that famous play.¹ Their subtle and spontaneous notes of nature, their profound and searching pathos, their strange and thrilling tone of reality, the beauty and the terror and the truth of every touch, are the signs of a great, a very great tragic poet: and it is all but unimaginable that such an one could have been, but a year or so afterwards, the author of *Sejanus*—and again, eight years later, the author of *Catiline*. There is fine occasional writing in each, but it is not dramatic: and there is good dramatic work in each, but it is not tragic.

For two years after the appearance of *Catiline* there is an interval of silence and inaction in the literary life of its author; an intermission of labour which we cannot pretend to explain in the case of this Herculean workman, who seems usually to have taken an austere and strenuous delight in the employment and exhibition of his colossal energies. His next work is one of which it seems all but impossible for criticism to speak with neither more nor less than justice. Gifford himself, the most devoted of editors and of partisans, to whom all serious students of Jonson owe a tribute of gratitude and respect, seems to have wavered in his judgment on this point to a quite unaccountable degree. In his memoirs of Ben Jonson *Bartholomew Fair* is described as 'a popular piece, but chiefly remarkable for the obloquy to which it has given birth.' In his final note on the play, he expresses an opinion that it has 'not unjustly' been considered as 'nearly on a level with those exquisite dramas, *The Fox* and *The Alchemist*.' Who shall decide when not only do doctors disagree, but the most self-confident of doctors in criticism disagrees with himself to so singular an extent? The dainty palate of Leigh Hunt was naturally nauseated by the undoubtedly greasy flavour of the dramatic viands here served up in such prodigality of profusion: and it must be confessed that some of the meat is too high and some of the sauces are too rank for any but a very strong digestion. But those who turn away from the table in sheer disgust at the coarseness of the fare will lose the enjoyment of some of the richest and strongest humour, some of the most brilliant and varied realism, that ever claimed the attention or excited the admiration of the study or the stage. That 'superlunatical hypocrite,' the immortal and only too immortal Rabbi Busy, towers above the minor characters of the play as the execrable fanaticism which he typifies and embodies was destined to tower above reason and humanity, charity and common sense, in its future influence on the

¹ No student will need to be reminded of what is apparently unknown to some writers who have thought fit to offer an opinion on this subject—that different additions were made at different dates, and by different hands, to certain popular plays of the time. The original *Faustus* of Marlowe was altered and re-altered, at least three times, by three if not more purveyors of interpolated and incongruous matter: and even that superb masterpiece would hardly seem to have rivalled the popularity of Kyd's tragedy—a popularity by no means unmerited.

social life of England. But in sheer force and fidelity of presentation this wonderful study from nature can hardly be said to exceed the others which surround and set it off; the dotard Littlewit, the booby Cokes, the petulant fidelity and pig-headed self-confidence of Waspe, the various humours and more various villainies of the multitudinous and riotous subordinates; above all, that enterprising and intelligent champion of social purity, the conscientious and clear-sighted Justice Adam Overdo. When all is said that can reasonably be said against the too accurate reproduction and the too voluminous exposition of vulgar and vicious nature in this enormous and multitudinous pageant—too serious in its satire and too various in its movement for a farce, too farcical in its incidents and too violent in its horseplay for a comedy—the delightful humour of its finer scenes, the wonderful vigour and veracity of the whole, the unsurpassed ingenuity and dexterity of the composition, the energy, harmony, and versatility of the action, must be admitted to ensure its place for ever among the minor and coarser masterpieces of comic art.

The masque of *Love Restored*, to which no date is assigned by the author or his editors, has some noticeable qualities in common with the play which has just been considered, and ought perhaps to have taken precedence of it in our descriptive catalogue. Robin Goodfellow's adventures at court are described with such realistic as well as fantastic humour that his narrative might have made part of the incidents or episodes of the Fair without any impropriety or incongruity: but the lyric fancy and the spirited allegory which enliven this delightful little miniature of a play make it more heartily and more simply enjoyable than many or indeed than most of its author's works. Three other masques were certainly produced during the course of the year 1614. *A Challenge at Tilt at a Marriage*, which was produced eight years after the *Masque of Hymen*, opened the new year with a superb display in honour of the second nuptials of the lady whose previous marriage, now cancelled as a nullity, had been acclaimed by the poet with such superfluous munificence of congratulation and of augury as might have made him hesitate, or at least might make us wish that he had seen fit to hesitate, before undertaking the celebration of the bride's remarriage—even had it not been made infamously memorable by association with matters less familiar to England at any time than to Rome under Pope Alexander VI. or to Paris under Queen Catherine de' Medici. But from the literary point of view, as distinguished from the ethical or the historical, we have less reason to regret than to rejoice in so graceful an example of the poet's abilities as a writer of bright, facile, ingenious and exquisite prose. *The Irish Masque*, presented four days later, may doubtless have been written with no sarcastic intention: but if there was really no such undercurrent of suggestion or intimation designed or imagined by the writer, we can only find a still

keener savour of satire, a still clearer indication of insight, in the characteristic representation of a province whose typical champions fall to wrangling and exchange of reciprocal insults over the display of their ruffianly devotion : while there is not merely a tone of official rebuke or courtly compliment, but a note of genuine good feeling and serious good sense, in the fine solid blank verse delivered by ' a civil gentleman of the nation.' On Twelfth Night the comic masque of *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists* gave evidence that the creator of *Subtle* had not exhausted his arsenal of ridicule, but had yet some shafts of satire left for the professors of *Subtle's* art or mystery. The humour here is somewhat elaborate, though unquestionably spirited and ingenious.

The next year's is again a blank record ; but the year 1616, though to us more mournfully memorable for the timeless death of Shakespeare, is also for the student of Ben Jonson a date of exceptional importance and interest. The production of two masques and a comedy in verse, with the publication of the magnificent first edition of his collected plays and poems, must have kept his name more continuously if not more vividly before the world than in any preceding year of his literary life. The masque of *The Golden Age Restored*, presented on New Year's Night and again on Twelfth Night, is equally ingenious and equally spirited in its happy simplicity of construction and in the vigorous fluency of its versification ; which is generally smooth, and in the lyrical dialogue from after the first dance to the close may fairly be called sweet ; an epithet very seldom applicable to the solid and polished verse of Jonson. And if *The Devil is an Ass* cannot be ranked among the crowning masterpieces of its author, it is not because the play shows any sign of decadence in literary power or in humorous invention : the writing is admirable, the wealth of comic matter is only too copious, the characters are as firm in outline and as rich in colour as any but the most triumphant examples of his satirical or sympathetic skill in finished delineation and demarcation of humours. On the other hand, it is of all Ben Jonson's comedies since the date of *Cynthia's Revels* the most obsolete in subject of satire, the most temporary in its allusions and applications : the want of fusion or even connection (except of the most mechanical or casual kind) between the various parts of its structure and the alternate topics of its ridicule makes the action more difficult to follow than that of many more complicated plots : and, finally, the admixture of serious sentiment and noble emotion is not so skilfully managed as to evade the imputation of incongruity. Nevertheless, there are touches in the dialogue between Lady Tailbush and Lady Eitherside in the first scene of the fourth act which are worthy of Molière himself, and suggestive of the method and the genius to which we owe the immortal enjoyment derived from the society of Cathos and Madelon

—I should say, Polixène and Aminte, of Célimène and Arsinoé, and of Philaminte and Bélise. The third scene of the same act is so nobly written that the reader may feel half inclined to condone or to forget the previous humiliation of the too compliant heroine—her servile and undignified submission to the infamous imbecility of her husband—in admiration of the noble and natural eloquence with which the poet has here endowed her. But this husband, comical as are the scenes in which he develops and dilates from the part of a dupe to the part of an impostor, is a figure almost too loathsome to be ludicrous—or at least, however ludicrous, to be fit for the leading part in a comedy of ethics as well as of manners. And the prodigality of elaboration lavished on such a multitude of subordinate characters, at the expense of all continuous interest and to the sacrifice of all dramatic harmony, may tempt the reader to apostrophize the poet in his own words:—

You are so covetous still to embrace
More than you can, that you lose all.

Yet a word of parting praise must be given to Satan: a small part as far as extent goes, but a splendid example of high comic imagination after the order of Aristophanes, admirably relieved by the low comedy of the asinine Pug and the voluble doggrel of the antiquated Vice.

Not till nine years after the appearance of this play, in which the genius of the author may be said—in familiar phraseology—to have fallen between two stools, carrying either too much suggestion of human interest for a half allegorical satire, or not enough to give actual interest to the process of the satirical allegory, did Ben Jonson produce on the stage a masterpiece of comedy in which this danger was avoided, this difficulty overcome, with absolute and triumphant facility of execution. In the meantime, however, he had produced nine masques—or ten, counting that which appeared in the same year with his last great work of comic art. The *Masque of Christmas*, which belongs to the same year as the two works last mentioned, is a comfortable little piece of genial comic realism; pleasant, quaint, and homely: the good-humoured humour of little Robin Cupid and his honest old mother ‘Venus, a deaf tirewoman,’ is more agreeable than many more studious and elaborate examples of the author’s fidelity as a painter or photographer of humble life. Next year, in the masque of *Lovers made Men*, called by Gifford *The Masque of Lethe*, he gave full play to his lighter genius and lyric humour: it is a work of exceptionally simple, natural, and graceful fancy. In the following year he brought out the much-admired *Vision of Delight*: a very fair example of his capacities and incapacities. The fanciful, smooth, and flowing verse of its graver parts would be worthy of Fletcher, were it not that the music is less

fresh and pure in melody, and that among the finest and sweetest passages there are interspersed such lamentably flat and stiff couplets as would have been impossible to any other poet of equal rank. If justice has not been done in modern times to Ben Jonson as one of the greatest of dramatists and humourists, much more than justice has been done to him as a lyric poet. The famous song of Night in this masque opens and closes most beautifully and most sweetly: but two out of the eleven lines which compose it, the fifth and the sixth, are positively and intolerably bad. The barbarous and pedantic license of inversion which disfigures his best lyrics with such verses as these—‘Create of airy forms a stream,’ ‘But might I of Jove’s nectar sup’—is not a fault of the age but a vice of the poet. Marlowe and Lyly, Shakespeare and Webster, Fletcher and Dekker, could write songs as free from this blemish as Tennyson’s or Shelley’s. There is no surer test of the born lyric poet than the presence or absence of an instinctive sense which assures him when and how and where to use or to abstain from inversion. And in Jonson it was utterly wanting.

The next year’s masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*, would be very graceful in composition if it were not rather awkward in construction. The verses in praise of dancing are very pretty, sedate, and polished: and the burlesque part (spoken by ‘Messer Gaster’ in person) has more than usual of Rabelaisian freedom and energy. The antimasque afterwards prefixed to it, *For the Honour of Wales*, is somewhat ponderous in its jocularity, but has genuine touches of humour and serious notes of character in its ‘tedious and brief’ display of the poet’s incomparable industry and devotion to the study of dialects and details: and the close is noble and simple in its patriotic or provincial eloquence. But in the year 1620 the comic genius of Jonson shone out once more in all the splendour of its strength. The only masque of that year, *News from the New World discovered in the Moon*, is worthy of a prose Aristophanes: in other words, it is a satire such as Aristophanes might have written, if that greater poet had ever condescended to write prose. Here for once the generous words of Jonson’s noble panegyric on Shakespeare may justly be applied to himself: in his own immortal phrase, the humour of this little comedy is ‘not of an age, but for all time.’ At the very opening we find ourselves on but too familiar ground, and feel that the poet must have shot himself forward by sheer inspiration into our own enlightened age, when we hear ‘a printer of news’ avowing the notable fact that ‘I do hearken after them, wherever they be, at any rates; I’ll give anything for a good copy now, be it true or false, so it be news.’ Are not these, the reader must ask himself, the accents of some gutter gaolbird—some dung-hill gazetteer of this very present day? Or is the avowal too honest in its impudence for such lips as these? After this, the anticipation

of something like railways ('coaches' that 'go only with wind')—if not also of something like balloons ('a castle in the air that runs upon wheels, with a winged lanthorn')—seems but a commonplace example of prophetic instinct.

The longest of Ben Jonson's masques was expanded to its present bulk by the additions made at each successive representation before the king; to whose not over delicate or fastidious taste this *Masque of the Metamorphosed Gipsies* would seem to have given incomparable if not inexhaustible delight. And even those readers who may least enjoy the decidedly greasy wit or humour of some among its once most popular lyrical parts must admire and cannot but enjoy the rare and even refined loveliness of others. The fortune most unfortunately told of his future life and death to the future King Charles I. is told in the very best lyric verse that the poet could command: a strain of quite exceptional sweetness, simplicity, and purity of music: to which, as we read it now, the record of history seems to play a most tragically ironical accompaniment, in a minor key of subdued and sardonic presage. And besides these graver and lovelier interludes of poetry which relieve the somewhat obtrusive realism of the broader comic parts, this masque has other claims on our notice and remembrance; the ingenuity and dexterity the richness of resource and the pliability of humour, which inform and animate all its lyric prophecies or compliments.

The masque which appeared in the following year is a monument of learning and labour such as no other poet could have dreamed of lavishing on a ceremonial or official piece of work, and which can only be appreciated by careful reading and thorough study of the copious notes and references appended to the text. But the writer's fancy was at a low ebb when it could devise nothing better than is to be found in this *Masque of Augurs*: the humour is coarse and clumsy, the verses are flat and stiff. In the next year's Twelfth-Night masque, *Time vindicated to himself and to his honours*, the vigorous and vicious personalities of the attack on George Wither give some life to the part in which the author of *Abuses Stript and Whipt* is brought in under the name of Chronomastix to make mirth for the groundlings of the court. The feeble and facile fluency of his pedestrian Muse in the least fortunate hours of her too voluble and voluminous improvisation is not unfairly caricatured; but the Laureate's malevolence is something too obvious in his ridicule of the 'soft ambling verse' whose 'rapture' at its highest has the quality denied by nature by Jonson's—the divine gift of melodious and passionate simplicity. A better and happier use for his yet unimpaired faculty of humour was found in the following year's masque of *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion*; which contains the most famous and eloquent panegyric on the art of cookery that ever anticipated the ardours of Thackeray and the enthusiasm of Dumas

The passage is a really superb example of tragicomic or mock-heroic blank verse ; and in the closing lyrics of the masque there is no lack of graceful fancy and harmonious elegance. For the next year's masque of *Pan's Anniversary, or The Shepherd's Holiday*, not quite so much can reasonably be said. It is a typical and a flagrant instance of the poet's proverbial and incurable tendency to overdo everything : there is but artificial smoothness in the verse, and but clownish ingenuity in the prose of it.

But the year 1625 is memorable to the students and admirers of Ben Jonson for the appearance of a work worth almost all his masques together ; a work in which the author of *The Fox* and *The Alchemist* once more reasserted his claim to a seat which no other poet and no other dramatist could dispute. The last complete and finished masterpiece of his genius is the splendid comedy of *The Staple of News*. This, rather than *The Silent Woman*, is the play which should be considered as the third—or perhaps we should say the fourth—of the crowning works which represent the consummate and incomparable powers of its author. No man can know anything worth knowing of Ben Jonson who has not studied and digested the text of *Every Man in his Humour*, *The Fox*, *The Alchemist*, and *The Staple of News* : but any man who has may be said to know him well. To a cursory or an incompetent reader it may appear at first sight that the damning fault of *The Devil is an Ass* is also the fault of this later comedy : that we have here again an infelicitous and an incongruous combination of realistic satire with Aristophanic allegory, and that the harmony of the different parts, the unity of the composite action, which a pupil of Aristophanes should at least have striven to attain—or, if he could not, at least to imitate and to respect—can here be considered as conspicuous only by their absence. But no careful and candid critic will retain such an impression after due study has been given to the third poetic comedy which reveals to us the genius of Jonson, not merely as a realistic artist in prose or a master of magnificent farce, but as a great comic poet. The scheme of his last preceding comedy had been vitiated by a want of coherence between the actual and the allegorical, the fantastic and the literal point of view ; and the result was confusion without fusion of parts : here, on the other hand, we have fusion without confusion between the dramatic allegory suggested by Aristophanes, the admirably fresh and living presentation of the three Pennyboys, and the prophetic satire of the newsmarket or Stock Exchange of journalism. The competent reader will be divided between surprise at the possibility and delight in the perfection of the success achieved by a poet who has actually endowed with sufficiency of comic life and humorous reality a whole group of symbolic personifications : from the magnificent Infanta herself, Aurelia Clara Pecunia, most gracious and generous yet most sensitive and discreet of imperial

damsels, even down to little 'blushet' Rose Wax the chambermaid. Her young suitor is at least as good a picture of a generous light-headed prodigal as ever was shown on any stage: as much of a man as Charles Surface, and very much more of a gentleman. The miserly uncle, though very well drawn, is less exceptionally well drawn: but Pennyboy Canter, the disguised father, is equally delightful from the moment of his entrance with an extempore carol of salutation on his lips to those in which he appears to rescue the misused Infanta from the neglectful favourite of her choice, and reappears at the close of the play to rescue his son, redeem his brother, and scatter the community of jeerers: to whose humour Gifford is somewhat less than just when he compares it with 'the vapouring in *Bartholomew Fair*': for it is neither coarse nor tedious, and takes up but very little space; and that not unamusingly. As for the great scene of the Staple, it is one of the most masterly in ancient or modern comedy of the typical or satirical kind. The central 'Office' here opened, to the great offence (it should seem) of 'most of the spectators'—a fact which, as Gifford justly remarks, 'argues very little for the good sense of the audience,'—may be regarded by a modern student as representing the narrow little nest in which was laid the modest little egg of modern journalism—that bird of many notes and many feathers, now so like an eagle and now so like a vulture: now soaring as a falcon or sailing as a pigeon over continents and battle-fields, now grovelling and groping as a dung-hill kite, with its beak in a very middenstead of falsehood and of filth. The vast range of Ben Jonson's interest and observation is here as manifest as the wide scope and infinite variety of his humour. Science and warfare, Spinola and Galileo, come alike within reach of its notice, and serve alike for the material of its merriment. The invention of torpedos is anticipated by two centuries and a half; while in the assiduity of the newsmongers who traffic in eaves-dropping detail we acknowledge a resemblance to that estimable race of tradesmen known to Parisian accuracy as *interwieveurs*. And the lunacy of apocalyptic interpreters or prophets is gibbeted side by side with the fanatical ignorance of missionary enthusiasm, with impostures of professional quackery and speculations in personal libel. Certainly, if ever Ben deserved the prophetic title of Vates, it was in this last magnificent work of his maturest genius. Never had his style or his verse been riper or richer, more vigorous or more pure. And even the interludes in which we hear the commentary and gather the verdict of 'these ridiculous gossips' (as their creator calls them) 'who tattle between the acts' are incomparably superior to his earlier efforts or excursions in the same field of humorous invention. The intrusive commentators on *Every Man out of his Humour*, for instance, are mere nullities—the awkward and abortive issue of unconscious uneasiness and inartistic egoism.

But Expectation, Mirth, Tattle, and Censure, are genuine and living sketches of natural and amusing figures: and their dialogues, for appropriate and spirited simplicity, are worthy of comparison with even those of a similar nature which we owe not more to the genius than to the assailants of Molière.

In 1625 Ben Jonson had brought out his last great comedy: in 1626 he brought out the last of his finer sort of masques. The little so-called *Masque of Owls*, which precedes it in the table of contents, is (as Gifford points out) no masque at all: it is a quaint effusion of doggerel dashed with wit and streaked with satire. But in *The Fortunate Isles, and their Union*, the humour and the verse are alike excellent: the jest on Plato's ideas would have delighted Landor, and the wish of Merefool to 'see a Brahman or a Gymnosophist' is worthy of a modern believer in esoteric Buddhism. Few if any of the masques have in them lyrics of smoother and clearer flow; and the construction is no less graceful than ingenious. The next reappearance of the poet, after a silence during three years of broken or breaking health, was so memorably unfortunate in its issue that the name and the fate of a play which was only too naturally and deservedly hooted off the stage are probably familiar to many who know nothing of the masterpiece which had last preceded it. Ever since Lamb gathered some excerpts from the more high-toned and elaborate passages of *The New Inn, or The Light Heart*, and commended in them 'the poetical fancy and elegance of mind of the supposed rugged old bard,' it has been the fashion to do justice if not something more than justice to the literary qualities of this play; which no doubt contains much vigorous and some graceful writing, and may now and then amuse a tolerant reader by its accumulating and culminating absurdities of action and catastrophe, character and event. But that the work shows portentous signs of mental decay, or at all events of temporary collapse in judgment and in sense, can be questioned by no sane reader of so much as the argument. To rank any preceding play of Jonson's among those dismissed by Dryden as his 'dotages' would be to attribute to Dryden a verdict displaying the veriest imbecility of impudence: but to *The New Inn* that rough and somewhat brutal phrase is on the whole but too plausibly applicable.

At the beginning of the next year Jonson came forward in his official capacity as court poet or laureate, and produced 'the Queen's Masque,' *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, and again, at Shrovetide, 'the King's Masque,' *Chloridia*. A few good verses, faint echoes of a former song, redeem the first of these from the condemnation of compassion or contempt: and there is still some evidence in its composition of conscientious energy and of capacity not yet reduced from the stage of decadence to the stage of collapse. But the hymn which begins fairly enough with imitation of an earlier and nobler strain of

verse at once subsides into commonplace, and closes in doggerel which would have disgraced a Sylvester or a Quarles. It is impossible to read *Chloridia* without a regretful reflection on the lapse of time which prevented it from being a beautiful and typical instance of the author's lyric power: but, however inferior it may be to what he would have made of so beautiful a subject in the freshness and fullness of his inventive and fanciful genius, it is still ingenious and effective after a fashion; and the first song is so genuinely graceful and simple as to remind us of Wordsworth in his more pedestrian but not uninspired moods or measures of lyrical or elegiac verse.

The higher genius of Ben Jonson as a comic poet was yet once more to show itself in one brilliant flash of parting splendour before its approaching sunset. No other of his works would seem to have met with such all but universal neglect as *The Magnetic Lady*; I do not remember to have ever seen it quoted or referred to, except once by Dryden, who in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* cites from it an example of narrative substituted for action, 'where one comes out from dinner, and relates the quarrels and disorders of it, to save the indecent appearance of them on the stage, and to abbreviate the story.' And yet any competent spectator of its opening scenes must have felt a keen satisfaction at the apparent revival of the comic power and renewal of the dramatic instinct so lamentably enfeebled and eclipsed on the last occasion of a new play from the same hand. The first act is full of brilliant satirical description and humorous analysis of humours: the commentator Compass, to whom we owe these masterly summaries of character, is an excellent counterpart of that 'reasonable man' who so constantly reappears on the stage of Molière to correct with his ridicule or control by his influence the extravagant or erratic tendencies of his associates. Very few examples of Jonson's grave and deliberate humour are finer than the ironical counsel given by Compass to the courtly fop whom he dissuades from challenging the soldier who has insulted him, on the ground that the soldier

has killed so many

As it is ten to one his turn is next:

You never fought with any, less, slew any;

And therefore have the [better] hopes before you.

The rest of the speech, with all that follows to the close of the scene, is no less ripe and rich in sedate and ingenious irony. There is no less admirable humour in the previous discourse of the usurer in praise of wealth—especially as being the only real test of a man's character:—

For, be he rich, he straight with evidence knows

Whether he have any compassion

Or inclination unto virtue, or no:

Where the poor knave erroneously believes

If he were rich he would build churches, or

Do such mad things.

Most of the characters are naturally and vigorously drawn in outline or in profile: Dame Polish is a figure well worthy the cordial and lavish commendation of Gifford: and the action is not only original and ingenious, but during the first four acts at any rate harmonious and amusing. The fifth act seems to me somewhat weaker; but the interludes are full of spirit, good humour, and good sense.

A Tale of a Tub, which appeared in the following year, is a singular sample of farce elaborated and exalted into comedy. This rustic study, though 'not liked' by the king and queen when acted before them at court, has very real merits in a homely way. The list of characters looks unpromising, and reminds us to regret that the old poet could not be induced to profit by Feltham's very just and reasonable animadversions on 'all your jests so nominal'; which deface this play no less than *The New Inn*, and repel the most tolerant reader by their formal and laborious puerility. But the action opens brightly and briskly: the dispute about 'Zin Valentine' is only less good in its way than one of George Eliot's exquisite minor touches—Mr. Dempster's derivation of the word Presbyterian from one Jack Presbyter of historic infamy: the young squire's careful and testy 'man and governor' is no unworthy younger brother of Numps in *Bartholomew Fair*: and the rustic heroine, a figure sketched with rough realistic humour, is hardly less than delightful when she remarks, after witnessing the arrest of her intended bridegroom on a charge of highway robbery, 'He might have married one first, and have been hanged after, if he had had a mind to't'; a reflection worthy of Congreve or Vanbrugh, Miss Hoyden or Miss Prue. But Jonson had never laid to heart the wisdom expressed in the admirable proverb—'Qui trop embrasse mal étreint'; the simple subject of the play and the homely motive of the action are overlaid and overloaded by the multiplicity of minor characters and episodical superfluities, and the upshot of all the poet's really ingenious contrivances is pointless as well as farcical and flat as well as trivial. But there is certainly no sign of dotage in any work of Ben Jonson's produced before or after the lamentable date of *The New Inn*. The author apologizes for the homely and rustic quality of his uncourtly play; but if it be a failure, it is not on account of its plebeian humility, but through the writer's want of any real sympathy with his characters, any hearty relish of his subject: because throughout the whole conduct of a complicated intrigue he shows himself ungenially observant and contemptuously studious of his models: because the qualities most needed for such work, transparent lucidity and straightforward simplicity of exposition, are not to be found in these last comedies: because, for instance, as much attention is needed to appreciate the ingenious process of 'humours reconciled' in *The Magnetic Lady*, or to follow the no less ingenious evolution of boorish rivalries and clownish intrigues in the play just noticed,

as to follow the action and appreciate the design of *The Fox* or *The Alchemist*.

The masque of this year, *Love's Welcome at Welbeck*, is a thing of very slight pretensions, but not unsuccessful or undiverting after its homely fashion. In the next year's companion masque, *Love's Welcome at Bolsover*, the verse, though not wanting in grace or ease, is less remarkable than the rough personal satire on Inigo Jones; who, it may be observed, is as ready with a quotation from Chaucer as Goody Polish in *The Magnetic Lady* or Lovel in *The New Inn*.

Of this great dramatist's other than dramatic work in poetry or in prose this is not the place to speak: and his two posthumous fragments of dramatic poetry, interesting and characteristic as they are, can hardly affect for the better or for the worse our estimate of his powers. Had *Mortimer his Fall* been completed, we should undoubtedly have had a third example of rhetorical drama, careful, conscientious, energetic, impassive and impressive; worthy to stand beside the author's two Roman tragedies: and Mortimer might have confronted and outfaced Sejanus and Catiline in sonorous audacity of rhythmic self-assertion and triumphant ostentation of magnificent vacuity. In *The Sad Shepherd* we find the faults and the merits of his best and his worst masques so blended and confounded that we cannot but perceive the injurious effect on the Laureate's genius or instinct of intelligence produced by the habit of conventional invention which the writing of verse to order and the arrangement of effects for a pageant had now made inevitable and incurable. A masque including an antimasque, in which the serious part is relieved and set off by the introduction of parody or burlesque, was a form of art or artificial fashion in which incongruity was a merit; the grosser the burlesque, the broader the parody, the greater was the success and the more effective was the result: but in a dramatic attempt of higher pretention than such as might be looked for in the literary groundwork or raw material for a pageant, this intrusion of incongruous contrast is a pure barbarism—a positive solecism in composition. The collocation of such names and such figures as those of Æglamour and Earine with such others as Much and Maudlin, Scathlock and Scarlet, is no whit less preposterous or less ridiculous, less inartistic or less irritating, than the conjunction in Dekker's *Satiromastix* of Peter Flash and Sir Quintilian, Sir Adam Prickshaft and Sir Vaughan ap Rees, with Crispinus and Demetrius, Asinius and Horace: and the offence is graver, more inexcusable and more inexplicable, in a work of pure fancy or imagination, than in a work of poetic invention crossed and chequered with controversial satire. Yet Gifford, who can hardly find words or occasions sufficient to express his sense of Dekker's 'inconceivable folly,' or his contempt for 'a plot that can scarcely be equalled in absurdity by the worst of the plays which Dekker was ever employed

to "dress," has not a syllable of reprehension for the portentous incongruities of this mature and elaborate poem. On the other hand, even Gifford's editorial enthusiasm could not overestimate the ingenious excellence of construction, the masterly harmony of composition, which every reader of the argument must have observed with such admiration as can but intensify his regret that scarcely half of the projected poem has come down to us. No work of Ben Jonson's is more amusing and agreeable to read, as none is more nobly graceful in expression or more excellent in simplicity of style.

The immense influence of this great writer on his own generation is not more evident or more memorable than is the refraction or reverberation of that influence on the next. This 'sovereign sway and masterdom,' this overpowering preponderance of reputation, could not but be and could not but pass away. No giant had ever the divine versatility of a Shakespeare: but of all the giant brood none ever showed so much diversity of power as Jonson. In no single work has he displayed such masterly variety of style as has Byron in his two great poems, *Don Juan* and *The Vision of Judgment*: the results of his attempts at mixture or fusion of poetry with farce will stand exposed in all their deformity and discrepancy if we set them beside the triumphant results of Shakespeare's. That faultless felicity of divine caprice which harmonizes into such absolute congruity all the outwardly incompatible elements of such works as *Twelfth Night* and *The Tempest*, the *Winter's Tale* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, is perhaps of all Shakespeare's incomparable gifts the one most utterly beyond reach of other poets. But when we consider the various faculties and powers of Jonson's genius and intelligence, when we examine severally the divers forces and capacities enjoyed and exercised by this giant workman in the performance of his work, we are amazed into admiration only less in its degree than we feel for the greatest among poets. It is not admiration of the same kind: there is less in it of love and worship than we give to the gods of song: but it is with deep reverence and with glowing gratitude that we salute in this Titan of the English stage 'il maestro di color che sanno.'

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

THE CLERGY AND THE LAND.

Is it to the interest of the Church or of the nation to preserve the existing connection of the clergy with the land?

Two preliminary remarks may serve to limit and to clear the ground. In the first place the issue raised is obviously different from the question of Disestablishment and Disendowment, and the two subjects will be kept, so far as possible, entirely distinct. In the second place the question cannot be dismissed with the objection that the severance of clerical incomes from the land would maim the Church by cutting that bond of common interest with farmers and landlords which at present binds her to every class of the community. The Church would still stand towards landed interests in the same position which she occupies towards trade and manufacture. The change would only render relations uniform which are now anomalous; the connection of the land with the Church would cease to be that of debtor and creditor.

No statistics need be adduced to prove the prevalence of agricultural distress. A crisis which picks your pocket is an abstraction in a concrete form. Unfortunately no certain sign of relief is visible on the immediate horizon. Periods of depression as severe and as prolonged have before now yielded to cycles of prosperity. But a new element, entirely unknown in the previous history of agriculture, is now for the first time present. Farmers are baffled by no passing revolt of Nature's wayward team; they are confounded by the problem of foreign competition. The past throws no light upon the future because the road on which we travel is strange.

An old country, like England, does not compete in the production of cereals on even terms with virgin soils, and the stereotyped wants of an advanced civilisation deprive her of the advantages which India possesses in her labour-market. It may be that the worst of the competition is over so far as American and Canadian wheat is concerned; but India will be an increasingly dangerous rival as her imperfect railway system becomes developed. Our farmers can still grow more wheat per acre than any of their foreign rivals; but the pre-eminence is a barren honour, when the crop is only raised at a loss.

The crisis is more serious because the competition is felt in the

staple products of English agriculture. Quantity and quality within a limited range is the feature of our farming; the energies of our farmers are concentrated upon beef, bread, and beer for the million. All our eggs are in one basket, and that basket has the bottom out.

The rough remedy of Protection seems impracticable. The time may come when artisans will grow tired of contemplating the cheap loaf inside the baker's window; but they will demand import duties upon manufactured goods and not on raw agricultural produce. Be this as it may, it seems suicidal to make such questions the shibboleths of party, and to stake famine on a throw for office.

If Protection is impossible, agriculture must rely on its own efforts for relief, and agriculturists must turn in fresh directions to find new levers of farming prosperity. A partial change of front appears to be necessary.

In the sixteenth century commercial and social changes combined to transform England from an arable into a pasture country; in the eighteenth century the rapid growth of population necessitated the complete reversal of farming methods. Both these agricultural revolutions were accompanied by distress and suffering to which the present crisis affords no adequate parallel. In the first case landlords withdrew from the old agrarian partnerships; agricultural communities were dissolved; whole districts were depopulated to make room for the shepherd, his dog, and his flock. In the second case the old self-sufficing industry was rendered impossible when farmers, who lay down at night confident in their powers to supply the wants of their own families, were roused in the morning by the cry for food, which rose from crowded haunts of trade and manufacture. It was necessary to bring into cultivation every available acre; farms were consolidated at the expense of village communities, small tenants, and yeoman proprietors; wastes and commons were enclosed; millions of acres were added to the profitable occupation of the soil.

A less complete agricultural revolution is required at the present crisis, and its character seems to be not obscurely indicated. Under ordinary circumstances it is idle to foretell events unless you know. Yet if the past affords no guidance, it is difficult to avoid prophecy, even though it is the only purely gratuitous form which human error can assume.

Wages have risen in falling markets; agricultural labourers work less, are more independent, and require more constant supervision. The best labour is not only scarce but dear. This difficulty may be met by the employment of machinery on large farms, or by the multiplication of small holdings, which may be tilled by the occupier and his family. Again: it is hopeless to think of reviving artificial protection. Farmers must therefore defy foreign competition by raising the highest class of agricultural produce, or fall back upon the natural monopoly which home producers enjoy over their distant

rivals ; in other words, we must look to large farms to grow the finest beef, mutton, and veal in the world, and to the rapidly perishable produce of small dairy, fruit, market garden, and poultry farms. Lastly, the essence of farming on virgin soils is extension ; on old land it is intension. And intension may consist in the application to the land either of increased capital and increased science, or of the self-interested indefatigable labour of a peasant tenantry or perhaps of a peasant proprietary. Thus the future seems to point to the extinction of middle-sized farms, on which hired labour is necessary ; the retention of large tenancies, on which the highest farming can be practised ; and the multiplication of small holdings, which can be tilled by the occupiers or the owners.

Foreign experience confirms this conclusion. In Germany and France the agricultural crisis has proved hardly less severe than in England. In France, for instance, agriculture exhibits every sign of depression, and the complaints of our tenant-farmers are reproduced with the most curious minuteness of detail. If French farmers have suffered less severely than their English brethren, it is because they are more economical and have laboured to save, instead of hurrying to make, a fortune. Agriculturists of the school of Arthur Young resolve at local meetings that the only remedy is high farming ; champions of the peasant proprietor point out that he has, comparatively speaking, enjoyed the lee of the storm. If the view taken of the future of English farming be correct, both schools are right. For large tenant-farmers the only resource is high farming, while peasant cultivators have least to dread from the state of the labour market or from foreign competition.

The partial change of front in England requires a considerable expenditure of capital. On the one hand, farmers have lost their money, and landlords must undertake alone agricultural improvements to which their larger tenants formerly contributed ; on the other, the multiplication of small holdings necessitates the erection of three or four sets of buildings where one previously sufficed. Yet if the prevailing sense of insecurity were replaced by the old feeling of confidence, the change would be, it is believed, rapidly effected. But landlords will not adventure capital when they do not know that rights of property will hold good to-morrow ; farmers hold their hands in hope of the extension to England of Irish land-legislation ; labourers grudge to work for others upon soil which they are assured is theirs by natural right. Thus agriculture lingers on in a state of suspended animation, infecting all classes with its own disease. If foreign competition is the fever which first prostrated farming industries, insecurity is the constitutional derangement which prevents agriculture from rallying, and steadily eats its way towards the seat of its vital energies.

The conclusions drawn as to the present and future of English

farming are, of course, open to dispute; but, for the present argument, they are assumed to be correct. They may be thus summarised. The existing depression is not a passing phenomenon, but a more or less permanent condition; the distress will increase unless a partial change of front is effected, and this change of front requires a large expenditure of capital. How do these considerations bear upon the question, whether or not it is the interest of the Church or of the nation to preserve the existing connection of the clergy with the land?

No one can deny that the prolonged depression has told with tremendous force upon the temporal condition of the clergy, and brought into strong relief the anomalies of their position as the spiritual advisers and hard-pressed creditors of bankrupt parishioners. It is easy to attempt to laugh the grim facts out of court by asserting a close time for curates to be the true remedy for clerical distress; it is equally easy to forget that the celibacy of the clergy differs *toto cælo* from the ordinary celibacy of the laity. The known sufferings of the rural clergy have aroused widespread sympathy, and yet it is more than probable that the worst cases still remain concealed. If the present depression is not a passing phenomenon, there is no reason to suppose that there will be any increase, except in the remote future, in the rental of glebe-owners, or any material rise, for the next quarter of a century, in the corn averages on which depend the incomes of tithe-owners. In other words, no immediate improvement is likely to take place in circumstances which not only reduce many of the clergy to grinding poverty, but narrow the sphere of their spiritual influence in rural districts.

Further if, to prevent greater loss, a partial change of front is absolutely essential, the clergy must bear their share in the necessary expenditure of capital. Are they in a position to make the required outlay? Are they qualified to act as the brains of a small farm system, which, in its early stages, must depend for its success on the union of capital and intelligence with labour? If they cannot themselves superintend the management of the land, or supervise the expenditure of the money, can they afford, out of their diminished stipends, to employ skilled agents to supply their deficiencies? Will not the clergy, in the vast majority of cases, become drags upon progress? If they lag behind, there are thousands ready to make political capital out of their shortcomings, thousands who will point out with reason that they are not, and by their profession ought not to be, in the first flight of the race of agricultural enterprise.

Failing this change of front, which can only be effected by a liberal and well-directed outlay of private capital, we must contemplate embittered hostility, increased friction, narrowed areas of spiritual influence, parishioners alienated from religion itself through the faults of the social and economical system with which it is acci-

dentally associated, and, in a word, a progressive aggravation of the present conditions. We must contemplate stipends so precarious and reduced that more vacant livings will be hawked about in the public press, and more benefices disendowed because the income no longer suffices to pay the charges. We must contemplate a lowering of the class from which the ranks of the country clergy are recruited, and this lowering of the standard will be produced, not so much by insufficiency of stipend, as by the knowledge that the clerical profession has become inseparably connected with petty anxieties, harassing distractions, false relations, uncongenial occupations, which are, to say the least, incompatible with the adequate discharge of the engrossing duties of a sacred calling. Nor must it be forgotten that a large number of thoughtful laymen support the Establishment on social, rather than on religious, grounds. They see that the Church performs functions in rural districts which no other institution can at present discharge. If the connection of the clergy with the land transforms her moderating, tranquillising influence into a fertile source of local strife and agrarian discontent, their support will be withdrawn. Finally, if the maintenance of the existing system impedes the general revival of agriculture, a powerful argument against the Church is supplied to those who regard landlords as being, what to a certain extent they are, trustees of national property; the gospel of public plunder will assume the specious disguise of the gospel of parochial peace; and a formidable appeal will be made to that breeches pocket in which is often seated the conscience not only of an individual but of a nation.

But it may be contended that, if the legislation now before Parliament is carried, it will remove the most serious objections to the existing system. Is this really the case?

The general principle of the proposed legislation is to render more easy the terms on which glebe lands and tithe-rentcharges may be either retained by the clergy or acquired by strangers. This is the twofold object of the bills dealing with glebes and tithes. If the question is rightly viewed, the Government could hardly do less in one direction and more in another. Not only the claims of the clergy, but the claims of the nation have to be considered.

The Government could hardly do less, because the clergy have a very substantial grievance and an imperative right to redress. It could hardly do more, because the peculiar nature of the property enjoyed by the clergy forbids any Ministers to whittle away, for the benefit of particular classes, an estate the reversion of which belongs to the nation as a whole. So long as religion is recognised as an active principle in the well-being of the State, and the clergy zealously perform the duties of their profession, glebe lands and tithes cannot be distinguished from other forms of landed property without shaking to their centre the foundations of society: all, or none, are

inviolable. But if the English people come to believe that religion is either obsolete or mischievous, or if the clergy grow faint and feeble in their efforts, the dissolution of the Church of England cannot be long deferred, and with that event expires the life interest which she enjoys in her endowments. It is therefore the duty of every Government to preserve unimpaired the *corpus* of an estate, of which, subject to the life interest of the Church of England, the nation claims the reversion. If this consideration stood alone, it would afford an answer to the demand for a revaluation of tithe-rent-charges upon a new principle which will reduce the annual payments and minimise the capitalised value.

Thus, as trustees for the life interest of the Church and for the reversion of the nation, no Government ought to offer such advantageous terms of sale or redemption as will afford any substantial inducement to strangers to purchase glebe lands or redeem tithes. The clergy may, and do, fairly ask to be released from their legal disabilities; but they cannot and do not demand to be relieved of their landed interests by a sale at an inadequate price of property of which the Church is only tenant for life. If they are to be so relieved, the process ought not to be effected piecemeal by greasing the palms of the wealthier landlords, but by a comprehensive scheme in which the advantages of a low price should be secured to the nation. If the sale or redemption clauses of the proposed legislation are largely taken advantage of by purchasers, it will be because they offer a good bargain to individuals at the immediate expense of the Church, and the ultimate loss of the nation. The dissolution of the monasteries affords no exact parallel because conventual and monastic property never belonged to the Church of England; but here individuals profited by many millions at the expense of a fund the reversion of which belonged to the nation. The effect of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836, combined with the rapid rise of rents, deprived the Church of two millions a year, and threw the money into the pockets of the landlords. If the true principle had been throughout recognised, if the reversionary rights of the nation had been respected, the State would now be the richer by several millions a year. It is the State alone which ought to be allowed to buy up the landed interests of the Church.

It follows from what has been said, that if the Government offers advantageous terms to landlords to redeem tithe rent-charges, Ministers have failed in their duties as trustees of the national reversion. If they do not propose a good bargain to purchasers, they have respected their trust, but the redemption clauses must necessarily prove inoperative. This latter course has been up to the present moment pursued. To landowners, who are not limited in their powers of investment, the Bill of 1887 affords little or no temptation; it might, and probably would, be used by corporate bodies and other persons

who cannot secure more than 3 per cent. upon their savings. If then the redemption clauses practically prove inoperative, the legislation now before Parliament may place, and indeed ought to place, glebe-owners on equal terms with other owners or cultivators of the soil; it may transfer, and ought to transfer, the direct liability for tithe from temporary occupiers to permanent landowners. But it removes none of the friction which results from the relations of the clergy to their small debtors, whether they are tithepayers or tenants; it will not save the clergy from the hard alternative of sacrificing pecuniary claims or spiritual influence. If it takes off the unjust weights with which the clergy are at present penalised, it will not lighten the professional duties which necessarily throw them into the rear rank of agricultural progress; it will not touch one of the arguments that are legitimately urged against the pernicious influence upon farming which is exercised by limited ownership, or against the paralysing effects of permanent charges secured upon the land. As population grows, every one of these agricultural considerations must necessarily gather force, when every nerve must be strained to the utmost tension, and every rood of ground cultivated to the highest pitch of possible efficiency. Not only those who support the Established Church on social grounds, but many of those who are, from deeper motives, among its warmest adherents, will be forced from their allegiance by the inexorable logic of economic facts. So long as clerical incomes continue to be drawn from the land, legislation may postpone, but it cannot prevent, the shock of the inevitable collision between clerical and national interests, and between the material and spiritual interests of the Church itself.

There is but one mode in which clerical incomes can be, at the present moment, disengaged from the land without some violent change in existing laws of property which will be capable of indefinite and dangerous extension. That mode is a voluntary sacrifice on the part of the clergy. It is easy to throw out the taunt that there are Pharisees in England, as well as in Jewry, who lay heavy burdens upon others which they will not themselves touch with their little finger. But no one can pretend that the revenues of the Church of England are at present upon a satisfactory footing, or can afford to ignore the enormous distinction which exists between giving and giving up. If it is to the interest both of the Church and the nation to disengage clerical incomes from the land, the severance ought indisputably to be effected. What abatement will the Church make of her legal claims? What inducement will the clerical life-tenant offer to the national reversioner to buy up at once his intervening interest? Legislation is at present suspended. No better use could be made of the breathing space by the authorities of the Church than to consider what concessions they can afford to offer, what willing sacrifice they are prepared to make. The clergy may

NIEDERBRONN.

If the reader examines a map of Lower (*i.e.* Northern) Alsace, formerly the French 'département du Bas Rhin,' he will see that to the south of the river Lauter, which for some distance has been, since 1815, the boundary between Alsace and the Rhenish Palatinate, four streams flow in a south-easterly direction through the passes of the Northern Vosges, and, crossing the Alsatian plains, ultimately discharge their waters into the Rhine. The most northerly is the Sauerbach, which rises in the higher mountains of the Palatinate Vosges (the Wasgau), and, after passing close to the magnificent ruin of Fleckenstein, and its two neighbours Hohenburg and Wegelburg, flows through the battle-field of Woerth, and, turning to the east, traverses the great forest of Hagenau before reaching the Rhine to the south of Selz. But it is with the other three mountain rivers that I am chiefly concerned. They all have their origin in Lorraine, and cross into Alsace a few miles within the Vosges passes. The stream nearest to the Sauerbach is the Schwarzbach, forming during part of its course the beautiful Jaegerthal, soon after it has passed the ruins of the old (A.D. 1212) and new (A.D. 1335) Windstein castles. The second, to the south of the Schwarzbach, is the Falkensteinerbach, which rises not far from the fortress of Bitche, and after passing, at a mile's distance, the splendid ruin of Falkenstein, from which it takes its name, debouches from the Vosges into the plain, under the Wasenberg at Niederbronn, and three miles lower joins the Schwarzbach at Reichshofen. The third is the Zinzel, a few miles farther to the south-west, which after forming a pretty lake below Mutterhausen, runs through the magnificent Baerenthal (or Mühlthal) valley and forest, and having passed Zinsweiler, famous for its enamelled-iron factory, also joins the Schwarzbach a few miles below Reichshofen. To these three valleys, the Jaegerthal, the Falkensteinerthal, and the Baerenthal, Niederbronn owes its main attractions. Above and along the passes there are, within a good pedestrian's reach, several hundred miles of well-preserved road or mountain path, each with its special interest of view, ruin, stream or lakelet, for the most part in forest of oak, beech, and pine, the woods containing a fair amount of game, while some of the streams give tolerable sport to the angler. To the artist the varied country, the

ruined castles, and the fifteenth and sixteenth century houses in the larger villages afford endless opportunities. There are not, within reach, many churches of remarkable architectural interest, except the thirteenth-century abbey of Weissenburg on the Lauter, the twelfth-century church of St. George at Hagenau, and the fifteenth-century church at Walburg. Of these the great abbey church is by far the most interesting. It has been remarkably well preserved and restored, and in its cloisters many old monuments have been carefully collected.

There are also objects of interest in the church of St. Nicholas at Hagenau, and in the Rathhaus at Buchweiler. The Lutheran church of Froeschwiller, erected since the battle of Woerth, in which the former church was burnt, is a model of good architectural taste, and has a fine reredos.

As to the old houses, especially in the village of Oberbronn near the great Convent of Nursing Sisters, many recalled to us the overhanging stories so familiar in Cheshire and Shropshire, and the black and white of Warwickshire, but they have been happily more spared by climate than is the case in England. The picturesque cottages of later date struck us as combining great neatness and cleanliness in the living rooms and bedrooms with arrangements more worthy of parts of Connaught. Not far from the door is the familiar dunghheap. The ground floor is often, throughout a whole village, devoted to cattle, pigs, and poultry, while the first and second floors, reached by an external staircase, will be found full of good furniture and in every respect thoroughly comfortable.

How far the prosperity of the peasantry at Niederbronn is due to the fact that almost every cottager has a small holding in the neighbourhood I cannot say. But it would rejoice Mr. Jesse Collings's heart to see the town almost deserted during working hours for these much-prized 'allotments,' which extend to great distances in every direction.

I noticed one contrast with our English villages. In every house, however small, good lamps would be found, giving at night brightness to the most insignificant hamlets. I suspect that to this universal and lavish use of petroleum, insurance companies owe not a small proportion of their losses. At any rate they do here a large business, every house, outhouse, and farm-building being insured.

On the other hand, hardly any of the small towns are lighted by gas, or even by public oil-lamps. We were startled when we arrived on a dark evening at one of these towns, to see the streets full of what at a distance seemed little dancing lights, but which turned out to be portable hand-lamps strapped across the chests of belated pedestrians.

We spent three weeks of last September at Niederbronn for the 'cure' of one of our party. We were a little late in the season,

which lasts from the beginning of June to the middle of September. Some details on the subject of the waters and their uses may interest my readers, and I take the following particulars of their properties from the useful work of Dr. Klein, the principal medical officer of the baths.

The quantity of water discharged from the principal spring (there is a second under the orchestra platform, but it is not now used, as the other more than supplies all needs) is about forty-nine gallons a minute. Its temperature is 65° Fahrenheit. It contains much nitrogen and free carbonic acid gas, and about forty-two grains to the pint of salts, chiefly chlorides of sodium, potassium, magnesium, and calcium, besides iron and bromine, and traces of iodine and arsenic. Since it was first carefully analysed, about 150 years ago, it has never varied, to the smallest extent, in temperature, effervescence, or constituent salts.

It is used according to three methods. The first only prescribes four or six small glasses every morning, at intervals of five or ten minutes. This stimulates all the functions, but for some days produces a little discomfort. The second prescribes six or eight glasses, taken fasting every morning at intervals of ten to fifteen minutes. This is still more stimulating, and results in no discomfort. The third prescribes, in addition to the second, two glasses every evening. Hot baths or douches are also to be frequently employed.

The waters are most efficacious in affections of the digestive organs, dyspepsia and stomachic catarrh, besides anæmia and constitutional weakness, especially in those forms of indigestion (often attended by nervous debility) which result from the sedentary life of a man of business, or from too good an appetite. In this respect Niederbronn is allowed to be the most efficacious of all the baths of Western Europe. The water has also been employed with great effect in cases of diabetes and of peritonitis. The remarkable instances of success in treatment of the last-mentioned terrible malady, form the subject of a special treatise by Dr. Klein, which has received much attention in France and Germany.

The ordinary duration of a cure for severe indigestion is three weeks, but it sometimes extends to five or six weeks. It is greatly to be regretted that Niederbronn is not better known in England, the country, above all others, of indigestion. The regimen cannot be called severe, as no quack nostrums about food are enforced. One hearty meal in the middle of the day, with coffee in the morning and a light supper, leaves abundant time for the daily exercise in which our countrymen so much delight; and I may add that those whose well-being demands the *Times* and *Pall Mall Gazette* daily, will find that they are delivered at breakfast-time and at about 6 P.M., with the single and unimportant variation from home experience that they are the papers of the day before!

Niederbronn, the 'Vassoviana' of the Romans, is one of the oldest watering-places in Europe. It was well known in the days of the Emperors, and the masonry of the principal spring is of the first or second century. The Roman baths were partly destroyed in the fifth century, but in the sixteenth Niederbronn had a high reputation, and one of the Counts of Hanau, in whose dominions it then was, built on the Roman site a bath-house, an inn, and a church. On this occasion, in excavating the foundations, a great number of coins and works of art (chiefly of the time of Augustus) were found, and the channels in brick and lead, by which the water was brought to the surface by the Romans, were comparatively intact. These coins and works of art have been carefully collected, and are open to the public in a small museum within the gardens of the 'établissement.'

The buildings put up by the Hanau family were allowed to go to ruin after 1789, but their site was subsequently sold to the commune, and they have been re-erected, during the present century, with much taste and convenience. They are visited annually by about 2,000 'baigneurs,' who find good accommodation in hotels of the first, second, and third order, and in lodging-houses. We were fortunate enough to obtain rooms at the établissement, the 'Hôtel du Wauxhall' as it is called; and we found a very attentive host and hostess, a good cook, and clean, quiet quarters.

The situation of Niederbronn, at the very entrance of the deep and wooded valley which gradually rises for ten or twelve miles into the heart of the Vosges, is singularly attractive. With a resident population of only about 3,500 souls, and stretching for above a mile and a half on both sides of the Falkensteinerbach, it has rather the appearance of a large well-to-do village than a small town. The gardens and avenues, in and around it, are extensive, and must be very agreeable during the hot weather of July and August. Strangers owe much to the generosity of the principal proprietor, M. de Türkheim, to whom, or to whose relatives of the Dietrich family, considerable estates, mines, and factories, in the neighbourhood, belong. Visitors have the run of his large gardens, which are well kept up, and full of rare trees and flowers. But, unless an invalid, the stranger is not likely to spend many hours in the town; and, either on foot or on horseback, he will make daily excursions among the mountains of Alsace and Lorraine within a circle of ten or fifteen miles. He will find that a Vosges Club has made it almost impossible for him to lose his way. It is true that the mountains do not rise near the town to a height of more than 1,900 or 2,000 feet. But, except near some summits they are generally well wooded, sometimes densely so, and the finger-posts put up at almost every trivium or quadrivium, with the familiar initials 'V.C.,' are very welcome; giving, as they always do, useful information about direction, distance, and height.

Some of the mountain-tops afford really fine views. From the

Wasenkopf and the Wintersberg all northern Alsace from Strasburg to Lauterburg is visible ; while the Garnfürst enables the visitor to study the position of the ruined castles to the northward, for some distance into the Palatinate, which he will without doubt examine on foot, or on horseback, afterwards. But the valleys are even more attractive. I know few which excel in beauty the upper Baerenthal or the Jaegerthal. There are also some lateral valleys in the Falkensteinerthal itself, especially under the Wintersberg and the Ziegenberg, of surpassing attraction.

I have spoken of the great number of ruined castles in this part of Alsace and across the Palatinate border. Most of them have well-known local traditions, and some are referred to in mediæval and sixteenth century history. The stories of Ereckmann-Chatrian tell us a little of the stirring times of the last hundred years in a portion of this country. But Fleckenstein and Wasenstein (mentioned in the *Nibelungenlied*), Froensberg and Wegelburg, the Windsteins and Schoeneck, belong to a much older time ; and it must be hoped that another Walter Scott will arise to clothe them with the vivid interest which the terrible scenes they saw will fully justify.

Of course the visitor will inspect the battle-fields. That of Weissenburg can hardly be studied in one day if the expedition is to be made, each way, on foot. But by taking the railway *viâ* Hagenau and Sultz-sous-Forêt, the visitor may easily see the points of interest and return before sundown. He would do well, on leaving the Weissenburg station, to take the Lauterburg road for a mile, and then to strike up a path to the south, through open fields, to the Geissberg. From this height he will at once recognise how strong the position of the French was, although the tremendous superiority, in numbers, of the Germans left them no chance. The spot where General Abel Douay fell, in a hollow below the Geissberg, is marked by a stone bearing his name and the date of his death. The Germans have erected two monuments on the ground, one in excellent taste. I wish I could say this of many of the monuments erected on battle-fields, by French or Germans, since 1870.

The field of Woerth or Froeschwiller may be conveniently studied by the pedestrian from Niederbronn in a day. A path, easy to find, leads, through woods and across the Schwarzbach, to within half a mile of Froeschwiller ; and the visitor would do well, after seeing the church, to turn to the right, through fields dotted with crosses under which the dead have been buried in thousands, and through the hamlet of Elsasshausen, at which the fight was most murderous (every house being destroyed), to place himself under what is known as 'MacMahon's tree,' close to the great German monument. The events of the battle will be at once understood. From the north-east, across the undulating country beyond which lie Weissenburg and Sultz-sous-Forêt, came the main body of the Prussians, under the Crown Prince, now the

German Emperor. From the north-west and the Palatinate, down the Salzbach, to the west of the conspicuous monastery of Liebfrauenberg on the slope of the mountains, came the Bavarians. The French position, on high ground and with good shelter, is seen to be extremely strong; and it is not surprising that, during half the day, the Germans made little impression on their opponents. But in the long run numbers were sure to prevail. If the visitor moves, from before Elsasshausen, a short distance to the south-east, he will see the line by which an overwhelming force turned the French right, and was only prevented from utterly routing and capturing it by the cavalry charge in which two regiments of French cuirassiers were all but exterminated near Morsbronn. I do not remember any battle-field (and I have seen many) where the events of the fight are more readily realised.

A more detailed account of these engagements may be interesting to some of my readers; for although the events of the Franco-German war are not eighteen years old, the less important battles are little remembered, eclipsed as they were by the greater struggles round Metz, at Sedan, and during the siege of Paris.

Woerth was fought on the 6th of August, 1870. On the 4th, the Third German army, under the command of the Crown Prince, had invaded Alsace at Weissenburg, coming by four different roads from their positions in the Palatinate. The weather was very bad (as the readers of Dr. Russell's graphic letters will probably remember), but the concentration of the four divisions was successfully carried out, and the Germans fell on the unready French with terrible effect.

Weissenburg had been a fortress, and was still difficult to take by assault, while the celebrated 'Weissenburg lines' and the river Lauter afforded a strong defensive position. But the French force in the neighbourhood was scattered and quite unprepared for the invasion. It was under Marshal MacMahon's orders; but the Marshal was at Strasburg, about forty miles from the frontier. General Douay was at Weissenburg with only a force of about ten thousand men, and he had no supports nearer than at Hagenau and Reichshofen.

The action commenced at 8.30 A.M., and by 10 o'clock General Douay, finding himself exposed to a converging attack by overwhelming forces, had determined to retreat. But it was too late to do so in any order. The Germans by 11 o'clock had attacked the railway station and the town, and soon after advanced to take the Geissberg, the position of which I have already described. For some time the French held the château, but at 2 o'clock they surrendered it, and the fight was virtually over. The French loss was very great, including General Douay killed, and about a thousand prisoners, a gun, and the whole of their camp equipage captured. The Germans lost in killed and wounded 91 officers and 1,460 men. The French

retreated with precipitation towards the south, rapidly followed by the Crown Prince's army.

Meanwhile Marshal MacMahon had moved up in haste from Strasburg, and had selected the rising ground south and west of Woerth to give battle to the enemy. No position could have been stronger in that part of the country. It was about three and a half miles in length, from Neehwiller through Froeschwiller and Elsasshausen to Eberbach, its front covered by the Sauerbach, a river difficult to cross, and its centre resting on the town of Woerth, capable of being strongly defended. Above the centre on the highest point of the plateau was Froeschwiller, which formed a sort of bastion with its great church and numerous stone buildings. Nothing was left undone by the Marshal to make his position strong and secure. His whole force numbered between 40,000 and 45,000 men.

The Germans, above 130,000 strong, rested on the 5th of August, but early on the morning of the 6th reconnaissances took place at several points. At about 4 A.M. General von Walther approached Woerth, and engaged the enemy behind the town, the skirmishing ending in the occupation of the Woerth cemetery. At about 10 the Bavarians advanced to Langensalzbach, but found it difficult to proceed further. Before this, at 9, a great artillery duel had commenced along the centre of the position, in which the French were worsted, and Elsasshausen was set on fire; and shortly afterwards Woerth and its neighbourhood were attacked in force by infantry. No impression, however, was made here on the French except at Woerth itself.

Early in the day a heavy attack had been made on the French right near Gunstett and Morsbronn, beyond the Niederwald, the great wood to the south-east of Elsasshausen. The French position was here very strong, on high ground, and was besides protected by the Sauerbach, only crossed in this part of the field by one bridge. The fight was carried on with varying fortune until noon. But soon afterwards the Crown Prince came on the ground, and two great movements were decided upon. One was on the right; but the other, and by far the more important, was a great flanking movement on the extreme left (in the direction of Morsbronn and Eberbach. For this every available man and gun was brought up, and the attack was completely successful. Morsbronn was taken at the first rush, and the Niederwald was on the point of being occupied, when, at 1 o'clock, Michel's brigade of cuirassiers and lancers, which had been placed behind Eberbach, fell upon the German left. Their leader was apparently unacquainted with the ground, which was unfavourable for cavalry, but with wonderful gallantry they attacked, 1,000 strong, a far superior force of infantry. This famous 'charge of Morsbronn' was soon found to be fatal to the assailants. Both the 8th and 9th regiments of Michel's cuirassiers and the lancers were received by the German infantry without flinching, although these

had no time to form squares; and in a few minutes the cavalry were virtually destroyed, the few survivors riding off to the south-east. Here they were met by a regiment of German hussars and almost all captured.

The utter rout of this gallant but reckless charge really decided the action. But the charge itself gave breathing time to the French infantry, enabling them to re-form at Eberbach, and then, supported by some regiments on their left, to advance a short distance towards Albrechtshausen outside the Niederwald. Here, however, their progress was stopped, and they soon retreated in disorder through the wood. The Germans then cleared the Niederwald, took Elsasshausen, and after repulsing another cuirassier charge in its neighbourhood, finally attacked and stormed Froeschwiller. The French defence was most gallant, but altogether unavailing, and at 5 o'clock all was over. Marshal MacMahon was in full retreat towards Reichshofen, and in all directions fugitives from the battle were making for the Falkensteinerbach at different points. At the paper factory near Niederbronn a French battery was captured, and General Nicolai was taken prisoner in the park of the Reichshofen château. The retreat soon became a flight, in the direction of Saverne, and although MacMahon on the evening of the 7th was beyond pursuit, his army had practically ceased to exist.

In the battle of Woerth the Germans lost 489 officers and 10,153 men. The loss on the French side was far greater, including 9,000 prisoners and 33 guns and mitrailleuses. This action, and that fought at Spicheren on the same day, greatly dispirited the French, and foreign military critics began to recognise their inferiority to the invading enemy.

Of course there are many inhabitants of Niederbronn from whom trustworthy information of these events can be obtained. What chiefly interested us related to the care of the sick and wounded. The local doctors and nurses, including the inmates of the great Convent belonging to the Roman Catholic Nursing Sisterhood, of which the headquarters are at Oberbronn (two miles from Niederbronn), must have had a very hard time of it. A schoolmistress, then a girl of about twenty, was, immediately after the fight at Woerth, for several days and nights, without an hour's intermission, in attendance on a large number of wounded; and the one Sister who was told off to be with her was so overwhelmed by the unwonted sight of wounds that she was worse than useless. The other, a woman of spirit, although not a professional nurse, found that her heart was in the work, and devoted herself to it with little or no help for six weeks, after which professional assistance was available. A country doctor, with no experience of gunshot wounds, found himself suddenly and for some weeks in sole charge of two or three hundred wounded soldiers; and I heard that he was specially thanked for his skill and unusual exertions. I

suppose that these are customary incidents of life in the vicinity of a battle-field; but they show how utterly the medical arrangements of even so well-organised a machine as the German army are liable to break down in actual warfare.

At Woerth the church is used by both Protestants and Roman Catholics, an arrangement not uncommon in this part of Alsace. At Niederbronn, until a year or two ago, this was also the case; but the two religions have each now a well-built church; and there is also in the town a large synagogue for the use of some 300 or 400 Jews. About half the population are Protestants, the other half comprising Roman Catholics and Jews. Apparently the Christian denominations live in excellent harmony, and I believe that, with very rare exceptions, this is the case in Alsace generally. It is not at first sight easy to account for the difference, as to religion, between one village or small town and another only a mile or two distant, which is here almost as marked as in the Grisons. I presume that it arises from the effect of the rule, practically established at the Peace of Westphalia, 'cujus regio ejus religio,' the variety in creed being due to the former existence, in Northern Alsace, of a great number of petty principalities, before they were, one by one, swallowed up by France. The Counts of Hanau, owning Niederbronn, were Protestants, while those of Deux-Ponts, who owned neighbouring villages, were Roman Catholics. Buchsweiler belonged to the Protestant Margraves of Hesse-Darmstadt, and Hagenau was an imperial city, and Roman Catholic. What surprises one is that these differences of creed should have lasted so long after the removal of their cause.

The Protestants in this part of Alsace are generally Lutherans, and some of our party, more versed in the controversies about ritual at home than in the well-established customs of Protestant Germany, were not a little exercised to find that, in the communion office, the celebrant wore a black gown, but stood with his back to the congregation before an altar bearing a large crucifix and two lighted candles. We thought of two rival Church associations, and wondered which would be the more scandalised!

There is in the Mayor's office at Niederbronn an excellent free library, of which visitors have the run. It contains valuable standard books and works of reference, as well as popular romances and poems and religious books, French, German, and English.

I made what inquiries I could as to the changes in the school system made by the Germans since 1870, but they appeared to be insignificant, except, of course, the additional prominence given to the teaching of the German language, and the practical exclusion of French. The most striking feature of educational progress in Alsace is the establishment (or restoration), at a fabulous cost, of the magnificent university at Strasburg, which cannot fail to produce in

a few years an immense effect on the higher education of the two annexed provinces and the neighbouring German States.

Other great reforms of a practical character effected by the German Government are to be found in the Forest Administration. These are worthy of careful study, and are admitted by the Alsatians themselves to be most creditable to their new masters.

One of the most interesting places within reach of Niederbronn is the maiden fortress of Bitche, which the Germans utterly failed to capture when it was attacked after Wœrth; so that the little garrison was able to march out, with the honours of war, at the peace concluded six months later. We happened to be there on a day when almost its whole garrison was away at manœuvres, and it was clear that a few hundred men might hold the fortress against an Army Corps for months. Its main interest to Englishmen is that, like Verdun, it was a fort to which many *détenus* were sent after the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. The younger members of this unlucky colony appear to have amused themselves, *more Britannico*, in cutting deeply their names and descriptions on the outer stone walls of the barrack which formed their prison; and I read more than one name belonging to well-known English, Scotch, or Irish families. A good many died here, and possibly some biographies and family histories might be enriched by researches in this remote stronghold.

I think I have now given sufficient evidence in favour of Niederbronn as a place endowed with many amenities and associations of interest, in its immediate neighbourhood and for some miles round, and as a 'Bath' deserving attention by a large proportion of British health-seekers. I will only add two pieces of advice applicable to the present time:—

First: Never speak or write in French to an official in 'Elsass-Lothringen;'

Secondly: Never talk politics to any one!

If you only observe these two rules you may do pretty much what you like.

HUGH C. E. CHILDERS.

NOTE.—The best route from London is *viâ* Brussels to Metz (seventeen hours), whence Niederbronn is reached in five hours.

TINKERING THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

WE have recently had in the article of my friend Mr. Curzon what I presume may reasonably be considered the combined wisdom of the committee of eldest sons who, possessed of seats in the House of Commons, are ready to deal somewhat summarily with those future peers who may not have the opportunity of becoming members of that House.

The main features of Mr. Curzon's scheme (for he has given us a complete and definite scheme) are (1) the diminution of the numbers; (2) the necessity of some personal qualification or service before an hereditary lord could become a lord of Parliament; (3) the option of every qualified hereditary lord to remain in the House of Commons as long as he pleased and to become a lord of Parliament whenever he was [pleased to accept such a position for good and all; (4) life peers; (5) selected peers (if we may call them so) by the House of Commons and from any persons who are not already members of that House. Before entering into other questions, I would clear the ground by disposing of these proposals.

The diminution of the numbers. The House of Lords has unquestionably increased and is increasing. At the accession of William the Third there existed 166 peers. During the eighteenth century there was an increase of 34 dukes, 29 marquises and 109 earls, 85 viscounts and 248 barons. During this century the rate of increase has continued, and at present the numbers stand at 560, of whom 44 are representative peers and 26 spiritual peers. Out of this large number it is no doubt true that a very large portion of the peers never attend the House of Lords.

I fail to see, however, what considerable advantage either to themselves or to the House of Lords would result from a larger and more determined attendance. What Lord Salisbury said in the debate on Lord Rosebery's motion for a select committee is absolutely true. It strikes at the root of the question, and not only of this immediate question but at the relations between the various elements in the constitution, the disarrangement of which, whether for good or for evil, would infallibly involve a reconstruction of our entire political system.

At the close of the middle ages monarchy formed the keystone of the political edifice. If we recall our attention to those shadowy

days, with their conflicting principles and confusion of purpose, one thing stands out clear : that every collision of the estates of the realm with each other and with royalty itself awakened afresh the consciousness that the source of all the rights of the great lords and the last protection and support of the weaker classes are to be found in the permanent sovereign power—that is, in the monarchy. The mediæval monarchy rapidly developed into the absolutism of the Tudors, and from that time, since the revolution of 1688, the king in Council has been superseded by the king in Parliament—and Parliament, if real control and influence is implied, means the House of Commons. The fitful attendance of the peers is not due to any fault of theirs or to any neglect on their part of political duties or opportunities. As Lord Salisbury said :

It is because most of those who sit in the House of Lords do not themselves select the profession of politics as a thing which they love, but come to it by the operation of external causes, that we have a body that brings to the consideration of political matters a feeling which is described as one of languor, but which I would describe as one of good nature and easy-going tolerance which enables them to accommodate themselves to the difficult part of playing second to the House of Commons. . . . Depend upon it, if you ever succeed in so altering the character of this House that it consist of determined politicians who always attend all the debates and attach the same weight and importance that are attached to their own opinions by those who sit in the House of Commons, you will have pronounced the doom of our present system of government. You will be imposing upon the House of Lords a place in the constitution which will be fatal to the constitution as it exists.

Mr. Curzon and those with whom he has collaborated his plan are doubtless impressed with the belief (1) that the present system of government is dangerous to the constitution, and (2) that the proposals they make would strengthen the efficiency and power of the present second chamber. Moreover we are told to act promptly and without delay ; urgency in the minds of these radical insurgents against the constitution seems to be part of the essence of the case. They urge that the reform of the House of Lords should be attempted by the present Parliament. Now, first, do the circumstances of the case justify this fidgetty restlessness ? Is the House of Lords in such a state of political depression that radical measures must be promptly taken to revise its constitution and thereby save it from perishing of inanition ? Are its influence and its power so decrepit and so fragile that the opportunity of a constitutional majority in the House of Commons must be seized upon to carry into effect a constitutional change the measure of which it is impossible to gauge and the effect of which it is impossible to exaggerate ? I confess that to me there is a suspicious element in the situation of a group of clever young men and eldest sons wishing to retain the opportunities of both systems without incurring the obligations of either.

Under Mr. Curzon's scheme the eldest sons of peers would remain

members of the House of Commons so long as their ambition or predilection for active public life was unsatisfied; while the House of Lords would still be open to the charge of a privileged assembly, with the stigma of being deserted by the most distinguished men during their years of distinction, and degraded into a privileged preserve and refuge for the necessities of broken-down health or crippled fortunes, political, social, or financial.

Nothing brings greater odium upon the House of Lords than the aristocratic scandals which connect bad conduct with high privileges. Under Mr. Curzon's scheme, provided a man was qualified under some fantastic head, he could slip into the House of Lords to avoid the exposure and racket of a public election which his private character would not stand. Experience and common sense tell us that the able performance of political functions is no guarantee for private worth or character. To men of ability, but not of character, Mr. Curzon's reformed House of Lords would afford a convenient refuge. I have no sympathy with those busybodies who would convert the House of Lords into a house of superior persons, of prigs and pedants; but if episcopal legislation has made the House of Lords sometimes ludicrous, there is no reason for so violent an antidote as to render it the happy hunting-ground for that sort of ability of which Lord Westbury was the type—the ability to gain everything and be everything except a respected man. I do not wish to write anything disrespectful of my clever friend, nor can I, as a party interested, object to a scheme which would personally suit me admirably; but it is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the end which his reform professes to secure—namely, the increased dignity and authority of the House of Lords. Authority and influence are not a question of numbers, and even in these days of democratic suffrages and mass meetings the prestige of name and position is very strong, and the intellectual power of the House of Lords is even stronger still. Would the House of Lords be strengthened if Lord Salisbury had remained, under Mr. Curzon's scheme, leader of the House of Commons (just as Lord Castlereagh, after he became Lord Londonderry, was able to do), or if Lord Rosebery had become the heir-apparent to the Gladstonian party in the House of Commons? If the position of the House of Lords is a difficult one, and if, as Mr. Curzon admits, the House of Lords plays a valuable and necessary part in the constitution, is it not of the first importance that those who have to control its action and its relation towards the unwieldy mass of humanity that constitutes the constituencies should possess the courage and assurance which can only come from great ability combined with great station which we have seen displayed at critical periods in the past, and which it is all important to reserve for use in the future? I can conceive nothing but disaster from Mr. Curzon's scheme. All the ablest and most powerful heads of the great families who have in the past played the part of trustees of

the English constitution would in times of danger and of difficulty (and in these days who can foresee how soon they may be upon us?) have to compromise their own independence or their own power. The best of them would be members of the House of Commons, and there they could and would not be able to guide and control—as has been done in the past in relation to reform or in relation to every great constitutional movement of this century—the conduct of their own order or of the second chamber. Face to face with an extravagant popular demand made under the influence of popular excitement carefully stimulated and manipulated for his own purposes by an ambitious and revolutionary statesman, what would be the second chamber which Mr. Curzon's scheme would have erected? (1) Princes of the blood royal; (2) the eldest sons, who, having qualified as members of the House of Commons, had lapsed into lords of Parliament; (3) fifty persons elected by the House of Commons—that is to say, by the revolutionary majority of the moment, which would probably select the most violent and objectionable of their advocates to give this reconstructed House of Lords a taste of their feelings; (4) bishops; and (5) fifty-four life peers, nominees of the Crown.

This reconstructed House of Lords, this fancy house of political cards, would tumble to pieces at the first touch, like the work of a jerry builder. But I am told that increased weight, increased respect would be given in the institution of life peers. They have been mentioned as the panacea for many evils, and they afford certainly in theory (and if theory is to be our guide how easy it would be to reform all parts of our illogical constitution) the most plausible way of carving the House of Lords into consonance with modern views. Well I don't believe that the constitution will be saved, or even appreciably strengthened, by any large system of life peers. I say any large system, because I should welcome the bestowal of life peerages upon a few representative men like Cardinal Manning and Dr. Dale, and also upon some representatives of the colonies, but beyond this I should not be prepared to go. In the first case you are at once confronted by the objection that if life peers became a system it would infallibly be used by a minister to threaten the independence of the House of Lords. As it is (and the sense of this reserve power has a very beneficial effect, and to my mind constitutes a very strong argument in favour of the existing House of Lords), where the House of Lords places itself in repeated opposition to the wishes of the people as expressed through the House of Commons, the Prime Minister can threaten, as at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832, to swamp the House of Lords.

Such a power is most potent in its influence on the peers themselves, as it implies a constitutional alteration in their chamber of a permanent character. For that very reason it is calculated to be used by the minister with great restraint and forbearance, for where

it would be difficult to create ten suitable hereditary peers it would be easy for such a purpose to nominate twenty life peers. Apart, however, from these considerations, I have no great belief in life peers. Rich commoners of influence and position who did not care to stand for the House of Commons would stand out for hereditary peerages. The same class of men who had political and popular capacity would become members of the House of Commons, leaving for the creation of life peers the residuum of the country gentlemen and of the business magnates.

But Mr. Curzon advocates the representation of a distinctly new class, of a distinguished and admirable class indeed, but of a class who *per se* have never in any modern country in the world possessed any title for direct representation. With one hand Mr. Curzon points the finger of scorn at the country peers, as if they were the dull clods of the House of Lords—'the casual and lazy men, the sportsman and the spendthrift.' I confess it is rather hard to couple together the sportsman and the spendthrift, and to place influential magnates like the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Fitzwilliam (who possess tenfold more influence than the superior persons whom Mr. Curzon suggests could ever obtain) upon the same political level as the vulgar spendthrifts of the peerage. With the other hand an invitation is extended to 'the writers and students and philosophers.' Far be it from me to sneer at literature and learning, still less, as one who is largely interested in commerce, to echo the famous and often-quoted lines of Lord John Manners. Literature holds already an enormous influence in political affairs. An able editor of a leading journal has the unique power of applying simultaneously a daily and persistent influence to the opinions of unlimited masses of men. What increase of influence or what greater influence can any political writer or thinker obtain than through the channels of the press? And is it not probable that by depriving them of their independence and impersonality you would destroy their effectiveness?

Political authority in a democracy must obviously rest upon something which is visible and tangible, which is vulgarly and popularly accepted as a power. The intellectual power of the House of Lords is undoubtedly an additional argument for the House of Lords, but this is chiefly felt to be so among those who are already its adherents. With them we are not dealing, but with its critics and opponents, and among them to increase its intellectual power by adding men like Froude or Huxley or Tyndall would tend neither to justify its position nor to extend its authority. The popular mandate is the great and supreme title; wealth, station, and rank are inferior, but by tradition and experience are accepted as the alternative titles to authority. Two sons of two leading magnates, Lord Granby and Lord Walter Lennox, have recently both been returned unopposed for the House of Commons. It makes no difference as to which political

party it is. All political parties, the most Radical and popular constituencies, prefer candidates of wealth and standing.

We are familiar with the arguments used in favour of the rotten boroughs, that they afforded the opportunities for clever but poor young men or for clever but unpopular old men. But you cannot import the close-borough system into the House of Lords. The representatives of close boroughs stood, after all, upon a perfectly clear and legitimate basis. They were elected in all constitutional form. They had availed themselves of an anomaly which had grown up under our electoral system, but not, as would be the case with Mr. Curzon's life peers, of a personal privilege conferred upon them apart from and outside the system itself, under a fancy qualification, because they were superior persons and, without having any exceptionally large stake in the prosperity of the country, were out of their inner consciousness to educate us in political philosophy. Ability and force can always win their way through the existing channels for political distinction; and, speaking broadly, it is only through the mill of public life that direct political influence can be wisely achieved or wisely exercised. The country peers who do not take an active part in the House of Lords do take part, truly not in the most ambitious, but none the less in very important walks of public life. They take a most active part in all the public affairs of their own neighbourhood (and I hope will continue to do so in the County Councils).

The political cockney is always measuring the influence of the House of Lords by the contrast between the alacrity and busy character of the Commons and the air of languor and repose that pervades the Upper House. Nothing can be more misleading. Such a view is only partial; it regards one side of the picture only. The other, pregnant with vital influence, is the position of the country peers in the provinces. These men, the sportsmen and the casual attendants, are each the centre of their country-side, the local personages who are looked up to for the lead in all the social and charitable affairs of the district. They dislike London, and prefer to live among their people; and friendly and easy intercourse almost invariably produces kindly relations. They have the faults of ordinary men, but they are without the intellectual faults of men who live in studies and apart from ordinary mankind. As a rule, they are shrewd, good men of business, who see the facts of life squarely and fairly, and possess a sort of inherited instinct as to their proper place in the constitution. Above all they are a connecting link between town and country. The country peers have saved the second chamber from becoming a bureaucracy. The permanent officials, the judges and the diplomats, play a necessary part in the machinery of government, but while many from their ranks have been admitted with advantage to the peerage, it would be most unwise, in my opinion, to give them a more prominent place in the House of Lords.

The hereditary peerage is an anomaly which has worked exceedingly well, to which the English people are accustomed, and which has conferred on England, not only a means by which merit can be rewarded, but the best means known to history by which men have succeeded in making merit hereditary. To modify this anomaly by any large system of life peers would meet none of the Radical objections. The life peers would equally offend as a privileged class. They would probably give more cause for offence with less power of withstanding opposition. How could men who, as a class, would reside in small houses in London upon small incomes, breathing no political atmosphere but that of metropolitan opinion, obtain the influence or the knowledge which are enjoyed by the vast majority of the hereditary peers?

There was a time when I fondly believed in the possibility of erecting, partly out of the present constitution of the House of Lords, and partly by fresh additions, a second chamber which would act as a court of review over domestic legislation for Great Britain, and as a great council of state over a wide empire. Experience, observation of modern tendencies, added to the incapacity of so able an advocate as Lord Rosebery to advance beyond the region of shadowy and vague generalities, has led me to the conviction that it is impossible to effect any radical change in the House of Lords without disturbing the balance of the constitution. You cannot convert the peerage into an electoral college conducted, as Lord Dunraven proposes, upon a system of proportional representation to secure a fair representation of all opinions without the best and most vigorous men selecting to stand for the House of Commons and degrading the upper chamber in fact and in public opinion into a political asylum. Again, if you convert your second chamber of hereditary notables into an assembly of distinguished men, you get a house with more political conceit but less political weight. To me there is no *via media*. Stripped of talk and fancy, we have the selection of two alternatives: (1) while leaving matters very much as they are, to introduce certain minor reforms; or (2) to abolish the House of Lords and to substitute for it a second chamber, directly elected, but (like the Legislative Council in Victoria) by persons possessing a higher property qualification. For if the House of Lords is effete and a second chamber is necessary—granted those two things—I do not believe that in a free and democratic country any principle except that embodied in the Legislative Council of Victoria would be of any real merit.

With our present suffrage the voting power, while completely thrown into the hands of the largest class, is excluded from the class who contribute most largely to taxation. Whatever might be said, there could be no injustice in conferring upon the middle class and upon the higher class of artisans a direct representation in a Legis-

lative Council. I have no wish, however, to dwell upon this, because I do not believe that the House of Lords is effete, and certainly the time has not arrived when public opinion would be prepared to initiate so great a change as the colonial system to which I have alluded. Should, however, the agitation against the House of Lords become real and imperative, it would be wiser to confront the situation by an intelligible proposal which the English people in a democratic colony have approved, than by an unnatural combination of ancient privileges and fancy qualifications.

Looking, however, to the immediate present and not to the dim future, there appear to be certain reforms—not of a structural or radical character—which are necessary for cleansing the reputation of the hereditary principle in the popular mind.

First: No peer should, I think, be allowed to take his seat in the House of Lords until he is thirty-five, and up to that age he should have the right to seek election to the lower House.

Secondly: The House of Lords should have a Committee of Honour (as is the case with the leading clubs), who should have the right of inflicting expulsion.

Thirdly: There should exist a power, either in the hands of the Prime Minister or the Privy Council or the House itself, to confer, under strict limitations, a life peerage upon a few representative men.

Fourthly: The Crown should be able upon the appointment of a bishop to make him a spiritual peer, provided that in doing so the present number of spiritual peers is not exceeded.

I urge this to put a stop to the present ridiculous practice of survivorship, whereby, with the exception of the two archbishops, Winchester, Durham, and London, all other bishops have to wait for a vacancy before obtaining seats in the House of Lords.

I have said nothing about colonial representatives. I am very doubtful whether they could conveniently be introduced into the House of Lords. But if such representatives are essential, the inevitable choice would have to fall upon the Agents-General.

No leading colonist would absent himself from his colony to fulfil the intermittent and casual functions of a representative of colonial affairs in the House of Lords; and what would be the use of appointing colonists for life who would *ipso facto* lapse into London residents and lose all touch of colonial feeling or interest?

In conclusion, whenever the Government have an opportunity I hope they will introduce the modest reforms that I have suggested. Such reforms have the merit of being limited in their scope and effective in the removal of recognised stumbling-blocks of offence.

In larger changes of unfathomable effect I trust the Unionist Government will decline to embark. Their hands are already full. In Ireland to maintain the constitution, and in England to pull

down our present system of local government (which was not architectural, but which had been made convenient by alteration from time to time) and to build a fresh system in its place, is surely sufficient work. Do not let any statesman suppose that he can rewrite the constitution of the House of Lords without having to rewrite the traditions and practice of the constitution itself.

LYMINGTON.

Looking, however, to the immediate present and not to the distant future, there appear to be certain reforms—not of a structural or radical character—which are necessary for clearing the reputation of the hereditary principle in the popular mind.

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Thirdly: There should exist a power, either in the hands of the Prime Minister or the Privy Council or the House itself to confer under strict limitations, a life peerage upon a few representatives of the nation.

Fourthly: The Crown should be able upon the appointment of a peer to make him a spiritual peer, provided that in doing so the greater number of spiritual peers is not exceeded.

I urge this to put a stop to the present ridiculous practice of appointments, whereby, with the exception of the two archbishops, Winchester, Durham, and London, all other bishops have to wait for a vacancy before obtaining seats in the House of Lords.

I have said nothing about colonial representatives. I am very doubtful whether they could conveniently be introduced into the House of Lords. But if such representatives are essential, the only safe choice would have to fall upon the Agents-General.

No leading colonial would absent himself from his colony to fulfil the intellectual and casual functions of a representative of colonial estates in the House of Lords; and what would be the use of appointing colonists for the who would have to come into London residents and lose all touch of colonial feeling or interests?

In conclusion, whenever the Government have an opportunity I hope they will introduce the modest reforms that I have suggested. Such reforms have the merit of being limited in their scope and effective in the removal of notorious stumbling-blocks of reform.

In larger changes of noticable effect I trust the Unionist Government will decline to embark. Their hands are already full in Ireland to maintain the constitution, and in England to put

MR. MAX MÜLLER'S 'SCIENCE OF
THOUGHT.'

CONCLUDED.

5. The fifth proposition attributed by me to Mr. Max Müller is that language is the specific difference between men and animals, and that it disproves the development of men out of animals, and it contains some remarks upon Mr. Darwin. This subject is one on which it would indeed be presumptuous for almost any one, much more for me, to interpose, but I do not think that an unlearned person shows disrespect for great names, and men between whom and himself there can on their own subjects be no rivalry or comparison, when he offers what occurs to him on their discussions.

Mr. Max Müller considers that language creates an impassable barrier between men and animals, that in the whole range of our experience there is not to be found the faintest trace of any approach to speech on the part of any animal whatever, though there is evidence in endless quantity and variety of conduct on their part which if human would show a high degree of intelligence. Dog stories and elephant stories are so common and so wonderful that they have almost ceased to be interesting, and such an instance of instinct as the one already referred to of the Emperor Moth produces despairing bewilderment. What makes the matter more marked is the fact that the difficulty does not lie in producing articulate sounds, as is proved by parrots and some other birds, nor does it lie in the circumstance that men alone use sounds made with the mouth for purposes of communication. Most animals do so.¹

¹ Mr. Max Müller quotes (p. 175) ten remarkable lines from Lucretius, which, he says, contain 'all that can be said on the possible transition from the cries of animals and our own cries of pain and joy to articulate language.' The lines quoted are v. 1054-60 and 1082-6, and occur in one of the most beautiful parts of one of the most beautiful of poems, but I do not think Lucretius suggested any sort of 'transition from the cries of animals to language.' He is arguing against the arbitrary invention of language:

'Deinde putare aliquem tum nomina distribuiss
Rebus, et inde homines didicisse vocabula prima,
Desipere est' (1039-41).

And his argument is, in a word, if it is natural for animals to communicate by sound, of which he gives many examples, why then, he proceeds, should not men 'Dissimiles alia atque alia res voce notare'? Lucretius did not believe in the possibility of the development of new genera from cross-breeding:

'Sed neque Centauri fuerunt, nec tempore in ullo
Esse queunt' (875-6).

The peculiarity of language is that it consists of generalisations or abstractions which are signified externally by sounds and reached as thought by mental processes of which, says Mr. Max Müller, Kant gave the true account after Locke, Hume, and Berkeley (to mention no others) had investigated the matter imperfectly. Of such mental processes animals show no signs whatever; the inference is that there is nothing in them from which language could be developed or evolved. Mr. Max Müller says² that he has such 'a belief in Darwin's intellectual honesty that I should not have been surprised at his giving up his theory of the descent of man from an ape or one kind of animal if he had been acquainted with Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*;' and he charges Darwin's many disciples³ with 'being un-historical, that is, of being outside the great and continuous stream of the history of philosophy or having neglected to pay that attention and respect to their predecessors which they deserve,' because they have entirely neglected what he regards as the discoveries of Kant.

Upon this subject I will make only such remarks as are not unbecoming one who occupies the seat of the unlearned.

1. In the first place the whole subject appears to me to have lost all interest by the general discredit into which the Biblical account of the creation has fallen. If God did not create man, what does it matter how men originated?

2. In the next place it appears to me to be hopeless on this subject to get beyond conjecture and hypothesis. The definite evidence which I have seen in favour of all theories about it leaves reasonable doubt enough as to the truth of all of them to empty every goal in the kingdom.

3. I think Mr. Max Müller's assertion does, if it is made out, raise a difficulty in the way of Mr. Darwin's view as to the descent of man, and that it requires a more distinct answer than, according to his account, it has ever received. The amount of mental effort which must have preceded language must, according to Mr. Max Müller, have been enormous. The amount of thought which went to the formation of the simplest language must have been very considerable; but the process, once set going, is rapid, and it is difficult to believe that if it had begun in the days of Argus Mr. Max Müller would not have taught Waldmann at least four or five of the (see p. 9) chief European languages, and that Mr. Matthew Arnold would not have enabled Geist to give lectures, not at present unneeded by dogs, on sweetness and light. It is hardly conceivable that significant roots should have been in any way reached by the habit of uttering cries or interjections like those of animals. I have not space to give any account here of what Mr. Max Müller says upon these ways of accounting for the origin of language. He calls them the 'bow-wow' and 'pooh-pooh' theories, considers them in many parts of this and other works, and, I think, makes it perfectly

² P. 153.

³ P. 152.

plain that though, to an infinitesimal extent, human language may consist of imitations of such sounds,⁴ millions of ages of barking or howling would have no tendency at all to enable a dog or a wolf to invent significant roots. If he has done nothing else, Mr. Max Müller appears to me at least to have set this matter at rest once for all.

There are, however, some remarks to be made which tend to show that the neglect of Kant with which Darwinians are charged is hardly so great a fault as it looks. Mr. Max Müller certainly does minimise the distinction between men and animals, he narrows the gulf so far that to the imagination at least the transition seems much less impassable than it otherwise would. His Rubicon becomes a brook. He admits that a time existed when men had no language at all. He finds the origin of language, or at least suggests as a possible and probable origin of it, certain sounds by which he supposes dumb herds of gregarious men to have accompanied their various labours. When they dug, they made a noise like 'Khan; ' when they rubbed, something like 'Mard,' and so on; and it is a strong pledge both of his candour and of his courage that Mr. Max Müller points out all this, enlarges upon it,⁵ and nevertheless frankly insists on the distinction between the cries of animals and the roots of language as the foundation of his case.

There are some other points on which he is not so explicit, or which he does not think it worth while to explain. The last words of his review of Kant's philosophy⁶ are: 'That without which no experience, not even the simplest perception of a stone or a tree, is possible cannot be the result of repeated perceptions. And we may add as a corollary: all percepts are conceptual.'

Surely beasts have perceptions, and, therefore, as I have already said, conceptions, up to a certain extent. Surely, too, as far as we can judge, they are as much aware of space and time as we are, or, to use Kant's rather heavy language, space and time are with them, as with us, 'fundamental forms of sensuous intuition.'⁷ We learn, moreover, that even if the human mind was ultimately evolved from a mollusc 'the category of causality . . . works in the mollusc.' Dogs, therefore, *à fortiori*, must know of the categories, and if so the transcendental side of truth and knowledge must be open to animals as well as to men. This appears to be a strange conclusion, and to weaken the barrier which, according to Mr. Max Müller, Kant established against Darwin by proving that there is a transcendental side to human knowledge which affords, as I understand him, a root for language and thought.

⁴ Mr. Max Müller seems to admit that *uhu*, the German for an owl, may be an imitation of hooting, but he says neither *γλαύξ* nor owl can be derived from any such sounds. The vulgar derivation of 'owl' I thought was 'howl,' as the word was formerly spelt. The *h* remains in 'howlet.'

⁵ Pp. 174-8.

⁶ P. 151.

⁷ P. 188.

With regard to Mr. Max Müller's general relation to Darwin and the doctrine of evolution he remarks with obvious truth that it is absolutely impossible for a student of language to be anything else but an evolutionist, and he seems to me to prove with almost superfluous wealth of illustration that his own particular study affords by far the best attested case of evolution to be met with anywhere. The evidence which he produces in every page of his book of the gradual change of words and formation of language for very many centuries and of the regular way in which the changes take place is overwhelming. The curious thing is to see that in the presence of modern scientific opinion he is almost as nervous about being suspected of being unsound about evolution as a clergyman used to be, say, fifty years ago about being suspected of sympathy with German philosophy or an Oxford graduate of, say, thirty years ago or less of being a 'damned intellectual.'

6. The proposition which I have numbered 6 is in one respect the most important of Mr. Max Müller's statements. It is certainly the most surprising of them, and it is one on which I cannot affect to do more than to repeat accurately what he says.

It is developed at full length in several chapters of his book, namely, the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th. The different points do not admit of being very distinctly separated from each other, and the whole matter is treated with such a wealth of seductive detail that any abridgment of the main doctrine appears almost too dull and barren to print. I think, however, the following few sentences give an accurate account of the principal matters which Mr. Max Müller considers himself to have established.

His first point is that, on the fullest examination, all the words in the Aryan languages may be reduced to two component parts, one of which he calls the root and the other a demonstrative element which takes the form of a suffix, affix, or prefix connected with the root and limiting its meaning, and which in later times were represented by terminations of declensions and conjugations.

The root always expresses a conception. The demonstrative elements, he thinks, 'must be considered as remnants of the earliest and almost pantomimic phase of language, in which language was hardly as yet what we mean by language, namely *logos*, a gathering, but only a pointing.' The roots, he says, are the ultimate facts of the science of language, as to the origin of which only conjecture is possible. The number of roots in any cluster of languages is, he says, estimated at about 1,000.⁸ And the result of a long and most curious inquiry (chapter vii.) into the roots of Sanscrit is that there are about 800 of them, which express 121 conceptions and no more. Of these 121 conceptions he gives a list, pp. 622-32. It consists entirely of verbs, most of which describe very simple and primitive acts—to dig,

* P. 183.

to plat, to crush, rub or smoothe, to smear, to scratch, to fall, to cut, to join, to fight, to cook, &c. It must be observed that he reckons as one conception verbs having closely analogous meanings, or it is perhaps more proper to say that, as a conception is not itself a word, he in many cases indicates the conception by several words, as, 59, reach, strive, race, have; 106, weary, waste, slacken. On the other hand, far the greater number of the conceptions are represented by more roots than one. There are, for instance, sixteen roots which mean *burn*, sixteen which mean *speak*, twenty-nine which mean *shine*, and 45 which mean *inarticulate noise*, each root varying in the sort of noise represented.

Of these roots and conceptions Mr. Max Müller says: 'There is no sentence in English of which every word cannot be traced back to the 800 roots and every thought to the 121 fundamental concepts.' The number of English words is said to be 250,000.⁹

The manner in which this result has been reached is as follows. The roots themselves are verbs. The other parts of speech were all derived from them by the addition of the demonstrative elements already mentioned. Thus the primitive men who were the authors of language 'if they wished to distinguish the mat as the product of their handiwork from the handiwork itself they would say "Platting-there;" if they wished to encourage the work they would say "Platting-they or you or we." . . . How some of these elements came in time to be restricted to certain meanings, such as here, there, he, thou, I, it, &c., we cannot tell.' Enough, however, remains to indicate that all the parts of speech were produced by the various demonstrative elements which were applied to different roots, and which thus, to use Mr. Max Müller's language, applied to the primæval conceptions all the various categories of Aristotle.

From the very first, he tells us, men spoke in sentences, even when they used single roots. Thus 'Dig!' pronounced in a loud voice would be equivalent, according to the tone and the circumstances in which it was uttered, to 'Friends, let us dig,' or, 'Dig ye, O slaves!' In accordance with this view Mr. Max Müller considers that the Imperative Mood was probably the first of all parts of speech. Nouns substantive, he supposes, arose thus:—All nouns were originally significant. Thus a wolf, which in Sanscrit is *Vrika*, comes from the root *VRASK*, which means to tear, and so meant tearing—a tearing thing. This shows that all substantives were originally adjectives as well.

⁹ I have not space to give any account of the process by which the roots are said to have been gradually changed into words. Mr. Max Müller calls it the process of phonetic change, and says that it consists of changes which take place in different languages according to fixed and known rules like what is called Grimm's law. It is, no doubt, a matter of much interest and importance, though rather in a narrow way. On Grimm's law see *Lectures on Science of Language*, ii. 216; also *Science of Thought*, p. 353, &c.

Moreover, every root would be capable of many different meanings and applicable to all sorts of different things. "I shake" might mean I shake a tree, or I am in a state of shaking, i.e. I tremble, or I shake by him, i.e. I am shaken by him.'

Connected with the Sanscrit root *DHŪ* to shake, we have not only Sanscrit *dhūti* dust, *dhūma* smoke, but Greek *θυμός*, not so much what is shaken as what is itself in a constant state of commotion and activity. It is possible that the same root may account for the Greek *θαύμα*, originally the feeling of wonder and astonishment. Then what causes that feeling, a wonder or miracle?

These few specimens show with what rapidity, what variety of meaning, what extraordinary profusion, the different words which would from time to time be needed would be supplied out of a very small original stock. Mr. Max Müller suggests that each root would be applied by a few demonstrative elements to each of the different categories of language. The original root 'shake' would make, e.g., shaking—a substantive—smoke, dust, the wind. These are words in the first category of *οὐσία*, or substance. As an adjective, 'tremulous,' in the category of *ποιόν*; as a verb, intransitive, transitive, or passive in other categories, and in each of these different categories it might have as many meanings and be connected with as many kinds of shaking as the original root in each of its forms. Eight hundred roots, each adaptable to ten categories, gives at once 8,000 words, and when we remember that each root may have several meanings, this number must be again multiplied by the number of all these meanings; and if we take into account derivatives of these roots and their various combinations, the number of possible words is seen at once to be practically infinite. It is indeed as large as the number of combinations of the letters of the alphabet.

Roots, Mr. Max Müller says, are ultimate facts in the history of language. We cannot pretend to say how they originated. He tells us 'an illustrious philological society at Paris' passed a resolution 'never to admit a paper or allow a discussion on the origin of language;' nevertheless he offers a conjecture on the subject which he regards as probable. Herds of men, as yet dumb, were, he thinks, accustomed to carry on various works in company with each other. They made one noise when they dug, another when they platted, and so on; and these sounds were the original roots, for in virtue of their character as men they possessed the power, not merely of making these sounds, but of attaching a significance to them. It is impossible to do justice to this view strictly, or even to distinguish it from the views held by Darwin, to which it has a considerable similarity. The discussion of it is a most interesting part of the *Science of Thought*.¹⁰

¹⁰ See great part of chap. vi., and especially pp. 290-307.

Be this as it may, and assuming that Mr. Max Müller is right in his main statements of fact, which rest on abundant definite evidence, let us look for a moment at the general consequences which follow. It becomes in the first place clear that the question which occupied Locke, Hume, Berkeley, and Kant as to the nature of abstract terms has been solved. Whatever may be the inference from the fact, the fact seems to be proved, if Mr. Max Müller is right, that the oldest words to be found are abstract words, and express general conceptions, conceptions relating in all cases to acts done by the persons who used the words. This is certainly an infinitely more definite intelligible conclusion, and one far better capable of being tested than those of the old-fashioned inquiries in question, which were essentially arbitrary and scholastic. Mr. Max Müller is, I think, entitled to say that his researches are more favourable to the part of Kant's views with which he has to do than to his antagonists', and that philology goes to show that both Kant's categories and Aristotle's form a fair framework for the classification of all possible thoughts, besides showing that in the earliest times about which we have any means of knowledge the thoughts of men were conversant with general terms and not with names arbitrarily imposed on particular objects perceived by the senses.

Besides this philosophical inference, which he appears to me to be fairly entitled to claim as being founded upon facts observed with strenuous labour and capable of being verified by others, his argument suggests another which is not new but which is certainly highly important in reference to all philosophical discussion. All our words, and therefore all our thoughts, arise from some 800 roots, and a much smaller number of conceptions, say 121, which those roots suggest, but all these conceptions refer to human acts of the commonest kinds. All our thoughts, therefore, are either the names of such common acts or are metaphors derived from them. The verb 'to be' is derived from roots meaning breath, grow, dwell, and time. The most awful terms of religion, God, the soul, the most ecstatic expressions of passion, the most ardent poetry, the most trivial commonplaces, are as much made out of these roots as the human body is made out of lime, water, and a few other ingredients equally familiar.¹¹

The enormous importance of this result, which was to a considerable extent anticipated conjecturally by Locke, but which Mr. Max Müller has placed in the clearest possible light by a vast accumulation of evidence, is self-evident, but I shall say what I have to say about it in connection with the last proposition, which is as follows :

¹¹ Mr. Max Müller by way of example reduces to its roots the following phrase from a leading article in the *Times*: 'Every Englishman is entitled to his grievance, as may be proved out of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights,' p. 555.

7. Language is subject to the diseases of mythology and metaphor, the only cure for which is definition.

Notwithstanding his ardour about philology, Mr. Max Müller is no blind worshipper of words. The following sentences condense into a few lines remarks which recur in every part of the book.¹² 'The advance of true philosophy depends here' (he had been giving reasons for discarding the use of the word 'species'),¹³ 'as everywhere, on a true definition of our words. They want constant defining, refining, correcting and even removal, till in the end the most perfect language will become the most perfect philosophy.' We need not be afraid of words. They have in them nothing but what men put into them, and when in the course of ages they lose their contents and signify nothing, they ought to share the fate of 'species.' This manly straightforward way of looking at the subject is well suited to the frankness with which Mr. Max Müller states the diseases of language, which indeed are easily connected with its essence. These are metaphor and mythology, or metaphor running into mythology. The steps appear to be as follows:—

First, no word is or can be an adequate representative of anything. Roots are inadequate because they are of necessity vague, being all conceptions or verbs, and they are, moreover, applicable to many subjects. Nouns substantive are still more inadequate, because they name given objects by reference to isolated and not always very characteristic qualities. A wolf does much else besides tearing, though he is named 'the tearer.' Gold might just as well be called 'the heavy' or 'the ductile' as 'the shining.' The very act of perception or conception, as has been already remarked, bestows upon the thing perceived or conceived a species of independence and unity which, so far as we know, does not belong to it. 'We never see a species or handle a species,' says Mr. Max Müller.¹⁴ The same is true of a substance, yet all language applies to things in themselves, and fails to recognise what Mr. Max Müller seems to be disposed to believe on the subject with Berkeley and against Kant. Language, therefore, is radically inadequate. It is never co-extensive with what it names, even when it is confined to simple matters and is examined with the

¹² P. 581.

¹³ His objection to 'species' is that it means only εἶδος, likeness or varying shape, whereas 'genus' refers to the common descent of individuals from one original pair or stock. Whether you call a man and a monkey members of the same species depends on the degree of similarity which you ascribe to them. Whether they belong to the same genus depends on the question whether they have common ancestors. The first question is obviously very much a matter of taste, and cannot be profitably discussed. The second is a question of fact dependent on evidence. The 'human mind,' says Mr. Max Müller, is the 'origin of species.' Mr. Max Müller is quite hard upon 'species.' It may have had a good character in its youth, but now, alas, 'as applied to natural history, species is a myth, that is a spurious and deceitful word, and that species must go into the same limbo as Titans and Gorgons. . . . It is dead, and must be struck out of the dictionary of philosophy.' Poor species! *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.* ¹⁴ P. 574.

closest scrutiny which the mind can apply. As words multiply and knowledge increases this defect involved in its very essence becomes more and more apparent and produces effects more and more strongly marked. Metaphor comes in and things come to be named not by their own qualities but by their resemblances to other things. In Locke's words "imagine," "apprehend," "comprehend," "adhere," "conceive," "instil," "disgust," "disturbance," "tranquillity," are all words taken from the operations of sensible things, and applied to certain modes of thinking.' From these words and metaphors we easily proceed to the invention of nouns substantive which depend upon them. The mind, the reason, the understanding, the will, the imagination, the fancy, the conscience, &c., are conceived of as definite existences or powers. As Mr. Max Müller points out, this, even in modern times, is only one step from the personification of particular metaphors. The Goddess of Reason was worshipped in the course of the French Revolution by crowds which were not aware that reason etymologically means only counting; probably no single man in them knew that the steps from the word to the goddess were all well-known illustrations of a process nearly universal and explanatory of a large part of human language and philosophy.

The path in older and simpler times from words to imaginary beings was wider and more quickly trodden. I will merely indicate the direction which it is said to have taken. Not only were things invested with substantiality, but they were invested with personality. The pieces of wood and iron or stone which were called a spear were soon said to be ferocious and pitiless. The Hindoo and many other pantheons were rapidly peopled by beings made of metaphors and personified names of things falsely supposed to exist. If Mr. Max Müller is right, the dawn by itself was the occasion of masses of mythology; clouds, storms, dogs, cows, were appropriated to it under an indefinite number of names. Jupiter, Juno, Venus, and all their innumerable relations, colleagues, and associates were produced in the same way. Is it not written with all imaginable particulars in the latter half of vol. ii. of his *Lectures on the Science of Language*? Of course in all this there is a great deal which may be right or wrong, fanciful or rational. The indications from which Mr. Max Müller draws his inferences appear to an unlearned eye somewhat slender evidence, and in the nature of the case the matter must be doubtful, and derivations¹⁵ must admit of great difference of opinion.

¹⁵ *Inter alia*, compare Mr. Max Müller's derivation of 'beefeater' from 'buffetier' with the article on the word 'beefeater' in Dr. Murray's great dictionary, which holds that beefeater means (1) One fed upon beef; (2) A member of the guard established by Henry VII. 'Beefeater'—beef + eater (cf. O. E. hláfæta, lit. loaf-eater, a menial servant). 'The conjecture that sense 2 may have had some different origin, e.g. from "buffet," sideboard, is historically baseless. No such form of the word as "buffetier" exists, and "beaufet," which has been cited as a phonetic link between buffet and beefeater, is merely an 18th century bad spelling, not so old as beefeater.' Sir Alfred Lyall's

This, however, is a small matter. Put it at the highest, and abundant—I might almost call it oppressively abundant—evidence remains to show that between metaphor and mythology, the inference from the existence of a word to the existence of a ‘think’ corresponding to it, is to the last degree unsafe. Thought and language are no doubt identical. But neither of them corresponds to definite things or thinks unless those things or thinks are either seen, heard, touched, tasted, or smelt, or unless their existence is inferred from such sensations; and the inference from what is seen to what is not seen is liable to all sorts of snares. What, for instance, can we infer from the collection of phenomena called collectively electricity? Can we infer the existence of an electric fluid? Or is the expression electric fluid only a way of recording the fact that most of the phenomena collectively called electricity accurately resemble in many ways the phenomena of water or air. Any one who wishes to see what strange questions are thus raised or raisable will find an excellent specimen of them in the article ‘Ether’ (by the late Mr. Clerk Maxwell) in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. This, in itself, is a contribution from the Science of Language to the Science of Thought sufficient to revolutionise it.

The extent to which the combined processes of dismissing myths and exposing the true character of metaphors will go in diminishing the mass of philosophical inquiries and in showing that a great many standing quarrels are quarrels about nothing at all, is shown by different illustrations given in various parts of Mr. Max Müller’s works in a way which very possibly gives an exaggerated view of their importance. I will specify one or two of them; but it is necessary to resist the fascination which they exercise. One of the most striking is the speculation on the word Nature,¹⁶ which means ‘she who gives birth, who brings forth.’ Passing over earlier illustrations of the way in which nature has been personified and invested with all manner of personal attributes, we find Dugald Stewart making Nature to a great extent a synonym for God, and our very newest school of philosophers speaking of it as something which is continually occupied in selecting—a work which is by many people described in such language that it is difficult to say whether they do or do not regard Nature as a kind of she-god or at times as a kind of she-devil. Nature, again, is opposed to ‘the supernatural’—a neuter adjective which, like so many neuter adjectives, neither is nor can be connected with any substantive, and which whether so connected or not is a word as ill-defined and as hard to be understood

essay in (I think) the *Fortnightly Review* on the ‘Religion of an Indian Province’ sets forth views as to the origin of mythology, and in particular as to the readiness with which conspicuous and even notorious people are turned into gods, which show a strong probability that Mr. Max Müller has given the Dawn &c. rather more than their due.

¹⁶ *Lectures on the Science of Language*, ii. 617.

as the feminine substantive to which it is opposed. How can you discuss the neuter adjective unless you are agreed as to the meaning of the feminine substantive with which it is contrasted?

Another remarkable word is 'Nothing.'¹⁷ We find the late John Sterling exclaiming: 'The thought of an immense abysmal Nothing is awful, only less so than that of All and God.' We also find that 'it has been dragged into the domain of religious thought, and under the name of Nirvana has become the highest goal of millions among the followers of Buddha.

Is it too much when Mr. Max Müller describes these as cases in which 'language has reached to an almost delirious state, and has ceased to be what it was meant to be—the expression of the impressions received through the senses, or of the conceptions of a rational mind'? '*Nihil*,' says Mr. Max Müller, 'is *nihilum*, which stands for *nifilum*, i.e. *ne filum*, and means "not a thread or shred"'—a curious anticipation of the Joe Miller Irish definition, 'Nothing is a stocking with neither a foot nor a leg.'

The derivations of the two words, or sets of words, represented respectively by *θεός*, Deus, and its modern derivations, and 'God and Gott,' together with the accounts which Mr. Max Müller gives of the various senses in which they have been used, raise questions of infinitely higher importance, at which I only glance in passing; but it is impossible to read what he says without feeling that he has raised questions which will do much more to shake all received opinions than any quantity of transcendentalism and 'necessary truth' will do to confirm them.¹⁸

As a last illustration, I will refer to the way in which he deals with the two words 'spiritualism' and 'materialism.' Spirit is breath. It is apparently used, and always has been used, as a metaphor of the appropriateness of which we have no means of judging, by which we affirm the existence in and as the chief part of man of something invisible and intangible, to which perception, thought, and the origination of voluntary motion are ascribed. Matter is *materies*, the proper meaning of which is building-timber, and the two words together may thus be taken to mean the perceiving subject and the objects perceived. Matter and spirit are thus correlative terms, each of which becomes contradictory if it usurps the place of the other. The meaning of matter, the reason why the word is appropriately generalised from such a thing as building-timber, is something which can be perceived by the senses, but cannot perceive, and this implies spirit, or some other word, to represent that which perceives but is not perceived. It is sometimes said, 'No thought

¹⁷ *Lectures on Science of Language*, ii. 378-82.

¹⁸ See *Science of Thought*, pp. 277-83, *Science of Language*, ii. 316-18, 479-505, and, in *Introduction to Science of Religion*, pp. 260-272, correspondence about the Chinese name for God.

without phosphorus.' Mr. Max Müller would reply, 'True, but also, No phosphorus without thought,' and this, he says, is revealed to us by the whole structure of language, which has names for a number of objects perceived, and also for the perceiving subject; these last-mentioned names being metaphors pervading many languages and many nations, and used for thousands of years, thus showing that men have always felt the want of such names, and have to a great extent agreed as to the kind of names they want. So far I agree with Mr. Max Müller, if my agreement is of any importance, and I may quote a line or two of his discussion as pure Berkeleyanism: 'Matter, in the usual sense of the word, as something outside and independent of us, does not exist. Spirit, in the usual sense of the word, as something inside and independent of the world without, does not exist. There exists' (surely exist) 'a perceiving subject and a perceived object.'¹⁹

I think that in this, and in the passage quoted in the note, Mr. Max Müller goes just a little too far. Upon the evidence as it stands I should agree with him, but words are not always right. Mr. Max Müller himself shows at how many gates error may enter into them. Suppose some one succeeded in making an artificial brain—a thing made of wood and springs which could feel, speak, and think, language would be shown to be wrong, and it would be proved that matter could think, or rather that the conception of the world as consisting of invisible subjects and visible objects of perception on which language is founded is not a truth necessary or otherwise but a *πρώτον ψεῦδος*. The question whether such a feat is possible is one which the actual construction of language as it is cannot predetermine. The utmost that can be said about it is, that there is absolutely no indication, even the faintest, to suppose that it could ever be performed. In the same way if a dog could be taught to talk in the human sense of the word, Mr. Max Müller would be refuted. Precisely the same may be said of this possibility.

The deepest and most interesting and important by far of Mr. Max Müller's applications of his doctrines is his application of them to religious belief. I must glance at it in the most cursory manner.

¹⁹ *Science of Thought*, p. 573. A few lines lower occurs a passage which sums up his whole theory in a few words: 'Where do we find that mind and intellect? Some say in the brain. The brain is a wonderful labyrinth. I have looked into it, and examined it, but I cannot find any trace of mind or intellect, as little as I can find it where the ancients saw it—in the heart or the stomach. The brain may be a *sine qua non* of intellect, as the eye is of sight or the ear of sound, but as little as the eye can see and the ear hear can the brain think. I find intellect nowhere but in the products of intellect, namely in words. These I can hear and perceive, these I can trace from their present form to their most simple and natural beginnings. The whole world becomes clear and transparent as soon as I see it in words, not in sounds but in words, in living not in dead words, in words as independent of their sounds as the oyster is of its shell, in words which are thoughts as much as thoughts are words.'

It is indeed only hinted at in the *Science of Thought*, but is more fully treated in the *Science of Religion*.

In part of what he says I most heartily agree. Of part he fails to convince me. His repeated attempts to establish the existence of necessary truths and some of the other elements of transcendentalism do not seem to me to be more successful than those of his predecessors in that undertaking. They look to me like desperate efforts to jump off one's own shadow, and to acquire, by asserting its existence, a warrant for the truth of some of our opinions which they can never have. In this work he hints, in a word, at faith.

'I know' in Greek (*οἶδα*) meant originally 'I have seen, and therefore I know.' To apply such a word to our knowledge of causes, forces, atoms, and faculties would be a solecism; to apply it to God would be self-contradictory. We want another word which should mean 'I have not seen, and yet I know,' and that is—faith.²⁰

In the *Science of Religion*²¹ he dwells on the same subject, and in his *Lectures on the Science of Language*²² he describes faith as a third kind of knowledge 'which possesses evidence equal, nay superior, to the evidence of sense and reason,' and the absence of which is 'sometimes called spiritual darkness.'

To all this I am as strongly opposed as any one can be. It tempts one to say of faith what Mr. Max Müller says of species: that, in the sense he gives it, it is a false word, supplying an excuse for the dishonesty of people who substitute feeling for reason and who are arrogant enough to ascribe to those who differ from them a species of blindness.

When a man tells me that I am blind he makes a remark which, unless he can prove it, is most offensive. In the case of actual blindness such an assertion can be readily proved in a thousand obvious ways. Nothing is easier than to persuade a blind man that you possess a sense of enormous importance which he does not. Standing by his side and holding his hand you might describe to him distant objects which he might afterwards handle, taste, and smell for himself. A man who has little or no musical ear is easily convinced that others are more fortunate, but if A and B differ as to the existence of God, A has surely a right to feel insulted if B, being neither wiser nor better than himself nor able to appeal to any argument of which both acknowledge the force, says, 'Poor fellow, you are spiritually dark, and I have faith.' It is remarkable that in this matter Mr. Max Müller is directly at issue with Kant,²³ as he himself declares.

²⁰ P. 609.

²¹ Pp. 14, 15.

²² ii. 627.

²³ *Science of Religion*, p. 15. 'Kant most energetically denied to the human intellect the power of transcending the finite or the faculty of approaching the Infinite. He closed the ancient gates through which man had gazed into Infinity, but in spite of himself he was driven, in his *Criticism of Practical Reason*, to open a side-door through which to admit the sense of duty, and with it the sense of the Divine. This has always seemed to me the vulnerable point in Kant's philosophy.'

On one, and that a most important point, I am happy to be able to agree with him as emphatically as I dissent from him on the points mentioned. He appears to me to have proved, in the clearest way and by the most satisfactory evidence, that in all ages and in all countries, and from the very earliest period of which we have any sort of records, men have been continually trying by all sorts of devices, by mythology, by philosophy, by naming objects which lie beyond sense (I refer to such names as soul, self, spirit, God, &c.), to give shape, consistency, and definite form to thoughts which can hardly have been suggested by the bare exercise of their senses, and this is a most weighty fact. Mr. Max Müller's procedure in relation to it appears to me to contrast most advantageously with other attempts to explain common beliefs on this matter which I will not further notice at present, but which it might be most interesting to examine. Mr. Max Müller holds out hopes that if he live long enough he may publish a 'Science of Mythology,' and also a treatise of which it will be the object to answer the question who or what is the self, and how does he differ from the eyes which are but lenses, and the words which are but instruments.²⁴ If these works are ever accomplished he will, I think, have a right to say that he has taught us more about philosophy than all other living writers put together, and I am not at all sure that the same may not be said of his achievements, whether he publishes anything more or not. Great writers on metaphysics appear to me to have been doing their utmost to abolish metaphysics ever since Locke; but Mr. Max Müller, with all his Kantism, has carted and is carting away more of them than any one else ever did.

I have only in conclusion to make some remarks on the means by which Mr. Max Müller proposes to produce the great results which he partly has produced and partly hopes to produce. It is, in one word, by Definition, and especially by Definitions of the leading terms in various branches of knowledge. Here again I feel bound to give the most complete assent to what he says. In the particular subject on which I may claim to know something, law and legislation, such a reform would do more for simplification and the reduction of unmanageable bulk than all the Codes and all the Acts of Parliament that ever were or that ever could be passed, and the sciences in which real unmistakable progress has been made are those in which there is no dispute as to the meaning of fundamental terms. The truth of this appears to me to be proved to demonstration by comparing political discussion to Euclid's elements, and by thinking what Euclid's elements would be reduced to if such an expression as 'liberty' were put without further definition amongst the definitions or axioms. I firmly believe that all or almost all the unpopularity under which Political Economy has always laboured

²⁴ Cf. p. xii and p. 550.

would be removed if it were clearly understood that its object is simply to examine the means by which a person assumed to have absolute control over his own property may most effectually increase it by means not forbidden by law, and that a teacher of Political Economy has no more business as such to advise people to make the acquisition of riches the chief end of life than a physician has to advise them to make the acquisition of physical health or strength the chief object of life. It is, however, needless to insist upon the importance to all knowledge of the utmost attainable clearness and simplicity in every part of it, and this can be obtained only by definition.

An essay on definitions would be interesting in the extreme, but I will not be tempted into saying more than a very few words about them. I do not think that great philological knowledge, historical or otherwise, is essential to such work. It may, no doubt, be a great help and guide in such matters, but it may also receive too much attention.

By definition I mean the limitation of the meaning of a word already in use so as to make it include or exclude senses in which it is not intended to be used. It always involves more or less of an appeal to the reader's good faith, for it is almost impossible to define in such a way that people cannot misunderstand or misrepresent if they wish to do so, and the attempt to frame definitions which are proof against disingenuousness often involves so much intricacy that the definition does more harm than good. Instances of this in legal definitions are innumerable, as every lawyer knows.²⁵ On the other hand, the want of a definition may cause endless expense and throw confusion over great departments of law. I need only mention the words 'possession,' 'malice,' and 'evidence,' and refer to the apparently perfectly simple words of the 17th section of the Statute of Frauds and the decisions upon it, to show what I mean.

Leaving legal illustrations out of account, and looking only to

²⁵ Here is a single instance from the *Indian Penal Code*, s. 349: 'A person is said to use force to another if he causes motion, change of motion or cessation of motion to that other, or if he causes to any substance such motion or change of motion or cessation of motion as brings that substance into contact with any part of that other's body, or with anything that other is wearing or carrying, or with anything so that that contact affects that other's sense of feeling, provided that the person causing the motion or change of motion or cessation of motion causes that motion or cessation of motion or change of motion in any one ['or more' seems to be wanted here] of the three ways hereinafter described, first, by his own bodily power, secondly, by disposing any substance in such a manner that the motion or change or cessation of motion takes place without any further action on his part or on the part of any other person, thirdly, by inducing any animal to move, to change its motion, or to cease to move.' I think the following would have been shorter, clearer, and fuller: A person is said to use force to another, whether he does so directly or by means of any animal or thing. Suppose a man receives a blow without moving, is not force applied to him? or suppose I cut a ditch in my land into which, long afterwards, some one falls, do I apply force to him?

matters of more general interest, the task of definition may be said to consist in choosing, amongst the great number of meanings which come in course of time to be attached to a word, not the meaning which is most closely connected with its root, but the meaning which will mark a practical distinction of importance and so make the word most useful. I will give two remarkable illustrations of the importance of doing this—the use of the words ‘law’ and ‘liberty.’

‘Law,’ according to Mr. Skeat, means that which lies or is placed, or is in due order.

Hence the word has come to be used in two main classes of senses, the juridical and the philosophical. Thus every Act of Parliament is a law, and we speak also of the law of gravitation and innumerable other laws relating to every imaginable kind of subject. The result of this has been to introduce confusion and misunderstanding both into law and philosophy. In law the phrase ‘international law’ continually occurs, though in the true legal sense it is not a department of law at all, but a branch of morality. On the other hand, philosophy has been confused by metaphors taken from the juridical sense of the word, and applied to what are called Natural Laws, which appear, at least to me, as wild as the shrieks quoted by Mr. Max Müller from Sterling about the horrors of Nothing. Mr. Max Müller himself speaks of ‘the material world in which we live’—‘a world governed without mercy by the law of gravity.’ How could the formula that ‘any two masses in the universe attract each other with a force which varies according to the inverse square of the distance’ either govern or show mercy? I remember a zealous disciple of the late Mr. Maurice declaring that if he thought the law of gravitation was not a living law, but ‘a dead tyrannous rule, he would ‘in the strength and power of a man defy the law of gravitation,’ which is exactly like proposing to defy the multiplication table unless it did its duty by its family. If the word ‘law’ were reserved for law as defined by Mr. John Austin, who was in this matter a disciple of Hobbes, and if instead of talking of laws of nature we spoke of formulas or rules for understanding nature, all this would be avoided, an immense mass of obscure and often heated language would be laid aside, and a variety of subjects would fall into their proper places.

The words ‘free,’ ‘liberty,’ in the same way have become the centre of as many absurd and exaggerated statements as gathered about the Dawn in early times, according to Mr. Max Müller. Freedom is spoken of in all moods and tenses as a good in itself, as the great aim and object of all political institutions, as the only cure for its own defects, &c. &c. It is, in short, worshipped much more than the multiplication table, under the name of Reason, and in the likeness of a prostitute was worshipped in the streets of Paris. The original sense of ‘free’ is again, according to Mr. Skeat, ‘having free choice—acting at pleasure, rejoicing, and the word is closely connected with

Sanskrit *fraya*, beloved, dear, agreeable.' This agrees in the closest way with the use of the word in English and in other languages, which warrants the assertion that it means as used almost nothing whatever except the absence of something conceived of as an evil. To be free from pain, from care, from disease, means only not to be in pain, not to feel care, not to be diseased. It would not in English, at all events, be natural to say that a man was free from health, from good character, or from happiness. I do not think any definition is required or could be given of the word 'liberty';¹ what is wanted is the realisation of its purely negative sense. It would be one of the most important correctives and sedatives to human thought that could be conceived to insist, when the word is used, upon clear explanations on the question, Who is to be at liberty from or free to do what? We should thus have a distinct test as to the goodness or badness of the proposed liberty, and be delivered from masses of nauseous rhetoric.

J. F. STEPHEN.

THE ADMIRALTY CONFUSION AND ITS CURE.

THE increased interest taken by the inhabitants of Great Britain and the Colonies in all that affects the strength and efficiency of the Royal Navy may reasonably be supposed to have been brought about by the convincing fact that upon that strength and efficiency depends the existence of the empire. In the existence of that empire there are many factors, any one of which being destroyed, or even temporarily crippled, might have the effect of completely wrecking the magnificent heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers. The factors referred to may be used later on as the subject for further articles, but at present it is intended to treat only of the system of administration over the force (the Royal Navy) on whose strength the component parts of this empire chiefly depend.

If the affairs of a department, an association, or a trading company go wrong, it is natural to suppose either that the governing body are at fault, or the system under which that governing body work is not a good one. In the cases of a company or an association it is easy to perceive, year by year, whether their affairs are progressing satisfactorily; but in the case of a great service like the Royal Navy, it is only by the exposure of some glaring scandal, the advent of some great emergency, or the inquisitive examinations brought about by sudden preparation for war, that its actual efficiency in every department can be tested. The money voted for the Navy Estimates is believed by the taxpayer to have been sufficient in the past to create, and in the present to maintain a fleet that shall be ample for the defence of the empire. This money is also believed to be invested or expended in such a manner as to enable our force—if properly organised—to *immediately* use its whole strength, both offensively and defensively, at the moment of an outbreak of hostilities; a vital necessity in these days of steam and speed, more particularly to an empire like ours, that presents a target so easy to be hit as is that of our sea-borne wealth and food supply. In other words, the public think that the British fleet, whether sufficient in numbers or not, is, as it exists, thoroughly well able to carry out the duties expected of it in time of war.

It is not intended here to enter into the argument as to whether the fleet is sufficient for the defences of the empire if called upon to

enter into hostilities with two great maritime Powers, for instance France and Russia. Suffice it to say that those who would have to do the work and take the command of the British fleets and squadrons are unanimous in their opinion that the fleet would *not* be sufficient in numbers or strength for such an eventuality. The controversy between the experts and the party politicians or officials has arrived at a stage of simple contradiction, the Parliamentary officials maintaining that the tonnage and numbers of ships is in favour of England, while the other (the experts) maintain that such comparisons are useless, futile, and misleading, and that the only comparison worth viewing with interest is that which compares the work thrown on the respective fleets (namely, England *versus* the two combined Powers) in case of war. This argument can only be determined by naming the fleets and ships, together with the localities where they *must* be employed and the work they would have to do, and by pointing out those contingencies which are certain to occur in wartime. A line of this character will probably be taken up in the House of Commons on the shipbuilding vote, when the public will be able to see the facts of the case as they exist.

Recent disclosures have proved conclusively the necessity for absolute reform in the departments of the dockyards and manufactures, as well as in the method of shipbuilding and the supply of guns for the Navy, also for creating a direct financial control. It has been actually admitted that there was no organisation for war at all, that is, no method for allowing the naval forces to *immediately* carry out their duties efficiently if called upon. This state of affairs was entirely due to the system of administration which countenanced and permitted them.

Party politicians and those officials nominally responsible have, time after time, assured the country that the naval defence was complete, the finances administered in the most economical manner, and the Navy itself thoroughly organised and ready for any emergency; but it will be remembered that whenever occasion has arisen to substantiate these statements, they have without exception been falsified. The officials who made the statements must not be too heavily blamed for the subsequent discovery of their inaccuracy; but the system that allows of such misconceptions must be ridiculous, bad, and, in fact, rotten.

The system was responsible for the war scare of 1879, the system was also responsible for the gross waste of money and terrible inefficiency of the fleet for fighting purposes through want of organisation, and the many other disgraceful matters brought to light in the year 1885, when, if we had gone to war under certain possible contingencies, our actual existence as an empire would have been seriously threatened. The good or bad results of all administrations must largely depend upon the personal qualities of the administrators, and it is quite possible for good men to do fairly well under a

bad system ; but the fact of a bad system remaining may, on the departure of good men, reproduce the evil results which have been fully recognised on previous occasions. The system of administration at the Admiralty is precisely the same at this date as it was during those periods in which it was proved so inefficient as to have invited a national calamity if actually put to the test of war.

The grave fault to be found in the present system is the absolute impossibility of fixing responsibility for anything that may go wrong upon any individual, or upon what is called the Board of Admiralty as a whole.

Nobody has ever been brought to book for the many and various scandals that have occurred of late years. Unless responsibility can be clearly defined and firmly fixed, it is impossible that any system of administration can be sound or wisely and well conducted.

The Board of Admiralty as at present constituted consists of the First Lord of the Admiralty, or Parliamentary chief, who is supposed to be responsible for everything connected with the Navy as a department of state, the First Naval Lord, Second Naval Lord, Third Naval Lord or Controller, Junior Naval Lord, the Financial Secretary (a Parliamentarian), and the Civil Lord (a Parliamentarian), while the permanent Secretary, though not on the board, attends all board meetings.

The statements made from time to time by Parliamentary Lords relative to the efficiency of the fleet, both as to its strength and capability, are believed to be derived from information supplied by those capable of judging of the questions, viz. the experts or seamen on the board. It has been held that many statements are made by the political chief on this supposed authority which would not be vouched for by the experts, either in evidence given or by signing their names to such statements. These statements are no doubt made in good faith, and may have been deduced from a conversation or from theoretical supposition, but are not supported by the practical fact of signed documentary evidence.

1. Theseamen are held to be responsible for their own departments, and to the First Lord for their efficiency ; but it is within the power of the First Lord to ignore the advice or proposals which a Naval Lord may urge as being necessary to make his department as efficient as possible ; but in the event of the First Lord not heeding this advice, who can be said to be responsible ?

It is argued that if such an event occurs, the Naval Lord has the option of resigning ; that is a fact, but it is doubtful whether there are more than one or two instances of this privilege being resorted to, the most notable being Sir Maurice Berkeley's, who resigned in 1856 rather than break faith with the seamen who had enlisted for three years, the Government of that day wanting to discharge the men when the Crimean war was over. Instances have occurred of

Naval Lords resigning who had M.P. after their names, but the cases are totally different, as the member, from the fact of his position in Parliament, is enabled to get a hearing.

It should be fairly considered what resignation means to a Sea Lord : it may mean effacement, for a short or for a long period, of his career in the service, added to which he has no hearing in the country beyond that afforded by the columns of the press or an after-dinner speech at a City banquet. There can be no doubt that many men weigh carefully in their mind the effect that their resignation would have on the object they keep in view, that is, some reform connected with the service ; and they eventually come to the conclusion that more good can be done by struggling on under a bad system than by resigning ; resignation without the ear of the public implying oblivion, and possibly the abandonment of the desired reform. The remaining points which are unsatisfactory in the present system of administration are these : (2) the so-called Board of Admiralty is not worked as a board ; (3) the distribution of business is not suitable for modern requirements, some of the lords having too much to do, others too little ; (4) there is an immense gap between the executive of the Admiralty and the officers and men of the fleet ; and (5) the system of appointment of the seamen on the board is not satisfactory, and is not regarded with confidence in the service.

These are the principal points which in the opinion of the service as a whole require a thorough reform, and until they are reformed and a different system obtains the country will be always liable to a recurrence of those scares, panics, scandals, and that gross extravagance to which we are so accustomed when an emergency occurs.

Not much good can be done by finding fault, without making some suggestions as to a remedy.

Take the question of responsibility first. Responsibility would be actual if the following proposals were adopted. Each lord should be held responsible for the efficiency of his own department, and sign a statement relative to that department, to be presented to Parliament with the First Lord's memorandum. The responsible lord should also sign for that portion of the estimate directly connected with his department, and not the estimates as a whole, the signing of which now means nothing, and is most misleading to the British public. This would allow of somebody being brought to book if anything went wrong in the Navy, and it must strengthen the hands of the First Lord, as he would have something definite to go upon.

2. If the board was worked as a board it must be for the benefit of the service and country. As it is now the First Lord may rule the service without reference to the board at all. Again, if any member of the board thinks strongly on any question concerning the efficiency of the fleet, he may not officially communicate his views to his colleagues unless he has permission from the First Lord to do so.

Every member should be allowed to lay his views on any matter connected with the fleet before his colleagues for criticism. This would provoke discussion, and must ventilate many points that want reform. The details connected with the fleet must necessarily be so interwoven that it is impossible for the head of any one department to write on a matter even for which he alone is supposed to be responsible, without appearing to trench upon some detail of a colleague's department, but there should be no susceptibilities on a board. Statements as to subjects should be proved to be correct or incorrect, and not pass unnoticed because they may be awkward or cause comment as to why these subjects had not been dealt with before. It is not at all necessary that the First Lord should go by the opinion of his board, but it is necessary that the opinion of the board should be taken on any subject which one of its members may feel very strongly on, and the First Lord should hear or see that opinion, whether he agrees with it or not. The matter should go before the board by right, and not by the whim or pleasure of the First Lord.

3. The distribution of business is notably bad with reference to the duties of the First Naval Lord and the Controller. In the case of the Controller, though he is now overworked, he will have an enormous addition of work by reason of the responsibility of the guns and the gun vote of over 1,800,000*l.* being added to his department.

The Director of Naval Ordnance should be given far more responsibility on minor details under the Controller. In the department of the First Naval Lord, the Director of Naval Intelligence should be an admiral directly responsible to and under the board, and with no executive authority. A departmental committee should be held to consider this question of redistribution of business.

4. The gap between the executive of the Admiralty and the officers and men of the fleet should be filled by appointing naval assistants to the seamen on the board, the present secretariat, though composed of able men, being far too expensive to the country, if comparison is made of their salaries, their knowledge of the technical work they have to do connected with the fleet, and their responsibility.

5. The system of appointment for the seamen could be altered for both the benefit and the satisfaction of the service. The Sea Lords, with the exception of the Controller, should be appointed for three years, irrespective of a change of Government, one to be relieved yearly. By this means a man would go every year, straight from blue water if practicable, to take part in the executive administration of the service.

In these days of modern invention, improvements, and rapid changes, this renewal by seamen fresh from command is most important for the efficiency of the fleet. The Controller should be appointed for five years, irrespective of party changes.

The *personnel* of the fleet, both as to officers and men, has never been better than it is at present. It is only fair to them that there should be a system of administration which by organisation will enable the country, *immediately* on the outbreak of hostilities, to derive the full benefit of that energy, courage, readiness of resource, and activity of mind which have always been the distinguishing characteristics of British seamen.

No fault can be found personally with the members of the present board. They have done more for the benefit of the service than has been done for a very long time; but they are still working under the same system, which has proved itself so constantly to be weak, inefficient, and bad. The reforms they have initiated are principally those connected with the dockyard and manufacturing departments, and creating a direct financial control, which never existed before; but the great question of organisation for war in all its details is still lamentably inadequate. It is no use continuing the expense of a fighting navy at all, unless it is enabled to do promptly, thoroughly, and effectively in time of war what is expected of it. We know that our fleet is short of armour-clads and cruisers, and is not in the state of strength it should be; but what we have got ought to be thoroughly organised, and a plan of preparation made out now in time of peace for all possible and likely contingencies in time of war.

There can be no doubt that the evidence to be given before the Royal Commission on the system of administration for the Navy will hasten those reforms the service generally consider so necessary.

CHARLES BERESFORD,
Captain Royal Navy.

‘ROBERT ELSMERE’
AND THE BATTLE OF BELIEF.¹

HUMAN NATURE, when aggrieved, is apt and quick in devising compensations. The increasing seriousness and strain of our present life may have had the effect of bringing about the large preference, which I understand to be exhibited in local public libraries, for works of fiction. This is the first expedient of revenge. But it is only a link in a chain. The next step is, that the writers of what might be grave books, *in esse* or *in posse*, have endeavoured with some success to circumvent the multitude. Those who have systems or hypotheses to recommend in philosophy, conduct, or religion induct them into the costume of romance. Such was the second expedient of nature, the counterstroke of her revenge. When this was done in *Télémaque*, *Rasselas*, or *Cælebs*, it was not without literary effect. Even the last of these three appears to have been successful with its own generation. It would now be deemed intolerably dull. But a dull book is easily renounced. The more didactic fictions of the present day, so far as I know them, are not dull. We take them up, however, and we find that, when we meant to go to play, we have gone to school. The romance is a gospel of some philosophy, or of some religion; and requires sustained thought on many or some of the deepest subjects, as the only rational alternative to placing ourselves at the mercy of our author. We find that he has put upon us what is not indeed a treatise, but more formidable than if it were. For a treatise must nowhere beg the question it seeks to decide, but must carry its reader onwards by reasoning patiently from step to step. But the writer of the romance, under the convenient necessity which his form imposes, skips in thought, over undefined distances, from stage to stage, as a bee from flower to flower. A creed may (as here) be accepted in a sentence, and then abandoned in a page. But we the common herd of readers, if we are to deal with the consequences, to accept or repel the influence of the book, must, as in a problem of mathematics, supply the missing steps. Thus, in perusing as we ought a propagandist romance, we must terribly increase the pace; and it is the pace that kills.

Among the works to which the preceding remarks might apply,

¹ *Robert Elsmere*. By Mrs. Humphry Ward, Author of *Miss Bretherton*. In 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1888.

the most remarkable within my knowledge is *Robert Elsmere*. It is indeed remarkable in many respects. It is a novel of nearly twice the length, and much more than twice the matter, of ordinary novels. It dispenses almost entirely, in the construction of what must still be called its plot, with the aid of incident in the ordinary sense. We have indeed near the close a solitary individual crushed by a waggon, but this catastrophe has no relation to the plot, and its only purpose is to exhibit a good deathbed in illustration of the great missionary idea of the piece. The *nexus* of the structure is to be found wholly in the workings of character. The assumption and the surrender of a Rectory are the most salient events, and they are simple results of what the actor has thought right. And yet the great, nay, paramount function of character-drawing, the projection upon the canvas of human beings endowed with the true forces of nature and vitality, does not appear to be by any means the master-gift of the authoress. In the mass of matter which she has prodigally expended there might obviously be retrenchment; for there are certain laws of dimension which apply to a novel, and which separate it from an epic. In the extraordinary number of personages brought upon the stage in one portion or other of the book, there are some which are elaborated with greater pains and more detail, than their relative importance seems to warrant. *Robert Elsmere* is hard reading, and requires toil and effort. Yet, if it be difficult to persist, it is impossible to stop. The prisoner on the treadmill must work severely to perform his task: but if he stops he at once receives a blow which brings him to his senses. Here, as there, it is human infirmity which shrinks; but here, as not there, the propelling motive is within. Deliberate judgment and deep interest alike rebuke a fainting reader. The strength of the book, overbearing every obstacle, seems to lie in an extraordinary wealth of diction, never separated from thought; in a close and searching faculty of social observation; in generous appreciation of what is morally good, impartially² exhibited in all directions: above all in the sense of mission with which the writer is evidently possessed, and in the earnestness and persistency of purpose with which through every page and line it is pursued. The book is eminently an offspring of the time, and will probably make a deep or at least a very sensible impression; not, however, among mere novel-readers, but among those who share, in whatever sense, the deeper thought of the period.

The action begins in a Westmoreland valley, where the three young daughters of a pious clergyman are grouped around a mother infirm in health and without force of mind. All responsibility devolves accordingly upon Catherine, the eldest of the three; a noble character, living only for duty and affection. When the ear heard her, then

² Mrs. Ward has given evidence of this impartiality in her Dedication to the memory of two friends, of whom one, Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, lived and died unshaken in belief. The other is more or less made known in the pages of the work.

it blessed her; and when the eye saw her, it gave witness to her.³ Here comes upon the scene Robert Elsmere, the eponymist and hero of the book, and the ideal, almost the idol, of the authoress.

He had been brought up at Oxford, in years when the wholesale discomfiture of the great religious movement in the University, which followed upon the secession of Cardinal Newman, had been in its turn succeeded by a new religious reaction. The youth had been open to the personal influences of a tutor, who is in the highest degree beautiful, classical, and indifferentist; and of a noble-minded rationalising teacher, whose name, Mr. Grey, is the thin disguise of another name, and whose lofty character, together with his gifts, and with the tendencies of the time, had made him a power in Oxford. But, in its action on a nature of devout susceptibilities as well as active talents, the place is stronger than the man, and Robert casts in his lot with the ministry of the Church. Let us stop at this point to notice the terms used. At St. Mary's 'the sight and the experience touched his inmost feeling, and satisfied all the poetical and dramatic instincts of a passionate nature.'⁴ He 'carried his religious passion . . . into the service of the great positive tradition around him.'⁵ This great, and commonly life-governing decision, is taken under the influence of forces wholly emotional. It is first after the step taken that we have an inkling of any reason for it.⁵ This is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a key to the entire action. The work may be summed up in this way: it represents a battle between intellect and emotion. Of right, intellect wins; and, having won, enlists emotion in its service.

Elsmere breaks upon us in Westmoreland, prepared to make the great commission the business of his life, and to spend and be spent in it to the uttermost. He is at once attracted by Catherine; attention forthwith ripens into love; and love finds expression in a proposal. But, with a less educated intelligence, the girl has a purpose of life not less determined than the youth. She believes herself to have an outdoor vocation in the glen, and above all an indoor vocation in her family, of which she is the single prop. A long battle of love ensues, fought out with not less ability, and with even greater tenacity, than the remarkable conflict of intellects, carried on by correspondence, which ended in the marriage between Mr. and Mrs. Carlyle. The resolute tension of the two minds has many phases; and a double crisis, first of refusal, secondly of acceptance. This part of the narrative, wrought out in detail with singular skill, will probably be deemed the most successful, the most normal, of the whole. It is thoroughly noble on both sides. The final surrender of Catherine is in truth an opening of the eyes to a wider view of the evolution of the individual, and of the great vocation of life; and it

³ See Job xxix. 11.

⁴ i. 121, 123.

⁵ i. 128.

involves no disparagement. The garrison evacuates the citadel, but its arms have not been laid down, and its colours are flying still.

So the pair settle themselves in a family living, full of the enthusiasm of humanity, which is developed with high energy in every practical detail, and based upon the following of the Incarnate Saviour. Equipped thus far with all that renders life desirable, their union is blessed by the birth of a daughter, and everything thrives around them for the formation of an ideal parish.

But the parish is adorned by a noble old English mansion, and the mansion inhabited by a wealthy Squire, who knows little of duty, but is devoted to incessant study. As an impersonated intellect, he is abreast of all modern inquiry, and, a 'Tractarian' in his youth, he has long abandoned all belief. At the outset, he resents profoundly the Rector's obtrusive concern for his neglected tenantry. But the courage of the clergyman is not to be damped by isolation, and in the case of a scandalously insanitary hamlet, after an adequate number of deaths, Mr. Wendover puts aside the screen called his agent, and rebuilds with an ample generosity. This sudden and complete surrender seems to be introduced to glorify the hero of the work, for it does not indicate any permanent change in the social ideas of Mr. Wendover, but only in his relations to his clergyman.

There is, however, made ready for him a superlative revenge. Robert has enjoyed the use of his rich library, and the two hold literary communications, but with a compact of silence on matters of belief. This treaty is honourably observed by the Squire. But the clergyman invites his fate.⁶ Mr. Wendover makes known to him a great design for a 'History of Testimony,'⁷ worked out through many centuries. The book speaks indeed of 'the long wrestle' of the two men, and the like.⁸ But of Elsmere's wrestling there is no other trace or sign. What weapons the Rector wielded for his faith, what strokes he struck, has not even in a single line been recorded. The discourse of the Squire points out that theologians are men who decline to examine evidence, that miracles are the invention of credulous ages, that the preconceptions sufficiently explain the results. He wins in a canter. There cannot surely be a more curious contrast than that between the real battle, fought in a hundred rounds, between Elsmere and Catherine on marriage, and the fictitious battle between Elsmere and the Squire on the subject of religion, where the one side is a pæan, and the other a blank. A great creed, with the testimony of eighteen centuries at its back, cannot find an articulate word to say in its defence, and the downfall of the scheme of belief shatters also, and of right, the highly ordered scheme of life that had nestled in the Rectory of Murewell, as it still does in thousands of other English parsonages.

It is notable that Elsmere seeks, in this conflict with the Squire,

⁶ ii. 243.

⁷ ii. 240.

⁸ ii. 244, 245.

no aid or counsel whatever. He encounters indeed by chance Mr. Newcome, a Ritualistic clergyman, whom the generous sympathies of the authoress place upon the roll of his friends. But the language of Mr. Newcome offers no help to his understanding. It is this:—

Trample on yourself. Pray down the demon, fast, scourge, kill the body, that the soul may live. What are we miserable worms, that we should defy the Most High, that we should set our wretched faculties against His Omnipotence? ⁹

Mr. Newcome appears everywhere as not only a respectable but a remarkable character. But as to what he says here, how much does it amount to? Considered as a medicine for a mind diseased, for an unsettled, dislocated soul, is it less or more than pure nonsense? In the work of an insidious non-believer, it would be set down as part of his fraud. Mrs. Ward evidently gives it in absolute good faith. It is one in a series of indications, by which this gifted authoress conveys to us what appears to be her thoroughly genuine belief that historical Christianity has, indeed, broad grounds and deep roots in emotion, but in reason none whatever.

The revelation to the wife is terrible; but Catherine clings to her religion on a basis essentially akin to that of Newcome; and the faith of these eighteen centuries, and of the prime countries of the world,

Bella, immortal, benefica
Fede, ai trionfi avvezza,¹⁰

is dismissed without a hearing.

For my own part, I humbly retort on Robert Elsmere. Considered intellectually, his proceedings in regard to belief appear to me, from the beginning as well as in the downward process, to present dismal gaps. But the emotional part of his character is complete, nay redundant. There is no moral weakness or hesitation. There rises up before him the noble maxim, assigned to the so-called Mr. Grey (with whom he has a consultation of foregone conclusions), 'Conviction is the conscience of the mind.'

He renounces his parish and his orders. He still believes in God, and accepts the historical Christ as a wonderful man, good among the good, but a *primus inter pares*. Passing through a variety of stages, he devotes himself to the religion of humanity; reconciles to the new gospel, by shoals, skilled artisans of London who had been totally inaccessible to the old one; and nobly kills himself with overwork, passing away in a final flood of light. He founds and leaves behind him the 'New Christian Brotherhood' of Elgood Street; and we are at the close apprised, with enthusiastic sincerity, that this is the true effort of the race,¹¹ and

Others I doubt not, if not we,
The issue of our toils shall see.

⁹ ii. 270.

¹⁰ Manzoni's *Cinque Maggio*.

¹¹ iii. 411; comp. 276.

Who can grudge to this absolutely pure-minded and very distinguished writer the comfort of having at last found the true specific for the evils and miseries of the world? None surely who bear in mind that the Salvation Army has been known to proclaim itself the Church of the future, or who happen to know that Bunsen, when in 1841 he had procured the foundation of the bishopric of Jerusalem, suggested in private correspondence his hope that this might be the Church which would meet the glorified Redeemer at His coming.

It is necessary here to revert to the Squire. Himself the *μούρα πέρωμενη*, the supreme arbiter of destinies in the book, he is somewhat unkindly treated; his mind at length gives way, and a darkling veil is drawn over the close. Here seems to be a little literary intolerance, something even savouring of a religious test. Robert Elsmere stopped in the downward slide at theism, and it calms and glorifies his deathbed. But the Squire had not stopped there. He had said to Elsmere,¹² 'You are playing into the hands of the Blacks. All this theistic philosophy of yours only means so much grist to their mill in the end.' But the great guide is dismissed from his guiding office as summarily as all other processes are conducted, which are required by the purpose of the writer. Art everywhere gives way to purpose. Elsmere no more shows cause for his theism than he had shown it against his Christianity. Why was not Mr. Wendover allowed at least the consolations which gave a satisfaction to David Hume?

Not yet, however, may I wholly part from this sketch of the work. It is so large that much must be omitted. But there is one limb of the plan which is peculiar. Of the two sisters not yet named, one, Agnes by name, appears only as quasi-chaperon or as 'dummie.' But Rose, the third, has beauty, the gift of a musical artist, and quick and plastic social faculties. Long and elaborate love relations are developed between her and the *poco-curante* tutor and friend, Mr. Langham. Twice she is fairly embarked in passion for him, and twice he jilts her. Still she is not discouraged, and she finally marries a certain Flaxman, an amiable but somewhat manufactured character. From the standing point of art, can this portion of the book fail to stir much misgiving? We know from Shakespeare how the loves of two sisters can be comprised within a single play. But while the drama requires only one connected action, the novel, and eminently this novel, aims rather at the exhibition of a life: and the reader of these volumes may be apt to say that in working two such lives, as those of Catherine and Rose, through so many stages, the authoress has departed from previous example, and has loaded her ship, though a gallant one, with more cargo than it will bear.

It may indeed be that Mrs. Ward has been led to charge her tale with such a weight of matter from a desire to give philosophical completeness to her representation of the main springs of action which

mark the life of the period. For in Robert Elsmere we have the tempered but aggressive action of the sceptical intellect; in Catherine the strong reaction against it; in Rose the art-life; and in Langham the literary and cultivated indifference of the time. The comprehensiveness of such a picture may be admitted, without withdrawing the objection that, as a practical result, the cargo is too heavy for the vessel.

Apart from this question, is it possible to pass without a protest the double jilt? Was Rose, with her quick and self-centred life, a well-chosen *corpus vile* upon whom to pass this experiment? More broadly, though credible perhaps for a man, is such a process in any case possible by the laws of art for a woman? Does she not violate the first conditions of her nature in exposing herself to so piercing an insult? An enhancement of delicate self-respect is one among the compensations, which Providence has supplied in woman, to make up for a deficiency in some ruder kinds of strength.

Again, I appeal to the laws of art against the final disposal of Catherine. Having much less of ability than her husband, she is really drawn with greater force and truth; and possesses so firm a fibre that when, having been bred in a school of some intolerance, she begins to blunt the edge of her resistance, and to tolerate in divers ways, without adopting, the denuded system of her husband, we begin to feel that the key-note of her character is being tampered with. After his death, the discords become egregious. She remains, as she supposes, orthodox and tenaciously Evangelical. But every knee must be made to bow to Elsmere. So she does not return to the northern valley and her mother's declining age, but in London devotes her week-days to carrying on the institutions of charity he had founded on behalf of his new religion. He had himself indignantly remonstrated with some supposed clergyman, who, in the guise of a Broad Churchman, at once held Elsmere's creed and discharged externally the office of an Anglican priest. He therefore certainly is not responsible for having taught her to believe the chasm between them was a narrow one. Yet she leaps or steps across it every Sunday, attending her church in the forenoon, and looming as regularly every afternoon in the temple of the New Brotherhood. Here surely the claims of system have marred the work of art. Characters might have been devised whom this see-saw would have suited well enough; but for the Catherine of the first volume it is an unmitigated solecism; a dismal, if not even a degrading compromise.

It has been observed that the women of the book are generally drawn with more felicity than the men. As a work of art, Rose is in my view the most successful of the women, and among the men the Squire. With the Squire Mrs. Ward is not in sympathy, for he destroys too much, and he does nothing but destroy. She cannot be in sympathy with Rose; for Rose, who is selfishly and heartlessly used, is herself selfish and heartless; with this aggravation, that she

has grown up in immediate contact with a noble elder sister, and yet has not caught a particle of nobleness, as well as in view of an infirm mother to whom she scarcely gives a care. On the other hand, in her Robert, who has all Mrs. Ward's affection and almost her worship, and who is clothed with a perfect panoply of high qualities, she appears to be less successful and more artificial. In the recently published correspondence¹³ of Sir Henry Taylor, who was by no means given to paradox, we are told that great earnestness of purpose and strong adhesive sympathies in an author are adverse to the freedom and independence of treatment, the disembarassed movement of the creative hand, which are required in the supreme poetic office of projecting character on the canvas. If there be truth in this novel and interesting suggestion, we cannot wonder at finding the result exhibited in *Robert Elsmere*, for never was a book written with greater persistency and intensity of purpose. Every page of its principal narrative is adapted and addressed by Mrs. Ward to the final aim which is bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh. This aim is to expel the preternatural element from Christianity, to destroy its dogmatic structure, yet to keep intact the moral and spiritual results. The Brotherhood presented to us with such sanguine hopefulness is a 'Christian' brotherhood, but with a Christianity emptied of that which Christians believe to be the soul and springhead of its life. For Christianity, in the established Christian sense, is the presentation to us not of abstract dogmas for acceptance, but of a living and a Divine Person, to whom they are to be united by a vital incorporation. It is the reunion to God of a nature severed from God by sin, and the process is one, not of teaching lessons, but of imparting a new life, with its ordained equipment of gifts and powers.

It is I apprehend a complete mistake to suppose, as appears to be the supposition of this remarkable book, that all which has to be done with Scripture, in order to effect the desired transformation of religion, is to eliminate from it the miraculous element. Tremendous as is the sweeping process which extrudes the Resurrection, there is much else, which is in no sense miraculous, to extrude along with it. The Procession of Palms, for example, is indeed profoundly significant, but it is in no way miraculous. Yet, in any consistent history of a Robert Elsmere's Christ, there could be no Procession of Palms. Unless it be the healing of the ear of Malchus, there is not a miraculous event between the commencement of the Passion and the Crucifixion itself. Yet the notes of a superhuman majesty overspread the whole. We talk of all religions as essentially one; but what religion presents to its votaries such a tale as this? Bishop Temple, in his sermons at Rugby, has been among the later teachers who have shown how the whole behaviour of our Lord, in this extremity of His abasement, seems more than ever to transcend all human limits, and to exhibit

¹³ P. 17.

without arguing His Divinity. The parables, again, are not less refractory than the miracles, and must disappear along with them: for what parables are there which are not built upon the idea of His unique and transcendent office? The Gospel of Saint John has much less of miracle than the Synoptics; but it must of course descend from its pedestal, in all that is most its own. And what is gained by all this condemnation, until we get rid of the Baptismal formula? It is a question not of excision from the gospels, but of tearing them into shreds. Far be it from me to deny that the parts which remain, or which remain legible, are vital parts; but this is no more than to say that there may remain vital organs of a man, after the man himself has been cut in pieces.

I have neither space nor capacity at command for the adequate discussion of the questions, which shattered the faith of Robert Elsmere: whether miracles can happen, and whether 'an universal pre-conception' in their favour at the birth of Christianity 'governing the work of all men of all schools,'¹⁴ adequately accounts for the place which has been given to them in the New Testament, as available proofs of the Divine Mission of our Lord. But I demur on all the points to the authority of the Squire, and even of Mr. Grey.

The impossibility of miracle is a doctrine which appears to claim for its basis the results of physical inquiry. They point to unbroken sequences in material nature, and refer every phenomenon to its immediate antecedent as adequate to its orderly production. But the appeal to these great achievements of our time is itself disorderly, for it calls upon natural science to decide a question which lies beyond its precinct. There is an extraneous force of will which acts upon matter in derogation of laws purely physical, or alters the balance of those laws among themselves. It can be neither philosophical nor scientific to proclaim the impossibility of miracle, until philosophy or science shall have determined a limit, beyond which this extraneous force of will, so familiar to our experience, cannot act upon or deflect the natural order.

Next, as to that avidity for miracle, which is supposed by the omniscient Squire to account for the invention of it. Let it be granted, for argument's sake, that if the Gospel had been intended only for the Jews, they at least were open to the imputation of a biassing and blinding appetite for signs and wonders. But scarcely had the Christian scheme been established among the Jews, when it began to take root among the Gentiles. It will hardly be contended that these Gentiles, who detested and despised the Jewish race, had any predisposition to receive a religion at their hands or upon their authority. Were they then, during the century which succeeded our Lord's birth, so swayed by a devouring thirst for the supernatural as to account for the early reception, and the steady if not rapid

¹⁴ ii. 246, 247.

growth, of the Christian creed among them? The statement of the Squire, which carries Robert Elsmere, is that the preconception in favour of miracles at the period 'governed the work of all men of all schools.'¹⁵ A most gross and palpable exaggeration. In philosophy the Epicurean school was atheistic, the Stoic school was ambiguously theistic, and doubt nestled in the Academy. Christianity had little direct contact with these schools, but they acted on the tone of thought, in a manner not favourable but adverse to the preconception.

Meantime the power of religion was in decay. The springs of it in the general mind and heart were weakened. A deluge of profligacy had gone far to destroy, at Rome, even the external habit of public worship; and Horace, himself an indifferentist,¹⁶ denounces the neglect and squalor of the temples; while further on we have the stern and emphatic testimony of Juvenal:—

Esse aliquid Manes, et subterranea regna,
Et contum, et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.¹⁷

The age was not an age of faith, among thinking and ruling classes, either in natural or in supernatural religion. There had been indeed a wonderful 'evangelical preparation' in the sway of the Greek language, in the unifying power of the Roman State and Empire, and in the utter moral failure of the grand and dominant civilisations; but not in any virgin soil, yearning for the sun, the rain, or the seed of truth.

But the Squire, treading in the footprints of Gibbon's fifteenth Chapter, leaves it to be understood that, in the appeal to the supernatural, the new religion enjoyed an exclusive as well as an overpowering advantage; that it had a patent for miracle, which none could infringe. Surely this is an error even more gross than the statement already cited about all men of all schools. The supernatural was interwoven with the entire fabric of the religion of the Roman State, which, if weak and effete as a religious discipline, was of extraordinary power as a social institution. It stood, if not on faith yet on nationality, on tradition, on rich endowments, on the deeply interested attachment of a powerful aristocracy, and on that policy of wide conciliation, which gave to so many creeds, less exclusive than the Christian, a cause common with its own.

Looking for a comprehensive description of miracles, we might say that they constitute a language of heaven embodied in material signs, by which communication is established between the Deity and man, outside the daily course of nature and experience. Distinctions may be taken between one kind of miracle and another. But none of these are distinctions in principle. Sometimes they are alleged to be the offspring of a divine power committed to the hands of particular men; sometimes they are simple manifestations unconnected

¹⁵ ii. 247.¹⁶ Hor. *Od.* i. 34; iii. 6.¹⁷ *Sat.* ii. 150.

with human agency, and carrying with them their own meaning, such as the healings in Bethesda; sometimes they are a system of events and of phenomena subject to authoritative and privileged interpretation. Miracle, portent, prodigy and sign are all various forms of one and the same thing, namely an invasion of the known and common natural order from the side of the supernatural. In the last-named case, there is an expression of the authorised human judgment upon it, while in the earlier ones there is only a special appeal to it. They rest upon one and the same basis. We may assign to miracle a body and a soul. It has for its body something accepted as being either in itself or in its incidents outside the known processes of ordinary nature, and for its soul the alleged message which in one shape or another it helps to convey from the Deity to man. This supernatural element, as such, was at least as familiar to the Roman heathenism, as to the Christian scheme. It was indeed more highly organised. It was embodied in the regular and normal practice of the ministers of religion, and especially, under the jurisdiction of the pontifical college, it was the regular and standing business of the augurs to observe, report, and interpret the supernatural signs, by which the gods gave reputed instructions to men outside the course of nature. Sometimes it was by strange atmospheric phenomena; sometimes by physical prodigies, as when a woman produced a snake,¹⁸ or a calf was born with its head in its thigh;¹⁹ whereupon, says Tacitus, *secuta haruspicum interpretatio*. Sometimes through events only preternatural from the want of assignable cause, as when the statue of Julius Cæsar, on an island in the Tiber, turned itself round from west to east.²⁰ Sometimes with an approximation to the Christian signs and wonders, as when Vespasian removed with spittle the *tabes oculorum*, and restored the impotent hand.²¹ It does not readily appear why in principle the Romans, who had the supernatural for their daily food in a shape sustained by the unbroken tradition of their country, should be violently attracted by the mere exhibition of it from a despised source, and in a manner less formal, less organised, and less known. In one important way we know the accepted supernatural of the Romans operated with direct and telling power against the Gospel. *Si cælum stetit, si terra movit, Christianos ad leones*. Or, in the unsuspected language of Tacitus, *dum latius metuitur, trepidatione vulgi, invalidus quisque obtriti*. When the portents were unfavourable, and there was fear of their extension, the weak had to suffer from the popular alarms.²²

The upshot of the matter then appears to be something like this.

The lowly and despised preachers of Christian portent were confronted everywhere by the highborn and accomplished caste sworn to the service of the gods, familiar from centuries of tradition with the

¹⁸ Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 12.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* xv. 47.

²⁰ Tac. *Hist.* i. 86.

²¹ *Ibid.* iv. 81.

²² Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

supernatural, and supported at every point with the whole force and influence of civil authority. Nor has there ever probably been a case of a contest so unequal, as far as the powers of this world are concerned. Tainted in its origin by its connection with the detested Judaism, odious to the prevailing tone by its exclusiveness, it rested originally upon the testimony of men few, poor and ignorant, and for a length of time no human genius was enlisted in its service, with the single exception of Saint Paul. All that we of this nineteenth century know, and know so well, under the name of vested interests, is insignificant compared with the embattled fortress that these humble Christians had to storm. And the Squire, if he is to win the day with minds less ripe for conversion than Robert Elsmere, must produce some other suit of weapons from his armoury.

With him I now part company, as his thoroughgoing negation parts company with the hybrid scheme of Mrs. Ward. It is of that scheme that I now desire to take a view immediately practical.

In a concise but striking notice in the *Times*²³ it is placed in the category of 'clever attacks upon revealed religion.' It certainly offers us a substitute for revealed religion; and possibly the thought of the book might be indicated in these words: 'The Christianity accepted in England is a good thing; but come with me, and I will show you a better.'

It may, I think, be fairly described as a devout attempt, made in good faith, to simplify the difficult mission of religion in the world by discarding the supposed lumber of the Christian theology, while retaining and applying, in their undiminished breadth of scope, the whole personal, social, and spiritual morality which has now, as matter of fact, entered into the patrimony of Christendom; and, since Christendom is the dominant power of the world, into the patrimony of the race. It is impossible indeed to conceive a more religious life than the later life of Robert Elsmere, in his sense of the word religion. And that sense is far above the sense in which religion is held, or practically applied, by great multitudes of Christians. It is, however, a new form of religion. The question is, can it be actually and beneficially substituted for the old one. It abolishes of course the whole authority of Scripture. It abolishes also Church, priesthood or ministry, sacraments, and the whole established machinery which trains the Christian as a member of a religious society. These have been regarded by fifty generations of men as wings of the soul. It is still required by Mrs. Ward to fly, and to fly as high as ever; but it is to fly without wings. For baptism, we have a badge of silver, and inscription in a book.²⁴ For the Eucharist there is at an ordinary meal a recital of the fragment, 'This do in remembrance of Me.' The children respond, 'Jesus, we remember thee always.' It is hard to say that prayer is retained. In the Elgood Street service 'it is rather

²³ *Times*, April 7, 1882.²⁴ iii. 358.

an act of adoration and faith, than a prayer properly so called,²⁵ and it appears that memory and trust are the instruments on which the individual is to depend, for maintaining his communion with God. It would be curious to know how the New Brotherhood is to deal with the great mystery of marriage, perhaps the truest touchstone of religious revolution.

It must be obvious to every reader that in the great duel between the old faith and the new, as it is fought in *Robert Elsmere*, there is a great inequality in the distribution of the arms. Reasoning is the weapon of the new scheme; emotion the sole resource of the old. Neither Catherine nor Newcome have a word to say beyond the expression of feeling; and it is when he has adopted the negative side that the hero himself is fully introduced to the faculty of argument. This is a singular arrangement, especially in the case of a writer who takes a generous view of the Christianity that she only desires to supplant by an improved device. The explanation may be simple. There are abundant signs in the book that the negative speculatists have been consulted if not ransacked; but there is nowhere a sign that the authoress has made herself acquainted with the Christian apologists, old or recent; or has weighed the evidences derivable from the Christian history; or has taken measure of the relation in which the doctrines of grace have historically stood to the production of the noblest, purest, and greatest characters of the Christian ages. If such be the case, she has skipped lightly (to put it no higher) over vast mental spaces of literature and learning relevant to the case, and has given sentence in the cause without hearing the evidence.

It might perhaps be not unjust to make a retort upon the authoress, and say that while she believes herself simply to be yielding obedience to reason, her movement is in reality impelled by bias. We have been born into an age when, in the circles of literature and science, there is a strong antidogmatic leaning, a prejudice which may largely intercept the action of judgment. Partly because belief has its superstitions, and the detection of these superstitions opens the fabric to attack, like a breach in the wall of a fortress when at a given point it has been stuffed with unsound material. Partly because the rapidity of the movement of the time predisposes the mind to novelty. Partly because the multiplication of enjoyments, through the progress of commerce and invention, enhances the materialism of life, strengthens by the forces of habit the hold of the seen world upon us, and leaves less both of brain power and of heart power available for the unseen. Enormous accretion of wealth is no more deprived of its sting now, than it was when Saint Paul penned his profoundly penetrating admonition to Timothy.²⁶ And when, under the present conditions, it happens that the environment of personal association

²⁵ iii. 360.²⁶ 1 Tim. iv. 9.

represents either concentrated hostility or hopeless diversity in religion, there may be hardly a chance for firm and measured belief. What we find to be troublesome, yet from some inward protest are not prepared wholly to reject, we like to simplify and reduce; and the instances of good and devoted men who are averse to dogma, more frequent than usual in this age, are powerful to persuade us that in lightening the cargo we are really securing the safe voyage of the ship. 'About dogma we hear dispute, but the laws of high social morality no speculation is disposed to question. Why not get rid of the disputable, and concentrate all our strength on grasping the undisputed?' We may by a little wresting quote high authority for this recommendation. 'Whereto we have already attained . . . let us mind the same thing. . . . And if in anything ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you.'²⁷ It is not difficult to conceive how, under the action of causes with which the time abounds, pure and lofty minds, wholly guiltless of the intention to impair or lower the motive forces of Christianity, may be led into the snare, and may even conceive a process in itself destructive to be, on the contrary, conservative and reparatory.

But it is a snare none the less. And first let us recollect, when we speak of renouncing Christian dogma, what it is that we mean. The germ of it as a system lies in the formula, 'Baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'²⁸ This was speedily developed into the substance of the Apostles' Creed: the Creed which forms our confession of individual faith, in baptism and on the bed of death. Now belief in God, which forms (so to speak) the first great limb of the Creed, is strictly a dogma, and is on no account, according to Mrs. Ward, to be surrendered. But the second and greatest portion of the Creed contains twelve propositions, of which nine are matters of fact, and the whole twelve have for their office the setting forth to us of a Personage, to whom a great dispensation has been committed. The third division of the Creed is more dogmatic, but it is bound down like the second to earth and fact by the article of the Church, a visible and palpable institution. The principal purely dogmatic part of this great document is the part which is to be retained. And we, who accept the Christian story, are entitled to say, that to extrude from a history, tied to strictly human facts, that by which they become a standing channel of organic connection between Deity and humanity, is not presumptively a very hopeful mode of strengthening our belief in God, thus deprived of its props and accessories. The chasm between deity and the human soul, over which the scheme of Redemption has thrown a bridge, again yawns beneath our feet, in all its breadth and depth.

Although the Divinity of Christ is not put prominently forward in this book, but rather the broader objection to supernatural mani-

²⁷ Phil. iii. 15, 16,

²⁸ St. Matt. xxviii. 19,

festations, yet it will be found to be the real hinge of the entire question. For, if Christ be truly God, few will deny that the exceptional incidents, which follow in the train of His appearance upon earth, raise, in substance, no new difficulty. Is it true, then, that Christians have been so divided on this subject as to promise us a return of peace and progress by its elimination?

To answer this question rightly, we must not take the humour of this or that particular time or country, but must regard the Christian system in its whole extension, and its whole duration. So regarding it, we shall find that the assertion, far from being true, is glaringly untrue. The truth in rude outline is surely this. That when the Gospel went out into the world, the greatest of all the groups of controversies, which progressively arose within its borders, was that which concerned the true nature of the Object of worship. That these controversies ran through the most important shapes, which have been known to the professing Church of later years, and through many more. That they rose, especially in the fourth century, to such a height, amidst the conflict of councils, popes, and theologians, that the private Christian was too often like the dove wandering over the waters, and seeking in vain a restingplace for the sole of his foot. That the whole mind and heart of the Church were given, in their whole strength and through a lengthened period, to find some solution of these controversies. That many generations passed before Arianism wholly ceased to be the basis of Christian profession in spots or sections of Christendom, but not so long before the central thought of the body as a whole had come to be fixed in the form of what has ever since, and now for over fourteen hundred years, been known as the orthodox belief. The authority of this tradition, based upon the Scriptures, has through all that period been upheld at the highest point to which a marvellous continuity and universality could raise it. It was not impeached by the questioning mind of the thirteenth century. The scientific revolution, which opened to us the antipodes and the solar system, did not shake it. The more subtle dangers of the Renaissance were dangers to Christianity as a whole, but not to this great element of Christianity as a part. And when the terrible struggles of the Reformation stirred every coarse human passion as well as every fond religious interest into fury, even then the Nicene belief, as Möhler in his *Symbolik* has so well observed, sat undisturbed in a region elevated above the controversies of the time; which only touched it at points so exceptional, and comparatively so obscure, as not appreciably to qualify its majestic authority. A Christianity without Christ is no Christianity; and a Christ not divine is one other than the Christ on whom the souls of Christians have habitually fed. What virtue, what piety, have existed outside of Christianity, is a question totally distinct. But to hold that, since the great controversy of the early time was wound up at Chalcedon,

the question of our Lord's Divinity (which draws after it all that Robert Elsmere would excide), has generated the storms of the Christian atmosphere, would be simply an historical untruth. How then is the work of peace to be promoted by the excision from our creed of that central truth on which we are generally agreed ?

The onward movement of negation in the present day has presented perhaps no more instructive feature than this, that the Unitarian persuasion has, in this country at least, by no means thriven upon it. It might have been thought that, in the process of dilapidation, here would have been a point at which the receding tide of belief would have rested at any rate for a while. But instead of this, we are informed that the numbers of professed Unitarians have increased less than those of other communions, and less than the natural growth of the population. And we find Mrs. Ward herself describing the old Unitarian scheme²⁹ as one wholly destitute of logic ; but in what respect she improves upon it I have not yet perceived.

In order to invest any particular propagandism with a show of presumptive title to our acceptance, its author should be able to refer it to some standard of appeal which will show that it has foundations otherwise than in mere private judgment or active imagination. The books of the New Testament I understand to be, for Mrs. Ward, of no value except for the moral precepts they contain. Still less may we invoke the authority of the Old Testament, where the ethical picture is more chequered. She finds no spell in the great moral miracle (so to phrase it) of the Psalms ; nor in the marvellous *propaideia* of the Jewish history, so strikingly confirmed by recent research ; in the Levitical law, the prophetic teaching, the entire dispensation of temporal promise and of religious worship and instruction, by which the Hebrew race was kept in social isolation through fifteen centuries, as a cradle for the Redeemer that was to come. She is not awakened by the Christian more than by the Jewish history. No way to her assent is opened by the great victory of the world's babes and striplings over its philosophers and scholars, and the serried array of emperors, aristocracies, and statesmen, with their elaborate apparatus of organised institutions. All this cogent mass of human testimony is rendered, I admit, on behalf not of a vague and arbitrary severance of Christian morals from the roots which have produced them, but of what we term the Christian dogma, that is to say, of belief in God supplemented and brought home by the great fact of Redemption, and of the provision made through the Church of Christ for the perpetual conservation and application of its living powers.

And it must be observed that, in adducing this evidence from consent, I make no assumption and beg no question as between reformed and unreformed Christianity. By any such preferential

treatment of a part, I should weaken the authority and betray the sacred cause of the whole. All that can be said or shown of the corruptions that have gathered round the central scheme, of the failure rightly to divide the word of truth, of the sin and shame that in a hundred forms have belied its profession, affords only new proof of the imperishable vitality that has borne so much disease, of the buoyancy of the ark on whose hull has grown so much of excrescence without arresting its course through the waters. And again, the concord of Christians ever since the great adjudication of the fifth century on the central truth has acquired an addition of weight almost incalculable, from the fact that they have differed so sharply upon many of the propositions that are grouped around it.

Without doubt human testimony is to be duly and strictly sifted, and every defect in its quantity or quality is to be recorded in the shape of a deduction from its weight. But as there is no proceeding more irreverent, so there is none more strictly irrational, than its wholesale depreciation. Such depreciation is an infallible note of shallow and careless thinking, for it very generally implies an exaggerated and almost ludicrous estimate of the capacity and performances of the present generation, as compared with those which have preceded it. Judges in our own cause, pleaders with nobody to reply, we take ample note of every comparative advantage we possess, but forget to register deteriorating and disqualifying influences. Not less commonly is our offence avenged by our own inconsistency. The solemn voice of the ages, the *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, amounts simply to zero for Robert Elsmere. Yet he can absolutely surrender to his own selected pope the guidance of his understanding; and when he asks himself, at the funeral in the third volume, whether the more modest, that is the emasculated, form of human hope in the presence of the Eternal, may not be 'as real, as sustaining,' as the old one, his reply to this great question is—'Let Grey's trust answer for me.'³⁰

This great buttress of the old religion, whatever its value, is then withdrawn from the new one, which starts like

a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean,

accredited by a successful venture among the London artisans, who differ (so we are told) not only from the classes above and beneath them in the metropolis, as to their disposition to accept the Christian doctrines, but from their own brethren in the north.³¹ It is not, therefore, on testimony that the Elsmere gospel takes its stand. Does it, then, stand upon philosophy, upon inherent beauty and fitness, as compared with the scheme which it dismembers and then professes to replace? Again, be it borne in mind that the essence of

³⁰ iii. 284.

³¹ iii. 159.

the proposal is to banish the supernatural idea and character of our Lord, but to imbibe and assimilate His moral teachings.

From my antiquated point of view, this is simply to bark the tree, and then, as the death which ensues is not immediate, to point out with satisfaction on the instant that it still waves living branches in the wind. We have before us a huge larcenous appropriation, by the modern schemes, of goods which do not belong to them. They carry peacocks' feathers, which adorn them for a time, and which they cannot reproduce. Let us endeavour to learn whether these broad assumptions, which flow out of the historic testimony of the Christian ages, are also prompted and sustained by the reason of the case.

It is sometimes possible to trace peculiar and marked types of human character with considerable precision to their causes. Take, for instance, the Spartan type of character, in its relation to the legislation attributed to Lycurgus. Or take, again, the Jewish type, such as it is presented to us both by the ancient and the later history, in its relation to the Mosaic law and institutions. It would surely have been a violent paradox, in either of these cases, to propose the abolition of the law, and to assert at the same time that the character would continue to be exhibited, not only sporadically and for a time, but normally and in permanence.

These were restricted, almost tribal, systems. Christianity, though by no means less peculiar, was diffusive. It both produced a type of character wholly new to the Roman world, and it fundamentally altered the laws and institutions, the tone, temper, and tradition of that world. For example, it changed profoundly the relation of the poor to the rich, and the almost forgotten obligations of the rich to the poor. It abolished slavery, abolished human sacrifice, abolished gladiatorial shows, and a multitude of other horrors. It restored the position of woman in society. It proscribed polygamy; and put down divorce, absolutely in the West, though not absolutely in the East. It made peace, instead of war, the normal and presumed relation between human societies. It exhibited life as a discipline everywhere and in all its parts, and changed essentially the place and function of suffering in human experience. Accepting the ancient morality as far as it went, it not only enlarged but transfigured its teaching, by the laws of humility and of forgiveness, and by a law of purity perhaps even more new and strange than these. Let it be understood that I speak throughout not of such older religion as may have subsisted in the lowly and unobserved places of human life, but of what stamped the character of its strongholds; of the elements which made up the main and central currents of thought, action, and influence, in those places, and in those classes, which drew the rest of the world in their train. All this was not the work of a day, but it was the work of powers and principles which persistently asserted themselves in despite of controversy, of infirmity, and of corruption

in every form ; which reconstituted in life and vigour a society found in decadence ; which by degrees came to pervade the very air we breathe ; and which eventually have beyond all dispute made Christendom the dominant portion, and Christianity the ruling power, of the world. And all this has been done, not by eclectic and arbitrary fancies, but by the creed of the Homocousion, in which the philosophy of modern times sometimes appears to find a favourite theme of ridicule. But it is not less material to observe that the whole fabric, social as well as personal, rests on the new type of individual character which the Gospel brought into life and action : enriched and completed without doubt from collateral sources which made part of the 'Evangelical preparation,' but in its central essence due entirely to the dispensation, which had been founded and wrought out in the land of Judea, and in the history of the Hebrew race. What right have we to detach, or to suppose we can detach, this type of personal character from the causes out of which as matter of history it has grown, and to assume that without its roots it will thrive as well as with them ?

For Mrs. Ward is so firmly convinced, and so affectionately sensible, of the exquisite excellence of the Christian type that she will permit no abatement from it, though she thinks it can be cast in a mould which is human as well as, nay, better than, in one which is divine. Nor is she the first person who, in renouncing the Christian tradition, has reserved her allegiance to Christian morals and even sought to raise their standard. We have, for instance, in America, not a person only, but a society, which, while trampling on the Divinity and Incarnation of Christ, not only accepts His rule of life, but pushes evangelical counsels into absolute precepts, and insists upon them as the rule of life for all who seek, instead of abiding in the 'lower floor churches,' to be Christians indeed. 'The fundamental principles of Shakerism' are 'virgin purity, non-resistance, peace, equality of inheritance, and unspottedness from the world.'³² The evidence of travellers appears to show that the ideal of these projectors has to a certain degree been realised ; nor can we know for how many years an eccentric movement of this kind will endure the test of time without palpably giving way. The power of environment ; and the range of idiosyncrasy, suffice to generate, especially in dislocating times, all sorts of abnormal combinations, which subsist, in a large degree, upon forces not their own, and so impose themselves, with a show of authority, upon the world.

Let us return to the point. The Christian type is the product and the property of the Christian scheme. No, says the objector, the improvements which we witness are the offspring of civilisation. It might be a sufficient answer to point out that the civilisation before

³² The quotation is from a preface to *Shaker Sermons*, by H. L. Eads, Bishop of South Union, Kentucky. Fourth edition, 1887.

and around us is a Christian civilisation. What civilisation could do without Christianity for the greatest races of mankind, we know already. Philosophy and art, creative genius and practical energy, had their turn before the Advent; and we can register the results. I do not say that the great Greek and Roman ages lost—perhaps even they improved—the ethics of *meum* and *tuum*, in the interests of the leisured and favoured classes of society, as compared with what those ethics had been in archaic times. But they lost the hold which some earlier races within their sphere had had of the future life. They degraded, and that immeasurably, the position of woman. They effaced from the world the law of purity. They even carried indulgence to a worse than bestial type; and they gloried in the achievement.³³ Duty and religion, in the governing classes and the governing places, were absolutely torn asunder; and self-will and self-worship were established as the unquestioned rule of life. It is yet more important to observe that the very qualities which are commended in the Beatitudes, and elsewhere in the Sermon on the Mount, and which form the base of the character specifically Christian, were for the Greek and the Roman mind the objects of contempt. From the history of all that has lain within the reach of the great Mediterranean basin, not a tittle of encouragement can be drawn for the ideas of those, who would surrender the doctrines of Christianity and yet retain its moral and spiritual fruits.

Does then that severance, unsustained by authority or by experience, commend itself at any single point by an improved conformity with purely abstract principles of philosophy? and is the new system better adapted to the condition and the needs of human nature, than the old? Does it better correspond with what an enlightened reason would dictate as the best provision for those needs? Does it mitigate, or does it enhance, the undoubted difficulties of belief? And if the answer must be given in the negative to both these inquiries, how are we to account for the strange phenomenon which exhibits to us persons sincerely, nay painfully, desirous of seeing Divine government more and more accepted in the world, yet enthusiastically busied in cutting away the best among the props, by which that government has been heretofore sustained?

As regards the first of these three questions, it is to be observed that, while the older religions made free use of prodigy and portent, they employed these instruments for political rather than moral purposes; and it may be doubted whether the sum total of such action tended to raise the standard of life and thought. The general upshot was that the individual soul felt itself very far from God. Our bedimmed eye could not perceive His purity; and our puny reach could not find touch of His vastness. By the scheme of Redemption, this sense of distance was removed. The divine perfections were reflected

³³ See for instance the *Epores* of Lucian.

through the medium of a perfect humanity, and were thus made near, familiar, and liable to love. The great all-pervading law of human sympathy became directly available for religion, and in linking us to the Divine Humanity, linked us by the same act to God. And this not for rare and exceptional souls alone, but for the common order of mankind. The direct contact, the interior personal communion of the individual with God was re-established: for human faculties, in their normal action, could now appreciate, and approach to, what had previously been inappreciable and unapproachable. Surely the system I have thus rudely exhibited was ideally a great philosophy, as well as practically an immeasurable boon. To strike out the redemptive clauses from the scheme is to erase the very feature by which it essentially differed from all other schemes; and to substitute a didactic exhibition of superior morality, with the rays of an example in the preterite tense, set by a dead man in Judea, for that scheme of living forces, by which the powers of a living Saviour's humanity are daily and hourly given to man, under a charter which expires only with the world itself. Is it possible here to discern, either from an ideal or from a practical point of view, anything but depletion and impoverishment, and the substitution of a spectral for a living form?

If we proceed to the second question, the spectacle, as it presents itself to me, is stranger still. Although we know that James Mill, arrested by the strong hand of Bishop Butler, halted rather than rested for a while in theism on his progress towards general negation, yet his case does not supply, nor can we draw from other sources, any reason to regard such a position as one which can be largely and permanently held against that relentless force of logic, which is ever silently at work to assert and to avenge itself. The theist is confronted, with no breakwater between, by the awful problem of moral evil, by the mystery of pain, by the apparent anomalies of waste and of caprice on the face of creation; and not least of all by the fact that, while the moral government of the world is founded on the free agency of man, there are in multitudes of cases environing circumstances independent of his will which seem to deprive that agency, called free, of any operative power adequate to contend against them. In this bewildered state of things, in this great enigma of the world, 'Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? . . . Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winefat?'³⁴ There has come upon the scene the figure of a Redeemer, human and divine. Let it be granted that the Incarnation is a marvel wholly beyond our reach, and that the miracle of the Resurrection to-day gives serious trouble to fastidious intellects. But the difficulties of a baffled understanding, lying everywhere around us in daily experience, are to be expected from its limitations; not so the shocks encountered by the moral sense. Even if the Christian scheme slightly lengthened the immeasurable catalogue of

³⁴ Is. lxiii. 1, 2.

the first, this is dust in the balance compared with the relief it furnishes to the second; in supplying the most powerful remedial agency ever known, in teaching how pain may be made a helper, and evil transmuted into good; and in opening clearly the vision of another world, in which we are taught to look for yet larger counsels of the Almighty wisdom. To take away, then, the agency so beneficent, which has so softened and reduced the moral problems that lie thickly spread around us, and to leave us face to face with them in all their original rigour, is to enhance and not to mitigate the difficulties of belief.

Lastly, it is not difficult to understand why those who prefer the Pagan ideal, or who cannot lay hold on the future world, or who labour under still greater disadvantages, should put aside as a whole the gospel of God manifest in the flesh. But Mrs. Ward is none of these; and it is far harder to comprehend the mental attitude, or the mental consistency at least, of those who like her desire to retain what was manifested, but to thrust aside the manifesting Person, and all that His living personality entails: or, if I may borrow an Aristotelian figure, to keep the accidents and discard the substance. I cannot pretend to offer a solution of this hard riddle. But there is one feature which almost uniformly marks writers whose mind as in this case is of a religious tone, or who do not absolutely exclude religion, while they reject the Christian dogma and the authority of Scripture. They appear to have a very low estimate both of the quantity and the quality of sin: of its amount, spread like a deluge over the world, and of the subtlety, intensity, and virulence of its nature. I mean a low estimate as compared with the mournful denunciations of the sacred writings, or with the language especially of the later Christian Confessions. Now let it be granted that, in interpreting those Confessions, we do not sufficiently allow for the enormous differences among human beings—differences both of original disposition, and of ripened character. We do not sufficiently take account of the fact that, while disturbance and degradation have so heavily affected the mass, there are a happy few on whom nature's degeneracy has but lightly laid its hand. In the biography of the late Dr. Marsh we have an illustration apt for my purpose. His family was straitly Evangelical. He underwent what he deemed to be conversion. A like-minded friend congratulated his mother on the work of Divine grace in her son. But, in the concrete, she mildly resented the remark, and replied that in truth 'Divine grace would find very little to do in her son William.'

In the novel of *The Unclassed* by the author of *Thyrza*, which like *Robert Elsmere* is of the didactic and speculative class, the leading man-character, when detailing his mental history, says that 'sin' has never been for him a word of weighty import. So ingenuous a confession is not common. I remember but one exception to the rule that the negative writers of our own day have formed,

or at least have exhibited, a very feeble estimate of the enormous weight of sin, as a factor in the condition of man and of the world. That exception is Amiel. Mrs. Ward has prefixed to her translation of his remarkable and touching work an Introduction from which I make the following extract:—

His Calvinistic training lingers long in him; and what detaches him from the Hegelian school, with which he has much in common, is his own stronger sense of personal need, his preoccupation with the idea of sin. He speaks (says M. Renan contemptuously) of sin, of salvation, of redemption and conversion, as if these things were realities. He asks me, 'What does M. Renan make of sin?' 'Eh bien, je crois que je le supprime.'

The closing expression is a happy one: sin is for the most part suppressed.

We are bound to believe, and I for one do believe, that in many cases the reason why the doctrines of grace, so profoundly embedded in the Gospel, are dispensed with by the negative writers of the day, is in many cases because they have not fully had to feel the need of them: because they have not travelled with Saint Paul through the dark valley of agonising conflict, or with Dante along the circles downward and the hill upward; because, having to bear a smaller share than others of the common curse and burden, they stagger and falter less beneath its weight.

But ought they not to know that they are physicians, who have not learned the principal peril of the patient's case, and whose prescription accordingly omits the main requisite for a cure. For surely in this matter there should be no mistake. As the entire Levitical institutions seem to have been constructed to impress upon the Hebrew mind a deep and definite idea of sin, we find in the New Testament that that portion of our Lord's work was so to speak ready-made. But He placed it at the foundation of His great design for the future. 'When the Comforter is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.'³⁵ Mrs. Ward seeks, and even with enthusiasm, to 'make for righteousness;' but the three terms compose an organic whole, and if a part be torn away the residue will bleed to death. For the present, however, we have only to rest in the real though but partial consolation that, if the ancient and continuous creed of Christendom has slipped away from its place in Mrs. Ward's brilliant and subtle understanding, it has nevertheless by no means lost a true, if unacknowledged, hold upon the inner sanctuary of her heart.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

³⁵ John xvi. 8.

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THE QUESTION OF IMPERIAL SAFETY.

I.

THE MINIMUM FORCE REQUISITE FOR SECURITY.

DURING some years the present writer has from time to time set forth the following contention: that the reason why the country was allowed to remain in a dangerously defenceless condition was that the people were blind to the peril; that it was only necessary for them to become aware of it in order to render it certain that they would raise a demand for measures of defence; and that until that demand should become urgent it could not be expected that any Government would enter upon schemes involving the expenditure of large sums on our naval and military departments.

In view of recent facts it cannot be said that this contention was groundless. Up to last year the people remained indifferent, though naval and military men tried to enlighten them, and nothing was done or even contemplated. But at last public interest was seen to be awakened, and the results were a series of Commissions to inquire into naval and military questions connected with administration, organisation, and defence; and also the announcement of a loan, limited to the extent necessary to provide for some of our most urgent needs. Ministers evidently considered this to be a spirited effort on their part, and they were justified in so considering it, because there was as yet no sign that they would be supported in making a large demand for the purpose. The public had as yet only one eye open; it looked sleepily on, and was apparently about to lapse again into its opium dream. But within these few weeks it has been once more aroused;

first interest, then perturbation, then demand for action, marked the successive stages of popular feeling. But the demand was somewhat vague; only this was evident, that the public wanted to know the particular circumstances wherein the peril to the country lay, and how assurance should be given that measures would at once be taken to enable us to meet it. The utterance was so peremptory that the Government put half aside for a moment its usual subjects of consideration, perceiving some kind of response to be a pressing necessity.

And here I will pause to say that I do not consider that blame should be attributed particularly to any minister or any government for not entering on expensive schemes of defence. One and all, when they have bestowed any more than the ordinary official attention on the forces and the defences of the State, have perceived that to put us into a condition of security was a huge undertaking, that it would be costly in proportion, and that, in the absence of a popular demand for it, it would be as much as the life of the Ministry was worth even to ask for the money. And Ministers, being for the most part, after all, merely human, with no pretension (other than official) to a lofty disinterestedness or to a taste for self-immolation beyond the average of the race, have gone on acquiescing in the indifference of the people. In every great department there is always plenty to be done in providing for the routine needs and dealing with the constant crop of daily business, and the Minister is held to do well who does not suffer these to fall conspicuously into arrear. But now the popular demand *has* come, the opportunity for making the country, once for all, reasonably secure *is* given; but I do not think the situation, with its requirements and its advantages, is as yet appreciated, of which view I will give the following illustration:

Last March the military and naval members of the House of Commons framed a resolution embodying this idea: that it was expedient to arrive at an estimate of the strength of the national forces of all kinds, and of the amount of war material required for their effective action, which the country ought to be in possession of. An idea to the same effect had been set forth in the questions put by a recent Royal Commission, and in its report. This resolution was submitted to Parliament with the suggestion that a Royal Commission should be appointed to give effect to it; and this course was supported in debate, and by a deputation to Ministers. But it was not received with favour. Ministers objected that the Commission, in framing such an estimate, would be in some way taking on itself the responsibility which Ministers ought to bear of regulating the war forces of the country, according to the modifications of policy which may be caused by the changes in the aspect of our foreign relations. Therefore they refused the inquiry asked for, but proposed to constitute a Royal Commission with a different purpose,

namely, 'to inquire into the civil and professional administration of the naval and military departments, and the relation of those departments to each other and to the Treasury; and to report what changes in the existing system would tend to the efficiency and economy of the public service.' Here, all that was asked for is left out, and what is substituted is what nobody wanted, or what had already been sufficiently inquired into. But at that time the public interest had not been excited to the pitch it has since reached, under a concurrence of stimulating circumstances, and it was still open to those who had advocated the rejected inquiry to hope that it might now be conceded. Such an expectation is still, however, far from fulfilment, as is evident from the following Ministerial declarations:

Lord Salisbury said in the House of Lords on the 14th of May:

I cannot at all coincide with those who think that these matters can be referred to anybody outside the Government. So long as the Government is what it is, it is responsible, and the responsibility must rest upon it. If you are dissatisfied with them you must change them, but you must not think that you can infuse efficiency into them by setting up an independent body by their side to advise them. We are to make ourselves safe, it is said. But safety is not an absolute term. You cannot write down so many soldiers and so many ships are what will make England safe. They are what will make England safe against some supposed attack; you must know what your enemy is likely to be before you know whether your preparations are likely to be sufficient; you cannot know what force under any possible circumstances can be brought against you without discussing matters which I need not prove to the House it is utterly impossible to discuss in public. The question of defence is a question which involves not only the War Office and the Admiralty, but the Foreign Office as well; and if anybody doubts that fact let him read carefully that great speech of the Chancellor of Germany delivered at the beginning of this spring, in which he discussed the defensive and offensive position of Germany, and it will be seen that throughout it there is one point upon which he evidently laid stress. The consideration that was uppermost in his mind was, 'Who are our allies?' and 'Who are likely to be the enemies with whom we should have to fight?' Therefore, my lords, I deprecate the idea that it is possible for any Government to lay down an absolute standard of safety. They must place the country in such a position that it will be safe against any danger which it is reasonably likely to incur; and in so doing I am sure your lordships will believe that the more we deprecate publicity the more deeply sensible are we of the intense responsibility that lies upon us.

The First Lord of the Treasury, on the 15th of May, in the House of Commons, after explaining that the Government had 'been unable' to grant the inquiry asked for, and what they intended to substitute, said:

The Government have shown their readiness to effect any economy which knowledge and experience can suggest. They welcomed inquiry and criticism. They do not seek to conceal shortcomings or mistakes, for which either they themselves or the system may be responsible. They do not shelter themselves by aid of a storm of party recrimination; but, adhering loyally to the principles of Parliamentary government which they are bound to maintain, they still hold to their view that the Government, and the Government alone, must be responsible

for the measures to be recommended to Parliament and for the cost involved. If they fail to secure for themselves the best advice, the most competent guidance, and to form a judgment upon the facts; to give shape and direction to a policy suited to the necessities of the country; or if, in the judgment of the House of Commons, they are deemed to be incapable of doing so, it becomes at once the duty of Parliament to replace the men in whom it has no confidence for the discharge of the most important function of any Government—the provision for the safety of the country.

The Secretary for War on the same occasion, commenting on the subjects of inquiry which a previous speaker had suggested, and referring to the Royal Commission such as had been asked for, and that (Lord Hartington's) now substituted for it, said :

And first, with regard to the appointment of the Royal Commission. I think that anybody who has listened to the speech of my hon. friend will have observed the enormous number of questions that he desires to see referred to the Commission. If its scope were enlarged in the way suggested, it seems perfectly clear that its labours would be extended over years ('No, no'), and that we should not have a report of any sensible value until, at any rate, two or three years have passed over our heads. The object of the Government is not to pile up Blue-books and hold exhaustive inquiries, but to take action (Opposition cheers), and our belief is that the best means of attaining that object is to split up the objects of the inquiry. If we wish to have useful results, the inquiry which the noble marquis is to preside over must be so limited that he will be able to exhaust it and present a report before many months are over which will be of real value to us. We believe that that inquiry will produce valuable results, and it would be most ill-advised on the part of the Government if we were to attempt to place additional work upon it which would prevent the noble marquis discharging that which he has already undertaken. But we do not shrink from inquiring into other subjects, and in doing so we shall proceed with all the speed possible, determined to take a full view of the whole of the important questions affecting the Empire which have been adverted to.

Finally, it has been announced that a Committee of the Cabinet has been formed to deal with the question of Imperial Defence.

From all this it would appear that, whatever the objection to the inquiry may be, it has not yet been exactly stated. For it is impossible to see how any apprehension can exist that it will trench on the due responsibility of Ministers. There seems to be some confusion between responsibility for policy—which of course must always attach to the Government—and responsibility for preparation—which is a very different thing. It is quite evident that it is the leaving of the preparation to the responsibility of Ministers which has brought us to our present pass. But in what way can responsibility for it attach to any particular Minister or Government? Preparation is not an act—it is a condition. What is asked is not that we shall be placed in that condition when the occasion occurs, but that we should always be in that condition, irrespective of any particular Government. It is impossible that the Ministry, by any assumption of responsibility, should be able to adapt the forces of the country to the shiftings of policy. When they speak of the

Foreign Office intermingling in the question, and of the necessity of knowing what conjuncture of affairs we have to meet before fixing the strength of our forces, they are bringing matters into the question which have no relation to it. The reference to Germany is scarcely happy, for if ever a country was prepared for any war that might befall it, it is Germany. The real matter at issue—that is, the scope of the inquiry asked for—has either been misunderstood, or has been lost sight of. For let us take an example from recent events. A very short time ago—to be measured by weeks—the hostility that we had to apprehend was, and for years had been, that of Russia. Therefore what we had to guard against was, not a naval attack, still less an invasion, but a war for India. As for France, she had been for many a year intent on revenge upon Germany, and we never seriously contemplated an attack from her. But in a moment all this is changed—we are compelled to consider, as possible, war with France, a naval contest, and an invasion. And the next shifting of the European kaleidoscope may show us new possibilities. But in what way can those who direct our policy prepare us to meet with sufficient promptitude these entirely different circumstances? They cannot, on a sudden change in the aspect of foreign affairs, call up fleets and armies. If the country were already secure against attack, then, indeed, resting on this defensive strength, they might turn with confidence to front danger as it shifted.

The resolution of last March as submitted to the House was (unavoidably, perhaps, from the necessity of condensing it) somewhat vague, and may possibly have been misinterpreted. It may be desirable therefore to state in more precise terms what matters it was intended to deal with.

The object, then, of the inquiry was the establishment of a standard by which for the future to judge whether the country is, at a given moment, so provided with forces by sea and land, and with war-material, as to be secure against surprise.

Now, one enormous benefit that would arise from this would be that we should be free from recurring panics, with all their expensive consequences. But in order that the country may feel this confidence, it must understand the grounds for it. Therefore, instead of the inquiry being conducted by members of the Government, in consultation with those unknown persons whom they may designate their 'military advisers,' it would be essential that the inquiry should be undertaken by competent persons selected by the Government and assigned to that particular duty, and that they should apply themselves to it in the face of the country. It is not intended to say that they should necessarily make public all the steps of their proceedings. It would be sufficient that the men were recognised as competent, that they were known to be engaged in this work, and that they should arrive at definite and specified results.

As to the subjects of their inquiry:—First, garrisons should be estimated and assigned to all our forts and posts at home and abroad. It should be determined in what cases these should be regulars, in what militia or volunteers; from whence these were to be drawn; how far the population could supply them; and in the case of native levies, how they should be organised and commanded.

The quantity and nature of artillery and ammunition, and, in the case of ports and harbours, the floating and submarine defences, have been already in most cases estimated by a committee, and the Commission would only have to deal with the conclusions then arrived at.

Whether the Indian army should be included in this inquiry or have a separate one of its own, would be for the Government to determine. It forms a vast item, with which only those who have held commands in it could be competent to deal; and the most trusted of its authorities have already framed careful and comprehensive schemes for the organisation and administration and employment of the forces in the great dependency.

There would remain all the forces at home not already absorbed in garrisons or posts, or destined to reinforce them. This great residue would be of three kinds: 1st, the Field Army, that is to say the forces which would occupy the country in case of invasion, composed of regular troops, militia, and volunteers, of all arms; and these would be calculated on the basis of the conclusion come to as to what force an invader might reasonably be expected to be able to bring against us. 2nd, besides the defensive force of the country, we should obviously need an expeditionary force. We have often needed it of late, and it should be procurable by some other means than the temporary destruction of our military system. A review of what our wants have been in the past in sending expeditions, and how far our efforts have been equal to the occasion, would supply us with the means of making a sufficiently definite calculation of the force and composition of this expeditionary army.

If we were at war with a Power which threatened India, this expeditionary force might become the reserve of the Indian army. For it is not to be supposed that in the case specified we should take part also in another foreign war. But if it were necessary, from the character of a combination against us, to retain the expeditionary corps for home defence, there must be a separate reserve for India.

Lastly, must be provided the reserves for the whole Imperial army, for the troops abroad, for the home army in all its branches, and for the expeditionary force, which must be maintained in efficiency throughout its operations. The assignment of the reserves to these purposes, the degree to which they should be held ready for embodiment, the sources from which they should be procured, and

the exercises to which they should be subject, would all be matters for the consideration of the Commission.

But the public so desire something that they can grasp in this matter, that to present them with abstractions only is to be disappointing and ineffective. I will therefore endeavour to render in some degree definite the items of the general description just given.

First of the field army: it is generally assumed that an enemy would scarcely undertake an invasion with less than 100,000 men of all arms. At the same time such a force would demand an amount of transport so enormous that it might be impossible to increase it. Let us therefore assume (since it is necessary to assume something) that this is the force landed at first by the invader.

Now we might meet this army with the following forces, supposing them to be forthcoming, which I cannot certify: 75,000 regular infantry, 15,000 to 20,000 volunteers, which could hold fortified parts of positions occupied for battle, acting there on the defensive; 7,000 cavalry, which, being relieved by the yeomanry from outpost, escort, and orderly duties, could remain intact, and would therefore be equal to an enemy's cavalry nominally superior; 210 field guns, supplemented by 60 guns of position, which would thus constitute together a more powerful artillery than a numerically superior force of the enemy.

This force must be exclusive of the garrison of Ireland, and of the separate force for the defence of London. Estimating the guards of London (as I did in this Review last month) at 60,000 rifle volunteers and militia, we now possess say 30,000 of these in the metropolitan corps, to which might be added 15,000 provincial volunteers as general reserves, who would not be required to be acquainted with the ground in the same degree as those holding it in first line. This would leave 15,000 volunteers to be still raised for the metropolitan force.

The guns of position have still to be manufactured, for those we possess only suffice for the defence of London, and they must be replaced as soon as we can get newer and better.

This army, with the advantages of holding a prepared position, and of possessing a more powerful artillery, might be held sufficient to meet the supposed enemy.

The volunteer force as existing would suffice for all its purposes, with the addition of the 15,000 rifles, as above, for the defence of London, and perhaps an increase of its artillery corps for the service of the guns of position.

Next as to the reserves of the regular forces. Supposing the whole of our present reserves to be absorbed in raising our regular battalions and depôts to the total of 75,000 for the field army, we should be risking all our regular troops on the issue of one battle. Unless the enemy were decisively defeated and unable to renew the

contest, his transports might bring him reinforcements from resources practically inexhaustible. We ought, therefore, still to have a reserve proper—that is, a reserve with which to fill up the battalions again. On the other hand, we need not look to a protracted contest—it would soon be decided one way or another. Supposing, therefore, that it is necessary to hold back 25,000 men of the reserve for the purpose of making good casualties and continuing the contest, the strength of the battalions at home must be increased to that extent.

As to the expeditionary force—taking the example of the campaign of 1882 as what might be sufficient generally for the purpose, it consisted of about 15,000 men of all arms, with the complement of guns. Should this force be in the country when an invasion happened, it would be so much added to our strength, and if we could depend on its presence we need raise fewer additional troops. But if it be conceded that it might already have been despatched to India or elsewhere, before the invasion (as is conceivable in the case of a combination of Russia with another Power against us), it must be held to be outside the calculation for defence, and must be a further addition to the army.

Owing to the traditions which inculcate the lesson of keeping the army as low as possible, any official entrusted with the calculation of a scheme of defence will be apt to rely much on makeshifts and on too favourable suppositions. I have been so far under the influence that what I have stated is the minimum necessary for security.

It is clear that, when the number of the forces was thus fixed, the amount of material necessary to render them effective would be a mere matter of calculation. Personal equipment, field equipment, ammunition sufficient for them, must not only be forthcoming, but must be made readily available by distribution in suitable localities. This standard of efficiency of warlike stores would insure the country against such ruinous economies as the sale of war material to meet a financial difficulty, or the omission of it in the year's accounts for the purpose of keeping down the estimates.

I have purposely abstained from all except rough or approximate estimates. To make definite estimates would be the business of the Commission.

Besides encroachment on the responsibility of Ministers, the prospect that the inquiry would be a protracted one has also been made an objection against the Commission. But the extent of the inquiry would very much depend on the Commission itself. One advantage in having experienced men as members would be that they would know both what matters they required special information about, and from whom to get it. Inexpert commissioners would spend immense time and labour in groping for information.

When the commissioners had finished their work they would

cease to exist as a body, and thus would disappear all fear that 'an independent body would be set up beside the Government to advise it.'

But their work would remain and their conclusions would be made known forthwith. For it would be in accordance with precedent that the Secretary for War should announce to the House of Commons what their recommendations were, and how far they were approved; and that he should thereupon fully explain them to the House, in order to justify the cost he must ask it to sanction. It would thus be indispensable that the recommendations of the Commission should be laid before Parliament.

It is not only the country that would feel the advantage of this authoritative fixing of a standard. The Secretary for War, or the First Lord of the Admiralty, provided with this permanent justification and reference, would be a new man. No longer lost in piecemeal administration, he would have a definite criterion to direct his efforts by, and could at any moment satisfy himself whether the returns of his department were or were not in accordance with it. As for the Government, those changes in the direction of our policy which it contemplates and which our defencelessness must render so cramped and often so futile, would attain to a degree of firmness and assurance such as they certainly could not pretend to now. It is therefore very difficult to understand (and I say it with all deference) why the Government should so decidedly resist a proposal obviously calculated for its own benefit, or why, after so freely resorting to Royal Commissions with a view to profiting by their recommendations, it should refuse to avail itself of the many and great advantages which the one in question would appear to offer.

The numbers of our defensive forces fixed, measures to facilitate their employment in the field should be undertaken. Last month I set forth in outline a plan for the defence of London. Some plan for that purpose should be adopted, as a separate and independent part of a general scheme for the defence of England. And here also it is obvious how that inestimable advantage, the confidence of the public, would be secured by confiding the work to a Defence Staff publicly appointed for the purpose. It is not necessary to suppose that the Secretary for War might not obtain very good counsellors to assist him, in his official seclusion, in framing and directing plans; but, good or bad, they would be unknown, and they would be so far deficient in the power to command public confidence. The work would consist mainly of fixing the localities in which the troops should be assembled, of calculating their movements from thence upon various possible lines of operation, of arranging for the complete utilisation of railways for the conveyance of troops, of selecting positions and deciding on the ways in which they should be strengthened, of registering the transport of districts and allotting it to the different

parts composing the army, and of settling the points where permanent magazines, stores, and depôts should be placed.

There are passages in the extracts here given from the speeches of Ministers which I think all who, like myself, wish to see the existing Government fixed as strongly as possible in the esteem of the country, must regret. I mean those in which an intimation seems to be conveyed that the Ministry would prefer to be replaced by another rather than be required to consent to certain things to which it objects. This is not a time at which such hints should be lightly used. To those who honestly believe that the mode of setting about Imperial Defence indicated in this paper is essential to its complete success, it seems altogether beyond reason that they should have the alternative offered to them of the relinquishment of this mode on the one hand, or, on the other, the return of embodied mischief to power.

EDWARD HAMLEY.

II.

OUR ACTUAL MILITARY STRENGTH.

WE must go back for more than eighty years to find the public opinion of this country as much agitated on the subject of national defence as at the present time.

Sensational scenes in the usually calm arena of the House of Lords, resolutions with regard to Imperial defence moved by the First Lord of the Treasury in the Commons, the appointment of a commission of inquiry by the Government, and meetings in the City, have all lately indicated how deeply the national mind is moved. It is manifest that the Prime Minister would not have considered it necessary to animadvert strongly upon the speech made by Lord Wolseley at a private dinner unless it had been felt by the Government that the feeling of the country is strained, and that expressions such as those used by such an authority as Lord Wolseley must tend to increase the excitement, and could not, as in ordinary times, be ignored or disregarded. There can be no doubt that, technically, Lord Wolseley whilst holding the office of Adjutant-General of the Army was wrong in making the speech which he did at Sir John Pender's dinner in the presence of reporters. As Adjutant-General his representations should have been made to his official superiors, and through that channel to the Government; but Lord Wolseley erred through over-zeal for the good of his country in the same manner as Nelson erred when he turned his blind eye to the signal which forbade his fighting. Over-zeal for the country's good is an offence which Englishmen are not disposed to look upon with great severity. Whatever may have been Lord Wolseley's delinquency with respect to official etiquette, it cannot be denied that his speech at Sir John Pender's has done much good. It is amusing to find that the views put forward by Lord Wolseley before a commission eighteen months ago were calmly pigeonholed and drew little official attention, but that the same views advanced at Sir John Pender's dinner elicited within a few days from the Prime Minister a promise that a searching inquiry should be made into the state of the national defences. The tone in which the First Lord of the Treasury and the Secretary of State for War have lately proposed and supported resolutions to provide for the expense of Imperial defence was clearly

influenced by Lord Wolseley's speech and subsequent defence in the House of Lords. Nor is this surprising. Everybody knows that every Government which has held office in this country during the last fifteen years has been disinclined to appeal to the country for large funds with which to provide for Imperial defence because of the fear that extravagance would be charged against their party at ensuing elections.

Yet Lord Salisbury has little cause to be conscience-stricken. No Ministers of War have ever laboured more conscientiously and carefully to improve the army than Mr. W. H. Smith and Mr. Stanhope, and no Government ever showed such courage in resisting a demand for reduction of expenditure as did the present Cabinet of Lord Salisbury when it preferred to sacrifice its Chancellor of the Exchequer rather than consent to reductions which it considered ill advised. Greater offenders in this respect have been no doubt their political opponents. Mr. Gladstone and his supporters have frequently emphasised a somewhat reckless economy of administration as their great merit, and he himself went so far in 1873 as to endeavour to bribe the constituencies to return him to power by an offer of the abolition of the income tax, which could certainly not have been swept away so long as the navy and army were maintained on an adequate establishment. The Conservatives have been compelled, in the face of constant outcry of extravagance against them, to compete with their opponents in not demanding from the country those financial grants which professional men have frequently represented to be necessary for the safety of the Empire.

Yet ministers need not be so timid. They may be well assured that if the country is taken into their confidence, and sees clearly that even great pecuniary sacrifices are necessary for the safety or honour of the commonwealth, these sacrifices would be readily and cheerfully met. The present Government has done more than any other Government for nearly twenty years in improving the efficiency of our fortresses and our army; but the question to be solved is not whether the Government has comparatively done more or done better than its predecessors, but whether the means of national defence are sufficient to secure the safety of the United Kingdom and its colonies in case of war, and whether these are so efficient and so organised as to insure that this country should emerge from a European war successful and not humiliated, or possibly entirely ruined and not defeated.

To justly consider whether the present uneasiness of the public is due to panic or to real peril, it is necessary to estimate as far as possible the danger to which this country may be exposed in case of a serious conflict. This course does not seem always pursued. As a general rule it appears that those who are responsible for our defence begin at the wrong end, and instead of striving to bring our means up to our necessities, endeavour to reduce our requirements down

to the means which they have at hand. Should a war break out between the United Kingdom and a great European Power or an alliance of great Powers, we may undoubtedly in a few days be exposed to very grave dangers. Nor unless our organisation and resources are already developed can these dangers be readily averted. The Prime Minister in the House of Lords appeared, in answer to Lord Wolseley, to indicate that the Foreign Office would give us timely warning of possible danger. The Foreign Office might indeed give warning in time for an already organised army to be mobilised—for fortresses already provided with guns to be placed in a state of siege—for reserve troops to be called up, and for laid-up ships to be commissioned; but the Foreign Office can hardly be so prescient as to be able to indicate accurately what guns should be begun which take two years to construct, what ships should be commenced which need three years to build, and what soldiers should be drilled whom it requires from two to three years to make effective. Nor should Englishmen be harshly judged if they are tempted to be a little sceptical as to the infallible accuracy of Foreign Office information, since men of mature age can clearly remember how the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs once declared officially in the House of Lords, when the terrific struggle between France and Germany began in 1870, that a few hours previously the British Foreign Office believed 'there was not a cloud on the political horizon of Europe.'

So long as our Navy can sweep the seas, there is little danger of an invasion of this island. But the work that will have to be done by our Navy in case of war with a maritime Power must be enormous. The lines by which our commercial fleets travel over the seas must be watched and guarded. Swift cruisers will have to be blockaded in their own ports, or should they get out be followed and destroyed. The vast numbers of merchantmen required to bring food to the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland must be securely protected—our colonies and the telegraphic cables which connect them with London must be watched and secured. Our seaport towns, and also the seaport towns of our colonies, must be held safe from attack, and from heavy ransoms being levied upon them through threat of bombardment and pillage. Whether our Navy is competent to conduct all these and many other operations which would be needed in war, men who have studied our naval power with the full guidance of modern science are probably alone able to decide. Professional opinion seems adverse to the idea that our Navy is sufficient. Non-professional men can only reflect that more than three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the British Navy was engaged with an adequate foe, or has been obliged to put forth its strength to guard our shores—that our Navy and the navies of all other Powers have meanwhile been entirely revolutionised, and that we shall have to enter upon a maritime war with our chief reliance dependent upon

an absolutely unknown quantity. Unless the Navy can thoroughly sweep the ocean, a war must expose us to the possibility of invasion. If, indeed, the worst possible fate should befall the Navy, and our ships should be driven into port and there blockaded, while a hostile fleet could ride triumphant on the seas, an enemy who wished to reduce this country would have no urgent need to invade it. There is little more than six weeks' food for our whole population in our islands, except immediately after harvest. An enemy who had full command of the sea need only blockade our country, and in a few weeks we must yield to starvation as certainly as must a beleaguered city.

Although an enemy, in the event of driving our Navy completely off the seas, would not, from military reasons, be compelled to invade our island, a hostile democracy might soon grow weary of the slow process of blockade, and would cry aloud for a descent upon England and the occupation of London in order rapidly to bring the war to a brilliant conclusion. In such case an invasion would probably be undertaken. In the second place, even if our Navy were not defeated or driven off the seas, it might be either decoyed away from the Channel, or be obliged to detach largely to meet the enemy in other directions, and thus allow sufficient time for a dash into England to be made by the enemy's army. It is very doubtful whether public opinion would be content that a large fleet should be riding idly in the Channel when news was coming in of Queenstown being bombarded, Gibraltar attacked, Malta invested, Liverpool burnt, Glasgow ransacked, or Edinburgh reduced to ruins. The Channel fleet would be almost certainly expected to detach vessels to guard these places, and thus might very probably become numerically inferior to the enemy's fleet destined to secretly but speedily convoy an invading army. The prize offered by a successful occupation of London is enormous. An English Government might or might not conclude peace when the shipping in the Thames was ablaze—the Bank of England being pillaged. When foreign generals had their headquarters in Buckingham Palace and at Hampton Court, and when the able editors of the London press were being compelled by gendarmes with revolvers in hand to issue such intelligence to the country as these generals wished, and when the mob, except where kept down by the foreign soldiery, rose to plunder and to sack every respectable house within the metropolitan area, it would require some nerve on the part of an English Cabinet then to refuse to make peace, to decide to carry on the war, to order the volunteers and militia of the North to be hastily concentrated behind the Trent, and to make the northern counties the theatre of a new campaign.

To the ordinary Englishman such ideas seem exaggerated, if not impossible. He believes that foreign countries have been designed as theatres of war, but that England through some special blessing is never to be trodden by an invading foot. Yet there is little reason

why battles should not be fought on the Trent as much as on the Loire. The Channel could be easily crossed by an army if it were not for the Navy which guards the passage. If that Navy be inefficient or incompetent, the frontier of England lies almost as open to attack as the frontier of any other country. Should the Navy be defeated or decoyed away, should by any chance an invading army be landed upon these shores, what are our means for resisting its progress and preventing our conquest? I am not possessed of any official secrets, nor if I were so should I divulge them. But it requires no official knowledge for any traveller to Portsmouth to see that not a single gun is mounted on the Hillsea lines, it needs no official knowledge to know that these guns cannot be constructed and mounted under something like two years, and that the same is the case at Dover, Chatham, and Plymouth. It needs no official knowledge to learn that our great commercial ports, Aberdeen, the Forth, the Clyde, Belfast, Dublin, Newcastle, Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, and Cork, are practically uncovered, and that the Thames itself is little better protected. It requires no special revelation to be aware that the great bulk of our defensive force consists of volunteers and militia, who have neither organisation, equipment, magazine rifles, ammunition, commissariat, transport, hospital, nor camp kettles. If such is the state at home, the colonies and coaling stations, though provided for in the future, will be for two or three years equally vulnerable. Any traveller by steamer can see that the armament of Gibraltar is notoriously incomplete, and that Gibraltar could not for three days resist a serious attack when heavy artillery enfiladed its sea front from beyond the Spanish lines. At Malta the armament and garrison are totally inadequate for the fortifications. Everywhere our fortresses appear to be in the same condition. Common report tells that a scheme of national defence against the invasion of the United Kingdom is now being considered at the War Office. Hints of the same appear in the utterances of Ministers. If such a scheme is really being considered, the importance of fortresses such as Portsmouth, Plymouth, Dover, and Chatham, both as protections of dockyards and pivots for strategical operations, must be involved. But fortresses are useless without men to garrison them, and the first point which those who have to prepare the scheme of defence must consider is, whether we have men sufficient for our requirements in case of need.

We have indeed a fair number of soldiers provided by the army estimates. Exclusive of the troops in India, where there are nearly 74,000 men of all ranks, there are at home about 108,000 men of all ranks, and in the colonies nearly 32,000 men of all ranks, all of the regular troops. There are 50,500 men of the first class army reserve, 4,200 second class army reserve; militia effectives nearly 122,000, yeomanry 11,500, and volunteers 228,000; making

a total, exclusive of India and the colonies, of, in round numbers, 525,000 men. If we consider the infantry, which is the backbone of all armies, of these the regular infantry at home and in the colonies consists of about 73,000 men. Four-fifths of the first and second class army reserve may be considered as infantry, or about 45,000 men, about 110,000 men of the militia are infantry, and 170,000 of the volunteers, or in round numbers 400,000.

It is not difficult to conceive that in any general scheme for the defence of the United Kingdom, a force of about 60,000 infantry must be placed in Scotland to guard the Firths of the Clyde, the Forth, and the Tay, and the rich cities on the east coast, such as Aberdeen and Inverness. The fact of an invasion being possible would make it doubtful whether we could keep up communication with Ireland across the Irish Channel. Ireland would probably be isolated, and would have to depend upon her own exertions for the defence of Dublin, Cork, Belfast, and other cities and districts, so that a force of about 60,000 infantry would be requisite in Ireland. That able strategist, Sir Edward Hamley, writing in this Review, expressed his opinion last month that London, the heart of this country, could be defended by 60,000 infantry; but it must be allowed that Sir Edward Hamley has made a very moderate demand, for the circumference of London, on a curve traced from Shooter's Hill on the east and Richmond on the west, would be about 150 miles. The outlying fortresses of London, such as Chatham, Dover, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, would require 60,000 infantry. The district of which Plymouth and Devonport are the strategical centres would require 60,000, Bristol and the shores of the Bristol Channel 30,000, Liverpool and the valley of the Dee 40,000, the Yorkshire coast 30,000, Hull, Lincoln, and East Anglia 40,000, and it would be necessary to have a central reserve of at least 30,000 infantry. Thus 470,000, or, allowing for inefficients, at least 500,000, infantry at the very least are requisite for the effective defence of the country against invasion to hold fortresses and to manœuvre in the field against an enemy's army. To meet this demand of 500,000 infantry, we have, as seen above, only 400,000 men, and should require an addition in some form of 100,000 infantry. With armies composed largely of troops imperfectly trained in rapid manœuvres, a larger proportion of artillery would be requisite than is usually required, and instead of the usual proportion of three guns per 1,000, it would be desirable that there should be at least four guns per 1,000, so that about 2,000 field guns would be required for this force. At present we have in England, Scotland, and Ireland only 264 guns; and although endeavours are being made to arm some volunteer artillery corps with guns of position, these with untrained horses and drivers can never be expected to accompany marching columns or take part in manœuvres, but must be confined to previously selected lines. At

least 1,000 field guns are required to manœuvre, and of these at present there are only 264 available.

The cavalry required to accompany a force of infantry of the above dimensions would, according to the standard of modern continental armies, be about 100,000 horsemen; but as many of these infantry would be employed in fortresses or pivoted on fortresses, one-third that number, or about 30,000 men, would suffice. There are at home about 1,300 men of the household cavalry, and 11,500 cavalry of the line, with 11,500 yeomanry, to meet this demand; but it must be remembered that the yeomanry only receive on an average a week's training annually, and probably many of them are not able to go out. These calculations tend to show that in all three arms the force in this country is not sufficient for its defence, and that it ought to be augmented even as far as the men composing it are concerned.

When we turn to other points of consideration we find still more cause for anxiety. Armies composed of 500,000 infantry would require an attendant service in the way of ammunition and other columns of about 82,000 men with 55,500 horses and 8,165 waggons, to say nothing of the horses required to complete the cavalry and artillery. Endeavours are now being made by the Government to register horses throughout the country which may be available in time of war, but it must take a long time before any efficient system can be adopted which would allow such a large number of horses as are necessary to be collected within a few days. As to the commissariat waggons it is doubtful whether more than a few hundreds of these at most are ready, and it does not seem that any arrangements have been made as to whence waggons might be obtained from the country at large. Nor indeed does it seem that any definite plan has been drawn out as to the different areas of the country from which different corps are to draw their supplies of food, the places where they are to establish their hospitals, where they are to find their magazines, food, hospital stores and surgical instruments, nor in what magazines their ammunition is collected.

It seems clear, unless these conclusions are extremely faulty, that our defensive forces are in no way prepared either in numbers or organisation to meet a sudden call upon their services. Even if it be granted that all the men who are borne on the rolls might take the field, they are insufficient in numbers, in equipment, and in preparation; but to believe that such numbers as have been recapitulated above could actually take the field is manifestly absurd. From the regular infantry, which we have considered as 118,000, there must be deducted at least 10 per cent. for sick and untrained men, reducing the force to little over 100,000. From the militia it would not be safe to deduct less than 20 per cent. for men absent for training recruits and sick, and it cannot be calculated that more than one-third

of the volunteer force can be placed in the field without paralysing the trade and commerce of the country. Thus the total force of infantry as estimated above must be reduced to, in round numbers, 220,000 at the most. Nor is this all. The four fortresses alone of Malta, Gibraltar, Halifax, and Bermuda, would require nearly 20,000 men to complete their garrisons if they were likely to be exposed to serious attack, about 10,000 men would be required for the various coaling stations, and thus the total force of infantry available would certainly not be more than 190,000, and of these the great bulk would be militia and volunteers, excellent soldiers if time would allow, but unfit to cope with a continental army on the spur of the moment. Nor can it be believed that this country is safe even if the defensive means for guarding our own islands were perfect. The foundation of every true defence must be the power of offence. If an army on the defensive is unable to assume the offensive, the enemy, although repelled in a first attack, can fall back and at his leisure prepare for a second, third, or fourth attack. In the end the attack must break down the defence; and in order to bring the war to a successful issue it is necessary that the defender should be able to become the offender and carry his arms into his enemy's country. Had the Prussians and English after the repulse of Napoleon at Waterloo remained quiescent tenants of Hougoumont and La Belle Alliance, the fall of Napoleon would not have been effected and other campaigns would have been necessary, nor would Napoleon have been sent to St. Helena. Had the English from Spain and the allies from the valley of the Rhine not invaded France in 1814, but remained inactive in the defensive positions which they had successfully held, peace would not have been secured, and there would have been no abdication of Fontainebleau. Had the Prussians not invaded Austria in 1866 and carried their columns to the banks of the Danube, German unity would not have been established. Had the Germans not crossed the Rhine and marched into France in 1870, Paris would not have fallen, but it is very possible that Berlin might by this time have done so. Every page of military history shows that the power of assuming the offensive is a *sine quâ non* of a successful defence, and in order to assume the offensive an army must be competent to manœuvre in the field and to act with great rapidity and certainty.

All idea of offensive war may be abandoned unless there is a sure and trustworthy base of operations from which to wage it. Unless our country is perfectly secure of its own defence, we must relinquish all idea of offensive war, and therefore our home defence is in the first place of the most imperative necessity. It is clear, if the conclusions above arrived at are not grossly misleading, that neither in infantry, cavalry, nor artillery, are we numerically sufficiently strong, and that we must have an actual increase of the numbers of men before we can rest perfectly secure. Nor should we be deterred

from setting our house in order by dogmatic contradictions on the part of even so high an authority as the Lord Mayor of London, who is indeed a most worthy City magistrate, but has as yet hardly shown such skill in military life as would warrant the country to accept his dictum without question.

In the first place, however, no time should be lost in thoroughly organising the men who are at our disposal. Proper measures should be taken to arrange for their remounts, commissariat, their ammunition trains, their supplies of small arms, supplies of equipment, hospitals, surgical instruments, reserves, and camp equipage where needed. The very important question should be decided as to what pay is to be drawn by volunteers when called out. Many of these are employed in very lucrative businesses, and could hardly be expected to sacrifice their business or profession and serve in the ranks for a prolonged campaign at the rate of pay accorded at present to a private soldier in the line.

Organisation cannot be made effective without an expenditure of money. Doubtless some saving might possibly be made in the present cost of our army, but this saving would be infinitesimally small in comparison with the amount which must be expended to make the organisation of the whole of our defensive forces thoroughly complete. Nor must we hesitate to incur a greater proportionate expenditure than that of any continental country. There is a vital difference between our military administration and those of the Continent. On the Continent armies are levied and recruited by conscription. With us every soldier is a free volunteer. Probably indirectly, even if we largely increased our naval and military expenditure, we should still pay less by preserving voluntary enlistment than by adopting conscription. It is impossible to calculate what money loss is inflicted upon a continental country by the whole of its youth being withdrawn from civil life and immured in barrack squares for two or three of its best years; but so long as our army is recruited by voluntary enlistment its proportionate expenditure must be considerably greater than that of continental nations. Men who are recruited as volunteers must necessarily not only be better paid than conscripts, but the measures taken for their barrack accommodation, for their education, for their clothing, and for their feeding, must be more liberal than need be for a conscribed army. This is the vital difference between the cost of the British army and of those of the Continent, and nothing is more fallacious than to make comparisons between the two armies and to indulge any hopes that the cost of the British army man for man can ever be reduced to the level of that of continental armies so long as the British army is recruited by voluntary enlistment.

It is far from my wish in writing this article to do anything, if indeed one in so humble a position could do anything, to embarrass

the Government or to incite public opinion to urge upon the Ministry extravagance which when the apprehension of danger is past might militate against their supporters at future elections. On the contrary, although not a Conservative, I gladly and gratefully acknowledge and welcome all that the present Government has done to improve our military resources; but no Government can appeal to the country for a considerable financial enterprise with full assurance of its demands being granted, unless public opinion is already alive to the necessity of expenditure in the direction suggested. Hence it appears to be the duty of everyone, even in the most humble position, to endeavour, if he has the opportunity, to enlighten public opinion upon a very important subject to which he may have devoted anxious thought. Whether the conclusions which I have ventured to set forth be sound or stupid, they have at least not been crudely formed nor rashly enunciated.

H. M. HOZIER.

III.

A WORKABLE ADMIRALTY.

My previous paper in this Review (May 1888) called attention to the confusion existing at the Admiralty under the present system of administration, and among the suggestions made for remedying it were some for giving direct responsibility to members of the Board as at present constituted.

It is intended in the present article to enter more into detail, and submit a method by which that direct responsibility would be secured. Of the many schemes which have been proposed, the one apparently most workable, and which would provide the greatest economy with the greatest efficiency, is that proposed by Mr. McHardy (an official at the Admiralty), which is incorporated in the following remarks.

Theoretically, the First Lord is responsible to the House of Commons for everything connected with the Navy; but, practically, there is no such responsibility, for the First Lord is often a Peer, when his responsibility to the House of Commons has to be delegated to the Parliamentary Secretary; and it is well known that the Minister who undertakes the duty of First Lord of the Admiralty cannot himself have (as a rule) any knowledge or experience in regard to many of the more important questions that arise, such as the designs for ships, the management of the dockyards, &c., but must be dependent on his assistants. This inevitable dependence necessarily renders it most essential that the public should know which of his assistants or advisers are responsible for the respective departments.

In the case of the Admiralty this has never been known to the public; these assistants consisting not of individuals known to the House of Commons as responsible for certain duties or departments, but of a number of gentlemen whose individuality is merged in what is called a Board.

Recent evidence has shown that it is impossible to define what is meant by the phrase, the Board of Admiralty, and equally impossible for any one to fix responsibility either on it as a whole or upon any individual member of it.

The first essential is to abolish this *fiction* of a board, and in its

place to give the First Lord of the Admiralty three chief officers, each of whom would be individually and actually responsible to him and to the nation for their respective departments. The First Lord should be able to call on these officers, or upon any others serving under them as heads of departments, to meet in consultation and settle matters in which their duties might be concerned, and by this means every matter connected with the Fleet which required reform would be ventilated, but individual responsibility would be directly and entirely maintained, and the irresponsibility of the present system of governing by the fiction of a board would disappear. The suggestion could be carried out as follows: Instead of the officials being called a board, they might be denominated—

The Controller-General for the Personnel,
The Controller-General for the Matériel,
The Parliamentary Secretary for the Finance.

The Admiralty would thus be divided into three departments, each under a responsible head. These three officers, at the head respectively of one or other of the tripartite divisions should (with the exception of the Parliamentary Secretary) not change with the Ministry, but should be appointed for a period of three or five years. Each of them should have a deputy, who would be a permanent official, and would be empowered to deal with certain questions, to act for his chief during his absence, and in the intervals of change of office to keep up the continuity of the business.

Each of these three great departments would be further subdivided into sections under a responsible head, who should make to his chief an annual report in regard to the state of the duties under his charge—the work done during the past and that proposed for the ensuing twelve months, accompanied by a financial report, showing the expenditure of the past year compared with the amount voted and the estimated amount required for the ensuing twelve months.

These reports and estimates from the several officers of each of the three great departments should be collated by the head of the department, and be forwarded with his remarks to the First Lord, who should then write his decision thereon as to the money that Parliament is to be asked to vote for the Navy for the ensuing year; these reports, with the decision thereon, being printed and laid before Parliament with the Navy estimates.

The form of the Navy estimates (and consequently of the appropriation account) should be thoroughly revised and rearranged to correspond in the main with the division of the duties indicated above. The form of the Navy estimates is one of the principal defects in the whole present system, or rather absence of system, although great credit must be given to the existing Board for the marked im-

provement in the manner of presenting them to Parliament, which is a step in the right direction.

The House of Commons and the nation have been in the habit of accepting the Navy estimates as the amounts which my Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral consider sufficient for maintaining the efficiency of the Navy, or for bringing the Navy up to a state of efficiency within a reasonable period; but in reality this is very far from the true state of the case. Probably in no period since the Crimean War has the amount which Parliament has been asked to vote for the Navy been that which the Board of Admiralty or even the First Lord has thought sufficient.

If the proposed estimates for naval defence had been based on the sound business principle of first finding out accurately what was *necessary* for that defence under certain possible contingencies, there would not have been the panic, scares, and wicked extravagance always observable in this country when warlike operations appear imminent.

No matter whether Liberals or Conservatives are in office, in the matter here complained of one is as bad as the other, and both sides being delinquents alike it is not always convenient for an ex-First Lord of the Admiralty to too closely criticise his successor, who could retort on him as to his actions when he was in office. Hence has arisen the necessity for much closer criticism by the independent members of the House, for which purpose they should be furnished with such information as would enable them readily to form a judgment.

One result of this would be an irresistible demand for greater economy in the administration of the public money; and an immense benefit would result from placing before Parliament in a more intelligible, practical, and business-like shape information in regard to the state of the Navy, its estimated requirements, and the reasons for those estimates, as well as the past expenditure in all its details.

Information should be furnished periodically to the Assistant Secretary for Finance, prepared by the Finance Department in the clearest and most concise form practicable, showing for each vote, and for all the votes in the aggregate, the results up to date, and the expected results at the close of the year. Such information should be accompanied by the statements in detail on which it is based, furnished by the head of each department for his own particular votes, which he should himself obtain from the responsible heads of the section of duties under his charge.

The head of each section administering a vote must be held directly responsible to his chief, and to the Parliamentary Secretary, for so regulating liabilities as to prevent a deficit arising at the close of the year, so far as is consistent with the requirements of

the service, and also for giving his chief timely notice when circumstances arise likely to result in either a surplus or deficit. For this purpose he must keep the necessary records of all liabilities incurred under that vote, and abstract the same, monthly, for the information of the Director of Accounts and the Assistant Secretary for Finance. The shape in which the information is to be furnished for each vote must in some measure depend on the nature of the vote in question.

The function of the Director of Finance Accounts would be to tabulate the result (not the detail) of each vote, and to place the accounts of these results before the Assistant Secretary for Finance, in such a concise and clear shape as shall show at a glance the state of each vote, as well as of all the votes in the aggregate.

One of the great evils at the Admiralty and the cause of irresponsibility is the number of persons through whom a subject must pass before a decision is arrived at, and this arises from a want of system in the arrangement of the duties of the several officers.

The division of the clerical staff and their work into branches should be rearranged to correspond precisely with the division of the subjects among the officers who direct the duties.

The table on the next page shows an outline of what would be the distribution of the duties and staff at the Admiralty if it were organised in the manner indicated in the foregoing remarks.

The object of the scheme is—

(a) To secure the direct and individual responsibility of the three heads of the Admiralty divisions to the First Lord and to Parliament.

(b) To remodel the clerical staff of the Admiralty by means of an entire redistribution and requalification of its members, by which (as shown in the table on p. 814) efficient work will be secured with a very considerable reduction of expenditure; naval officers to be employed where practicable.

(c) To enable the head of each department to call upon the whole or any individual member of the staff under his direction to meet him in his room, or in the council room, to confer with him, or give him the information he requires.

(d) The Controller-General of the Personnel should also have the power of calling on the other two heads of departments to meet him for the same objects. It is to be distinctly understood that the heads of these departments, though calling on their subordinates for opinions and discussions, and for reports to them, are to be alone wholly and distinctly responsible for the acts of their departments.

(e) The votes in the estimates to be arranged to correspond with the duties of the persons in charge.

Each of the three departments to have a secretary, who is to sign

FIRST LORD.

PERSONNEL.	FINANCE.	MATÉRIEL.
Controller-General of (Admiral). Assistant Secretary (Naval).	Parliamentary Sec. (Civilian M.P.). Assistant Secretary (Civilian).	Controller-General of (Admiral). Assistant Secretary (Civilian).

CONTROLLER-GENERAL OF PERSONNEL OF THE NAVY. (ADMIRAL.)
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR PERSONNEL. (NAVAL OFFICER.)

Fleet in Commission.	Nil.	Director of Ships in Commission. (Admiral or Naval Officer.)
Naval Staff.	Vote 1, Sec. 1. £ 4,075,621	Director of the Staff. (Admiral or Naval Officer.)
Reserves and Coastguard.	Vote 1, Sec. 2. £ 429,302	Director of Reserves. (Admiral or Naval Officer.)
Marines.	Vote 1, Sec. 3. £ 631,752	Deputy Adjutant-General. (General of Marines.)
Victuals and Clothing.	Vote 2. £ 956,400	Director of Victualling. (Civil Officer.)
Medical.	Vote 3. £ 119,500	Medical Director. (Surgeon-General.)
Hydrographer.	Vote 4.	Hydrographer. (Captain R.N.)
Intelligence.	Nil.	Director of Intelligence. (Admiral.)
Transport.	Army Vote.	Director of Transports, (Admiral or Naval Officer.)
Church Service and Education.	Nil.	Chaplain of the Fleet.

PARLIAMENTARY SECRETARY. (CIVILIAN.)
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR FINANCE. (CIVILIAN.)

Contracts for Stores.	Nil.	Director of Contracts. (Civil Officer.)
Contracts for Works.	Nil.	Director of Works. (R.E.)
Payments.	Nil.	Director of Cash. (Civil Officer.)
Accounts.	Nil.	Director of Finance Accounts. (Civil Officer.)
Greenwich.	Nil.	Director of Greenwich Funds. (Civil Officer.)
Civil Staff.	Vote 7. £ 268,825	Director of Civil Appointments. (Civil Officer.)

CONTROLLER-GENERAL OF MATÉRIEL. (ADMIRAL.)
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MATÉRIEL. (CIVILIAN.)

Ordnance.	Vote 5. £ 1,183,500	Director of Naval Ordnance. (Captain R.N.)
Ships.	Vote 6, Sec. 1. £ 680,000	Director of Construction. (Naval Architect.)
Engines.	Vote 6, Sec. 2. £ 790,000	Director of Engineering. (Naval Engineer.)
Dockyards.	Vote 6, Sec. 3. £ 2,279,000	Director of Dockyards. (Naval Architect.)
Stores.	Vote 6, Sec. 4. £ 923,000	Director of Stores. (Civil Officer.)
Dockyards Expense Accounts.	Nil.	Director of Yard Accounts. (Civil Officer.)

REARRANGEMENT OF OFFICERS.

AT PRESENT		PROPOSED		Difference in Cost per Annum	
Title	Salary	Title	Salary	Increase	Decrease
First Lord	£ 4,500	First Lord	£ 4,500	—	—
Parliamentary Secretary	2,000	Parliamentary Secretary	2,000	—	—
Permanent Secretary	2,000	Assistant Secretary, Finance	1,500	500	—
Assistant Secretary	1,200	Assistant Secretary, Personnel	1,000	200	—
Controller's Secretary	500	Assistant Secretary, Matériel	1,000	500	—
First Naval Lord	1,500	Controller for Personnel	1,500	—	—
Second Naval Lord	1,500	Controller for Matériel	1,500	—	—
Third Naval Lord	1,200	Director of Fleet	1,000	200	—
Junior Naval Lord	1,200	Director of Naval Staff	1,000	200	—
Civil Lord	1,000	Director of Reserves	—	1,000	—
Admiral Superintendent of Reserves	—	Director of Marines	1,000	—	—
Deputy Adjutant-General	1,500	Director of Victualling	1,000	200	—
Director of Victualling	800	Director of Medicine	1,000	300	—
Medical Director-General	1,300	Director of Hydrography	1,000	—	—
Hydrographer	1,000	Director of Intelligence	1,000	—	—
Director of Intelligence	1,000	Director of Transports	1,000	182	—
Director of Transports	1,000	Chaplain of the Fleet	No change	—	—
Chaplain of the Fleet	No	Director of Contracts	1,000	—	—
Director of Contracts	1,000	Director of Works	1,000	300	—
Director of Works	1,500	Director of Cash	1,000	1,500	—
Accountant-General	1,500	Director of Accounts	1,000	—	—
Deputy Accountant-General	1,200	Director of Greenwiche	1,000	200	—
Assistant Accountant-General	1,000	Director of Ordnance	1,000	—	—
Assistant Accountant-General	1,000	Director of Construction	1,500	—	—
Assistant Accountant-General	1,000	Director of Engineering	1,000	—	—
Director of Greenwiche	1,000	Director of Dockyards	1,500	200	—
Director of Ordnance	1,000	Director of Stores	1,000	200	—
Director of Construction	1,500	Director of Expense Accounts	1,000	100	—
Engineer-in-Chief	1,000				
Director of Dockyards	1,500				
Director of Stores	800				
Director of Expense Accounts	800				
				1,382	6,400
				—	1,382
				—	Say £ 5,000 decrease.

CLERICAL STAFF.

AT PRESENT		PROPOSED		
Title	Salary	Title	Salary	Decrease
	£		£	£
First Lord's Private Officers	No change	First Lord's Private Officers	No change	—
Secretaries to Lords	2,500	Secretaries to Lords and Officers	600	1,900
Military Branch	3,000	Fleet Branch	2,000	1,000
Naval Branch	4,000	Naval Branch	2,000	2,000
Legal Branch	2,500	—	—	2,500
Civil Branch	2,500	Secretaries' Branch	1,000	1,500
Record Office	6,000	Record Office and Copying	5,000	1,000
Registry				
Copying				
			Decrease	9,900
		Brought forward	„	5,000
		Total saving		14,900

all letters going out; and who, therefore, must have complete knowledge of all that is passing in the department. It will be part of his duty to see that such a thorough intercommunication as is indispensable shall take place between the several sections into which the department is divided.

(f) All heads of departments to have authority to incur a liability not exceeding 500*l.*, whether provided or not provided for in the estimates, otherwise they are strictly limited to expenditure authorised by the votes.

The subordinates and Secretary to the Controller-General of the Personnel are, it will be seen, principally naval officers, and may be either admirals or captains, according to the supply of competent officers of the respective ranks. It is probably of some importance that the admiral in charge of the Personnel should hold his appointment for five years, as the head of the Matériel Department held his for that term. The period of service for which other naval officers should hold their appointments is a matter for consideration.

It is believed there is a scheme at the Admiralty under consideration at the present time, by which considerable reductions are admitted to be practicable in the other clerical branches, so that it is not necessary to allude to them on this occasion.

It will be observed in the rearrangement of offices list that there is a saving of about 15,000*l.*, but this amount would be somewhat reduced by the compulsory abolition of some of the offices and the pensioning of the present holders. The question of pensioning cannot be avoided under any scheme of reorganisation, for the pensions which will become due now and at future dates were part of a contract entered into between our ancestors and the persons employed. As time goes on the salary rises, and owing to that fact when the privilege of pension falls due it is naturally higher than it

would be now. It would therefore be cheaper to the country to pay the pensions due now, which would be less than the sum to be paid by retaining the services of those whose offices it is proposed to abolish. This is only an outline of a scheme the purpose of which has already been described, and is of course liable to alterations and expansions, but it is presented here as a guide to such reforms as will produce direct responsibility, economy, and efficiency, all of which have heretofore been signally wanting.

CHARLES BERESFORD,

Captain Royal Navy.

THE COMING REIGN OF PLENTY.

THE industrial and commercial history of the world during the last thirty years has been a history of decentralisation of industry ; and decentralisation has gone so far that it is no longer possible for any nation to maintain the monopoly of supplying the others with manufactured goods, and thus to remain the chief manufacturer of the world. The rapid intercourse of men, knowledge, and ideas, so characteristic of the times we live in, has rendered it an anachronism. Those nations which formerly relied chiefly on agriculture have learned the industrial arts ; they begin to manufacture themselves ; and the pioneers of industry who used to draw up their wealth from the profits realised on the sale of manufactured produce discover that their old markets are fully supplied with home-made goods ; while in the new markets which are opened from time to time by colonial wars, they meet with new-comers, eager to have also their share of the poor profits which can be still extorted from nations and tribes remaining at a low stage of industrial development. Such were the conclusions arrived at in a preceding article.¹

The phenomenon which we have to deal with is not a mere shifting of the centre of gravity of commerce, such as Europe has witnessed in the past, when the commercial hegemony migrated from Italy to Spain, to Holland, and finally to Britain : it has a much deeper meaning, as it excludes the very possibility of commercial or industrial hegemony. It shows the growth of quite new conditions, and new conditions require new adaptations. To endeavour to revive the past would be useless : a new departure must be taken by civilised nations. Of course, there will be plenty of voices to argue that the former supremacy of the pioneers must be maintained at any price : all pioneers used to say so. It will be suggested that the pioneers must attain such a superiority of technical knowledge and organisation as to enable them to beat all their younger competitors ; that force must be resorted to, if necessary. But force is reciprocal ; and if the god of war always sides with the strongest battalions, those battalions are strongest which fight for new rights, against outgrown privileges. As to the honest longing for more technical education—surely let us all have as much of it as

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, April 1888.

possible: it will be a boon for humanity; for humanity, of course—not for a single nation, because knowledge cannot be cultivated for home use only. Knowledge and invention, boldness of thought and enterprise, conquests of genius and improvements of social organisation have become international growths; and no kind of progress—intellectual, industrial, or social—can be kept within political boundaries; it crosses the seas, it pierces the mountains; steppes are no obstacle to it. Knowledge and inventive powers are now so thoroughly international that if a simple newspaper paragraph announces to-morrow that the problem of storing force, of printing without inking, or of aerial navigation, has received a practical solution in this country or elsewhere, we may feel sure that within a few weeks the same problem will be solved, almost in the same way, by a score of inventors of all nationalities. Continually we learn that the same scientific discovery, or technical invention, has been made within a few days' distance, in countries thousand miles apart; as if there were a kind of atmosphere which favours the germination of a given idea at a given moment. And such an atmosphere exists: steam, print, and the common stock of knowledge have created it. Those who dream of monopolising technical genius are therefore fifty years behind the times; they are dreamers, like Napoleon the Third, who fancied he could destroy the German armies by keeping secret his *mitrailleuses*, but saw the Germans also come with *mitrailleuses*—of Russian invention and American make—and something more powerful than mechanical guns: new military tactics. The world—the wide wide world—is now the true domain of knowledge; and if each nation displays some special capacities in some special branch, the various capacities of different nations compensate one another, and the advantages which could be derived from them would be only temporary. The fine British workmanship in mechanical arts, the Yankee boldness for gigantic enterprise, the French systematic mind, and the German pedagogy, are becoming international capacities. William Armstrong in his Italian workshop communicates to Italians those capacities for managing huge iron masses which have been nurtured on the Tyne; the uproarious Yankee spirit of enterprise pervades the Old World; the French taste for harmony becomes European taste; and German pedagogy—improved, I dare say—is at home in Russia. So, instead of trying to keep life in the old channels, it would be better to see what the new conditions are, what duties they impose on our generation.

The characters of the new conditions are plain, and their consequences are easy to understand. As the manufacturing nations of West Europe are meeting with steadily growing difficulties in selling their manufactured goods abroad, and getting food in exchange, they will be compelled to grow their food at home; they will be bound to rely on home customers for their manufactures, and on home pro-

ducers for their food. And the sooner they do so the better. The necessity of the new adaptation is already felt badly enough, but it would have been felt still worse were it not for the relief which came unexpectedly from the prairies of America, India, and Russia, which were brought within an easy reach from the West European cities by a sudden extension of the railway nets. Were it not for that relief, the pinch of the present industrial crisis would have been felt still more severely. We see, indeed, that even now, notwithstanding the suddenly increased facilities for imports and an almost unprecedented cheapness of the chief articles of food, the United Kingdom has been compelled during the last two years considerably to reduce its consumption of wheat, rice, potatoes, bacon, butter, and so on.² But the relief which came from America and India, and which permitted us to have cheaper food precisely when the exports realised the lowest prices, was but temporary: it cannot last, as will be seen further on. And, like all temporary reliefs, it brought about a new set of disturbances which accelerated and enforced the action of general causes; it made European agriculture suffer and deprived the European manufacturers of millions of home customers. It aggravated the industrial crisis. So that a fact which, at first sight, seemed to tell in favour of imported food, becomes an argument in the other direction.

Two great objections stand, however, in the way against the general acceptance of the above conclusions. We have been taught, both by economists and politicians, that the territories of the West European States are so overcrowded with inhabitants that they cannot grow all the food and raw produce which are necessary for the maintenance of their steadily increasing populations. Therefore the necessity of exporting manufactured ware, and of importing food. And we are told, moreover, that even if it were possible to grow in Western Europe all the food necessary for its inhabitants, there would be no advantage in doing so, as long as the same food can be had cheaper from abroad. Such are the present teachings and the ideas which are current in society at large. And yet, it is easy to prove that both are totally erroneous: the territories of Western Europe could grow plenty of food for much more than their present populations, and an immense benefit would be derived from doing precisely so. These are the two points which I have now to discuss, so far as it is possible in the narrow limits of a review article.

To begin by taking the most disadvantageous case: is it possible that the soil of the United Kingdom, which at present yields food for one-half only of its inhabitants, could provide all the necessary amount and variety of food for 35,000,000 human beings

² By from 12 to 20 per cent., as compared with the year 1880. See J. B. Lawes, 'The Wheat Crop of 1887,' in the *Times*, October 17, 1887; also *The Financial Reform Almanack* for 1888, p. 9.

when it covers only 78,000,000 acres, all told—forests and rocks, marshes and peat-bogs, cities, railways, and fields? The current opinion is, that it by no means can; and that opinion is so inveterate that we even see a scientist, like Mr. Huxley, who is always so cautious when dealing with current opinions in science, endorse that opinion without even taking the trouble of verifying it. It is accepted as an axiom. And yet, as soon as we try to find out any argument in its favour, we discover that it has not the slightest foundation, either in facts, or in judgment upon well-known facts.

Let us take, for instance, J. B. Lawes's estimates of crops which are published every year in the *Times*. In his last estimate, of the 17th of October, 1887, we may read that during the eight harvest years 1853–1860, 'nearly three-fourths of the aggregate amount of wheat consumed in the United Kingdom was of home growth, and little more than one-fourth was derived from foreign sources;' but at present the figures are almost reversed, that is, 'during the eight years 1879–1886, little more than one-third has been provided by home crops and nearly two-thirds by imports.' But neither the increase of population by 8,000,000 nor the increase of consumption of wheat (by six-tenths of a bushel per head) account for the change. Thirty years ago the soil of Britain nourished one inhabitant on every two acres cultivated: why does it require now three acres in order to nourish the same inhabitant? The answer is plain: merely and simply because agriculture has fallen into neglect during the last thirty years. In fact, the area under wheat has been reduced since 1853–60 by full 1,590,000 acres, and therefore the average crop of the last four years was below the average crop of 1853–60 by more than 40,000,000 bushels; and this deficit alone represents the food of more than *seven million inhabitants*. At the same time the area under barley, oats, beans, and other spring crops has also been reduced by further 560,000 acres, which at the low average of thirty bushels per acre would represent the cereals necessary to complete the above for the same 7,000,000 inhabitants. And so we can say that if the United Kingdom imports cereals for 17,000,000 inhabitants instead of 10,000,000, it is simply because more than 2,000,000 acres have gone out of cultivation.³ But the same decrease is seen under the heads of green crops and the like. The area under potatoes has been reduced by 280,000 acres; under turnips by 180,000 acres; and although there is an increase under the heads of mangold, carrots, etc., still the aggregate area under all these crops

³ Average area under wheat in 1853–60, 4,092,160 acres; average crop, 14,310,779 quarters. Average area under crop in 1884–87, 2,509,055 acres; average crop (good years), 9,198,956 quarters. See Professor W. Fream's *Rothamstead Experiments* (London, 1888), page 83. I take, in the above, Sir John Lawes' figure of 5.65 bushels per head of population every year. It is very close to the yearly allowance of 5.67 bushels of the French statisticians. The Russian statisticians reckon 5.67 bushels of winter crops (chiefly rye) and 2.5 bushels of spring crops (sarrazin, barley, &c.).

has been reduced by a further 330,000 acres, and under flax by 140,000 acres. An increase of area is found only for permanent pasture (2,800,000 acres) and grass under rotation (1,600,000 acres); but we should look in vain for a corresponding increase of live-stock.⁴

In short, it is not the increase of population nor its increased consumption which has upset the relative importance of home-grown and imported wheat and cereals altogether. It is chiefly the desertion, the abandonment of agriculture. Each crop requiring human labour has had its area reduced; and one-third of the agricultural labourers have been sent away since 1861 to reinforce the ranks of the unemployed in the cities,⁵ so that, far from being overpopulated, the fields of Britain are *starved of human labour*, as James Caird used to say. The British nation does not work on her soil; she is prevented from doing so; and the would-be economists complain that the soil will not nourish its inhabitants! *Tel seigneur, telle terre* would be the answer of the French peasants.

I once took a knapsack and went on foot out of London, through Sussex. I had read Léonce de Lavergne's work and expected to find a soil busily cultivated; but neither under London, nor still less further South, did I see men in the fields. In the Weald I could walk for twenty miles without crossing anything but moors, rented as pheasant-shooting grounds to 'London gentlemen,' as the labourers said. 'Ungrateful soil' was my first thought; but then I would occasionally come to a farm at the crossing of two roads and see the same soil bearing a rich crop; and my next thought was, *Tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut la terre*. Later on I saw the rich fields of the midland counties; and even there I was struck by not perceiving the same busy human labour which I was accustomed to admire on the Belgian and French fields. But I ceased to wonder when I learnt that only 1,383,000 men and women in England and Wales are working in the fields, while more than 16,000,000 belong to the 'professional, domestic, indefinite, and unproductive class,' as these pitiless statisticians say. 1,400,000 human beings cannot productively cultivate an area of 37,000,000 acres, unless they resort to the Bonanza farm's methods of culture. And now again, taking Harrow as the centre of my excursions, I may walk five miles towards London, or turning the back to it, east or west, and I shall see nothing but meadow land on which they hardly crop two tons of hay per acre—scarcely enough to keep alive one milch cow on each two or three

⁴ There is an increase of 1,800,000 head of horned cattle, and a decrease of 4½ million sheep (6¾ millions, if we compare the year 1886 with 1863), which would correspond to an increase of 1½ million of units of cattle, because eight sheep are reckoned as equivalent to one head of horned cattle. But, five million acres having been reclaimed upon waste land since 1860, the above increase should hardly do for covering that area, so that the 2¼ million acres which are cultivated no longer remain fully uncovered. They are a pure loss to the nation.

⁵ Agricultural labourers: 2,100,000 in 1861; 1,383,000 in 1884.

acres. Man is conspicuous by his absence from those meadows ; he rolls them with a heavy roller in the spring ; he spreads some manure every two or three years ; then he disappears until the time has come to crop. And that within ten miles from Charing Cross, close to a city with 5,000,000 inhabitants supplied with Flemish and Jersey potatoes, French salads and Canadian apples. In the hands of the Paris gardeners, each thousand acres situated within the same distance from the city would be cultivated by at least 2,000 human beings, who would get vegetables to the value of from 50*l.* to 300*l.* per acre. But here the acres which only need human hands to become an inexhaustible source of golden crops, lie idle, and they say to us, ' Heavy clay ! ' without even knowing that in the hands of man there are no unfertile soils ; that the most fertile soils are not in the prairies of America, nor in the Russian steppes ; that they are in the peat-bogs of Ireland, on the sand downs of the Northern sea coast, on the craggy mountains of the Rhine, where they have been made by man's hands.

It will be said, of course, that the above opinion strangely contrasts with the well-known superiority of British agriculture. Do we not know, indeed, that British crops average twenty-eight bushels of wheat per acre, while in France they reach only fifteen bushels ? Does it not stand in all almanacks that Britain gets every year 175,000,000*l.* sterling worth of animal produce—milk, cheese, meat and wool—from her fields ? All that is true, and there is no doubt that in many respects British agriculture is superior to that of many other nations. As regards obtaining the greatest amount of produce with the least amount of labour, Britain undoubtedly took the lead until she was superseded by America. Again, as regards the fine breeds of cattle, the splendid state of the meadows and the results obtained in separate farms, there is much to be learned from Britain. But a closer acquaintance with British agriculture also discloses many features of inferiority. However splendid, a meadow remains a meadow, much inferior in productivity to a cornfield ; and the fine breeds of cattle appear to be poor creatures as long as each ox requires three acres of land to be fed upon. Certainly one may indulge in some admiration at the average twenty-eight bushels grown in this country ; but when we learn that only 2,500,000 acres, out of the cultivated 50,000,000, bear such crops, we are quite disappointed. Any one could obtain like results if he were to put all his manure into one-twentieth part of the area which he cultivates. Again, the twenty-eight bushels no longer appear to us so satisfactory when we learn that without any manuring, merely by means of a good culture, they have obtained at Rothamstead an average of fourteen bushels per acre from the same plot of land for forty consecutive years⁶ ; while with manuring they obtain

⁶ *The Rothamstead Experiments*, 1888, by Professor W. Fream, p. 35 seq.

thirty-eight bushels, instead of twenty-eight, and under the allotment system the crops reach forty, fifty, and occasionally fifty-seven bushels per acre.

As to the comparison with France, it is of no value, because France carries on both systems of culture, extensive and intensive, and where intensive culture (with heavy manuring) is resorted to, as in the North and Ile de France, the results are the same as in this country.⁷ Besides, France grows her average fifteen bushels on an area which covers one-fifth of the cultivated area and almost one-seventh of the aggregate territory; and her net imports of cereals and flour make only about one-twentieth part of her annual consumption, and only occasionally reach one-tenth. So that France nourishes from 170 to 178 inhabitants per square mile, while this country provides with home-grown food only 145 out of the 290 persons who inhabit each square mile of her territory; and when we take into account the inferior food of the Irish, and the Scotch highlanders, and the paupers, we cannot say that the average food of the French is inferior to the average food in this country. But, as already said, we must not compare extensive agriculture with intensive; if we intend to make a fair comparison we must take another country of intensive culture—for instance, Belgium; and there the comparison will be not in favour of these islands.

Belgium also grows an average of $27\frac{8}{10}$ bushels of wheat per acre; but her wheat area is relatively twice as large as that of the United Kingdom: it covers one-eleventh part of the cultivated area, one-twelfth of the aggregate territory. Besides, Belgium cultivates on a larger scale industrial plants, and although she keeps the same amount of cattle on the acre as the United Kingdom, her aggregate crops of cereals are five times larger with regard to the cultivated area, and seven times larger with regard to the aggregate territory.⁸ As to those who will not fail to say that the soil of Belgium is cer-

⁷ That is, thirty-one to thirty-three bushels on the average; forty bushels in good farms, and fifty in the best. The area under wheat is 17,500,000 acres; the cultivated area, 95,000,000 acres; and the aggregate superficies of France, 132,000,000 acres. Compare Lecouteux, *Le blé, sa culture extensive et intensive*, 1883; Risler, *Physiologi et culture du blé*, 1886; Boitet, *Herbages et prairies naturelles*, 1885; Baudrillart, *Les populations agricoles de la Normandie*, 1800; Grandeau, *La production agricole en France*; Léonce de Lavergne's last edition.

⁸ Reckoning ten sheep as equivalent to one horned beast, we find that Belgium has thirty-three units of cattle per cultivated acre, and thirty units per acre of territory. The respective figures for the United Kingdom are thirty-two and twenty. Belgium grows 6,800,000 quarters of cereals, of which 3,300,000 are wheat; so that the average is $7\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per cultivated acre, and $6\frac{8}{10}$ bushels per acre of territory; while the respective figures for the United Kingdom are $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel per cultivated acre, and less than one bushel per acre of territory. The net imports (exports excluded) of cereals of all kinds into Belgium reached, last year, 3,650,000 quarters, *i.e.* about one-third of the consumption. But Belgium exported spirit, live stock (1,385,000*l.*), eggs, butter, potatoes, poultry and rabbits (1,360,000*l.* to Britain alone), sugar chiefly made of home-grown beetroot (1,220,000*l.*), raw wool and hides (5,560,000*l.*); and so on.

tainly more fertile than that of this country, let me answer, in the words of Laveleye, that 'only one-half, or less, of the territory offers natural conditions which are favourable for agriculture;' the other half consists of a gravelly soil, or sands, 'the natural sterility of which could be overpowered only by heavy manuring.' Man—not Nature—has given to the Belgian soil its present productivity. With this soil, and labour, Belgium succeeds in supplying nearly all the food of a population which is denser than that of England and Wales, and numbers 514 inhabitants to the square mile. If the exports of agricultural produce from Belgium be taken into account, we can say that Laveleye's figures are still good, and that only one inhabitant out of each twenty requires imported food. But even if we double his figures, we still find that the soil of Belgium supplies with home-grown food no less than *four hundred and sixty inhabitants per square mile*. And Belgium is, moreover, a manufacturing country which exports home-made goods to the value of 64s. per head of population (I take Neumann Spellart's figures). As to separate parts of the Belgian territory, the small and naturally unfertile province of West Flanders not only grows the food of its 580 inhabitants on the square mile, but exports agricultural produce to the value of 25s. per head of population. And yet no one can read Laveleye's masterly work without coming to the conclusion that the Flemish agriculture would have realised still better results were it not hampered in its growth by the steady and heavy increase of rent. In face of the rent being increased each nine years, most of the farmers have abstained from further improvements.

I might quote like examples from elsewhere, especially from Lombardy, without even going as far as China. But the above will be enough to caution the reader against hasty conclusions as to the impossibility of feeding 35,000,000 people from 78,000,000 acres. They also will enable me to draw the following conclusions: (1) If the soil of the United Kingdom were cultivated only as it *was* thirty years ago, 24,000,000 people, instead of 17,000,000, could live on home-grown food; and that culture, while giving occupation to, at least, 750,000 men, would give nearly 3,000,000 wealthy home-customers to the British manufactures. (2) If the 1,590,000 acres on which wheat was grown thirty years ago—only these, and not more—were cultivated as the fields are cultivated now in England under the allotment system, which gives on the average forty bushels per acre, the United Kingdom would grow food for 27,000,000 inhabitants out of 35,000,000. (3) If the now cultivated area of the United Kingdom (80,000 square miles) were cultivated as the soil is cultivated *on the average* in Belgium, the United Kingdom would have food for 37,000,000 inhabitants; and it might export agricultural produce, without ceasing to manufacture so as freely to supply all the needs of a wealthy population. And

finally (4), if the population of this country came to be doubled, all that would be required for producing the food for 70,000,000 inhabitants would be to cultivate the soil as it is cultivated in the best farms of this country, in Lombardy, and in Flanders, and to cultivate the meadows which at present lie almost unproductive around the big cities in the same way as the neighbourhoods of Paris are cultivated by the Paris *marais*. All these are not fancy dreams, but mere realities; nothing but modest conclusions from what we see round about us, without any allusion to the agriculture of the future.

If we want, however, to know what agriculture can be, and what can be grown on a given amount of soil, we must apply for information to the market-gardening culture in this country, in the neighbourhoods of Paris, Amiens, and other large cities, and in Holland. There we shall learn that each hundred acres, under proper culture, yield food, not for forty human beings as they do on our best farms, but for 200 and 300 persons; not for sixty milch cows as they do yield in the island of Jersey, but for 200 cows, and more if necessary. While science devotes its chief attention to industrial pursuits, a limited number of lovers of nature and a legion of workers whose very names will remain unknown to posterity have created of late a quite new agriculture, as superior to modern farming as modern farming is superior to the old three-fields system of our ancestors. Science seldom guided them, and sometimes misguided—as was the case with Liebig's theories, developed to the extreme by his followers, who induced us to treat plants as glass recipients of chemical drugs, and who forgot that there can be no such science as the chemistry of an organism: that the only science capable of dealing with life and growth is physiology, not chemistry. Science seldom has guided them: they proceeded in the empirical way; but, like the cattle-growers who opened new horizons to biology, they have opened a new field of experimental research for the physiology of plants. They have created a totally new agriculture. They smile when we boast about the rotation system having permitted us to take from the field one crop every year, or four crops each three years, because their ambition is to have six, nine, and twelve crops from the very same plot of land during the twelve months. They do not understand our talk about good and bad soils, because they make the soil themselves, and make it in such quantities as to be compelled yearly to sell some of it: otherwise it would raise up the level of their gardens by half an inch every year. They aim at cropping, not five or six tons of grass on the acre, as we do, but from fifty to one hundred tons of various vegetables on the same space; not 5*l.* worth of hay, but 100*l.* worth of vegetables, of the plainest description, cabbage and carrots. That is where agriculture is going now.

We know that the dearest of all varieties of our staple food is meat; and those who are not vegetarians, either by persuasion or by necessity, consume on the average 225 pounds of meat—that is, roughly speaking, a little less than the third part of an ox—every year. And we have seen that, even in this country and Belgium, three acres are wanted for keeping one head of horned cattle; so that a community of, say, 1,000,000 inhabitants would have to reserve somewhere about 3,000,000 acres of land for supplying it with meat. But if we go to the farm of M. Goppart—one of the promoters of ensilage in France—we shall see him growing, on a drained and well-manured field, no less than an average of 36,000 pounds of corn-grass in the acre, which give, in silos, the food of one horned beast per acre. The produce is thus trebled. As to beetroot, which is used also for feeding cattle, Mr. Champion, at Whitby, succeeds, with the help of sewage, in growing 100,000 pounds of beet on each acre, and occasionally 150,000 and 200,000 pounds. He thus grows on each acre the food of, at least, two or three head of cattle. And such crops are not isolated facts: thus, M. Gros, at Autun, succeeds in cropping 600,000 pounds of beet and carrots, which crop would permit him to keep four horned cattle on each acre. As to crops of 100,000 pounds of beet, they occur in numbers in the French competitions, and the success depends entirely upon good culture and appropriate manuring. It thus appears that while we need in this country 30,000,000 acres to keep 10,000,000 horned cattle, double that amount could be kept on one-half of that area; and if the density of population required it, the amount of cattle could be doubled again, and the area required to keep it might still be one-half, or even one-third, of what it is now.⁹

The above examples are striking enough, and yet those afforded by the market-gardening culture are still more striking. I mean the culture carried on in the neighbourhood of big cities, and more especially the *culture maraîchère* under Paris—the distinctive feature of that culture being replanting. In that culture each plant is treated according to its age. The seeds germinate and

⁹ Assuming that 9,000 pounds of dry hay are necessary for keeping one head of horned cattle every year, the following figures (taken from Toubeau's *Répartition métrique des impôts*) will show what we are obtaining now under usual and under intensive culture:—

	Crop per acre E. pounds	Equivalent in dry hay E. pounds	Number of cattle fed from each 100 acres
Pasture	—	1,200	13
Unirrigated meadows	—	2,400	26
Clover, cut twice	—	4,800	52
Swedish turnips	38,500	10,000	108
Hay-grass	64,000	18,000	180
Beet, high farming	64,000	21,000	210
Indian corn, ensilage	120,000	30,000	300

develop their first four leaflets in especially favourable conditions of soil and temperature; then the best seedlings are picked out and transplanted into a bed of fine loam, under a frame or in the open air, where they freely develop their rootlets and receive more care because they are gathered on a limited space; and only after that preliminary training are they bedded in the open ground, where they grow till ripe. In such a culture the primitive condition of the soil is of little account, because loam is made out of the old forcing beds. The seeds are carefully tried, and therefore give astonishing results, like those obtained in 1862 by Mr. Halett from his 'pedigree wheat;' and there is no fear of drought, because of the variety of crops, the liberal watering with the help of a steam-engine, and the stock of plants always kept ready to replace the weakest individuals. Almost each plant is treated individually. Volumes could be written about the marvels achieved in this way; so that I must refer the reader to works—most interesting works—especially devoted to the subject, and give only a few illustrations.¹⁰ Let us take, for instance, the orchard—the *marais*—of M. Ponce, the author of a well-known work on the *culture maraîchère*. His orchard covers only $2\frac{7}{10}$ acres. The outlay for the establishment, including a steam-engine for watering purposes, reached 1,136*l.* Eight persons, M. Ponce included, cultivate the orchard and carry the vegetables to the market, for which purpose one horse is kept; when returning from Paris they bring in manure, for which 100*l.* is spent every year. Another 100*l.* is spent in rent and taxes. But how to enumerate all that is gathered every year on this plot of less than three acres, without filling two pages or more with the most wonderful figures? One must read them in M. Ponce's work, but here are the chief items: more than 20,000 lbs. of carrots; more than 20,000 lbs. of onions, radishes, and other vegetables sold by weight; 6,000 heads of cabbage; 3,000 of cauliflower; 5,000 baskets of tomatoes; 5,000 dozen of choice fruit; and 154,000 heads of salad; in short, a total of 250,000 lbs. of vegetables. The soil is made to such an amount that every year 250 cubic yards of loam have to be sold. The gross income is estimated at 800*l.*, which pays the 100*l.* of rent and taxes, and 570*l.* of working expenses. But like examples could be given by the dozen, and the best evidence against any possible exaggeration of the results is the very high rent paid by the gardeners, which

¹⁰ Ponce, *La culture maraîchère*, 1869; Gressent, *Le potager moderne*, 7th edit., 1886; Courtois-Gérard, *Manuel pratique de culture maraîchère*, 1863; Vilmorin, *Le bon jardinier* (almanack). The general reader who cares to know about the productivity of the soil will find plenty of examples, well classified, in the most interesting work *La Répartition métrique des impôts*, par A. Toubeau, 2 vols., 1880. I do not quote many excellent English manuals, but I must remark that the market-gardening culture in this country has also obtained results very highly prized by the French and German gardeners, and that the chief reproach to be addressed to it is its relatively small extension.

reaches, *on the average*, 32*l.* per acre. No less than 2,125 acres are cultivated under Paris in that way by 5,000 persons, and thus not only the 2,000,000 Parisians are supplied with vegetables, but the surplus is also sent to London.

The above results are obtained with the help of warm frames, thousands of glass bells, and so on. But even without such costly things, with only thirty-six yards of frames for seedlings, vegetables are grown *in the open air* to the value of 200*l.* per acre, and even, with some most successful gardeners, 200*l.* on the half-acre.¹¹ It is obvious, however, that in such cases the high selling prices of the crops are not due to the high prices fetched by early vegetables in winter: they are entirely due to the high crops of the plainest ones. Two hundred pounds worth of plain vegetables on the acre surely seem to us to be extravagant crops; but it is so: the fact is testified by the best authorities and supported by the testimony of the exceedingly high rents paid by the Paris *maraischers*. In fact we are totally unable to realise what the soil can give, unless we have seen its liberality with our own eyes. Let me add also that all this wonderful culture is a yesterday's growth. Thirty years ago the *culture maraichère* was quite primitive. But now the Paris gardener not only defies the soil—he would grow the same crops on an asphalt pavement—he defies climate. His walls built to reflect light and to protect the wall-trees from the northern winds, his wall-tree shades and glass protectors, his frames and *pépinières* have made a real garden, a rich Southern garden out of the suburbs of Paris. He has given to Paris the 'two degrees less of latitude' after which a French scientist was longing; he supplies his city with mountains of grapes and fruit at any season; and in the early spring he inundates and perfumes it with flowers. But he does not only grow articles of luxury. The culture of plain vegetables on a larger scale is spreading every year; and the results are so good that there are now practical *maraischers* who venture to maintain that if all the food, animal and vegetable, necessary for the 3,500,000 inhabitants of the departments of Seine and Seine-et-Oise had to be grown on their own territory (3,250 square miles), it could be grown without resorting to any other methods of culture than those already in use—methods already tested on a larger scale and proved to be successful.

And yet the Paris gardener is not our ideal of an agriculturist. In the painful work of civilisation he has shown us the way to follow; but the ideal of modern civilisation is elsewhere. He toils, with but a short interruption, from two in the morning till ten in the night. He knows no leisure; he has no time to live the life of a human being; the commonwealth does not exist for him; his

¹¹ *Manuel pratique de culture maraichère*, by Courtois-Gérard, 4th edition, 1863, quoted by M. Toubeau in *Répartition métrique des impôts*, vol. ii. p. 248.

world is his garden, more than his family. He cannot be our ideal; neither he nor his system of agriculture.

As a matter of fact, if we put aside those gardeners who chiefly cultivate the so-called *primeurs*—strawberries ripened in January, and the like—if we take only those who grow their crops in the open field, and resort to frames exclusively for the earlier days of the life of the plant, and if we analyse their system, we see that its very essence is, first, to create for the plant a nutritive and porous soil, which contains both the necessary decaying organic matter and the inorganic compounds; and then to keep that soil and the surrounding atmosphere at a temperature and moisture superior to those of the open air. The whole system is summed up in these few words. If the *marâcher* spends prodigies of labour, intelligence, and imagination in combining different kinds of manure, so as to make them ferment at a given speed, he does so for no purpose but the above: a nourishing soil, and a desired equal temperature and moisture of the air and the soil. All his empirical art is devoted to the achievement of these two aims. But both can also be achieved in another and much easier way. The soil can be *improved* by hand, but it need not be *made* by hand. Any soil, of any desired composition, can be made by machinery. We already have manufactures of guano, engines for pulverising the phosphorites, and even the granites of the Vosges; and we shall see manufactures of loam as soon as there is a demand for them. It is obvious that at present, when fraud and adulteration are exercised on such an immense scale in the manufacture of artificial manure, and the manufacture of manure is considered as a chemical process, while it ought to be considered as a physiological one, the gardener prefers to spend an unimaginable amount of labour rather than risk his crop by the use of a pompously labelled and unworthy drug. But that is a social obstacle which depends upon a want of knowledge and a bad social organisation, not upon physical causes. As to the necessity of creating for the earlier life of the plant a warm soil and atmosphere, thirty years ago Léonce de Lavergne foretold that the next step to be made in culture would be to warm the soil. Heating pipes give the same wonderful results as the fermenting manures, but at a much smaller expense of human labour. And already we may see the system in use on a large scale. Thus M. Lemaître, at Asnières, has covered with a glass roof half an acre of soil for the culture of asparagus. He thus has a winter garden, where man freely moves and works, heated at the cost of only one ton of coal every day. But he crops every day, during ten consecutive months, no less than from 1,000 to 1,200 big bundles of asparagus (which are sold in the market at an average of 7½*d.* to 8*d.* each). And the *Revue horticole*, quoted by M. Toubeau, maintains that no less than sixty acres would be

necessary to crop the same amount of asparagus if it were grown in the open air. The productive powers of a given area of land are thus increased more than a hundred times. Of course now, when the capitalist system makes us pay for everything four or five times its labour value, we must spend one pound, or more, for each square yard of a heated conservatory. But how many middlemen are making fortunes on the wooden frames imported from Drontheim? If we only could reckon our expenses in labour, we should discover to our amazement that, thanks to the use of machinery, the square yard of a conservatory does not cost more than two days of human labour; and we may see in this country, in the gardens of our millionaires, that the labour of no more than five or six men is required to keep in order twenty conservatories which cover an aggregate area of nearly one acre. Therefore the conservatory, which formerly was a luxury, is rapidly entering into the domain of high industrial culture. And we may foresee the day when the glass conservatory will be considered as a necessary appendix to the field, both for the growth of those fruits and vegetables which cannot succeed in the open air, and for the preliminary training of some cultural plants during the earlier stages of their life.

Home-grown fruit is always preferable to the half-ripe produce which is imported from abroad, and the additional work required for keeping a young plant under glass is largely repaid by the incomparable superiority of the crops. As to the question of labour, when we remember the really incredible amount of labour which has been spent on the Rhine and in Switzerland for making the vineyards, their terraces, and stone walls, and the soil brought up the stony crags, as also the amount of labour which is spent every year for the culture of those vineyards and fruit gardens, we are inclined to ask, Which of the two, all taken, requires less of human labour—a vinery (I mean the cold vinery) in a London suburb, or a vineyard on the Rhine, or on Lake Lemman? And when we compare the prices realised by the grower of grapes under London (not those which are paid in the West-end fruit shops, but those received by the grower for his grapes in October) with those current in Switzerland or on the Rhine, we are inclined to maintain that nowhere in Europe, beyond the forty-fifth degree of latitude, are grapes grown at less expense of human labour, both for capital outlay and yearly work, than in the vineries of the London suburbs. As to the always overrated productivity of the exporting countries, let us remember that the vinegrowers of southern Europe drink themselves an abominable *piquette*; that Marseilles fabricates wine for home use out of dry raisins brought from Asia; and that the Normandy peasant who sends his apples to London, drinks real cider only on great festivities. Such a state of things will not last for ever; and the day is not far when we shall be compelled to look to our own resources to provide

many of the things which we now import. And we shall not be the worse for that. The resources of science, both in enlarging the circle of our production and in new discoveries (such as beet-root sugar instead of cane sugar), are inexhaustible. And each new branch of activity calls into existence more and more new branches, which steadily increase the power of man over the forces of nature.

If we take all into consideration; if we realise the progress made of late in the gardening culture, and the tendency towards spreading its methods to the broad field; if we watch the cultural experiments which are being made now—experiments to-day and realities to-morrow—and ponder over the resources kept in store by Science, we are bound to say that it is utterly impossible to foresee at the present moment the limits as to the *maximum* number of human beings who could live, and enjoy life, upon a given area of land, nor as to what a variety of produce they could advantageously grow in any latitude. Each day widens former limits, and opens new and wide horizons. All we can say now is, that six hundred persons could easily live on a square mile; and that, with cultural methods already used on a large scale, a thousand human beings—not idlers—living on a square mile (that is, on 640 acres) could easily, without any kind of over-work, obtain from that area a luxurious vegetable and animal food, as well as the flax, wool, silk, and hides necessary for their clothing. As to what may be obtained under still more perfect methods—also known but not yet tested on a large scale—it is better to abstain from any forecast: so unexpected are the recent achievements of intensive culture.

We thus see that the over-population fallacy does not stand the very first attempt at submitting it to a closer examination. Those only can be horror-stricken at seeing the population of this country increase by one individual every thousand seconds who think of a human being as a mere claimant upon the stock of material wealth of humanity, without being at the same time a contributor to that stock. But we, who see in each newborn babe a future worker capable of producing much more than his own share of the common stock—we greet his appearance. We know that a crowded population is a necessary condition for permitting man to increase the productive powers of his labour. We know that highly productive labour is impossible as long as men are scattered, few in numbers, over wide territories, and are thus unable to combine together for the higher achievements of civilisation. We know what an amount of labour must be spent to scratch the soil with a primitive plough, to spin and weave by hand; and we know also how much less labour it costs to grow the same amount of food, weave the same cloth, with the help of modern machinery. And we see that it is infinitely easier to grow two hundred thousand pounds

of food on one acre than to grow them on a hundred acres. It is all very well to imagine that wheat grows by itself on the Russian steppes; but those who have seen how the peasant toils in the 'fertile' black-earth region will have one desire: that the increase of population may permit the use of the steam-digger and gardening culture in the steppes; that it may permit those who are now the beasts of burden of humanity to raise their backs and to become at last men.

We must, however, recognise that there are a few economists fully aware of the above truths. They gladly admit that Western Europe could grow much more food than it does; but they see no necessity nor advantage in doing so, as long as there are nations which can send it in exchange for manufactured goods. 'Why should we take,' they say, 'so much pains in growing cereals at home, when we can have them cheaper from abroad?' Let us then next examine if it really be more advantageous for the West Europeans to import their food than to grow it themselves.

It is obvious that if we are satisfied with merely stating that it is cheaper to bring wheat from Riga than to grow it in Lincolnshire, the whole question is settled in a moment. But is it so in reality? Is it really cheaper to have food from abroad? And, supposing it is, are we not yet bound to analyse that compound result which we call price, rather than to accept it as a supreme and blind ruler of our actions? We know, for instance, how French agriculture is burdened by taxation—more than forty per cent. of the real income of French agriculture being absorbed by taxes.¹² And yet, if we compare the prices of articles of food in France, which herself grows most of them, with those paid in this country, which imports them, we find no difference in favour of the importing country. On the contrary, the balance is rather in favour of France, and it decidedly was so for wheat, until the new protective tariff was introduced. But there is another feature still more unfavourable for this country: namely, the disproportionate development of the class of middlemen who stand between the importer and the home-producer on the one side and the consumer on the other, and the quite disproportionate part of the prices we pay which goes into their pockets. We have all heard of the East-end clergyman who was compelled to become butcher in order to save his parishioners from the greedy middleman. We read in the papers that many farmers of the midland counties do not realise more than 9*d.* for a pound of butter, while the customer pays from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; and that 1½*d.* for the quart of milk is all that the Cheshire farmers can get, while we pay 4*d.* for the adulterated, and 5*d.* for the unadulterated milk. And many of us must remember the *Daily News* articles, from which it appeared that the customer pays for vegetables at the rate of one

¹² As much as 44 per cent., according to the *Enquête agricole* for 1887, vol. i. The *octroi* taxes are not taken into account in that estimate.

shilling, and sometimes two shillings, for each penny realised by the farmer. But in a country of imported food it *must* be so: the market disappears, and the middleman appears. If we move, however, towards the East, and go to Belgium, Germany, and Russia, we find that the cost of living is more and more reduced, so as finally to find that in Russia, which remains still agricultural, wheat costs one-half of its London prices, and meat is sold throughout the provinces at from five to ten farthings (kopecks) the pound. And we may therefore hold that it is not yet proved at all that it is cheaper to live on imported food than to grow it ourselves.

But if we analyse *price*, and make a distinction between its elements due to natural causes and those due to social, or rather artificial, causes, the disadvantage becomes still more apparent. If we compare, for instance, the costs of growing wheat in this country and in Russia, we see that in the United Kingdom the hundredweight of wheat cannot be grown at less than 8s. 7d.; while in Russia the costs of production of the same hundredweight are estimated at from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 9d.¹³ The difference is enormous, and it would still remain very great, even if we admit that there is some exaggeration in the former figure. But why this difference? Are the Russian labourers paid so much less for their work? Their money wages surely are much lower, but the difference is equalised as soon as we reckon their wages in produce. The ten shillings a week of the British agricultural labourer represent the same amount of wheat in Britain as the five or six shillings a week of the Russian labourer represent in Russia,¹⁴ not to say a word about the cheapness of meat and the low house-rent. We thus see that in Russia labour is paid the same amount of the produce grown as it is paid here. As to the prodigious fertility of the soil—the great hobby-horse of the economists—crops of from sixteen to twenty-three bushels per acre are considered good crops in Russia, while the average hardly reaches thirteen bushels, even in the corn-exporting parts of the empire.

¹³ The data for the calculation of the cost of production of wheat in this country are those given by the *Mark Lane Express*; they will be found in a digestible form in an article on wheat-growing in the *Quarterly Review* for April 1887. Although they are a little above the average, the crop is also above the average. A similar inquiry has been made on a large scale by the Russian Provincial Assemblies, and the whole is summed up in an elaborate paper, in the then official *Vyestnik Promyshlennosti*, No. 49, 1887. To compare the paper kopecks with pence, I take the rouble at $\frac{83}{100}$ of its nominal value; such was its average quotation during the year 1886. I take 475 pounds in the quarter of wheat.

¹⁴ It results from the detailed figures given every year by the Agricultural Department (*The Year 1885 with regard to Agriculture*, vol. ii.) that the average wages of the agricultural labourers were from 180 kopecks a week in middle Russia to 330 kopecks in the wheat-exporting belt (from 3s. 9d. to 6s. 6d.), and from 5s. 6d. to 10s. 5d. during the crops. If the Russian labourer is so miserable in comparison with the English, it is due chiefly to the exceedingly high taxation, and several other causes which cannot be here treated incidentally.

It thus equals the average results obtained by J. B. Lawes on unmanured land in this country; and then we must also take into account the periodical droughts in the steppes which result in a failure of crops almost every two years out of twelve. As to the amount of labour which is necessary to grow wheat in Russia, with no thrashing-machines, with a plough dragged by a horse hardly worth the name, with no roads for transport, and so on, I do not exaggerate if I say that each bushel of wheat grown in Russia represents double the amount of labour necessary to grow it in Western Europe. The Russian peasant sells his wheat at a price which permits its transport to London, only because he is compelled to sell it in order to pay the tax-collector and the money-lender, who otherwise would sell by auction his last cow and even the straw-roof of his house, and render him a pauper for ever. He sells it from the very mouths of his children, and lives from hand to mouth till the next crop.

When brought to the London market, Russian wheat is sold at 31s. the quarter, while it appears from the same *Mark Lane Express* figures that the quarter of wheat cannot be grown in this country at less than 36s. 8d., even if the straw be sold, which is not always the case. But the difference of the land rent alone in both countries, to say nothing of the purchasing powers of money, would alone account for the difference of prices. In the wheat-belt of Russia, where the average rent stands at about 12s. per acre, and the crop is from fifteen to twenty bushels, the rent amounts to 3s. 6d. to 5s. 8d. in the costs of production of each quarter of Russian wheat; while in this country, where the rent and taxes are valued (in the *Mark Lane Express* figures) at no less than 40s. per each wheat-growing acre, and more, and the crop is taken at thirty bushels, the rent amounts to 10s. in the costs of production of each quarter. If it costs so much more, in money, to grow wheat in this country, while the amount of labour is much less in this country than in Russia, it is due to the very rapid growth of the land rent during the last thirty years. But this growth itself is due to the facilities for realising large profits on the sale of manufactured goods abroad. The wrong turn taken by the economical life, not the unfertility of the soil, is thus the chief cause of the Russian competition.

Much more might be said with regard to the American competition. But I must be brief, and therefore refer the reader to the remarkable series of articles dealing with the whole of the subject which Schaeffle published two years ago in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft*, and to a most elaborate article on the costs of growing wheat all over the world which appeared in April last in the *Quarterly Review*. The conclusions of both writers are fully corroborated by the yearly Reports of the American Board of Agriculture, and Schaeffle's previsions are fully supported by the subsequent reports of Mr. J. R. Dodge. It appears from these works

that the fertility of the American soil has been grossly exaggerated, as the chief masses of wheat which America sends to Europe are grown on a soil the natural fertility of which is not higher, and often lower, than the average fertility of the European soil. The Casselton farm in Dakota, with its twenty bushels per acre, is an exception; while the average crop of the chief wheat-growing States is only from eleven to twelve bushels. If we wish to find a fertile soil in America, and crops of from thirty to forty bushels, we must go to the old Eastern States, where the soil is made by man's hands.¹⁵ But we shall not find it in the Territories, which are satisfied with crops of from eight to nine bushels. The same is true with regard to the American supplies of meat. Schaeffle has pointed out that the great mass of live-stock which we see in the census of cattle in the States is not reared in the prairies, but in the stables of the farms, in the same way as in Europe; as to the prairies we find on them only one-eleventh part of the American horned cattle, one-fifth of the sheep, and $\frac{1}{21}$ of the pigs.

Without entering here into more economical details upon that wide and most interesting subject, let me merely add that the American exports are so little due to a superior fertility of the soil that the competition of the grain and meat exporting middle and Western States has not endangered the intensive culture of the old Eastern States: the farmers of the east continue to grow wheat and rear live-stock as they used before, without crying out for protective measures. The chief causes of the American competition are in a superior, labour-saving organisation of the culture, as also in low land-rents and, to a great extent, in speculation; but the latter two causes will act only for a short time to come. Landlordism grows in America as well as elsewhere, and grows at an American rate. As to speculation, it is well known that the railway companies transport wheat at a loss, in order to raise the value of the land they own along the railway lines; and yet the cost of transport of a quarter of wheat from Chicago to Liverpool is not less than 4s. But speculation is no solid basis for agriculture, and therefore we see that, while landlordism grows, while the railway companies distribute high dividends to their shareholders, and the money-lenders make fortunes by lending money to the farmers of the wheat-belt at the rate of three per cent. every month during the crops, the farmers toil at a loss, and rapidly become hired servants to capital. Out of each four farms of Illinois, three are mortgaged, and the loss of the Illinois

¹⁵ L. de Lavergne pointed out as far back as thirty years ago that the States are the chief importers of guano. In 1854 they imported it almost to the same amount as this country, and they had moreover sixty-two manufactures of guano which supplied it to the amount of sixteen times the imports. Compare also Ronna's *L'agriculture aux Etats Unis*, 1881; Leconteux, *Le blé*; and J. R. Dodge's *Annual Report of the American Department of Agriculture* for 1885 and 1886. Schaeffle's work is also summed up in Schmoller's *Jahrbuch*.

farmers during the last five years is estimated by the official reports at fifty million dollars.¹⁶

Wheat and corn growing in America are carried on at a loss. Such is the net result of the formidably swollen exports of the last few years. But, strange enough, the same complaint comes from all parts of the world, excepting, may be, India, where the natives are reduced to work at any price, or starve. In France, Germany, Italy, and even Russia, agriculture 'does not pay.' English, French, German, and Russian landlords and farmers loudly cry for protection. And so we have come to that utterly anomalous, but most characteristic state of affairs, under which nowhere does it 'pay' to grow food for the steadily increasing populations of the civilised world. Whatever the system of land-tenure—the landlord-and-farmer system of this country, the small peasant proprietorship, the American right of first occupation, or the Russian landlordism with partially enslaved labour—the complaints are the same. A rich crop is considered as a curse; and only those peasants bless it who grow cereals for their own use. The very generality of the complaint is most suggestive, and, as shown elsewhere, its generality depends upon a general cause: namely, that the landlord, the State, or the money-lender, take for themselves so considerable a part of the produce grown by the farmer—from one-fourth to one-third, and more—that agriculture cannot go on under such circumstances: the tribute levied upon it is too high, and it is rendered still heavier by the tribute levied by the manufacturer. But these are social causes: they do not depend upon the unproductivity of the soil nor upon over-population. And these causes cannot last. The Russian peasant will not always sell his wheat and live on sarrazin and rye; he will not sell even his rye and live for four, six, and sometimes eight months every year by mixing birch-bark and auroch-grass with a handful of flour. The Hindoo will not always labour for a few ounces of rice; and the American railway speculation will consume itself very soon; while, on the other side, the labourers of the manufacturing nations of West Europe, with their curtailed wages and uncertainty of employment, cannot afford to pay ten shillings of tribute to the landlord, and several shillings more to the manufacturer and middleman, for every quarter of wheat which they consume. At the same time the manufacturing nations no longer find agriculturists who will readily give them a heap of corn for a few yards of cotton, nor islanders bringing gold-nuggets and handfuls of pearls for a looking-glass or a knife. They will be compelled to till the soil themselves, and to organise their economical life so as to combine

¹⁶ Loss in 1882	.	.	\$ 1,273,600
" 1883	.	.	8,621,400
" 1884	.	.	11,780,550
" 1885	.	.	10,831,700
" 1886	.	.	19,070,200

agriculture with manufacturing. And from the combination both can only be winners. Intensive agriculture is possible only at the gates of the manufacturer: every day the modern farmer applies for more and more help from industry. And manufactures—we are learning it now at a heavy cost—can thrive only when their high chimneys rise amidst the golden fields.

Modern civilisation is blotting out the old antagonism between the city and the country; and after the haughty city has vainly tried to live without the field, it must return to it; it must recognise that industry and agriculture are two interdependent forms of human activity deriving force from mutual support. As to the grateful soil, it will not refuse to support the human multitudes; all it requires from them is care, study, and labour; and its requirements meet the tendencies of modern industry towards decentralisation. But here we come again upon a vast field of research, as to how both requirements can be best combined. This may be the subject of a separate study hereafter.

P. KROPOTKIN.

PASTEUR.

ALTHOUGH the works of Pasteur have long been known and appreciated in the scientific world, his name is familiar to the general public on this side of the Channel in connection with hydrophobia only, and is generally associated with failure. Since the lamented and much-misunderstood death of Lord Doneraile,¹ an impression has gone abroad that his inoculations have come to an end, his attempts have proved a failure, and that he has altogether collapsed. 'But,' some say, 'he must have made a good thing out of it. That "Doctor" Pasteur must be a rich man with his filthy inoculations.' Others suppose he is a 'charlatan,' imagine he is a 'quack,' that 'he keeps the secret to himself,' while some do not hesitate to consider him a cold-blooded murderer.

If Pasteur had chosen to keep 'his secrets' to himself, and to sell his scientific wares, he would by this time have been the richest man in the world; but now at the end of a long career he is simply what he was at the beginning—a professor of chemistry, in receipt of a professor's salary. For the inoculations he receives nothing, and when we send our police-constables, our postmen and others to be inoculated, we are asking and receiving from the French Government a favour which is denied us by our own. Pasteur himself is

¹ Letter of M. Pasteur to editor of *British Medical Journal*: 'Lord Doneraile was bitten on the 13th of January last, at the very time that the whole press resounded with the discussions which had just been raised at the Academy of Medicine of Paris. I was then absent from Paris on account of my health. These accusations caused me no anxiety for the future of the method, but the thought of the mental agonies which would be endured by the patients who had already undergone the treatment, or who were on the point of coming to Paris for the purpose, caused me the deepest distress. Disturbed in mind, like so many others at that time, Lord Doneraile allowed an interval of eleven whole days to elapse from the time the bites were inflicted till the beginning of the treatment, which was not commenced till the 24th of January. That space of time had been lost in hesitation and inquiries as to the importance to be attached to the passionate attacks of our opponents. In addition to this, Lady Doneraile and the medical man who sent her husband to us insisted that only the simple treatment should be applied, and not the intensive method which I had been led to adopt, especially in the case of severe bites. Professor Grancher and Dr. Roux yielded to the desire which was so warmly expressed; several inoculations were practised, but without using medullæ of more than five days' drying. Carried out under such conditions, the treatment could only, alas! delay the development of the rabid virus for four or five months. . . .'

rarely present during the inoculations; for, not being a Doctor of Medicine, he is not legally qualified to operate, neither has he the right to practise nor the right to take a fee. He is purely a scientific chemist, pursuing micro-biological researches, and living an honoured life in the apartments assigned him in the *École Normale*.

‘I could never work for money,’ he once remarked; ‘but I could always work for science.’

Thirty years ago, when he was first appointed to a minor post in this great school, he had no laboratory of his own; but his enthusiasm was so great that at his own expense he established one in a garret of the institution; and, limited though it was, it enabled him to complete some of the important experiments on which he was then engaged. Now he is not only chief of the most advanced laboratory in the world, but is prospective head of one yet greater, which is at present being raised by public subscription, in recognition of the services he has rendered to science and to humanity at large. Fortunately for the great master himself, and for science, nothing has been wanting on the part of the State to promote the objects in view. Money, buildings, and ground have been freely placed at his disposal, till the laboratory as it now exists has tributaries extending in all directions, in and out of Paris. Neither is it confined to France alone, for branches have sprung from it and taken root in Russia, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Rio Janeiro, in connection with rabies.

It is impossible to visit the fountain-head of this celebrated laboratory in the Rue d’Ulm without being deeply impressed with the nature and the magnitude of the work going on, for here disease of every kind is literally taken in the hand, and studied in every phase. We are all so occupied with the big or little affairs of our daily lives, that it does not occur to us to think of the *vera causa* of disease, or to consider what others are doing for us, until we fall a prey to that terrible Something which often might be avoided, but which we do not understand. We have been taught to regard sickness as the common lot of all, and death as a mystery, a fate to be accepted humbly, and without question. Yet here, in the great laboratory, surrounded by the gardens of the *École Normale*, is death, or the living poisons in a tangible shape which can produce death, with a master presiding over all, controlling all things, and with the power apparently to open or close the road to the grave at will. He has searched the invisible world for the long-hidden secret of communicable disease, and has brought it forth in a visible form. He can take the deadly microbe in his hand and cause it to live or die, and at will he can make it destroy life or protect from death. He can weaken its terrible powers, dissipate or destroy them, or, having weakened them to the verge of destruction, can restore them to

virulence again. In fact, he has only to command, and the dread forces of the invisible world obey.

Since Louis Pasteur founded this school of research by upsetting the theory of spontaneous life, and establishing the vitality of ferments, all that was previously obscure has become clear, and order has emerged out of chaos. The subject being so deeply interesting, and so pregnant with future benefits to mankind, it has drawn physiologists, biologists, and many students into the field, with the advantage of checking or confirming the discoveries of one another, and a general concentration of mind all along the line of study.

In visiting these workshops of disease there is little to be seen on the surface. Here, in the Rue d'Ulm, students and professors from far and near are silently and deeply studying the *modus vivendi* of these microbes by means of microscopes of great magnifying power, and by intricate biological methods. Some are engaged in the dissecting-room, others in transplanting the germs of disease from the dead animal to the *bouillon* or nutrient jellies in which they are expected to live. Along corridors and in sundry corners are mysterious cupboards, dark and heated, where the germs of consumption and many other diseases affecting animals as well as man are kept growing on the material and at the temperature best suited to their existence. Yet there is no confusion of diseases. Each special disease is confined within its own assigned limits, imprisoned in a tube behind a stopper of cotton-wool, through which the air may pass to the microbe, but through which the microbe cannot break away.

From this curious collection one may venture to lift a quaintly shaped glass, protected from contamination by foreign germs by the usual cotton-wool stopper. It is dated and labelled 'Choléra des poules.' There is only a little cloudy mixture to be seen; it is nothing to look at, yet it is filled with life and life history. A few hours ago the glass contained an infusion of chicken broth perfectly transparent and clear. This was simply inoculated, pricked, as it were, with the blood of a rabbit that had died shortly before of the disease, and behold the living microbe multiplies and thrives on this artificial soil till it becomes filled and clouded with its presence. But it will only live in the *bouillon* so long as it can find enough of the particular element which gives it nourishment; when that comes to an end it will die and fall to the bottom. In the blood of the animal, however, the microbe can maintain its existence for years without any diminution of virulence, if it is drawn into a glass tube and hermetically sealed at both ends by a flame. Not far off, two assistants are studying under a microscope the blood of a rabbit which has died of this disease. They see the corpuscles of the blood, and in the spaces between them minute dot-like bodies, slightly

constricted in the middle; these are the objects of their research, the microbes of chicken cholera.

Until Pasteur discovered an appropriate breeding-ground for this microbe outside the body of the fowl or rabbit, it was impossible to study its habits. But having found that it could live, thrive, and multiply in chicken or rabbit broth, he could then cultivate it in successive crops by transferring a very small quantity to fresh nourishing solution, without necessarily going back to the blood of the animal to obtain the living organism. In the course of his experiments he found that the virus became weakened with exposure to the air, and that the microbe itself could not live in a temperature over 51° C., even when preserved from the air in a glass tube hermetically sealed. All these little facts were of the utmost importance, for they inspired the hope which has since been realised of producing a vaccine. In order to preserve the virus in its full strength, not more than twenty-four hours must be allowed to elapse between the cultivations. In this way it may be passed on indefinitely from *bouillon* to *bouillon*, and the last will be as virulent as the first. But in order to weaken it a longer exposure to the air between the cultivations is necessary.

The result of this discovery, or mastery over the microbe, is that a weakened infusion has been sent to all the infected poultry yards of France, with the effect of stamping out the disease by subjecting the surviving hens to a milder form of the same malady.

Although this disease is peculiar to poultry, it was discovered accidentally to affect rabbits, by placing some in a cage which had been previously occupied by fowls that had died of *choléra des poules*. It was then found that rabbits were infinitely more susceptible to the disease than fowls, for they would show signs of the illness after one contagious repast and die in twenty hours, while fowls often required several repasts before yielding to the disease. It is distinctly a disease of the intestines, and although so virulent and rapid in its action, it is unaccompanied by suffering, owing to the intense torpor which quickly supervenes and continues to the end. This is the disease with which it is proposed to exterminate the rabbits in Australia, for it affects no other animals about a farm, and fowls, as we have seen, can be protected. Horses, dogs, sheep, and man present no attractions to this microbe. Rabbits or fowls, or *bouillon* made of their flesh, serve best to satisfy its appetite.

Proceeding now to another chamber, and passing within measurable distance of Asiatic cholera, glanders, and many kinds of disease, we draw up before the deadly *Bacillus anthracis*. This is the splenic fever of cattle, the wool-sorters' disease, and malignant pustules in man, a truly terrible scourge. An innocent-looking gelatine, about two inches deep, lies at the bottom of the glass tube. A curious growth penetrates the centre, spreading at the top. This growth is an artificial cultivation of these deadly microbes. On

examining the blood of an animal after death from inoculation with a trace of such cultivation, the appearances under the microscope are very different to the tiny dots of *choléra des poules*. Here we find comparatively large rods, or bacilli, which under certain circumstances contain bright oval bodies or spores, and which lie to all appearance like peas in a pod. These spores have an extraordinary vitality, and are intensely virulent. They were found to resist the ordinary methods for destroying microbes by heat, but Professor Tyndall devised a plan for killing them by *discontinuous* heating. The spores in the intervals between the heatings sprout into rods, and these perish at the next boiling, before they have time to develop spores. After three or four boilings all vitality has thus been destroyed. So tenacious are the spores of life that they can exist in the air, and multiply on any suitable material on which they may fall, and so retain their virulence for ever. If buried underground in the carcase of an animal, the earth-worms bring them to the surface again, when they begin another round of destruction by impregnating the grass where cattle are grazing.

For a long time this terrible organism resisted all efforts to bring it under human control, but after much labour Pasteur succeeded in mastering all difficulties, and finally in forcing it to redeem its evil past by becoming a prophylaxy to save life in future. By taking it in the rod stage of its development, he kept it there in a temperature which favoured its existence and even its multiplication by division, but which was not sufficient to further favour the development of spores. At a temperature of 42° or 43° C. the microbe produces no spores; therefore, in contact with pure air, he could maintain a culture deprived of all spores. In some weeks the crop dies; for, being rendered sporeless by this enforced method of development, it is easily destroyed; but previous to extinction it can be restored to virulence again by a return to favouring conditions. Hence, although the microbes of *anthrax* and *choléra des poules* have widely different characteristics, Pasteur has succeeded in making a vaccine of both by studying their capabilities, and making them respond to his will. For days before he gained the power of making the *Bacillus anthracis* live and multiply without the production of spores, he was seen going about deeply absorbed, and with 'the face of a great discovery.'

So soon as this great discovery was made known, Pasteur was overwhelmed with applications for vaccine, and by the end of the year had vaccinated 33,550 animals. The following year the number amounted to 399,102, and the next (1883) to 500,000 animals, including sheep, oxen, and horses.

In the course of his researches on the *Bacillus anthracis*, he found that fowls were proof against the disease. He might inoculate them with the most virulent poison, and they were absolutely

unaffected by it. He resolved to penetrate the mystery, and found that the natural temperature of the fowl was too high to favour the life of the microbe, but by placing the feet of the fowl in cold water he brought down its temperature to the level favourable to the microbe, and immediately rendered it subject to the disease. Thus the hen sickened and died, while the microbe thrived and lived. But he could also reverse the conditions, and by taking the hen out of the cold bath and putting it into hot blankets, and raising its temperature, the fowl recovered and the microbe died! He could cause either of them to live or die at will.

In artificially cultivating the various microbes of disease, it is necessary to isolate them from all surrounding tissue, and to protect them from the vibrios of putrefaction which fill the air. Hence every instrument used is constantly passed through a flame; every student blows his own glass bulbs at the moment they are wanted; the air has to be sterilised; and all this done in the ordinary atmosphere of the place. To lose sight for a moment of the necessity for minute attention to detail is to undo everything. The difficulties of the work can be imagined when the number and diversity of the pathogenic and non-pathogenic micro-organisms are considered. There are the false as well as the true to deal with; and while some closely resemble each other, others are widely different, with their features as clearly defined as are those of the shrubs and trees in the higher ranges of the vegetable kingdom. Pasteur has divided them into two great classes, the *Aérobies* and the *Anaérobies*; those which require oxygen for their existence, and those which live without oxygen, and are even killed by its presence. Each has its own mission to fulfil, working always independently, yet ever in concert. When the pathogenic parasite has slain its victim, then the vibrio of putrefaction begins its work. In its capacity of nature's scavenger it clears the dead away, or rather transmutes the dead body into other elements, which in their turn are essential to life again.

Without entering too deeply into the *technique* of ferments, it is necessary at this point to go back to the genesis of micro-biological research, to pick up the link which connects the yeasts of every-day life with the ferments of human disease. A yeast and a ferment signify the same thing, and, as a zyme also means a ferment, the term *zymotic* has arisen to express a certain class of diseases.

It was in the early days of the garret experiments, when laboratories generally did not receive the same recognition they do now, that the battle of the ferments raged round the brewer's vat. The chemical changes effected in the wort by the presence of the yeast were well known to the principals in the struggle. It was evident to all that carbonic gas was disengaged, that the sugar disappeared, and that alcohol was left in its place. Cagniard-Latour was the first to

offer the true explanation, that the alteration was due to the vegetation and life of the yeast; but this was opposed by Liebig, until Pasteur stepped in, and, upsetting Liebig, gave experimental authority to Latour, and cleared the road for the future. But apart from this immediate question many others arose, and it remained for Pasteur to prove that ferments could come on the top of ferments; that there was not one ferment, but many ferments—some very destructive—which were carried everywhere in the dust of the air. Why did the beer go bad? was the great question to be solved; and this was solved by Pasteur. He pointed out to the brewers that if they examined their yeast under the microscope they would find not only the true torula they desired, but a variety of other micro-organisms mixed with it which they did not desire, for they were the enemies of beer. Again, if they allowed the wort to stand too long after cooling, and examined it under the microscope, they would find it swarming with innumerable moulds, which would do much to interfere with the progress of the yeast as soon as it was added. Further, if the yeast had done its work properly, and the wort had become transformed into pure fermented ale, once more it was apt to go bad, look cloudy, and emit a disagreeable smell. This again was disease, or, in other words, putrefaction, caused by the bacteria which reached the substance from the infected walls of the brewery and from the air around.

As soon as these questions were settled and those deep mysteries were solved, an intelligent brewer of Copenhagen began to awaken to the fact that his brewery was little better than a disease manufactory, and determined to pull the old place to pieces, and begin again on the principles laid down by Pasteur. He built not only a new brewery, but in connection with it a great laboratory, which he adorned with a bust of Pasteur, and, securing the services of an eminent chemist, placed him in charge of the stronghold with a complete *batterie de guerre*.

All dark holes and mouldy corners were now things of the past—swept away before the broom of Pasteur. The air everywhere was sweet and clean, and kept so cool that germs could not live among the icicles which hung around. Only sterilised air was allowed to reach the wort, and this was attained by forcing it through tubes heated in a furnace and then cooled by passing over ice. This machine for oxidising the wort was designed by M. Velten of Marseilles, another brewer who had studied under Pasteur. In former days the temperature of the wort was usually ascertained by the rough-and-ready method of plunging in the hand. No longer was this permitted, for the hand was now perceived to be an instrument for inoculating the brew with inimical germs. Thermometers were brought into use at every stage, and were so constructed that the chemist, while sitting in his office, could tell the temperature in the kilns, and

could control it during the day. Over every vat hung a chart, recording the progress of the living yeast.

In addition to the chemical laboratory, a physiological laboratory was established, with a distinguished physiologist to preside over this department, and devote himself to the study of beer diseases. Thus, with a model brewery on the one hand, and an experimental brewery on the other, Herr Jacobsen found himself in a position to profit by the light of the present, while studying the errors of the past. His great laboratory soon became a scientific centre, a school for the study of Ferments. In the experimental brewery the physiologist could artificially cultivate every known beer disease, and brew the worst possible beer. By regulating the temperature, he could encourage the advance of the mycodermis and cryptogams, and watch, under the microscope, their action in the field. Sometimes three different enemies would give battle to each other, with the usual result that the strongest survived while the weaker went to the wall.

The method of isolating, naming, and classifying the *Saccharomyces cerevisiæ* was due to the naturalist Dr. Hansen, a devoted worker in this laboratory. He found a variety of yeasts, and succeeded in cultivating from one pure and healthy cell a new race, which increased and multiplied with great rapidity in the wort, and has since supplanted throughout Europe the old and deteriorated yeast which had descended to us from the ancient Egyptians. In this way, under the presiding genius of Herr Jacobsen, a perfect brewery rose up, owing its birth and origin to the small experimental brewery attached to the laboratory of Pasteur in the early years of his life. His object was not alone the brewing of sound beer, but the spread of knowledge on a subject then little understood.

About the same time that Jacobsen was reforming the art of brewing, and establishing his brewery on Pasteur's principles, another man in another part of the world had also been deeply impressed by 'ses études sur la bière,' and was endeavouring to apply the same principles to surgery. Sir Joseph (then Mr.) Lister, of Edinburgh, recognised the conditions which in certain circumstances might cause his patients to fall a prey to the septic bacteria in the air. A whole skin and sound health were certainly the most powerful barriers against disease; but under a surgical operation the blood and tissues were exposed to the air; and if that air were impure and disease-laden—as was inevitable in the hospitals of the day—then the cause and effect were certain. Like the scientific brewer, therefore, he never rested until he found a means of destroying the unseen enemies around; and, by discovering the proper antiseptics for local application, he finally succeeded in producing a reform in the whole field of surgical and hospital practice. His patients no longer died of pæmia, and those other subtle forms of blood-poison-

ing which every surgeon had reason to dread. Hitherto he knew not whence the stroke came. Even after the most trivial operation fever would set in, and all efforts would be rendered fruitless before the unknown, the all-powerful, active Ferment, living on the blood-cells, and undermining the strength, till resistance was no longer possible. Now he knew that his own hands, the instruments used, the very air, were carriers of disease. The consequence is that the hospital of the day, like the brewery of old, is no longer a mere disease manufactory. The air is no longer close and fetid, but all is fresh and clean. Every instrument used in a surgical operation is taken from its carbolised bath with carbolised fingers at the moment required. All dressings, and all things pertaining to an operation, are sterilised by antiseptics. In this way the patients are 'Listerised,' to use a hospital term, just as beer and wine are nowadays 'Pasteurised,' to use a trade term—which means that, by their respective methods, they are sealed against the entrance of the germs of disease.

Not only has the surgeon profited by Pasteur's teaching, but so has the physician in every department of medicine, and nowhere more than in the Maternity Charities of Europe, where the mortality was truly appalling. In Denmark all midwives have been taken under the control of the State. They are bound by the most rigid rules to report all cases of puerperal fever, and are suspended on the neglect of any of the antiseptic precautions laid down. Perhaps one of the most advanced and perfect hospitals of this kind is that which is supported by the Grand Duchess Catherine, in St. Petersburg. It is said to be one of the most carefully regulated in the world, and forms no mean parallel to the advanced and perfect brewery of Copenhagen.

'The present hospital is an old building, converted and reorganised in accordance with modern sanitary science, and since 1878 has been considerably enlarged. There were separate rooms for every patient, and careful provision was made for isolating the various sections, so that no germs of disease could be carried from one part to another. The keys of communication were only permitted to the heads of departments, and even the domestic offices were shut off by locked doors.

'Warmth and adequate ventilation were kept up by stoves and furnaces, and so managed that the air could be constantly changed by an arrangement of flues. Throughout the whole hospital the most perfect cleanliness was observed. As soon as a room became vacant it was at once stripped, and a series of water jets turned on to flush the walls and floors, which were made of mosaic and concrete. As the floors sloped towards a drain or gutter, which carried the fluid away at once, the surface of the concrete soon dried and was then perfectly clean. Every apartment and corridor

was furnished with its water supply of this kind, and by a simple contrivance it could be made instantly available in case of fire.

‘Every inspectress, midwife, and nurse was enveloped in a spotless white wrapper, and the medical men wore wrappers over their clothes during operations or hospital visits. The antiseptic system was carried out in the minutest detail, so as to shut out as far as possible all chance of disease germs gaining admittance.

‘Across the gardens were the latrines for the domestics, and, some distance away from these on the same side, the laundries. The conduct of these laundries forms an important part of the antiseptic system. All soiled linen and other washing materials were first soaked in tubs of disinfecting fluid, and then passed on through different rooms for drying and pressing, &c., until they were ready for the linen store again. Each laundry-woman had her assigned duties, and had a room allotted to her near her work.

‘As a result of this careful management I learned that during the last three years there had been only one death from puerperal fever in the whole establishment, and this was in the case of a woman who was brought ill to the hospital and died three days after delivery.’²

If few hospitals supported by voluntary contributions have attained the sanitary perfection of this private charity, it is not too much to say that all hospitals have reaped more or less benefit from the almost universal adoption of antiseptics. Deaths from pyæmia are scarcely known even in the most crowded military hospitals during war, and the mortality from puerperal fever and other forms of blood-poisoning has everywhere diminished.

HYDROPHOBIA.

We have so far seen how Pasteur and his assistants have been able to isolate and cultivate the microbe of fowl cholera, the bacilli of anthrax, and various other diseases, on artificial nutrient; but now we are to see what he makes of a disease when confronted with the difficulty that no special microbe has been found, there being therefore no possibility of cultivating it in the ordinary way. But, although no microbe has been discovered in connection with hydrophobia, it is in all probability there. The presumptive evidence of its existence is so strong that it forms the basis of the whole work, and is in fact as surely there—to use the words of Pasteur—as there are stars in the heavens which have never been seen. If two brains are brought to Pasteur, the one rabid and the other healthy, he is able to tell at once by microscopical examination which is the rabid and which is the healthy. Both show an immense number of molecular

² *Notes on a Visit to some of the Hospitals in the North of Europe.* By W. O. Priestley, M.D.

granules, but those in the rabid medulla are finer and more numerous, suggesting the idea of a micro-organism of extreme tenuity, in shape neither a bacillus nor a diplococcus:—‘they are simply dots.’ Still, they have hitherto defied all efforts at cultivation outside the living body, and it is this fact which has made the study of hydrophobia so terrible, and so fraught with personal danger.

Day after day Pasteur, with his devoted assistants, Chamberland, Roux, and Thuillier,³ pursued their investigations under the flash and glitter of the rabid eye, with the frightful accompaniment of the sharp, short, rabid bark and general fury of the animal. Sometimes they were stimulated onward by getting nearer and nearer their goal—sometimes discouraged by receding further and further away; but after sleepless, haunted nights and days, after months and years of ceaseless toil, the battle was won, with the happy result that man, as well as animals, could be saved from the most awful of all contemplated deaths. At the beginning of his investigations all that Pasteur could hope for was to protect dogs from the disease by inoculation, and thus indirectly save man; but now the method which can be applied to the one can be equally well applied to the other, and serve as a protective until the ideal plan can be realised, of stamping out the disease altogether by prevention.

In the course of his experiments, Pasteur found that the saliva of the mad dog did not always give rise to rabies, and that the more virulent matter was seated in the brain and spinal cord. Both forms of rabies, ‘furious’ and ‘dumb’ rabies, arise from the same virus; but experimentally they can produce ‘furious’ from ‘dumb’ rabies, and, inversely, ‘dumb’ from ‘furious’ rabies.

In the saliva of rabid animals the virus is found associated with various micro-organisms, and the inoculations of this saliva can give rise to death in one of three modes:

- (a) By a new microbe described as ‘the microbe of saliva.’
- (b) By excessive development of pus.
- (c) By rabies.

The medulla oblongata of human beings, as also that of all animals who have died of hydrophobia, is always virulent.

Rabies communicated by intravenous injection of the virus very often exhibits characters which differ considerably from those of furious rabies supervening upon a bite, or after trephining, and it is likely that many cases of silent madness have passed unobserved. In such cases of rabies, which could be termed *spinal*, early paralysis is a common symptom, whilst the habitual fury and rabid barks are absent or rare; but, on the other hand, frightful itching of the skin is at times a marked phenomenon.⁴

Experiments show that after inoculation of the poison into the blood system, the spinal marrow is the region first attacked, the

³ Louis Thuillier went out to Egypt, where cholera was raging. His object was to study the disease, but he took the infection and died.

⁴ Pasteur’s Communications.

virus locating itself and multiplying there before spreading to other parts. On the 19th of May, 1884, about the fourth year of Pasteur's study, he was able to communicate the following to the Academy of Sciences :—

The virus of rabies carried from the dog to the monkey, and subsequently from monkey to monkey, grows weaker at each passage. After the virulence has thus diminished by several passages through monkeys, if the virus be carried back to the dog, the rabbit, or the guinea-pig, it still remains attenuated. In other words, the virulence does not go back at one bound to the degree it had in the dog, *à rage des rues*, affected with ordinary or street madness. . . . On the other hand, successive passages from rabbit to rabbit, and from guinea-pig to guinea-pig, increase the virulence of rabies virus. This exalted virulence comes to a fixed maximum in the rabbit. If now transferred to the dog it remains exalted, and shows itself to be much more intensely virulent than the virus of ordinary street rabies. So great is this acquired virulence that the new virus injected into the blood system of a dog unfailingly gives rise to mortal madness. . . . A logical application of the results just indicated gives us the means of easily rendering dogs refractory to rabies, for we can now prepare, and keep at our disposal, a series of attenuated viruses of different strength, some not mortal, preserving the animal economy against the ill effects of more active ones, and these latter against the effects of mortal ones.

In all Pasteur's experiments the great object aimed at was to find a means of rendering the period of incubation a certainty. In the natural condition of things nothing is more uncertain than the incubation period of rabies in dogs, or hydrophobia in man. The world is full of traditions about the disease developing months or years after the bite. Pasteur soon found that there was no definite period of incubation, where the saliva of the mad dog entered the venous system in the ordinary way. If a large dose of the poison entered, the incubation would be short; if a small quantity entered, it might become localised at the seat of inoculation and wither away, or it might on a more favourable soil slowly and surely work its way and develop into madness months later. How to produce artificial certainty out of natural uncertainty was the difficulty; and this at last he overcame. By inoculating rabbits directly into the brain with the spinal marrow of an ordinary mad dog, he found the disease was generally fatal on the fifteenth day. But if another rabbit were inoculated from that, a third from the second, and so on, the period of incubation would gradually diminish with the increasing virulence of the poison. When the number of passages reached the twenty-fifth rabbit the period of incubation was shortened down to eight days, and remained at that for the next twenty-five passages, when it was further reduced to seven days. At the ninetieth passage the maximum of virulence was attained with the corresponding incubation of seven days, and with a certainty which could be rendered absolute, by preserving the rabbits in perfect health, and by taking them at a uniform age, that of six months.

Matters thus having reached a state of great perfection, a com-

mission was appointed by M. Fallières, the Minister of Instruction, in June 1884, to test the truth of the researches on *La Rage*. The report issued afterwards by the official commission was highly satisfactory. It stated that twenty-three vaccinated dogs were bitten by ordinary mad dogs, and that not one of them had taken rabies. On the other hand, within two months after the bites, sixty-six per cent. of the control dogs similarly bitten had taken the disease.

In the following year 1885, early in July, the exciting moment arrived when Pasteur was to try his prophylaxis for the first time on a human being. When sitting in his private room, which overlooks the avenue leading up to his laboratory in the Rue d'Ulm, three peasants who had travelled all the way from Alsace suddenly presented themselves before him. One, Theodore Vone, had been bitten on the arm by his own dog, which was mad. The other was a boy, Joseph Meister, nine years old, who had been bitten by the same dog in fourteen different places in the hands, legs, and thighs. The third person belonging to this group of pioneers was the mother of the boy, and had not been bitten. Their faith was perfect, simple, and reasonable. Pasteur could save dogs, why could he not therefore save human beings? There was no reason known to science why the method should not be equally well applied to human beings. Medical friends were quickly summoned to consider the case, and all agreed that the man was in no danger, his wounds being only contused, therefore he might go home, but the boy was most certainly doomed to die from hydrophobia. The mother urged her entreaties, and Pasteur, not without deep emotion, directed the operations of Drs. Grancher and Vulpian.

On July 6, at eight o'clock in the evening, the boy received his first inoculation into the right hypochondrium of a fluid containing the marrow of a rabbit which had died rabid fifteen days before. The virus of this marrow had become weakened by drying in contact with the oxygen of the air for fifteen days. It is never exposed to the free atmosphere, where it would certainly undergo decomposition, but it is suspended in a jar with a cotton-wool stopper at the mouth, and a cotton-wool stopper at an aperture below, which permits the air to pass through filtered and pure. In order to keep the air dry some caustic potash lies at the bottom of the jar.

The following table shows how the approach was made from the weaker to the more intense virulence, each successive inoculation coming nearer and nearer to the original virus of the rabid dog, then passing onward to the still more intense virulence of the mad rabbit:

July	6, 8 P.M.	Marrow of June 24, i.e. 15 days old.			
"	7, 9 A.M.	"	"	23, "	14 "
"	7, 6 P.M.	"	"	25, "	12 "
"	8, 9 A.M.	"	"	27, "	11 "
"	8, 6 P.M.	"	"	29, "	9 "

July 9, 11 A.M.	Marrow of July 1, i.e.	8 days old.
„ 10, 11 A.M.	„ „ 3, „	7 „
„ 11, 11 A.M.	„ „ 5, „	6 „
„ 12, 11 A.M.	„ „ 7, „	5 „
„ 13, 11 A.M.	„ „ 9, „	4 „
„ 14, 11 A.M.	„ „ 11, „	3 „
„ 15, 11 A.M.	„ „ 13, „	2 „
„ 16, 11 A.M.	„ „ 15, „	1 „

With a view to test and follow the degrees of virulence inoculated into the boy, two fresh rabbits were also inoculated into the brain with every one of the above marrows. This brought out the following points: the marrows inoculated on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th of July were not virulent, for the rabbits also inoculated with them did not become mad. Those marrows used on the 11th, 12th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of July were all virulent in ascending progression. The rabbits inoculated from the marrows of the 15th and 16th of July took rabies after seven days' incubation; those inoculated from the marrows of the 12th and 14th after eight days; those from the 11th of July after fifteen days.

Joseph Meister had therefore been inoculated with the most powerful rabies virus, namely, the virus of the ordinary mad dog, strengthened by a large number of passages through rabbits—a virus giving rabies to rabbits after seven days' incubation, and to dogs after eight or ten days only.

Pasteur considers that when once the state of immunity has been reached, there is no danger attaching to the inoculation in any quantity of the most powerful virus. The only consequence is simply to consolidate the refractory state. It is now three years ago since all this happened, and the boy Meister lives to tell the tale.

Soon after this, people came trooping in from all parts of the world to be inoculated. The avenue was crowded with picturesque groups, solemn, anxious, merry, and light-hearted, all waiting their turn. About the middle of the following April, Pasteur and his assistants had inoculated 688 persons bitten by mad dogs, and thirty-eight who had been bitten by mad wolves. The whole of the former did well, save one, Louise Pelletier, aged 10, who was frightfully bitten and torn about the head, and came practically too late, thirty-seven days after the accident. Her wounds were discharging pus and blood when she came, and there was little hope from the first of her recovery. Of the thirty-eight wolf-bitten Russians, only three died. The incubation period after wolf-bites is shorter than that after dog-bites, and the death rate is very much higher. When Pasteur had an opportunity of testing the virulence of the brain of one of the Russians who had died, he found the virus to be sensibly of the same strength as that of the rabid dog, the only difference lying in the nature of the bites.

According to the statistics of the Préfecture of Police the average

number of deaths formerly from hydrophobia in the Department of the Seine was 1 in 6. By the end of the following October (1886) no fewer than 2,490 persons had received the preventive treatment at the Rue d'Ulm. Out of these 1,726 were French, of whom 10 died, bringing the average to 1 in 170.

When Pasteur and Dr. Grancher found that one of the Russians had died while under treatment, and that the other two died a few days afterwards, they feared that the sixteen still going through the process might also succumb. They therefore determined to repeat the treatment in their cases, and even to subject them to a third course, bringing them up to the strongest virus each time. This has since been called the 'intensive' treatment, and it proved perfectly successful on the sixteen wolf-bitten Russians.

Since these days the scene of operations has changed to the Rue Vauquelin, where temporary buildings have been placed at the disposal of M. Pasteur by a never-failing grant from the Government. Instead of the savant's little private den in the Rue d'Ulm, a series of apartments are devoted to the use of the men, women, and children who come streaming in every day from ten o'clock till one to be inoculated. Here nothing is asked, everything is given, even to the most generous and kind attention. In summer a basket of cherries is always available for children who are terrified and cry. In winter a good deal is done with bonbons. In the surgery the wounds are daily dressed by able assistants. The care taken and methods adopted are most interesting to watch; for everything is done with mathematical precision and minute attention to detail.

In the first place, it is necessary for the patients to bring a letter from a doctor or veterinary surgeon certifying that the dog which bit them was really mad. Their wounds are then examined, and if only contused and the skin not broken, they are sent home without treatment. Those who have been bitten through the skin have their names registered in a book, with dates and full particulars. New-comers are placed in the foreground by the assistant, whose duty it is to classify them according to the series. He keeps a list of the names, and calls them out in the proper order of their turn. In the middle of a large hall the physician in charge sits behind a screen, and beside him stands an assistant in front of a high table, on which lies a tray containing the series of wine-glasses, all half filled with the grey-looking fluid, ready for inoculation. These glasses are each covered with filter-paper, to protect the fluid from the bacteria floating in the air, and each one is labelled with the date of the marrow. This assistant has also a check list of the names called out.

When all is prepared, and the first name is called out, the patient presents himself before the doctor with that part of his side bared which is ready for the prick. The doctor first rubs over the skin a disinfectant, and then, taking up a fold between his finger and

thumb, presses in the needle of the Pravaz syringe which has been handed to him by the assistant. Two syringes are all that are used, except in cases with a special history. The needle is sterilised every time it is used by being passed first over the flame of a spirit-lamp, then pushed through the filter-paper into the fluid, and finally dipped into a little vessel of boiling oil. It is *de rigueur* to begin always with the weakest virus, and work gradually up to the groups requiring the strongest, so that no one by any chance gets the smallest fraction of a stronger virus than he is previously prepared for. Those persons requiring the intensive treatment have to come again in the afternoon. Since the double or intensive treatment was first used in the case of the wolf-bitten Russians, Pasteur has made it still more rapid for extremely severe cases, and with perfect success.

As soon as the patients have dispersed to their respective homes the scene immediately changes, for the assistants and employés at once begin their preparations for the morrow. One man takes to pieces the syringes which have just been used, burns the leathers, disinfects the metal parts, and sends them to the instrument-maker to be remounted. All cast-off bandages and virulent material are thrown into a tub of sulphate of copper and neutralised directly. All instruments are cleaned, disinfected, and sterilised at every stage.

While the employés are thus engaged in clearing up, the assistants are busy preparing fresh rabbits for future use. Every day two rabbits are placed under chloroform, and inoculated intracranially with marrow from a rabbit which has died that day. In seven days these rabbits will show signs of the disease, and on the tenth day will die paralysed. One rabbit is practically sufficient for the supply, but the sacrifice of the second is necessary in case of one dying from some other cause. Hence every day two rabbits die, and two are inoculated with a portion of the fresh and most virulent spinal cord.

As soon as these rabbits are inoculated the remainder of the cord is cut into three pieces, and suspended in three different jars dated and labelled. They are then taken to a building on the other side of the court, and placed in a large chamber dedicated to this purpose.

A stove in the middle of the room regulates the temperature day and night. In connection with this chamber of virus, there is a special laboratory, into which no human being is allowed to enter, save the assistant whose duty it is to mix the marrows with the *bouillon* every morning. So essential is it to keep this place free from dust that the door is kept just sufficiently ajar to allow the assistant to pass in and out. Here he has to take the *bouillon* from its *balloon pipette* (flask sealed against the bacteria of the air), and

the marrow from the drying bottle, and pound them together, ever and anon passing his glass mortar through a flame, and sterilising everything in use every step of the way. The wine-glasses into which the various fluids are poured are all labelled and arranged in proper sequence, and are ready for use only at the moment when the people are assembling who are to receive the fluid into their veins.

Since the first human inoculation was tried with so much success on the boy Meister, several other stations have been established, and the combined statistics show the following results up to the end of February 1887:—

	City	Total number treated	Deaths	Per-centage
M. Pasteur	Paris	3,020	34	1.15
Dr. Budjivid	Warsaw	84	—	—
Prince Oldenburg	St. Petersburg	140	3	2.14
Dr. Petermann	Moscow	112	4	3.57
Dr. Gamaleia	Odessa	325	12	3.69
Dr. Burdach				
Dr. Cantani	Naples	28	—	—
Dr. Vestea				
Dr. Ullmann	Vienna	96	—	—
Dr. Parschensky	Samara	47	1	2.14
		3,852	54	4.40

Thus, taking all cases together, inclusive of wolf-bites, and inclusive also of those patients who died whilst treatment was in progress, we find a death-rate of 1.40 per cent., with a total of 54 deaths.—*Suzor's Tables.*

By the order of the Préfet de Police, a report is read every year to the Council of Hygiène of the Department of the Seine, on the cases of hydrophobia which have occurred in the preceding year at Paris and in the suburbs. Dr. Dujardin Beaumetz who takes charge of this work, mentions in his report on the 2nd of March last the following facts:—

‘In 1887, 306 persons were bitten in Paris and the suburbs by dogs recognised to be rabid, and these 306 persons underwent Pastorianne inoculations. Besides these, 44 persons bitten also by mad dogs neglected to have themselves treated at the laboratory of M. Pasteur. Of the 306 persons treated, only 2 died; while of the 44 others, 7 died of hydrophobia, the proportion being thirty times greater than in the first case.’ Dr. Dujardin Beaumetz further adds that the two persons who died after their treatment had not regularly followed the *clinique* (necessary attendance), the one because she was always drunk, the other because she could not leave her children.

These facts seemed so remarkable to the Council of Hygiène that they decided to send a copy of the report to all the papers, and to do everything in their power to encourage persons bitten to apply for treatment at the laboratory of M. Pasteur.

The question which naturally arises in the mind is, What takes place when the virus enters the blood? The answer to this is still based on mere hypothesis, and has not yet taken definite shape in the higher regions of fact. It is not because our knowledge is too limited that the question remains unanswered, but because the inquiry has branched off in many directions, and may be equally well explained by the researches of the physiologist, the biologist, and the naturalist. With regard to the yeast plant, we know that its nourishment is derived from the sugar in the barley, and that the absorption of the sugar effects a chemical change which is favourable to the beer, but inimical to the life of the organism, which dies not alone because the sugar has come to an end, but because alcohol has come into existence. In seeking life it produces a substance—alcohol—which is destructive to its career, and so seals its own fate. To add fresh yeast after fermentation has taken place would be useless—the necessary soil is not there, and therefore the seed cannot grow. When vaccine lymph or cow-pox is inoculated into the human blood, it is on the supposition that the living organism will find and exhaust a certain material in the blood which is favourable to the life of the more deadly small-pox. But if that necessary something is no longer there, it is simply starved out. Apart from these explanations there is that of ‘educating’ the blood-cells to resist the invasion of the microbe by gradually getting them accustomed to its presence. De Quincey ‘educated’ his constitution to bear 8,000 drops of laudanum a day, and after seventeen years’ use, and eight years’ abuse, of its powers, gradually educated himself to do with 12 grains, although four months afterwards he suffered greatly from want of it, and complained of being agitated, writhing, throbbing, palpitating, and shattered. On one occasion he presented a wandering Malay with a piece of opium which was enough to kill three dragoons and their horses. To his surprise the Malay swallowed the whole piece at once, but as no dead Malay was found in the neighbourhood within the next few days he concluded the man was accustomed to its use. Dr. Dallinger has conducted some able experiments, showing that by slow degrees some of the septic micro-organisms, the saprophytes, can be made to tolerate a temperature which would be fatal to their existence if sudden. From their natural temperature of 60° F. (this from memory) he has succeeded in making them bear a temperature of 158° F. by slowly increasing the heat, and turning it carefully back again when they become faint and threaten to die; thus, by getting them accustomed to it, he forces them to live in new conditions. In the course of eight or nine months they increase in size, are blotchy, and greatly altered in outward appearance, but healthy. In the same manner salt-water medusæ can be made to tolerate fresh water; whereas, if the change were made suddenly, it would be fatal.

These interesting facts all help to throw light on the subject when trying to probe the mystery of Pasteur's method of introducing a progressively increasing virus into the veins.

A few years ago, when the Medal of Honour was offered to Pasteur on behalf of the Academy of Sciences by his former master M. Dumas, in a complimentary speech he made the following remarks:—

In the Little of Life you discovered a third realm, that to which belong those beings which, with all the prerogatives of animal life, have no need for air in order to live, and find the heat which is necessary to their existence in the chemical decompositions they provoke around them.

The thorough study of ferments gave you the complete explanation of the alterations which take place in organic substances, in beer, in wine, in fruit, in animal matters of every kind. You explained the preservative rôle of applied heat to their conservation, and you discovered how to regulate afterwards the effect of temperature so as to produce death of the ferments. . . Applying these ideas to the alterations which so often cause wounds and injuries to prove fatal when patients live in contaminated localities, you have taught how danger can be avoided by surrounding their limbs by filtered air, and your precepts adopted by practical surgery give immunity to operations previously unknown.

Vaccination was a practical form of benevolence. You have discovered the theory of it, and have enlarged its applications. You have taught how a virus may become a vaccine, how a mortal poison may become an innocent preservative. . . .

Your life has known only successes. The École Normale is proud to count you among its pupils; the Academy of Sciences rejoices in your works. France ranges you among her glories. . . .

The following is a list of the honours conferred on the man to whom the world owes so much, but who in our own island is still so little known:—

Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Grand Cross of the Order of St. Anne of Russia. Cross and insignia in diamonds.

Grand Cross of SS. Maurice and Lazarus of Italy.

Grand Cross of the Order of Isabella the Catholic.

Grand Cross of the Rose of Brazil, with Collar.

Grand Cross of the Medjidieh of Turkey.

Grand Cross of St. James of Portugal.

Grand Cross of the Polar Star of Sweden.

Grand Cross of St. Sava, Serbie.

Grand Cross of the Iron Crown of Austria and Hungary.

Grand Cross of Roumania.

Grand Cross of Nichan.

Grand Cross of Tunis.

Officer of the Ordre de Mérite d'Agriculture Française.

Commander of the Crown of Italy.

Under the same glass case with the above, are sixteen gold medals, including the Copley Medal of the Royal Society of England, and the Albert Medal.

Three gold anchors. A crown of gold laurel leaves, from the town of Clichy.

An exquisite group of fruit, carved out of precious stones, from the Emperor of Russia.

A gold enamelled casket from the Duke of Oldenburg.

Several silver medals, one from Barcelona representing a dog in the typical attitude of rabies, with torn garments under its fore feet, and a child, nude, standing by perfectly fearless, and holding in his hand a branch of laurels. This interests Pasteur more than the Emperor of Russia's diamonds or any of the more superb grand crosses.

To describe all the exquisite *objets d'art* and honours which have been showered upon the *savant* from all parts of the world would cover too many pages; but in the midst of them this honorary doctor of all the great Universities of Europe—this member of eighty-three learned societies—lives a homely existence, and is too simple to be spoilt.

ELIZA PRIESTLEY.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH'S POEMS.

ARCHBISHOP TRENCH, not long before his lamented death, published in two volumes a new edition of his poetical works¹—a welcome gift to many who had read in their youth, alike with delight and profit, the poems written by him in his youth, and a bequest which will be valued most by those who are attracted by the spiritual element in poetry when it is in no degree divorced from human sympathies. His religious poetry is of an order special to himself, and among contemporary 'Anglican' poets he will probably be one day regarded by many as the best. Certainly there was no other that combined with a devout spirit so much not generally included in the term religious poetry; none who penetrated into so sound a vein of philosophical thought, or who derived his themes from such varied sources. To the minor, but not unimportant graces of poetry, such as metrical perfection, the labours of an ecclesiastical career probably allowed him to pay less attention than he would otherwise have bestowed on them, though they did not prevent him from continuing to write poetry in his maturer years, and write not less ably than in earlier days. His literary career began when the age occupied itself in an unusual degree with religion; and it was its first fruits that his poetic mind dedicated to spiritual themes. In his first volume, *The Story of Justin Martyr*, the poems specially Christian are not only the more numerous, but are obviously those most entirely spontaneous. They are expressions of emotions as much as of thoughts—emotions that mated themselves with whatever met his eye as he moved through the classic lands illustrated in that volume.

One of the chief characteristics of Archbishop Trench's poetry is its intense seriousness—a seriousness which, even in his youthful poems, would evidently have been sadness but for that lustre thrown on his estimate of man's lot by the hope of a higher life. Apart from a 'clothing from above' they must apparently have worn for the poet a perpetual shadow—not one cast on them by the pessimism connected with the cynical spirit, but with sensibilities too keen for a world of chance and of change. Except when the sensibilities possess an elasticity equal to their intensity, the humanities take not only

¹ *Poems*. By Richard Chenevix Trench. New edition, 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

a sober but a sombre colouring. The shadow of the tomb rests on them, and the air around them is filled with warning voices. Poetry has its temperament as well as its spirit. The temperament of his poetry is melancholy and saturnine: its spirit, on the other hand, is buoyant. The result of this union is that the cheerfulness which belongs to his most characteristic poems is predominantly that of consolation. It is often, indeed, the sunbeam of the churchyard, and the bird song echoed from the ruin. His poetry is essentially that of reality, and reality has its sad side. Byron, the gloomiest of modern poets, despite his bursts of wild mirth, calls Crabbe, though Nature's darkest painter, 'yet her best.' Archbishop Trench's picture of life might have worn a graver sadness if his spiritual belief had not been as bright as Cowper's Calvinistic creed was depressing. The duty of poetry to be an inspirer of hope is insisted on in the 'prefatory lines' prefixed to his earliest volume. It is hers, he asserts, to speak

Of light from darkness, good from evil brought
By an almighty power, and how all things,
If we will not refuse the good they bring,
Are messages of an almighty love,
And full of blessings. Oh! be sure of this—
All things are mercies while we count them so;
And this believing not keen poverty,
Nor wasting years of pain or slow disease,
Nor death, which in a moment might lay low
Our pleasant plants; not these, if they should come,
Shall ever drift our bark of faith ashore,
Whose steadfast anchor is securely cast
Within the veil, the veil of things unseen,
Which now we know not, but shall know hereafter.

The same conviction is expressed in the noble Spenserian stanzas which serve as an introduction to his second volume,² and affirm the kinship of poetry and faith. They address the former—

In my life's youth, while yet the deeper needs
Of the inmost spirit unawakened were,
Thou couldst recount of high heroic deeds,
Couldst add a glory unto earth and air,
A crowning glory, making fair more fair:
So that my soul was pleased and satisfied,
Which had as yet no higher, deeper care,
And said that thou shouldst evermore abide
With me, and make my bliss, and be my spirit's bride.

But years went on, and thoughts which slept before,
O'er the horizon of my soul arose—
Thoughts which perplexed me ever more and more;
As though a Sphinx should meet one, and propose

² *Sabbation*, etc.

Enigmas hard, and which whoso not knows
 To interpret, must her prey and victim be ;
 And I, round whom thick darkness seemed to close,
 Knew only this one thing, that misery
 Remained, if none could solve this riddle unto me.

But when no longer without hope I mourned,
 When peace and joy revived in me anew,
 Even from that moment my old love returned,
 My former love, yet wiser and more true,
 As seeing what for us thy power can do,
 And what thy skill can make us understand
 And know—and where that skill attained not to ;
 How far thou canst sustain us by thy hand,
 And what things shall in us a holier care demand.

Though now there seems one only worthy aim
 For Poet—that my strength were as my will !—
 And which renounce he cannot without blame—
 To make men feel the presence by his skill
 Of an eternal loveliness, until
 All souls are faint with longing for their home,
 Yet the same time are strengthened to fulfil
 Their task on earth, that they may surely come
 Unto the land of life, who here as exiles roam.

If in this quest, O power of sacred song,
 Thou canst assist—oh, never take thy flight !
 If thou canst make us gladder or more strong,
 If thou canst fling glimpses of glorious light
 Upon life's deepest depth and highest height,
 Or pour upon its low and level plain
 A gleam of mellow gladness, if this might
 Thou hast (and it is thine), then not in vain
 Are we henceforth prepared to follow in the train.

Not long after the publication of his first volume the poet learned that it had imparted serious aid to several persons who, when appalled by the 'Sphinx's enigmas,' had not taken refuge in an ignoble indifference. Among them was one of his college friends, the author of the *Lawyer*, who to the end continued faithful both to his Christian convictions, and to the principles as regards legal practice sustained in that book and vindicated by Lord Macaulay against Lord Brougham.

So far as Archbishop Trench's poetry is to be placed in the class of religious verse—though it was by no means confined to that category—it is curious to observe how different it is in character from that of the Oxford poets, Keble and Williams—the former of whom helped so much to the creation of the 'High Church School,' while the poetical works of the latter, and especially his *Baptistery*, possessed also high poetic merit, and exercised a kindred influence. Dean Milman belonged also to the University of Oxford; but his poetry represented an earlier time, and related less to religious themes. Archbishop Trench belonged to Cambridge, not Oxford. In those

days, more than half a century gone by, the marvellously ecclesiastical aspect presented by Oxford was but a type of the spirit that pervaded that 'ancient and venerable University,' and had received an additional stimulus from the excitement occasioned by Catholic Emancipation. The spirit of Cambridge was a different spirit: its most eminent representatives were not Patristic Theologians—they were men more often famed for scientific acquirements, such as Whewell, Airy, De Morgan, and Sedgewick; or for high classical scholarship, like the Hares. Among the students were Alfred and Charles Tennyson, Arthur Hallam, Richard Monckton Milnes, W. Brookfield, John Kemble, Arthur Helps, Frederick Denison Maurice, and many besides—afterwards honoured names. These men cared little for Fathers or Schoolmen, but a great deal for Wordsworth and Coleridge, Goethe and Schiller, Kant and Schelling. The 'Humanities' were more to them than scholastic lore, and metaphysical systems than Theology. These were the men with whom the future Archbishop chiefly associated; and though in his subsequent poetry a strong sympathy with 'High Church' principles is to be found, yet the religious spirit of that poetry retained largely a character impressed upon it probably by earlier associations. It was pre-eminently human-hearted in its intellectual part, brooding and questioning, and occupied with interests extending over a wide range. In Jewish, Mahometan, and even Pagan, legends he found a spiritual significance; while, in such poems as his 'Lines written on a Picture of the Assumption by Murillo,' he evinced a higher sympathy with the devotional mind of the Middle Ages than is to be found in the Oxford poets. His poetry remained always free from partisanship and from that most unpoetical of all things, the polemical spirit.

To pass to his secular poetry. The 'Prize of Song' is among the happiest specimens of his classical legends, and is so unlike his Christian legends as to mark in him a versatility rare in religious poets.

Challenged by the haughty daughters
 Of the old Emathian King,
 Strove the Muses at the waters
 Of that Heliconian spring—
 Proved beside those hallowed fountains
 Unto whom the prize of song,
 Unto whom those streams and mountains
 Should of truest right belong.

First those others in vexed numbers
 Mourned the rebel giant brood,
 Whom the earth's huge mass encumbers,
 Or who writhe, the vulture's food;
 Mourned for earth-born power, which failleth
 Heaven to win by might and main;
 Then, thrust back, for ever wailleth,
 Gnawing its own heart in pain.

Nature shuddered while she hearkened,
 Through her veins swift horror ran:
 Sun and stars, perturbed and darkened,
 To forsake their orbs began.
 Back the rivers fled; the ocean
 Howled upon a thousand shores,
 As it would with wild commotion
 Burst its everlasting doors.

Hushed was not that stormy riot,
 Till were heard the sacred Nine
 Singing of the blissful quiet
 In the happy seats divine;
 Singing of those thrones immortal,
 Whither struggling men attain,
 Passing humbly through the portal
 Of obedience, toil, and pain.

At that melody symphonious
 Joy to Nature's heart was sent,
 And the spheres, again harmonious,
 Made sweet thunder as they went:
 Lightly moved, with pleasure dancing,
 Little hills and mountains high
 Helicon his head advancing,
 Till it almost touched the sky.

—Thou whom once those Sisters holy
 On thy lonely path have met,
 And, thy front thou stooping lowly,
 There their sacred laurel set,
 Oh be thine, their mandate owning,
 Aye with them to win the prize,
 Reconciling and atoning
 With thy magic harmonies:

An Arion thou, whose singing
 Rouses not a furious sea,
 Rather the sea-monsters bringing
 Servants to its melody;
 An Amphion, not with passion
 To set wild the builders' mind,
 But the mystic walls to fashion,
 And the stones in one to bind.

This poem is a real addition to the stores of English lyrical verse, elevated as it is in thought, and expressed in language though occasionally careless, yet more corresponding with the dignity of the theme than more elaborate diction would be. As a statement of what poetry should seek it is a Greek supplement to the stanzas on poetry previously quoted. Those stanzas affirm that poetry should ever rise in spiritual aspiration; the 'Prize of Song' insists on the solidity which should belong to it no less. The spire should be lifted on the tower, not stand on the ground.

'Orpheus and the Sirens' is another fine specimen of the mode in which classical themes may be handled in a Christian spirit. It records the expedition of the Argo to Colchos in search of the Golden Fleece.

Nor Orpheus pass unnamed, though from the rest
 Apart, he leaned upon that lyre divine,
 Which once in heaven his glory should attest,
 Set there, a sacred sign :

But when auspicious thunders pealed on high,
 Unto its chords and to his chant sublime
 The joyful heroes, toiling manfully,
 With measured strokes kept time.

Then when that keel divided first the waves,
 Them Chiron cheered from Pelion's piny crown,
 And wondering sea-nymphs rose from ocean caves,
 And all the Gods looked down.

Their perils surmounted, the Fleece won, and their homeward journey nearly accomplished, the warriors are suddenly called on to encounter the greatest of their dangers. The Sirens' Island lies before them; its fragrance is wafted over the waves, and with it the song inviting the sea-worn mariners to endless enjoyment exempt from all duties. The beach is whitened by the bones of those who have yielded to the seduction; but the warning is in vain, they steer inland. Suddenly Orpheus seizes his harp—

Of holier joy he sang, more true delight,
 In other happier isles for them reserved,
 Who, faithful here, from constancy and right
 And truth have never swerved ;

How evermore the tempered ocean gales
 Breathe round those hidden islands of the blest,
 Steeped in the glory spread, when daylight fails
 Far in the sacred West ;

But of pure gladness found in temperance high,
 In duty owned, and revered with awe,
 Of man's true freedom, which may only lie
 In servitude to law ;

And how 'twas given through virtue to aspire
 To golden seats in ever-calm abodes ;
 Of mortal men, admitted to the quire
 Of high immortal Gods.

He sang—a mighty melody divine,
 Waking deep echoes in the heart of each—
 Reminded whence they drew their royal line,
 And to what heights might reach.

The song triumphs, and the heroes reach their home.

Among the Christian Legends one of the best is entitled 'The Monk and the Bird.' The renunciation of all worldly ambitions and

domestic ties has cost the Monk nothing ; his happiness increases as the years go by ; for his mind finds rest in one thought—that of the ‘Beatific Vision’ reserved for the Just. At last a dreadful doubt assails him and, in spite of all his efforts to discard it, pursues him, alike amid the splendour of conventual offices, and when meditating in his cell. That doubt is whether the unvarying glory of that transcendent Vision would not become one day a weariness to a mind such as man’s. As he walks in sad musings he is attracted far on into a wood by the mystic singing of a bird.

He heard not, saw not, felt not aught beside,
Through the wide worlds of pleasure and of pain,
Save the full flowing and the ample tide
Of that celestial strain.

He stands enthralled, as he supposes, for an hour, and then returns to his convent. The old faces fill it no more ; three generations have passed. Later the new monks place him in his former cell, and thrice his early happiness is his once more. It is tempered by a single doubt—

Lest an eternity should not suffice
To take the measure and the breadth and height
Of what there is reserved in Paradise—
Its ever-new delight.

A note informs us that more than one German poet has dealt with this legend. In origin, however, it is not Teutonic. The late Professor Eugene O’Curry, in his invaluable *Materials of Ancient Irish History*, refers to a very early Irish manuscript in which it is extant.

Another legend, ‘Gertrude of Saxony,’ is, as stated in the note to the first edition, to be found in the eighth volume (p. 355) of the *Bibliotheca Ascetica*—a collection by Bernardus Pezsius of scarce religious tracts pertaining to the Middle Ages. It is characterised by that mixture of simplicity, sweetness, and unconscious grace which belongs to the best mediæval legends. St. Gertrude rides with a goodly company towards an Alsatian convent. As they traverse a vast and houseless plain the evening closes around them, and refuge there is none. Suddenly a palace of vast size and surpassing beauty stands before them. Its countless doors and windows lie wide open, and within are stored all things needful for human use ; but inmates they see none.

But when they for a season waited had,
Behold ! a matron of majestic air,
Of regal port, in regal garments clad,
Entered alone—who, when they would declare
With reverence meet what need had brought them there
At such untimely hour, smiling replied,
That she already was of all aware ;
And added, she was pleased and satisfied
That they to be her guests that night had turned aside.

And ere the meal she spread for them was done,
 Upon a sudden One there entered there
 Whose countenance with marvellous beauty shone,
 More than the sons of men divinely fair,
 And all whose presence did the likeness wear
 Of angel more than man: he too with bland
 Mild words saluted them, and gracious air;
 Sweet comfort, solemn awe, went hand in hand,
 While in his presence did those wondering pilgrims stand.

Then turning to that Matron, as a son
 Might to his mother speak familiarly
 He spake to her—they only heard the tone,
 Not listening out of reverent courtesy:

In the morning the travellers pursue their journey; when they have gone but a short distance they turn to take a last look at that palace. It is no longer to be seen; and later they learn from the nobles of that land that on that plain neither palace nor house has ever existed.

Thereat from them did thankful utterance break,
 And with one voice they praised His tender care
 Who had upreared a palace for their sake,
 And of that pomp and cost did nothing spare
 Though but to guard them from one night's cold air,
 And had no ministries of love disdained;
 And 'twas their thought, if some have unaware
 Angels for guests received with love unfeigned,
 That they had been by more than angels entertained.

Archbishop Trench's poetry, however freely it may deal with the ideal world, yet never leaves reality far behind it. The ordinary conditions of our mortal lot may in it be transcended; but it is then that the great spiritual truths which lie at the base of human existence are most effectually presented to us. He has—an unusual charge—more of imagination than of fancy, the latter faculty being less often found in association with serious thought and earnest purpose. The imagination deals alike easily with elevated themes and homely themes—what repels it is the conventional; and the absence of this in Archbishop Trench's poetry is one of the proofs that his poetic vein is authentic. That authenticity is indeed severely tested by the extreme plainness of its diction, which it must be owned is sometimes carried to exaggeration. If it rebukes poets who have an opposite fault, those poets might retort that there exists a degree of plainness which has about it an ostentation of its own, and 'tramples on the pride of Plato with a greater pride.' Wordsworth once remarked laughingly of a young poet whose diction he regarded as too rich, that if 'Crabbe's poetry and his could be blended it would make excellent bread and butter.'

Though very many among Archbishop Trench's best poems treat

secular subjects, the most characteristic are those on religious—a circumstance which has perhaps been injurious to their popularity. Even among religious persons religion is often regarded as a subject unfit for verse. Except when strictly limited, that condemnation is surely a hasty one. No doubt secular themes will always, and justly, remain far the most numerous subjects for poetry; but it may be true not less that religious subjects are, in their measure and degree, perfectly suitable also; nay, true besides, that the theory which disparages them inflicts a serious injury, less on religion than on poetry, ignoring its affinities to much that is greatest in man, arbitrarily restricting its range, and tempting both poet and reader to value disproportionately its lesser functions, and to ignore not only its spiritual capabilities, but also its social and moral offices. That theory is therefore one worthy of examination. It will be admitted at once that there exist certain higher regions in theological science in which the reader cannot be expected to breathe ‘the difficult air of the iced mountain top.’ It is equally certain that there are doctrines, and also facts, belonging to religion which, though not too recondite, are too sacred for detailed poetical illustration; and that even well-intended attempts thus to illustrate them have often had an alloy of over-familiarity, if not of coarseness, repulsive to refined minds. But this means only that religious themes have to be selected and handled with discretion. A great poet has told us that ‘Truth hath her pleasure-grounds’; and Religion has also her regions in which things divine and things human range freely together. These are the regions which the religious poet may best adventure upon; and even the pagan poets, though they sang of their Gods, did not sing of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In early Christian times there was a ‘*Disciplina arcani*’ for religious teachers; and religious poets will do well to respect a similar law. There is room enough for them outside its limit. Puritanism indeed attacks a religion larger than its own for not confining itself to the so-called ‘essential things;’ but authentic religion is not a trim garden, but includes a world of mountain and dale—otherwise much in man’s nature must have remained unconsecrated; and poetry, like painting, should avail itself of this largeness.

Congregational hymns, of course—at least those in modern languages—are seldom poetical. If they were largely so they would often be less fit for devotional purposes. Neither can even the success of Dryden, ‘the Bacon of the rhyming crew,’ as he is called by Landor, ever persuade us that religious controversy, such as his *Hind and Panther*, gains by the controversialist choosing to do battle in singing robes; but there are abundant forms of poetry, as, for instance, the philosophical, to which the same objections do not apply. Philosophical poetry, when of a high order, has been often admired, even when the philosophy is of the materialistic—that is,

of the least poetical order ; and the Platonic philosophy is so essentially poetic that Milton, in a magnificent but little known Latin poem, admirably translated by Leigh Hunt into the metre of the *Penseroso*,³ adjures Plato, since he insists on banishing the poets from his ideal Republic, to practise what he preaches, and himself to head the band of exiles. Can it then be maintained seriously that philosophy would cease to be a fit theme for poetry if it became Christian philosophy, that is, if the imaginative reason were to add to its stores, derived from meditation and from experience, those yet more luminous truths which have become man's heritage through revelation ? Keats finely expressed what countless men must have felt when he said 'Beauty is truth ; truth beauty : ' is it to be believed that truth has no affinity with poetic beauty, except when that beauty is earth-born and returns to the dust ; or that poetic beauty can have no relations with truths which bear witness to the immortal and the infinite ? There is little temptation to this narrowness. Is the rural and sylvan landscape abolished because it has a mountain boundary ? On the contrary, its softness is enhanced by the contrast. Should the mountains include nothing above the limit-line of perpetual snow ? On the contrary, it is above that line that we have, though not precipice and ravine, yet the richest colour, the most exhilarating lights, and the most majestic outlines. Nature's world has 'many mansions,' and so has that of art—a world not to be clipped by the dogmas of a criticism with vivid perceptions, but bark-bound sympathies.

Not less narrow is the allegation that poetry should confine itself exclusively to secular themes when it deals with narrative. The themes of the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid* were well worthy of song, the former recording the fall of a guilty State, the latter the foundation of a great State by a royal exile ; but the nobler of these epics had large dealings with the Gods as well as with the heroes of old time. Were the *Paradise Lost* and *Jerusalem Delivered* unfortunate in their subjects ? Few will affirm this. Those subjects had their imperfections and limitations, but so have all poetic subjects ; and if the battle of angels is above the limit of poetic art, the Catalogue of the Ships is beneath it. Heroism is heroism no less if the city besieged be the city of David, not the city of Priam ; and if the heroism of Greece was naturally excited by a desire to wipe out the opprobrium cast upon it by the flight of Helen, a true poet might see something as calculated to stimulate the chivalry of Christendom in a war waged to replace the Cross on the churches of Jerusalem and to deliver Christian captives from Mahometan dungeons. The whole range of human action and passion, whether directed to evil or good ends, lay open to the Christian narrative poet as well as to the pagan ; the Paladins of Charlemagne were as

³ It is entitled, *Plato's Archetypal Man.*

brave as the Greek chiefs; and the affianced wife of Roland, who died on hearing of his death, was as loyal-hearted as Andromache.

The difference between the religious and the non-religious theme is often that the former includes all the conditions and resources of poetry to be found in the latter, and adds to them others besides. It comprises a special range of human affections not found elsewhere. It exhibits, in addition to all that belongs to mere human nature, many ascending grades of moral nobleness; and for the most part the more advanced the character is in spirituality, the profounder, though not the more absorbing, is that human tenderness which can only reach its full development through the extinction of self-love. It is in the Christian types of character alone that we witness those graduated lights and shades produced by the blending influences of nature and of grace. Have they no significance? Let us turn to such creations as Chaucer's St. Cecilia, Griselde, and Constance, or to Spenser's loveliest characters. Was Una, who devoted her life to the restoration of her deposed parents, deficient in human affections because she had affections higher still? Had she no love for the champion who had undertaken her cause and then suspected and deserted her? Was it insensibility which induced her to bring him to the 'House of Holiness' and restore him to virtue and honour? Were Spenser's bandit chiefs less naturally described because they stood in contrast with Christian warriors leal and true? Characters of a high spiritual order are the 'flowers of the tree,' and their fragrance is not destroyed, but is the more delicate, because they wave in a higher air.

It is sometimes alleged that saintly characters are too like each other for poetic illustration. This is *à priori* judgment, not fact. Even a careless reader must have observed how strikingly distinct are the most saintly characters in the New Testament, notwithstanding all that they have in common. This unlikeness is remarkable in authentic religious biographies. The saint of contemplation is essentially different from the saint of penitence, or of apostolic zeal, or of humble laboriousness. It is with characters as with faces: on a first acquaintance we sometimes hardly know one member of a family from another, for the family type is all that has caught our attention: by degrees we grow to observe the individual traits, and then we marvel how we ever saw any other. In poetry, whether the characters illustrated are ordinary men or saints, we discriminate only where we have grown intimate. To a boy the warriors of Homer seem much alike because they are all courageous; but a thoughtful reader perceives that in each hero courage is a different virtue from what it is in others, not to speak of qualities blended with that of courage. Among the wise there are many different sorts of wisdom, and among the virtuous many types of virtue. If to the merely secular intelligence all saints look alike, it may be that to saints all the

worldly look alike; but in both cases a mistake is made; and poetry is not called on to renounce the larger delineation of human character in deference to mistakes.

The drama, it should be owned, is an exception to these remarks. A saintly character may be introduced into a play, as in the instance of Massinger's *Virgin Martyr*, and the main drift of a drama may embody an elevated moral teaching, as it commonly does in Shakespeare's tragedies; but the drama is so much occupied by the collisions of violent passions, that although Aristotle claimed for Greek tragedy the special function of purifying the heart through the influences of pity and terror, our own must be regarded as that department of poetry the sphere of which lies farthest apart from that of religion. For this, however, lyrical poetry makes ample amends. In it poetry mounts on wings, and her heavenward flights have frequently been amongst her noblest, whether as regards strength or grace. It has proved so both in ancient times and modern. The Psalms have been read far more frequently than any other part of Holy Scripture, except the Canticles and a few other passages of the New Testament; and the highest classical and Oriental literature abounds in religious odes often the most vigorous and apparently spontaneous expression of the antique imagination, as well as the most precious memorial of national traditions. If any part of ancient poetry sprang directly from the heart of the people it was this. The Latin hymns of the early Church were the delight not only of the ages that produced them, but of later times; they were the last poems that soothed the deathbed of Walter Scott. Petrarch's religious poetry came as plainly from his heart as his love-sonnets. Spenser's hymns on 'Heavenly Love' and 'Heavenly Beauty' rank with his noblest and most characteristic poems. The works of Herbert and Crashaw abound in lyrics equal to the best of the age they belong to; and the Elizabethan era bequeathed to us a large mass of true poetry, alike intellectual and imaginative, on religious themes—the works especially of the Beaumonts, Habington, Daniel, Southwell, and Dr. Henry More. The best of Drummond's touching sonnets are religious. Milton's magnificent Christmas Hymn makes us lament that he did not resume at a later period that sister song on the Passion which he laid aside, as he has touchingly recorded, from an impression that his years were not yet sufficiently mature to cope with a theme so high.

It has been the same in recent times. Wordsworth's finest poem is that which elects for its theme the immortality of man—

Trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our Home.

Coleridge's hymn, *Mont Blanc*, is perhaps the grandest of his poems, though not the most characteristic. Shelley's most spiritual, earnest,

and beautiful lyric is his *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, rightly so called, since it embodies what was nearest to religious thought attained to by him, and therefore includes what is perhaps the only expression of humility in his works—

Whom, Spirit fair, thy spells did bind
To *fear himself*, and love all human kind.

Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* rank high among his lyrics; and among his other most poetical passages are some few which, without ostentation, indicate at least occasional visitations of strong though vague religious feeling. Those parts of his poems which scoff at religion, like others of a cynical character, are invariably unpoetical. In the other countries of Europe, religious poetry has fully equalled in poetic merit the highest specimens of secular. In Italy it has surpassed them; and, as Kenelm Digby remarks, if the highest place among poets must be assigned to Shakespeare, the highest among single poems would probably by good judges be accorded to Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Nor is it little remarkable that in that pre-eminently religious work the two latter portions—viz. the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*—are immeasurably more poetical than the *Inferno*, notwithstanding that the last named concerns itself so much more with secular interests, and challenges attention by several well-known passages of exceptional power. The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, indeed, are not only richer than it in imagination and intellect, but also in pathos and tenderness;—witness the meeting of the poet with his remote ancestor, Cacciaguida. In Spanish literature the greatest poet, Calderon, is also the most religious; and in his own day his most popular works were those *Autos Sacramentales* so rapturously praised by Augustus Schlegel and by Shelley. The admirable translations of them by Denis Florence McCarthy enable the English reader to form his own judgment on their merits; as do also some fine fragments by Archbishop Trench. It is thus that he expresses his opinion of Calderon's *Autos*:—

He (the reader) will be filled, I fear not to say, with an endless admiration and astonishment at the skill of the poet in conquering the almost unconquerable difficulties of his theme, at the power with which he masters and moulds the most heterogeneous materials. . . . Add to these merits the gorgeous poetic diction, wherein he clothes the flights of an imagination for which nothing is too bold, which dares to reach all worlds; while, most wonderful triumph of all, he is able to impart even a dramatic interest to that which, whatever other merits it might acquire in its treatment, might have seemed in its very nature incapable of this merit. . . . It is not too much to say of the larger number of these marvellous works that they are hymns of loftiest praise to Redeeming Love, summonses to all things which have breath to praise the Lord; and he too writes as one who has seen Satan fall as lightning from heaven, and rejoices in spirit with his Lord.⁴

Such criticism, as well as the Archbishop's remarks on Dante,

⁴ *Calderon: an Essay on his Life and Genius*, pp. 98, 100. London: Macmillan, 1880.

carry with them more weight as regards religious poetry than *negative* objections amounting but to this—that it is not that form of poetry which has an interest for the objector. Many persons delight in the drama who dislike lyrical poetry; and others are admirable judges of painting who possess no taste for sculpture.

The religious poetry of Archbishop Trench may be referred to several different classes—such as the narrative, the allegoric, and the meditative. The last named finds perhaps its best expression in his sonnets, a form of composition which adds to the force of thoughtful poetry by the condensation which its structure requires, and imparts majesty by the unity which it insists on. Here is a specimen:—

What good soever in thy heart or mind
Doth yet no higher source nor fountain own
Than thine own self, nor bow to other throne,
Suspect and fear; although therein thou find
High purpose to go forth and bless thy kind,
Or in the awful temple of thy soul
To worship what is loveliest, and control
The ill within, and by strong laws to bind.
Good is of God—no good is therefore sure,
Which has dared wander from its source away:
Laws without sanction will not long endure,
Love will grow faint and fainter day by day,
And Beauty from the straight path will allure,
And weakening first, will afterwards betray.

This 'Good Counsel' is often needed most by the most soaring natures—natures high in aspirations, but ignorant how close to strength weakness often lurks. A poet tells us that

By our own spirits we are deified.

The pride latent in some poetic natures might be termed the 'artist pride,' and meets a searching and profound warning in Tennyson's *Palace of Art*.

Here is another sonnet which, once read, leaves much behind:—

Thou cam'st not to thy place by accident,
It is the very place God meant for thee;
And shouldst thou there small scope for action see,
Do not for this give way to discontent;
Nor let the time thou owest to God be spent
In idly dreaming how thou mightest be,
In what concerns thy spiritual life, more free
From outward hindrance or impediment.
For presently this hindrance thou shalt find
That without which all goodness were a task
So slight, that virtue never would grow strong:
And wouldst thou do one duty to his mind,
The Imposer's—over-burdened thou shalt ask,
And own the need of grace to help, ere long.

Ours is an age of activities so thick crowding, and that often by

necessity as well as choice, that even activities of a religious order shake a good deal of dust over the moral being, and leave so little time for contemplation that the relish for it dies, and the time left seems superfluous. It might profit by the following suggestion:—

A wretched thing it were, to have our heart
 Like a thronged highway or a populous street
 Where every idle thought has leave to meet,
 Pause, or pass on as in an open mart;
 Or like some road-side pool, which no nice art
 Has guarded that the cattle may not beat
 And foul it with a multitude of feet,
 Till of the heavens it can give back no part.
 But keep thou thine a holy solitude,
 For He who would walk there would walk alone;
 He who would drink there, must be first endued
 With single right to call that stream his own;
 Keep thou thine heart, close-fastened, unrevealed,
 A fenced garden and a fountain sealed.

Among the schools of English theology in old days there was one sometimes called the 'Platonic,' which counted among its representatives such men as 'silver-tongued Smith,' Dr. Henry More, and Cudworth, one of the chief English exponents of ancient philosophy. They would have welcomed many of Archbishop Trench's poems, the following for example:—

To feel that we are homeless exiles here,
 To listen to the world's discordant tone,
 As to a private discord of our own,
 To know that we are fallen from a sphere
 Of higher being, pure, serene, and clear,
 Into the darkness of this dim estate—
 This thought may sometimes make us desolate,
 For this we may shed many a secret tear.
 But to mistake our dungeon for a throne,
 Our place of exile for our native land,
 To hear no discords in the universe,
 To find no matter over which to groan,
 This (oh! that men would rightly understand!)
 This, seeming better, were indeed far worse.

Here is a sonnet which will remind many a wayfarer of one of man's least selfish regrets:—

To leave unseen so many a glorious sight,
 To leave so many lands unvisited,
 To leave so many worthiest books unread,
 Unrealised so many visions bright;—
 Oh! wretched yet inevitable spite
 Of our brief span, that we must yield our breath,
 And wrap us in the unfeeling coil of death,
 So much remaining of unproved delight.
 But hush, my soul, and vain regrets, be stilled;
 Find rest in Him who is the complement

Of whatsoe'er transcends our mortal doom,
 Of baffled hope and unfulfilled intent :
 In the clear vision and aspect of whom
 All longings and all hopes shall be fulfilled.

The following has a significance equal to its pathos, although not expressed in its fifth and sixth lines with its author's usual clearness :—

To SILVIO PELLICO.

(*On reading the story of his imprisonment.*)

Songs of deliverance compassed thee about,
 Long ere thy prison doors were backward flung ;
 When first thy heart to gentle thoughts was strung,
 A song arose in heaven, an angel shout
 For one delivered from the hideous rout,
 Who with defiance and fierce mutual hate
 Do each the other's griefs exasperate.
 Thou, loving, from thy grief hadst taken out
 Its worst—for who is captive or a slave
 But he, who from that dungeon and foul grave,
 His own dark soul, refuses to come forth
 Into the light and liberty above ?
 Or whom may we call wretched on this earth
 Save only him who has left off to love ?

It is unfortunate that the name of the poet addressed in the following sonnet is not prefixed to it. It is a noble assertion of the many functions assigned to the highest poetry :—

A counsellor well fitted to advise
 In daily life, and at whose lips no less
 Men may inquire, or nations, when distress
 Of sudden doubtful danger may arise,
 Who, though his head be hidden in the skies,
 Plants his firm foot upon our common earth,
 Dealing with thoughts which everywhere have birth,—
 This is the poet, true of heart and wise :
 No dweller in a baseless world of dream,
 Which is not earth or heaven : his words have past
 Into man's common thought and week-day phrase ;
 This is the poet, and his verse will last.
 Such was our Shakespeare once, and such doth seem
 One who redeems our later gloomier days.

Next to religion, patriotism is perhaps the strongest inspirer of Archbishop Trench's poetry. Amid the fairest scenes of southern climes he asserts that

We shall not need in quest of these to roam,
 While sunshine lies upon our English grass,
 And dewdrops glitter on green fields at home.

And while lamenting all that the traveller has to leave unseen at Rome, he still is

Glad in the hope to tread the soil again
 Of England, where our place of duty lies.

It is thus that he greets what he claims as the first sight of England:—

GIBRALTAR.

England, we love thee better than we know—
 And this I learned, when after wanderings long
 'Mid people of another stock and tongue,
 I heard again thy martial music blow,
 And saw thy gallant children to and fro
 Pace, keeping ward at one of those huge gates,
 Twin giants watching the Herculean Straits.
 When first I came in sight of that brave show,
 It made my very heart within me dance,
 To think that thou thy proud foot should advance
 Forward so far into the mighty sea;
 Joy was it and exultation to behold
 Thine ancient standard's rich emblazonry,
 A glorious picture by the wind unrolled.

The poet vindicates thus his love for his country—a country in which he sees perpetually united those two sister islands which certain 'light-hearted' politicians would separate, but on which as on a fixed centre rests an empire world-wide, with the prosperity of which that of all civilised lands is identified:—

Peace, Freedom, Happiness, have loved to wait
 On the fair islands, fenced by circling seas;
 And ever of such favoured spots as these
 Have the wise dreamers dreamed, who would create
 That perfect model of a happy state,
 Which the world never saw. Oceana,
 Utopia such, and Plato's isle that lay
 Westward of Gades and the Great Sea's gate.
 Dreams are they all, which yet have helped to make
 That underneath fair polities we dwell,
 Though marred in part by envy, faction, hate—
 Dreams which are dear, dear England, for thy sake,
 Who art indeed that sea-girt citadel,
 And nearest image of that perfect state.

At all the later periods of his life the poems of this Irish poet continued to be marked by the same profound love for England, as, for instance, those written during the Russian War.

There are some persons who dislike, or are indifferent to, the expression of the patriotic sentiment in poetry, stigmatising it as 'political poetry'—an objection which would have deprived us of Milton's greatest sonnets, and not a few of the chief lyrics in existence. Under the name of patriotic poetry of course a good deal of stupid sedition has been written, but it has almost always proved to be bad as poetry, and not more noxious than an equal quantity of incendiary prose would have been. But the true love of country differs from the false as much as true religion differs from the follies that claim its name; and if it be excommunicated from the realm of

poetry the same consequence follows as when religion has been thus excommunicated—that is to say, poetry itself is the chief sufferer. The religious and the patriotic sentiments are two of the largest, the most disinterested, and the most self-sacrificing known to man. Both may lie doubtless at the heart of poetry when they do not rise to the surface, for the life-blood is not always shown either in the flushed cheek or in the wound; but the poetry which purposely excludes these sources of inspiration will be tempted to throw itself upon inferior ones—on frivolities, on epicurean enjoyments, or on sensational incidents hunted up out of odd corners, not found on the broad highways of human life. A few remarks on the patriotic may fitly supplement those already made on the religious sentiment in its relations with poetry.

One of the most honourable characteristics of that great outburst of English poetry in the nineteenth century is the manifest sincerity with which it gave utterance to love of country. It had, though in a lesser degree, done so at that earlier outburst of the sixteenth century. Shakespeare's marvellous series of historic plays, from which Sir Robert Walpole confessed that he had learned whatever he knew of England's earlier annals, suggest that the famous deathbed speech of John of Gaunt was but the expression of that patriotic passion which had ever burned in the poet's heart. Doubtless it was also in a large part the love of country which moved Spenser to seek in England's Arthur the hero of his *Fairy Queen*; but unhappily in that age a genuine patriotism—which must ever sympathise tenderly with the people, though not with the populace, while it is loyal to the sovereign—was half smothered in the idolatry felt, not by courtiers only, but by many literary aspirants, for Queen Elizabeth. The patriotism of a country that worships despotism, especially a novel despotism like that of the Tudors, is a patriotism founded largely on national vanity, as we learn from the 'Grande Nation' of Louis the Fourteenth's time; and national vanity is not, like a true love of country, an inspirer of high poetry. The patriotic sentiment in England had made progress in proportion as a freedom grounded on law and in harmony with order had made progress; it had become matured during the vicissitudes of a long and perilous war, waged not to enslave feeble nations, but to vindicate the freedom of all from the aggressions of Buonaparte, the child and embodiment of the French Revolution; and when the righteous cause had triumphed, a larger element of patriotism than English literature had ever known before manifested itself in that poetry which had accompanied the struggle and gained animation from the victory. Scott found his best themes in the history of his country; and it was not in the spirit of rancour, but of mutual respect, that the children of lands once foes fought again in his verse the fields of Bannockburn and Flodden. Burns had written a little earlier, and if his poems are

still recited, alike amid the Highlands and the shrewder Lowlands, it is because the image of his country is to be found in them. As strong a patriotic sentiment broke out in Campbell's great naval odes, and in spite of his *Lochiel's Warning* it was one not restricted to the northern part of the island. Wordsworth, in his *Sonnets dedicated to Liberty*, cheered England on through the vicissitudes of a struggle such as she had never known in the days of her Henries and Edwards. Coleridge's *Fears in Solitude*, exquisitely expressed, when invasion was expected, a poet's solicitude for those sufferings which fall on the helpless and the aged, when their prayer is 'that their flight be not in the winter;' while in his *Ode to the Departing Year*, amid passages of admiring love, he mingled as fearless denunciations of his country's sins, especially in connection with the slave trade—

But chief by Afric's wrongs,
Strange, horrible, and foul.

In two of Southey's lyrical poems his genius rose, under the stimulus of patriotic emotion, to a height never by him reached elsewhere. One of these is his *Ode written during the Negotiations with Buonaparte in January 1814*—

Who counsels peace at this momentous hour.

And the other is his *Funeral Song for the Princess Charlotte*. In the latter, the poet follows the funeral procession while it advances along St. George's Chapel; and the old tombs, as he passes them, bleed again with sad memories of the chief passages in English history from the Wars of the Roses to the war with Napoleon. Among the greater poets of modern times Byron and Goethe seem to have been those the least marked by strong love of country, perhaps because among those most self-engrossed. Several of Browning's poems are vigorous illustrations of English history. Keats had love to spare besides that which spent itself on Greek mythology; among his aspirations here is one:

In the long vista of the years to come,
Let me not see my country's glory fade.

Tennyson, while the most ideal and imaginative of our living poets, has also in numberless ways proved himself pre-eminently a national one. He has written a great cycle of 'Idyls' on England's mythic king; and many more illustrating with matchless skill the modern life of England not only among the poor, but also in that higher class, which, from the degree in which it is coloured by conventionalities, admits least easily of poetic delineation. He has recorded countless incidents of English life, legendary or historical, from Cophetua and Godiva to *The Revenge* and *The Defence of Lucknow*. He has added three to the roll of English historical plays. He has vividly illustrated many of those modes of thought,

feeling, and action which characterise modern England, and not a few of her social conditions, alike in their good and in their evil. He has sung the cottage, the manor-house, the throne

Broad-based upon her people's will,
And compassed by the inviolate sea.

He has flattered no class prejudices, aristocratic or democratic; and he has asserted the true principles of national greatness and stability in those two majestic poems, 'You ask me why, though ill at ease,' and 'Of old sat Freedom on the heights,' on reading which a statesman,⁵ who was also ardently attached to letters and widely acquainted with them, exclaimed, 'They are as stately as those two temples which stand side by side on that plain near Pæstum!'

In ancient times no less the true poets loved their country.

The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,

when the villagers gathered round him as he chaunted his rhapsodies on the sea-shore, embraced the whole race of Greece, whether on the mainland, her islands, or her colonial dependencies, in a common affection. We cannot doubt that in his imagination he saw the eyes of the listeners flash as they heard the deeds of their fathers recited, and that he received from their ready sympathy no small portion of his own inspiration. Virgil sang the Trojan hero to whom Rome owed her existence. Horace, though his themes were sometimes below him, yet in the most impassioned and pathetic of his odes gave expression to the despair with which in his youth he had bewailed the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, and the destruction of the Roman republic; and in his later life he dedicated his most important lyrics to the enforcement of those solid ethical principles through which alone the empire could become great; while he fearlessly reproved his fellow-countrymen for their luxury, their factiousness, and their neglect of the household ties. The great poets of Italy and Spain, like Schiller and other poets in modern Germany, were each of them devoted to his native land—her greatness in the past, and her freedom and peace in the present.

In this fellowship of patriotism and poetry there is nothing extraordinary. Patriotism, while a moral, is also largely an imaginative passion. If it is to bring forth worthy fruit it must become more than this, wedding itself with reason and walking in the ways of duty; but without imagination a man can hardly even take in the idea of country and of nation. He has no difficulty in appreciating the claims of a clan, which is but a family expanded, or of sympathising with a class whose well-being is identified with his own; but the idea of a nation is a vaster thing than these, and he who grasps it has to blend in a single conception countless thoughts and associations that come to him from remote tracts and distant periods. A

⁵ The late Lord Monteagle.

nation is a unity which includes a vast plurality, many members with diverse functions, and yet a common life and common interest. It comprises whole races which in early days strove against each other on many a battlefield, yet whose remoter descendants were destined, through geographical or other necessities, to become amalgamated. Looking back on history the thoughtful patriot discerns not merely its accidental confusions, but under them a latent meaning and a providential purpose. Petty resentments then give place to a sounder love of country, and the lesson of history is peace. How otherwise could a common country exist for the children of Provence and of Brittany, or for those of Austria and Hungary? The true patriot remembers the past and its wrongs, where wrongs have existed, to learn the lesson they bequeath and pay a reverent tribute to the suffering heroism of ancient days, not to forge bolts of vengeance when there is no longer a head upon which they can justly fall. True patriotic love is not a vindictive passion, it is a magnanimous one; it is not a vainglorious assumption that a single nation has absorbed all the virtues and that all other nations consist of 'barbarians' as the Greeks, or of 'hostes' as the Romans, called them. It is not an aggressive impulse; on the contrary, the aspiration of the patriot is that his country should be justly looked up to as the teacher and sustainer of virtuous civilisation in all lands. Patriotism is not a blind affection; it sees clearly the faults of the country loved, and cares little for its praise and much for the fulfilment of its highest vocation. It is not self-love dilated, but the extinction of self-love in an affection the largest known to man, except that inspired by religion. The love of country blends the loyal devotedness of filial love with the discrimination, often painful, of love parental; and yet that love, far from obliterating, quickens in him who feels it the love which he owes to his neighbour, and the reverence due to total humanity. There is a mystery in all affections which rise above vulgar instincts; it is thus with the love of country—a love unintelligible to many who claim its exclusive possession. The patriot sees in her more than can be seen by those who are without; and yet he remembers that there remains in her much that cannot meet his eye; for it is part of the greatness of a nation that, though her fields and cities are visible things, her highest greatness and most sacred claims lie beyond these, and belong in part, like whatever includes a spiritual element, to the sphere of 'things not seen.' Towards such an insight, as regards nation and country, the imagination, like man's other faculties, contributes its part, thus elevating patriotism, which sinks otherwise, like other blind affections, to the low level of unreasonable and illicit passions, and passes thence on to extinction. It is therefore not surprising that the old Greek who knew everything should have noted in the 'Poet of a Nation' the patriot as well as the seer, and in both capacities 'a counsellor well fitted to

advise.' If that Greek had lived later, and become a believer, he would have remained a patriot. He would have said, 'A nation comes next in dignity to the Christian Church; and it was in some sort a type of her.'

To return to Archbishop Trench. His secular poems are drawn from very various sources.

At the close of the second volume we find a series entitled 'Elegiac Poems,' replete with a deep pathos; and elsewhere are numerous pieces based on the human affections and social ties. Some of the best are a combination of natural description and of reflection. . . . As happy specimens of this class we may name 'An Evening in France'⁶ and 'The Descent of the Rhone.'⁷ Other poems combine occurrences with meditations, as for instance 'An Incident Versified'⁸ and 'On an Early Death.'⁹ Some embody old legends of many countries, such as 'A Legend of Alhambra,'¹⁰ 'Sais,'¹¹ 'Sabbation,' a Jewish legend,¹² 'The Oil of Mercy,'¹³ 'The Tree of Life,'¹⁴ 'Timoleon,'¹⁵ 'Alexander at the Gates of Paradise, a Legend from the Talmud,'¹⁶ 'The Breaker of Idols.'¹⁷ We have tales from the Persian and ballads of Haroun Al Raschid, and many besides, including 'Genoveva' and 'The Steadfast Prince.' Here is a specimen of a style different from that in which he commonly wrote. It is extracted from a poem entitled an 'Ode to Sleep':—

I cannot follow thy departing track,
Nor tell in what far meadows, gentle Sleep,
Thou art delaying. I would win thee back,
Were mine some drowsy potion, or dull spell,
Or charmèd girdle, mighty to compel
Thy heavy grace; for I have heard it said,
Thou art no flatterer, that dost only keep
In kingly haunts, leaving unvisited
The poor man's lowlier shed;
And when the day is joyless, and its task
Unprofitable, I were fain to ask,
Why thou wilt give it such an ample space,
Why thou wilt leave us such a weary scope
For memory, and for that which men call hope.
Nor wind in one embrace
Sad eve and night forlorn
And undelightful morn.

And therefore am I seeking to entwine
A coronal of poppies for my head,
Or wreath it with a wreath engarlanded
By Lethe's slumberous waters. Oh! that mine
Were some dim chamber turning to the north,

⁶ Vol. i. p. 51.

⁷ Vol. i. p. 54.

⁸ Vol. i. p. 86.

⁹ Vol. i. p. 143.

¹⁰ Vol. i. p. 78.

¹¹ Vol. i. p. 132.

¹² Vol. i. p. 147.

¹³ Vol. ii. p. 17.

¹⁴ Vol. ii. p. 21.

¹⁵ Vol. ii. p. 65.

¹⁶ Vol. ii. p. 73.

¹⁷ Vol. ii. p. 87.

With latticed casement bedded deep in leaves,
That opening with sweet murmur might look forth
On quiet fields from broad o'erhanging eaves ;
And ever when the Spring her garland weaves,
Were darkened with encroaching ivy-trail
And jagged vine-leaves' shade ;
And all its pavement starred with blossoms pale
Of jasmine, when the wind's least stir was made ;
Where the sunbeam was verdurous-cool, before
It wound into that quiet nook, to paint
With interspace of light and colour faint
That tessellated floor.

This is a youthful poem, and, with a few others like it, shows how easily the author might have succeeded in a style more popular if the 'Musæ Severiores' had not drawn him by preference to the poetry of graver thoughts. Later he was by necessity much drawn away from poetry by his official duties, and also by the composition of his numerous prose works, as Southey was drawn away from poetry by his historical works and Coleridge by metaphysics, before either had more than indicated what he might otherwise have accomplished. Mere drudgery is a less formidable competitor with poetry than higher things ; a clerkship in a bank is unseductive to genius ; but theology, history, and philosophy have sufficient kinship with poetry to provide another investment for the faculty and another satisfaction for the craving.

AUBREY DE VERE.

AMERICAN STATESMEN.¹

II.

IN continuing our notice of the Lives of American Statesmen, as we pass from the revolutionary period to the period which succeeds, let us guard ourselves against any false inference from what has been said concerning the cause of the Revolution and the character of those who played a part in it. The separation of the colonies from the mother country was inevitable, and, since by their united arms French rivalry on this continent had been extinguished, the hour for parting had come, as a few clear-sighted men in England began to perceive. What we deplore is not the separation but the rupture, which, in spite of all revolutionary dithyrambs, we maintain to have been a miserable affair on both sides. To annul its evil consequences, if possible, and get back to the footing of a family partition of the Anglo-Saxon Empire between the two branches of the race, should be, we submit, the aim of British statesmanship in dealing with American questions, including that concerning the fisheries which has just been debated by the representatives of the two countries at Washington.

Madison, a somewhat feeble though respectable and scholarly person, with an Addisonian style, had contributed to the *Federalist*, but was afterwards drawn, apparently by his ambition, to the democratic side. He shared with Jefferson the honour of instituting religious equality by the disestablishment of the Church of England in Virginia. Jefferson hated the clergy, whom he accused of fanaticism,

¹ *American Statesmen: a Series of Biographies of Men conspicuous in the Political History of the United States.* Edited by John T. Morse, jun. (Boston, U.S.: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)—

John Quincy Adams. By John T. Morse, jun.

Alexander Hamilton. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

John C. Calhoun. By Dr. H. von Holst.

Andrew Jackson. By Professor W. G. Sumner.

John Randolph. By Henry Adams.

James Monroe. By Pres. Daniel C. Gilman.

Thomas Jefferson. By John T. Morse, jun.

Daniel Webster. By Henry Cabot Lodge.

Albert Gallatin. By John Austin Stevens.

James Madison. By Sydney Howard Gay.

John Adams. By John T. Morse, jun.

John Marshall. By A. B. Magruder.

Samuel Adams. By James K. Hosmer.

Thomas H. Benton. By Theodore Roosevelt.

Henry Clay. By Hon. Carl Schurz.

Patrick Henry. By Moses Coit Tyler.

while they accused him of scepticism. Perhaps they might have added that the fanaticism which, to give effect to a political theory, was ready to reduce the human race to a single pair differed not so much in intensity as in direction from that of the fiercest of clerical bigots. The chief event in Madison's life, however, belongs to a later period. He it was who, against his own judgment and conscience, as seems to be generally admitted, allowed himself to be drawn by the ever fatal bait of re-election to the Presidency, and thrust by the 'young war party' into renewing the disastrous quarrel of our race by declaring war against England. Nobody defends the Orders in Council; but Randolph told the truth when he said that the American trade was not a regular and honest trade, but a trade covering a belligerent's goods. It crippled the only arm which England had wherewith to defend her own life and the independence of all nations. The French navy, released from the necessity of conveying its own commerce, was set free for the invasion of England. Impressment, abused as it was by the folly and violence of subordinates, was also a very crying grievance; yet the conscription by which the British navy was then manned differed rather in the barbarous obsolescence of the form than in substance from the conscription by which European armies and fleets are filled now, and American vessels did unquestionably harbour fugitives from conscription and deserters. The treaty framed by Pinckney and Monroe would have reduced the grievance to at least tolerable dimensions, but it was rejected by Jefferson, who, though, like Robespierre, averse to war, like Robespierre was always fomenting the passions from which war was sure to spring. The Orders in Council having been abandoned when the sword was drawn, impressment remained the only cause of quarrel, and about this in the negotiations for peace not a word was said by the American commissioners. A more futile war, at all events, was never made. New England protested throughout. The war was made by Southern violence and backwoods recklessness, aided in no small degree, as the Massachusetts Legislature averred, by the malignant influence of foreign revolutionary adventurers, such as Emmett and Gales, who had crept behind the American press and, like the Irish at the present day, were using the American Republic as the engine of an alien enmity. The conquest of Canada, which the war party deemed certain, was also a strong inducement. Another motive, as one of the writers in this series of Lives frankly admits, was the desire of sharing the triumph of Napoleon, who it was confidently believed would come out victorious from the struggle and enslave the nations—a singular aspiration, it must be owned, for a republic which was to be the Morning Star of Liberty. There can be little doubt that, had Bonaparte remained master of Europe, he would have extended his conquests to the other hemisphere, from which he had unwillingly retired only when the retention of

Louisiana became impossible. England, in fact, in 1812 fought against America for American independence as well as for the independence of Europe. France, both under the Directory and under the Empire, had injured America far more grievously and insulted her far more grossly than England: she had confiscated American vessels and cargoes without number; she had kept American citizens in captivity; she had burned American ships at sea, that they might not be recaptured and liberated by the British. The Massachusetts Legislature, in its address to the people, said—

Without pretending to compare and adjust the respective injuries received from the two nations, it cannot be disguised that in some instances our nation has received from Great Britain compensation, in others offers of atonement, and in all the language of conciliation and respect; while from France our immense losses are without retribution, and our remonstrances are neglected with contemptuous silence or answered with aggravating insult.

As Hildreth, that Abdiel of truthfulness among the American historians of the past, says, wrong at the hands of France was received as an over-fond lover receives the outrages of a termagant mistress. Yet it is admitted in these pages that the sole object of France in aiding American revolt was to take vengeance on England for having by her victorious arms delivered her colonists from French rivalry and enmity on their own continent. The war on the part of the Americans was largely a war of hatred against England; and of that hatred England might be partly proud, since it was the antipathy felt by the Jacobin for the only Power which still, however imperfectly, upheld the cause of rational and genuine freedom.

One American historian after another dwells upon the temper shown by Great Britain in all these transactions, as if that in itself had been a cause of war. Mr. Morse talks of that ‘peculiar insolence which Englishmen have carried to a point unknown in any other age or among any other people.’ Once more we must ask him whether he thinks it likely that in the division of a race all the insolence would fall to one side, and all the modesty, amiability, and courtesy to the other. Would that all the British statesmen of those days could have acted in the spirit of Shelburne and Pitt, who wished, as it appears, to heal the wound and establish between the two branches of the race some relation better than total estrangement! But it was natural that England should be sore, and the Loyalists, whom the cruel and senseless vengeance of the victor had driven into exile, helped by their presence to keep up the ill-feeling. Yet George the Third welcomed the first American ambassador in language so magnanimous and generous that Mr. Morse, in his *Life of John Adams*, refrains from recounting it, giving only that part of the King’s address which left him open to a republican snub. Hildreth has recorded the fact that the flags of a British fleet were half-masted at the death of Washington. On the other hand, a

torrent of the foulest and most irritating abuse had always been poured by the democratic party in America upon 'the harlot England,' as Jefferson called her, not for what she did but for being what she was. When the quarrel was brewing the Democratic party at New York, as Hildreth tells us, having dug up some bones from the old graveyard of a hospital, paraded them through the streets as the sacred relics of 11,500 martyrs who had perished in British prison ships. And it was into the arms of this Democratic party, or at least of its historical representative, headed, as of yore, by the fire-eating slave-owners of the South, that a large English party was duped into throwing itself at the time of the Civil War!

John Quincy Adams was a thorough chip of the old block. Perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say that John Adams was a block of the young chip. For Nature, together with an equal measure of patriotism, integrity, and working power, had bestowed upon the son an increased measure of the egotism, irascibility, censoriousness, and stiffneckedness of the sire. To break up a party is perhaps not the worst of political misdeeds, but it was the work to which John Quincy Adams was predestined and which he effectually performed. Of conscientious industry in the public service he was a paragon. As President, at the age of sixty, he rose at four or five, lighted his own fire, and began his work. In truth if he was beset through the day as a President is now by visitors and office-seekers, he must have worked before sunrise or not at all. Perhaps the worst thing which he did, both in itself and in its consequences, was his defence of the international outrages of Jackson, and here he was misled by nothing more discreditable than wrong-headed patriotism. There seems to have been a general and well-founded mistrust of his judgment; it is hardly possible, in fact, that an intense egotist should see very straight or very clearly. The memorable part of Quincy Adams's career, however, begins, as Mr. Blaine, in *Twenty Years of Congress*, remarks, when his term as President was over, and when, being sixty-five years old, he might seem to have run his course. He, who while he held the highest place had been second-rate, and had not very eminently distinguished himself as a member of the Senate, having descended in his old age to the House of Representatives, was for seventeen years the most respectable figure there. Nothing recorded in this series of Lives is more heroic than the long battle which Quincy Adams fought, almost single-handed, for the right of petition in connection with the question of slavery. Day after day and year after year the grey-haired man stood up with indomitable fortitude against the rage, the invectives, and the insults of the Southern chivalry. It was a pleasant little incident when he rose to present a petition signed by slaves, and, having of course brought on a tornado by the announcement, took advantage of the first lull in the storm to explain that the petition was not against but

in favour of slavery. His heroism is enhanced by his freedom from fanaticism, as well as by the fact that Absolutism had not then become the cause of a powerful party. Most remarkable is the distinctness with which he foresaw, so early as 1826, that a tragic drama was opening, that the conflict between freedom and slavery was irrepressible, and the end of it must be an attempt to dissolve the Union.

James Monroe in his early days as ambassador to France had the misfortune to figure in a diplomatic carnagole, which marks the culmination of American belief that a political and social millennium was being inaugurated in a Bedlam turned into a slaughter-house. He had also the misfortune to figure in a very vile cabal against the character of Hamilton. He afterwards achieved renown of a better kind as the reputed author of the diplomatic doctrine which bears his name. His title to authorship—at least to original or exclusive authorship—has been contested; and some are disposed to transfer the patent of invention to Canning, in virtue of the principles laid down by him as the basis of his intervention in favour of the South American republics and his somewhat bombastic as well as ill-fated proclamation that he had called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. President Gilman, in his *Life of Monroe*, has carefully collected the materials for a judgment on this point. The situation of America, severed by the Atlantic from the Old World, when combined with the peculiarity of its institutions, could not fail to suggest to American statesmen a foreign policy, the rule of which should be neither to interfere with Europe nor allow Europe to interfere with America. Such, in fact had been the principle of foreign policy on which Washington and Hamilton acted, and which was embodied in their diplomatic deliverances, and in the diplomatic deliverances of those who followed in their footsteps. In this sense there was Monroe doctrine before Monroe. Still nothing can be more certain than that Webster in his speech on the Panama mission treats Monroe's declaration as a manifesto of the highest importance. He describes it as having been received not only with approbation but with enthusiasm, and as having sent a glow of exultation through all American bosoms. Monroe spoke deliberately and with the concurrence of his Cabinet. The declaration is contained in a passage of his Presidential message for 1823, and was occasioned by the apprehension of interference on the part of the Holy Alliance with the newly established independence of the South American republics. The passage is as follows:—

The political system of the allied Powers is essentially different in this respect [interference with the affairs of other nations] from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of our most enlightened citizens,

and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candour and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers to declare that *we should consider any attempt on their part to extend this system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere; but with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European Power in any other light than as *the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.*

It seems not to have been noticed that, besides the principle of non-interference on the part of Europe with American communities, Monroe by implication here enunciates another principle scarcely less important—that interference with any American community is an offence against the United States, or, in other words, that the United States are the tutelary Power of the whole continent. Both principles were practically illustrated in the notice which was served by Mr. Seward on the Emperor of the French to quit Mexico, and with which the Emperor deemed it expedient to comply. It must be owned that the Government of the United States has faithfully abstained, on its part, from republican propagandism. It has made no attempt to subvert monarchy in Brazil or Canada, but, on the contrary, has treated with perfect amity and courtesy both the Brazilian Emperor and the Canadian Viceroy. In the case of Canada the forbearance is the more notable, since there have been constant indications of a desire on the part of English Tories to make the colony the instrument for wresting a portion of the New World from democracy by introducing Old English sentiments and institutions. Perhaps it may be said that there was little temptation to interfere with an attempt so manifestly doomed to failure. The recent resolutions of American legislatures in favour of Irish rebellion have, it is true, been most impertinent and offensive, as well as obviously inspired by a very despicable motive; but they have had their counterparts in the resolutions of Canadian legislatures, and they have not been, nor will they be, allowed to influence the conduct of the American Government towards Great Britain.

In another part of the same Message, Monroe, in dealing with the claims of Russia on the north-west coast, lays down the cognate principle that ‘the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European Powers.’ In this he says ‘the rights and interests of the United States are involved,’ thus again virtually affirming that both the American continents are under the protection of the United States. It is not easy to see why there should be anything more

objectionable in this than in the tutelary and regulative authority exercised over Europe by the conclave of great Powers.

The *Life of Benton*, by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, a highly distinguished and rising politician of New York, is about the only volume of this series in which we still see something of the eagle with wings outspread, grasping the thunderbolt in his talons and screaming defiance to the universe. Its moral sentiment is eminently robust, and it is pervaded by a strong flavour of high aggressive nationality. It may be doubted, however, whether Mr. Roosevelt does not mistake his road in inciting to territorial extension. The narrow spirit of nationality will probably be lost when the domain of the Republic shall embrace a whole continent, with variations of physical circumstance which can hardly fail to produce corresponding varieties of local character, and without any rival in sight or any possibility of quarrel unless the States take to falling out among themselves. There may be those who will find Mr. Roosevelt's patriotism a little dogmatic as well as full-bodied. That Abraham Lincoln was the greatest not only of Americans, but of all the men of this century, that Grant was the equal and Lee the superior of Marlborough and Wellington, and that the victories of American pioneers over the Indians were more important than the battles which have decided the fate of Europe, are propositions which, when well considered, may commend themselves to our belief, but ought rather to be submitted for consideration than imperiously thrust upon us. The *Life of Benton*, however, is very instructive as well as very lively. Benton represented a new and what was destined to become the most powerful element in American politics. So far power had been divided between the ex-Puritan traders of the North-Eastern States and the tyrannicide slave-owners of the South; but in the person of Benton, a Missourian, appeared upon the scene the mighty West, with its pioneer force of character, its originality untamed by culture, and the public morality of the backwoods. Benton, indeed, possessed an unusual share of learning, the light of which he did not hide under a bushel; but it was backwoods learning, the manifest fruit of self-education. Though very fond of using the phrase 'Demokraté' as the symbol of his political creed, it may be doubted whether he could have parsed the words. Nor was his erudition strictly controlled by taste; an invective against the Salt Tax, of which he was the deadly enemy, concluded with a denunciation of the tax as not only unjust but impious, since the Scripture says that Christians are the salt of the earth. Benton, as Mr. Roosevelt paints him, was a thoroughly strong, solid, hard-working man, the prince of political 'wheel-horses,' and about as honest and faithful a servant of the State as it is possible for a professional politician and demagogue to be. He unfortunately was a Jacksonian, abetted Jackson in the attack upon the Bank, and—what was perhaps even a more patent

outrage—in forcing the Expunging Resolution on the Senate. Nor can he be held innocent of the general misconduct of Jackson's Government or of the lasting mischief which it wrought. But with sagacity, courage, and a truly conscientious industry in mastering all public questions he seems to have combined a native desire to do right, and, when not under extreme party pressure, to have done it. Even under extreme pressure from his local party he at the end of his life set himself resolutely against the aggression of the Slave Power, and sacrificed to his patriotism the seat in the Senate which he had held for thirty years. He was one of the group of politicians who, while they wished to respect what they thought the constitutional right of slavery, cared much less for slavery than for the Union. They hoped by a fair and judicious policy to preserve an 'equilibrium,' and would perhaps have done it if an equilibrium between fire and gunpowder could have been preserved.

Henry Clay was the great man of the Whig party, that somewhat nebulous entity which floated in the interval between the end of the struggle of Federalism against anti-Federalism and the beginning of the struggle of slavery against freedom. The Whigs inherited from the Federalists a disposition to construe the Constitution liberally in the interest of the Federal Government and a Conservative dislike of democratic violence. But their leading idea, as embodied in Clay, was nationality. Clay worshipped the greatness of the American Union. Patriotism was the watchword of the Whig, and he deemed protectionism a part of the creed of patriots. Clay always styled it the American policy. Towards slavery the attitude of the Whigs was that of men who regarded it as a nuisance and wished to prevent its extension, but were ready to compromise with it in order to keep it quiet and prevent it from breaking up the adored Union. They were misled by the belief that a Union of any better kind than that of two dogs fastened together by their collars could exist between two systems of society radically antagonistic to each other. Clay, a citizen of Kentucky, a half-slave State, and himself a mitigated slave-owner, was just the man to be the organ of a middle policy, and on all occasions—in the Missouri dispute, in the tariff dispute with South Carolina, in the Texan and in the New American dispute—he comes forward as the angel of ironical compromise, with the fallacious olive branch in his hand. Sympathy he deserves in unstinted measure, but the doom of his policy was fixed. His great gift as a political leader was what is now styled 'magnetism.' Of this he was perhaps the first great example. His power of winning hearts seems to have been extraordinary. In the rough and roistering life of Kentucky, with its bar-rooms and its hunting shirts, which is painted in the opening of Mr. Carl Schurz's admirable biography, it was easy to acquire the habit of good-fellowship, which in Clay was unfortunately accompanied by a taste for gambling, as in that carnival

of scandal the Presidential election his adversaries did not fail to make known. It is wonderful, not only in the case of Clay, but in that of Abraham Lincoln and the other Western statesmen, that from a school so rude should come forth a speaker without serious faults of taste and a statesman with perfectly senatorial manners. In England a man who has risen from the ranks is seldom free from stronger traces of his origin. Clay, however, was not, like Webster, well educated for statesmanship. He had little political science, and when he refers to history he is superficial and unsound. The magic of his eloquence must have lain in the frankness, dash, and fervour of the delivery, combined with the influence of a winning face and a very fine voice. His speeches are hardly readable, nor would it be easy to quote from them a memorable word. Perhaps his counterpart might be found without much difficulty in the British Parliament. That Clay as an orator did produce an extraordinary effect, however, is certain. One of his detractors growled that no man could bring more people together to hear him or fewer to vote for him. Clay could bring a good many people to vote for him as well as to hear him; yet it is true that great speakers are sometimes led to overrate their political power by taking mere applause of their oratory for attachment to their opinions. We do not criticise the sentiments of a prima donna's song. Clay's ascendancy, however, was maintained in a Senate which contained Webster, Calhoun, and Benton, and was, as in truth the American Senate still is, first in average intelligence among all the political assemblies in the world. His knowledge of economical subjects was as loose as his other knowledge, and was insufficient to check his patriotic hallucinations on the subject of protection. He of course, like other protectionist legislators, meant to keep protection within bounds, and experience had not taught him, any more than it had taught Hamilton, the inherent tendencies of protected interests or the power of their lobby. He had not seen an enormous sum beyond the necessities of Government yearly taken from the people for the purpose of keeping up the tariff; nor had he seen the embarrassing surplus baled out by expenditure which almost casts into the shade the prodigalities of monarchical finance. He did, however, witness that scramble of selfish interests which embodied itself in the 'Tariff of Abominations.' He seems to have been awake to the fact that a vast population of factory hands, such as that under whose influence the greatness of England is now sinking, was not a boon to any country. It was, at all events, not his intention to make manufactures predominant: it was the farm that he loved, and a farmer living on the produce of his own fields and clad in homespun was his model for a nation. In that false vision of a glorious group of South American republics, the partners of his own republic in democratic progress, which prompted his enthusiastic advocacy of the Panama mission, he was misled by

ignorance of history and of the political philosophy which history teaches, while a larger and sounder culture enabled Quincy Adams truly to forecast the result. Like Webster, Clay did good service by a brave defence of the constitutional liberty and purity of government against Jackson. His career, in spite of his early share in the pernicious doings of the 'Young War Party,' the inherent hopelessness of his compromise policy, and his protectionist aberrations, would have been bright enough had he not been stricken with 'the Presidential fever,' which attacked him so severely that after a disappointment he lost all self-command, stamped about the room in a transport of rage, and raved in the most unseemly language against the friends to whose lack of enthusiasm he supposed that the failure had been due. He vowed that he would rather be in the right than be President. Such, it need not be doubted, was the sincere desire of his calm and moral hour. In his youth he had spoken strongly and, considering that he was a Kentuckian, most bravely against slavery. It now appeared to him right to make a speech in which he in effect recognised it as a permanent necessity, and in terms which amounted to a positive renunciation of moral principle. But in losing his hold on morality and his simplicity of aim he also lost his presence of mind, and in trying to hedge upon the annexation of Texas he wrote under a nervous impulse a letter which proved his ruin. His soul might well be filled with bitterness when by a narrow majority the foremost man on the political scene was set aside and the arch-obscurity James K. Polk became President of the United States. If sympathy could comfort Clay he had it in overflowing measure; a wail of anguish, not only political but personal, went up from the Whig party, and tradition, we believe, says that one devotee died of grief. The Presidential fever was incurable and Clay to the end of his public life was still in quest of the Unholy Grail.

The balance was turned against Clay in the decisive State of New York by the political wing of the Abolitionists, which withdrew votes from him by putting up a candidate of its own in the person of Birney, who had proved his sincere devotion to the cause by emancipating his own slaves. Party execrated the Abolitionists at the time and continues to berate them now. They unquestionably did wrong if, having anything to hope from Clay and his friends, they allowed themselves, merely because he would not go their length, to be accessories to his defeat and the election of the slave-owners' candidate. But the question is whether they had anything to hope from Clay or from his friends when he had uttered these words:—

I am no friend of slavery. The Searcher of all hearts knows that every pulsation of mine beats high and strong in the cause of civil liberty. Wherever it is safe and practicable I desire to see every portion of the human family in the enjoyment of it. But I prefer the liberty of my own race to that of any other race.

The liberty of the descendants of Africa in the United States is incompatible with the liberty and safety of the European descendants. Their slavery forms an exception—an exception resulting from a stern and inexorable necessity—to the general liberty of the United States. We did not originate nor are we responsible for this necessity. Their liberty, it were possible, could only be established by violating the incontestable powers of the States and subverting the Union; and beneath the ruins of the Union would be buried sooner or later the liberty of both races.

This surely was all that a slave-owner could practically desire. Calhoun, as the representative of slavery, when he had heard the words, rose and on the spot signed the bond for Clay's soul. Those who upbraided the Abolitionists for not having kept within the party lines and entrusted their cause to the politicians are bound to remember that as soon as the slave-owner had recourse to his last appeal, by putting into execution the threat of secession, the politicians fell on their knees and offered slavery fresh securities—offered in effect to make it an integral part of the Constitution if the South would only return to the Union. Bolters must always be odious to Machinists; bolters are odious to Mr. Schnadhorst, and it is natural that Mr. Schnadhorst and his compeers should hold that there is no political salvation out of the Machine.

The solid vote of the slave-owners was cast for Polk, and the line between the two political camps of the future was thus distinctly drawn. But Polk also received the solid vote of the Irish, who were now becoming numerous, and, notwithstanding the honourable protests of O'Connell and Father Mathew, joined as one man the party of slavery, which gave them the enjoyment of social trade over the negro and was at the same time the party of license. The Southern slave-owners, their plutocratic allies at the North, and the low populace of the Northern cities made up the democratic party which from this time governed the United States in the interest of slavery till the conscience and self-respect of the better part of the community could endure its domination no more. Of the excesses imputed to American republicanism the worst, including the degradation of the judiciary, were really the work of an oligarchy, combined with the populace of the Northern cities, to which the oligarchy in return for its votes gave up the North as political plunder. There was a spasm of reaction against foreign and especially against Irish influence in the form of the Know-nothing movement, which, however, being without leaders of mark and running into extravagance, soon collapsed, though in the shape of a movement for the restriction of immigration it shows signs of revival at the present day.

Torn from the root of her intellectual life, America could not be expected in her early days to have much of a literature, and the contempt once lavished on her efforts was at least as undeserved as the partly diplomatic admiration which is lavished on some of them now. There was no leisure class and no great demand for elegant

reading; but there was a demand for oratory, both political and forensic, and of oratory, both political and forensic, the supply equalled the demand. Of political oratory the influence increased as the country grew more democratic and as ability to move the masses became more valuable as the passport to power. The statesmen of the Revolution led more than their successors with the brain and less with the tongue. Patrick Henry was an orator with a vengeance; but Hamilton's eloquence, though it seems to have been great, was not so much popular as senatorial and forensic. Jefferson, the great democratic leader, could not speak at all. 'Stump oratory had at that time held a secondary place.' We have now reached the era in which its ascendancy draws near.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

[*To be concluded.*]

FREE GREECE.

AFTER Xerxes had reduced the whole of the Acropolis by fire and sword to a heap of ruins, the ancient Athenians relate that their goddess's celebrated olive tree, of which no vestige could be traced, sprang up again in one night to the height of a foot from the ground. This is perhaps not a bad simile for the progress of Greece since the War of Independence. From a depopulated country which had been abandoned for centuries to internecine wars and invasions, she has developed a peaceable, industrious people, and risen from a period of slavery and brigandage to freedom and independence. The centenary of Byron which has been celebrated this spring may induce people otherwise indifferent to read again some of the poems which his admirers have brought more prominently forward; perhaps also they may have glanced carelessly through an epitome of his life, and given a passing thought to one of his noblest enthusiasms, the Freedom and Regeneration of Greece. His descriptions of the scenery seem inspired by the severe simplicity and grace which characterise ancient Greek statues, and none can fail to sympathise with the desire that the descendants of that race who have covered the hills and plains of their country with almost everlasting monuments should once again rise on the wheel of fortune, and once more occupy a worthy place among the nations of the West. It will strike the enthusiast or student of ancient Greek art and culture as a profanation to make a few prosaic remarks upon the recent commercial advancement and material well-being of the modern Greek, and there are certain generally accepted conclusions on these matters which he may not care to reconsider. As, however, the smallest drop of moisture contained in the air assists and is absorbed into the growth of a plant, so the careless words of the most ephemeral magazine article by a dilettante traveller may stimulate to other and more minute investigations of the actual conditions of to-day.

The name of Greek is applied in Turkey, Egypt, and Asia Minor chiefly to a merchant class of doubtful origin, who have lived there for generations, separated by their religion and characteristics from their neighbours, while a large proportion of the inhabitants of the islands of the Archipelago and surrounding seas are certainly of Venetian or Italian origin. Whether the races now occupying Greece

proper are the descendants of the ancient Greeks may be a matter of importance to the ethnologist and historian, but cannot affect the future which the present occupants hope to create for themselves ; while a glance at the history of Greece from the time of the Roman conquest explains the low estate to which the people and country had fallen during the centuries when law and order and Western forms of government were arising out of the state of barbarism which followed the break-up of the Roman Empire. When the all-conquering Romans had taken possession of Greece, they were not slow to appreciate the art and culture of the vanquished ; they built their temples on the Greek models, they took part in their great games and festivals, and imbibed much of Hellenic life and thought. As they pushed eastwards they came upon the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, and swallowed up their commerce. Long before the empire was transferred to Constantinople, Greek literature and philosophy had been absorbed by Rome, and a large portion of the most beautiful of the Greek statues having been carried thither to ornament the Roman palaces and villas, were thus handed on together to our Western civilisation.

Thanks to the Spaniards and Charles Martel with the Franks on the south and west, and later on to Austria on the east, the flood of Mohammedan conquest and misrule did not degrade and humiliate the Latin and Teutonic nations springing from the ruins of the Roman Empire, while the Greeks were scourged for over three hundred years by the hand of the relentless oppressor and their land was the scene of perpetual struggles between the Venetians and Ottomans which lasted from the fall of the Eastern Empire until fifty years ago. In France, the Gaul and the Frank, through the medium of one religion, became welded into a nation. In England, the Norman Conqueror speedily amalgamated himself with the vanquished Saxon and Celt ; but in Greece the barriers of religion and race were too strong to be overcome, the Greek remained the Christian and the slave, and the Turk remained the Mohammedan and the oppressor. Fifty years of freedom and self-government are but little when compared with the centuries of slavery and rapine which left Free Greece with more than its share of local difficulties to contend with. Nearer home, the state of Ireland shows what troubles and dangers have been produced by the previous bad government of that country ; and even the most experienced and enlightened modern governments have hitherto failed in their perpetual endeavours to promote peace and prosperity. Greece seems, however, to have made rapid strides in the direction of progress, law, and order. The fertility of the soil and a brilliant climate have no doubt effected much in diminishing poverty, and thus lessening crime ; and the traveller cannot but be surprised at the extraordinary vitality and powers of self-government developed in so short a time. Only a few years ago a visit to the interior of Greece was considered to be full

of danger from brigands, and this was the case so long as the Turkish frontier, as then defined, gave an easy means of escape to the adventurers; but now the opening up of the country by railways and new roads, and the resolute determination of the Government, have entirely put an end to risks of this kind; the brigand, courteous but rapacious, is a hero of the past, and there is no European country where travelling can be made more agreeable and interesting. A company has been formed for building hotels at convenient spots for visiting the most celebrated of the ancient monuments in various parts of the Peloponnesus; railways are being completed in all directions, and when these are overrun with tourists, who will doubtless carve their names on the columns of the ancient temples with as little feeling as they now do on the trunks of trees, people will regret that they have not visited these places while the native peasant, still uncorrupted, refuses a gift of money in return for hospitality, and while the spectacle of a beggar or cripple does not annoy and interrupt the sightseer at every turn. What a pleasing contrast to Spain, Italy, and Switzerland, where crowds of mendicants pursue the stranger, and detract from the charm of every ancient building or historical view.

To describe the beauties of the scenery and the limitless interest of the antiquities is a task which has been undertaken by poets and artists of the first rank, and cannot be attempted in this sketch, by which it is only endeavoured to note some of the many symptoms of improvement and growth.

Standing on the Acropolis, and looking over the town, Athens presents an attractive and lively appearance, with its modern white houses and projecting tiled roofs. New buildings are to be seen springing up in all directions; there are smart shops, away from the more picturesque old market, and the streets, newly made, alive with traffic, give pleasant indication of what is going on all over the country. Five-and-twenty years ago it was little more than a badly built straggling village, with a population of about 7,000; now it is a town well built, with a first-rate supply of good water, and a population of over 100,000. Many of the great merchant Greeks of Europe are building villas and settling in the capital of their newly formed country. Like the Athenians of old, they give evidence of their public spirit and belief in the future of their nation by bestowing large sums of money to erect great museums, galleries and institutions, charitable and benevolent, as well as for the encouragement of learning and science. The Academy, built of white marble from Pentelicus, was the gift of Baron Sina; the University, the Polytechnic Museum, the Central Museum, a hospital, and a new theatre, are all built at the expense of private individuals. These generous donors live themselves in what Englishmen would consider a very simple, though comfortable, style; instead of exhibiting their wealth

by surrounding themselves with unnecessary luxuries, they spend it in beautifying the town, of whose antiquities and history they feel themselves the true descendants. In the pursuit of wealth abroad they have not forgotten their country, but, intent on her development, live and strive in hope of seeing her one day accepted as a great maritime and commercial ally in the trade of Southern Europe. The type of face most common looks more Jewish or Italian than classic Greek, and, as a large number of the old families were ruined and destroyed by the War of Independence, the upper classes of society are chiefly commercial. The nature of the people is decidedly democratic, and no distinctions of birth or title are admitted. Athens, with its port of the Piræus only four miles distant, seems to have all the capabilities of becoming a great commercial city, and the railway which communicates between the two carried last year 2,431,000 passengers. The port, though recently enlarged to admit a far greater number of vessels, seems still unpleasantly crowded. From Athens a line of railway has been recently completed to Corinth and Patras, and is being carried still further along the fertile shores of the Gulf of Corinth to the western side of the Peloponnesus; another line goes south from Corinth through Argos to Nauplia; there are railways to the environs, and a very important line to the mines of Laurium and Ergastaria. The canal through the Isthmus of Corinth will be finished in about three years, and this will make a considerable decrease in distance between Western Europe and the trade of Smyrna and Asia Minor. Another great work in progress is the draining of Lake Copais in Thessaly, which will vastly increase the agricultural produce of the country. More than fifty years ago Lord Byron wrote as follows on the prospects of Greece and its relations to England: 'This consideration might weigh with English people in general, with their present passion for every kind of speculation, that they need not cross the American seas, for one much better worth their while and nearer home. The resources even for an emigrant population in the Greek islands alone are rarely to be paralleled, and the cheapness of every kind of not only necessary but luxury (that is to say, luxury of nature), fruits, wine, oil, &c., in a state of peace, are far beyond those of the Cape and Van Diemen's Land and the other places of refuge which the English people are searching for over the waters.' If he could have slept some half a century, to wake again, like Rip Van Winkle, he would certainly feel that his most ardent longings for the regeneration of ancient Greece were in a fair way to realisation; and he would hardly recognise in the gay, intelligent, industrious peasant, the downtrodden, long-suffering slave of the Turkish Pasha.

He would, however, have regretted the picturesque dress of the Greek peasant, which is becoming rarer and rarer in the streets of Athens. Its origin is more Albanian than Greek, and, like the Highland kilt, which it somewhat resembles, it is more the dress of a

mountaineer than that of a townsman. The *fustanella*, as it is called, is a white linen short full petticoat, reaching barely to the knee. It is pleated so closely and thickly that it sticks out all round somewhat like the tulie skirts of a ballet-girl. The jacket is made of a kind of woollen felt, with loose hanging sleeves, and the cap resembles a Turkish fez. The Athenian workman, however, is dressed very much like any other Continental artisan, except perhaps with a difference as to gaiters. In the Peloponnesus the shepherds tending their flocks in spring still keep themselves warm with white sheepskin straight-cut overcoats reaching to the knee, where they are joined by blue leggings or gaiters fitting tight to the leg. They wear pointed shoes very much turned up at the toes. Attached to their coat is a conical or pointed hood to pull over their head and ears, and this picturesque costume almost exactly resembles that of some of the old sepulchral monuments that have been dug up. One of these men, playing doleful music on his reed pipes, standing among his goats on wild bushy ground strewn with brilliant-coloured flowers, the pink, violet, and blue hills glowing all round, forms a unique picture, filling the imagination with the far-off mythological tales of past history; while his intelligent face and magnificent physique, together with the newly made macadamised roads and the distant whistle of the steam-engine, present the reality of an enduring race energetically grasping the facts of modern civilisation.

The Greek Government has not been remiss in providing State education; every child in the country is compulsorily educated by the Government. No difficulty is found in securing attendance wherever the schools are within reasonable distance. The condition of Greek finance, which is only just beginning to recover the errors of M. Delyanni's administration and the political disturbances of 1885, does not appear to affect the individual. The people are orderly and well-disposed; there is work for every one, and the wages are amply sufficient to provide for the needs of a comparatively easy and simple life. The elections take place every fourth year by constitutional law, unless a dissolution intervenes; but the present Government, under the leadership of M. Tricoupis, well known among English statesmen for his ability and integrity, is practically at this moment without any valid opposition. The recent bye-elections all indicate a continuance of this state of things, and the unanimity thus secured supplies an element of strength much needed among other European Governments. During the session of this year the obstructionist party in the Chambers, finding that they failed to make any impression on the serried ranks of the Government, retired in a body, under the delusion that they would thus render it impossible for the Chambers to carry through any legislation. Their calculations, however, were mistaken, for the Government were able to

retain the necessary constitutional quorum, and the only result of this expedient was that measures were produced and completed in three weeks which would otherwise have occupied as many months. It may be regretted that this course of action is not more frequently adopted where opposition has degenerated into mere factiousness, and perhaps if the Greek people had always made a virtue of necessity and shown greater steadiness of action, they might by this time have exercised a more important influence in European politics; but there is much reason to hope that they are preparing themselves in good earnest to become a useful and permanent ally in the East to any commercial Power willing to befriend them and sympathise in their efforts.

Owing to the geographical configuration of the country and the number of natural ports on the coast, Greece has unrivalled possibilities of becoming a maritime Power in the Mediterranean. The population has many of the tastes and qualities of a seafaring people. There is a large fleet of torpedo-boats, and though the Royal Navy is principally recruited by conscription—two years of service being all that is required to make an efficient sailor—it possesses in addition training-ships after the British pattern, where boys also are drilled for service in the ironclads and gunboats.

It is not, however, to the army or navy that the true friends of Greece should look for her future prosperity, but to the development of her trade and industry. Each year sees an improvement in the manufacture of Greek wine, much having been done by the present King to achieve this result. From an imperfect knowledge of the principles of wine-making, the peasant proprietor, besides storing and carrying it in odoriferous goatskins, adds large quantities of resin to preserve the vintage, which process gives the peculiar bitter flavour well known in the common 'vins du pays,' which are called 'resinata.' This is, of course, quite unnecessary, and the well-made Greek wine is excellent, though perhaps somewhat strong. The Grand Hotel at Paris has been among the first to appreciate the fact, and has purchased large quantities for its cellar. It is said by those who ought to know that in consequence of the duties quite recently imposed by France on Italy there will be a still larger importation for conversion into the light French wines sold as claret. The English market is also moving in the same direction, and there might now be a fresh opening for a better class of vintages, which would stand the transit in wood and compete with those bottled wines to be taxed under the new Budget.

The whole of the southern shore of the Gulf of Corinth is famous for the culture of a small, very sweet grape, which is grown almost entirely for foreign export. When picked, the bunches are laid out to dry in the hot sun, and these, deriving their name from the classic spot, are known to the English housekeeper as the currants which

she uses for her cakes, plum-puddings, and mince-pies. Until recently the larger proportion of the export was to England. Latterly, however, owing to the phylloxera, great quantities are sent to France for wine-making, and are largely used in the manufacture of champagne.

Another great and promising source of wealth to the nation are the Laurium Mines, worked by two companies, one French and one Greek, and which, although known to the ancients, had, till about twenty years ago, been practically abandoned. There is now a prosperous seaport town, several miles of railway, and extensive workings, where, some twenty years ago, the first founder of the Greek Mining Company had to make his terms with the brigands infesting the then desert country. Here again English trade absorbs large portions of Greek produce; the steamers which come laden with coal from England, and anchor in the pretty little port of Ergasteria, take back annually about 184,000 tons of minerals. A great portion of these are extracted from the old disused scoria of the ancients, whose powers of smelting and washing were unequal to the task of obtaining the whole wealth of the ore. A large quantity has now been cleared away, and on the ground thus uncovered there has sprung up a yellow flower said to be unknown among the indigenous flora. It is alleged by the *savants* on the spot that the seed must have lain imbedded in the soil hidden from sun and rain for over two thousand years. It has remained, while everything around it has changed; and as soon as the heavy covering of ages was removed, it has started afresh into life and vigour. May not the Greek nation of to-day look upon this humble little flower as a type of the new life which has arisen now that the burden of a foreign race is lifted away and the air and light of modern civilisation and progress reanimate what seemed for ever lost?

Free Greece will, ere long, be in direct railway communication with Europe by Thebes and Livadia, taking either the line of the sea-coast to Salonica, or by Servia, Monastir, and Uschküpp; and when this is considered, together with the present condition of the Balkan provinces, it seems impossible, there being no longer an oracle at Delphi to consult, in any way to forecast the future. With an improved condition of finance, produced by an extended commerce and an industrious and contented people, there is every reason to be sanguine. The danger that Greece feels impending, and barring her way, is the advance southwards of the Slav races in the Balkan Peninsula. While these struggling nationalities keep up a perpetual irritation in Southern Europe, Greece is continually striving that her kindred populations still under Turkey's rule should not pass to the dominion of another people. Lord Beaconsfield once told an eminent Greek, who was pleading the cause of Greek extension, that he must have patience. 'Patience is not so easy,' was


the reply : ' do you expect patience from the hungry man, starving while he sees others snatching at his dinner ? ' And here is the great problem to be solved. In order to complete and secure their frontier and their prosperity, the Greeks feel they must be ever pushing their claims on the notice of Europe ; otherwise they may see Austria or Bulgaria at Salonica, and Russia at Constantinople, monopolising their trade and commerce with both East and West, and crushing for ever their aspirations for a reunion of the Greek-speaking populations of the Mediterranean. What Italy has already done, Greece hopes some day to achieve ; and the observant traveller who visits that hospitable country in the present day will find that he has not only forged for himself a new link between past and present in the chain of art and history, but he will experience a profound sympathy with a people who, with faults and weaknesses which cannot be disregarded, possess vitality, energy, and imagination worthy of their ancient glories and poetical surroundings.

M. A. A. GALLOWAY.


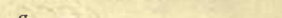
N. W. FRONTIER OF INDIA.

Scale, 160 miles to 1 inch.

Old Frontier - Pink line

New Frontier -  (approximate)

Railways,

1, Open - 
2, Under Survey - 



*THE 'SCIENTIFIC FRONTIER' AN
ACCOMPLISHED FACT.*

In the recent debate in the House of Commons (the 13th of March, 1888) on the North-West Indian frontier, the most curious ignorance was displayed as to the geography of the frontier itself. The House was asked to condemn a frontier policy as unwise by persons who required themselves to be informed as to where that frontier was. Mr. Slagg, for instance, who introduced the motion, repeatedly spoke of Kila Abdulla, the Khojak Range, and Chaman as being within the Afghan boundary, though they have been British possessions, assigned by treaty, for the last nine years; and complained of a policy as aggressive which has been strictly confined to the defence of our own outposts, which has not encroached one yard upon alien soil, and which has been conspicuously lacking in every element of offence. This is an ignorance, however, which is not confined to members of Parliament, but is shared by the public at large, and in which there is nothing so very surprising when we consider the difficulty of procuring accurate information about such distant parts, the secrecy most discreetly observed by the Government and the officials in their employ, and the mystery that commonly overhangs strategical operations in times of peace not less than in times of war. There are, nevertheless, certain broad facts and items of information with which the public has some title to be made familiar, and the diffusion of which may dissipate some unreasonable suspicions or satisfy some lingering doubts; facts not perhaps to be found in guide-books or histories, because they are posterior in time to the most recent guide-books, and constitute a chapter in a history as yet unwritten and incomplete, but which are perceptible to a traveller's gaze, even to the uninstructed eye of a civilian who has enjoyed the advantages of an eye-witness upon the spot. In the course of a recent visit to India I spent some time upon the North-West frontier, passing along it from north to south, and visiting its furthest extension (that so recently impugned) in the direction of Quetta and Kandahar. It is because I believe that this frontier, lately fixed and now being fortified, is one the very situation of which is almost unknown at home, and that the spread of such knowledge will only

bring with it, not peril or alarm, but confidence and strength, that I venture to submit the results of my own observations in a public shape.

Upon the larger questions of policy that loom behind the frontier problem I do not desire to say much, being anxious, as far as possible, to avoid a partisan or polemical tone. That the one great external danger which India has to fear is invasion by Russia, is, however, a commonplace which all will admit; and that such a danger is no chimera, none who have watched recent events—the steadfast tramp of Russian armies from the Caspian to the Oxus, the discovery of the incriminating letters at Kabul, the absorption of Merv, and the seizure of Penjdeh—can reasonably deny. The theory of a mysterious centripetal force of a missionary or philanthropic character, irresistibly impelling the Russian arms in the direction of the Sufeid Koh and the Suleiman Range, has perished miserably amid the charge of Cossack lances and the outpouring of Turcoman blood. Geok Tepe shattered it; and the events of 1885 consigned it to the grave. The fool's paradise in which our Liberal statesmen once lived about the Indian frontier is now a deserted tenement; and the eminent author of the phrase about 'old woman's fears' has since done penance by the most faultless burst of Jingoism known to modern times. It is now fortunately an axiom with both political parties and with all statesmen that India is seriously menaced by Russian advance, that it must be defended at all hazards from that risk, and that every shilling wisely spent in promoting that security is an investment of imperial profit and importance.

The possible avenues of approach to India by which a Russian army might advance are, broadly speaking, three in number—(1) through Kashmir on the north; (2) through Afghanistan on the north-west or west; and (3) with the aid or after the subjugation of Persia from a more southerly direction. The first and third of these lines of attack have generally been recognised as improbable, if not impossible, although their infeasibility is not in the same ratio. The Persian route presupposes a condition of affairs which is not likely to arise for some time at least, and is confronted by physical obstacles believed to be insurmountable. On the other hand, the northern passes of Kashmir, of which little is at present known, might prove, in spite of their great altitude and the brief season of the year during which they are open, to be available; in which case steps would have to be taken to meet any danger arising in that quarter. It is sufficient for our present purpose that the obvious and easiest method of approach, utilised by every previous invader from Alexander to Nadir Shah, and indicated by every move that Russia has so far made, is through Afghanistan and by one of the various passes that pierce the mountain ranges into India; and that it is upon the defence of the parallel frontier that the attention of

the British Government has for long been concentrated. Peshawur may be described as the northern, Quetta as the western, and Kurrachi as the southern extremity of the extensive and irregular line thus exposed. I desire briefly to show what are the steps that have recently been taken, or are now being taken, to place this line in an effective condition of defence.

For these purposes I propose to divide the frontier into three sections—(1) from Peshawur to the valuable post of Dera Ismail Khan on the right bank of the Indus, a distance of over 150 miles; (2) from Dera Ismail Khan to the old frontier station of Jacobabad, a distance of 350 miles; and (3) from Jacobabad to the sea at Kurrachi, also a distance of about 350 miles. The old frontier may be said roughly to have followed the course of the Indus along this line from north to south, being determined by the axis of the mountain ranges which run parallel with nearly the entire length, at distances from the river varying from fifty to one hundred miles. The first of these sections continues geographically unchanged, but has been placed in a state of vastly improved communication with the interior. The second has been radically altered. The third, which is of less importance, and of which I shall not require to speak, has remained untouched.

(1) Forty-four miles before reaching Peshawur the Punjab railway crosses the Indus by a fine iron girder bridge at a point where the river is compressed between the barriers of a dark and sullen gorge. The old bridge of boats below the fort a little higher up the stream, near the point where Alexander crossed,¹ has disappeared. The position, a very important one, is, I believe, to be strengthened by additional fortifications.

The interesting and romantic city of Peshawur is situated in a tongue of land projecting wedgewise into the amphitheatre of mountains which close India on this side from the outer world. At a distance, however, of ten miles from the town, they are pierced by the celebrated defile known as the Khyber Pass, the scene of so many incidents, and, alas! of more than one tragedy, in British history. This pass is the shortest and most direct route to Kabul, distant 180 miles. Peshawur, though it has large cantonments and is an imposing military station, is almost unfortified. The issues either of defence or attack would be decided before the arrival of any invading force, in the windings of that eventful pass. Peshawur, however, is not actually upon the frontier; the ultimate outpost of British arms being nine miles further on at Jumrood, on the extremity of the plain, and at the threshold of the Khyber. The railroad which now stops at Peshawur is to be continued to Jumrood, at present a mud fort, rather like a big turret-ship of the most improved and hideous modern type, plastered over with

¹ The passage by the Greeks is localised by others at Torbela, higher up the river.

clay and moored on the plain, but also, I understand, to be additionally fortified in the near future.

It is a great mistake, however, to suppose, as is frequently done in England, that where our frontier here or elsewhere ceases that of Afghanistan begins. Along this entire border there is a fringe of neutral territory often over a hundred miles in breadth, between our dominions and those of the Amir, occupied and garrisoned by wild native tribes, immemorably turbulent and free, owing no absolute allegiance to either power, and alternately a thorn in the side of each. Of those, the Afridis, estimated at 20,000 strong, are here the most powerful and independent. They have often fought against us, and the last time Shere Ali went through the Khyber, with unceremonious impartiality they plundered and appropriated his baggage. Our policy has for some years been wisely devoted to conciliating these tribes, many of whose best warriors now pass through the ranks of our native army, and whom we subsidise to guard and keep open the Khyber. It was with an Afridi cavalry escort that I rode up the Pass, and the castles or fortified posts, the principal of which is Ali Musjid, that line its course, are held by their levies or Chowkidars. On two days in the week, Tuesday and Friday, the Khyber is open by arrangement with them for the passage of convoys coming down from Kabul and Central Asia, an armed escort being provided by the Afridis, who also align the heights with sentinels. I met one of these caravans coming down, a long string of well-loaded camels, oxen, asses, and mules, attended by bearded warriors with marked Israelitish features and the stature of a Saul. These arrangements work so well that the Khyber is not only absolutely safe as now in times of peace, but that in case of the outbreak of war, we might rely with certainty upon our subsidised allies to co-operate with us, either for the purpose of guarding our own advance, or of resisting the descent of a hostile force. The chance of India, as long as it remains British, ever again being invaded by the Khyber is so infinitesimal as scarcely to deserve consideration.

Retracing our steps and descending the valley of the Indus from Attock, we find that a railway has recently been completed from the large military station of Rawul Pindi, sixty miles further south on the main line, to Khusalgarh, eighty miles distant on the left bank of the river. Khusalgarh is the starting-point for Kohat, thirty miles; and from there a good road leads to the frontier post of Thull, sixty miles. Near here is the mouth of the Kurum valley, the second great avenue of approach from Afghanistan into India or *vice versa*, up which Sir F. Roberts marched in 1878 to the Peiwar Kotal, where he fought a great battle, and to the precipitous crux of the Shutargardan Pass.

The next important post on the Indus is Kalabagh. There is a talk of bridging the river here, at a point where, with current still

confined, it emerges from the hills and enters upon its shifting and straggling passage through the plains of the Derajat. Opposite to Kalabagh upon the frontier is situated the military post of Bunu, which is important as commanding the approach to the little known and unexplored Tochi Pass, also leading into the interior of Afghanistan. Surveys have been made for a railway from Kalabagh to Bunu, and I understand that a railway is also in contemplation from Kalabagh to Khusalgarh, where the communication with the main line already exists, and possibly on to Attock.

Continuing south we now come to a second complete lateral branch of communication with the main line from Delhi and Lahore. This has been effected by a continuation of the old Salt Line (which ran from Lalla Musa, twenty miles south of Jhelum, to the mines at Khewra, near the river Jhelum) westwards for 150 miles to Kundian, near the Indus, where a branch line runs north to Mianwali and Isa Khel Ferry, twenty miles, and will probably be continued to Kalabagh; while the main continuation turns to the south, and, skirting the left bank of the Indus, arrives at Bhakkur, sixty miles, where a bridge of boats provides a transit to the important post of Dera Ismail Khan. Here we arrive at the terminus of the first section of the frontier as divided above. Dera Ismail Khan is the starting-point for the frontier at Tonk, thirty miles, and the mouth of the Gomul or Gwalari Pass, a defile second in military significance to none, seeing that it is the direct line of advance upon Ghuzni, which ranks with Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar, as one of the Quadrilateral of Afghanistan. I have shown that in the section north of this place the frontier is now approached by a triple line of communication with Central India, the three spurs of which will ultimately be interconnected; so that, in the event of hostile proceedings being necessary, there now exist the means by which large bodies of men may, without confusion or delay, be deposited at every vulnerable point along these 150 miles of frontier.

(2) Before proceeding to an examination of the changes in the second section, we will follow the railway from Bhakkur down the east bank of the Indus, 100 miles, to Mahmud Kot. There a short branch line of ten miles leads to Kuraichi, a point opposite to the station of Dera Ghazi Khan, where also is a bridge of boats; while the main prolongation soon after joins the trunk line from Lahore at Mooltan, its entire length since it left Lalla Musa having been 350 miles. This is the fourth line of communication with the central railway system of India.

From Mooltan the combined railways now move on a single line south and south-west for 280 miles to Sukkur, where the river, here separating into two channels, is being spanned, for the first time since leaving Attock, by a colossal iron cantilever bridge, the main span of which, 820 feet in length, will when completed be at once

an æsthetic monstrosity and a mechanical marvel. I saw this great work in course of execution. Its principle of construction is not unlike that of the Forth Bridge in Scotland; and when finished it will be the greatest prodigy of engineering effort and the ugliest object east of the Levant.

Just beyond Sukkur the railway diverges, at Ruk junction, northwards to the military station of Jacobabad, till recently our frontier outpost in these parts. The old line of frontier between Dera Ismail Khan and Jacobabad was regulated by the formidable range of the Suleiman Mountains, which here abut upon the hot and sandy plain of the Derajat that stretches to the waters of the Indus. Jacobabad, though the southern limit of this section (and as such involving an inversion of the order in which I have so far proceeded), affords the best starting-point for a description of the new frontier, which practically starts from here, and has been determined by considerations connected with the southern rather than with the northern extremity of the intervening region.

From Jacobabad the Sind-Pishin Railway runs in a northerly direction for a hundred miles to the junction of Sibi, traversing a plain of appalling and absolute sterility, almost without water, and in summer a perfect furnace, most desolate among the funereal deserts of Beluchistan. As we approach Sibi, however, the welcome outline of hills on the horizon, though bleak and colourless, gives a fresh zest to the depressed imagination; and we find ourselves contemplating the Great Wall of India at one of the most interesting and historic points in its whole extent. For here we are in the neighbourhood of the Bolan Pass, and the famous Quetta Railway, so long the despair of engineers, and the bugbear and bone of contention between politicians, and which might long ago have shared the abortive fate of its luckless analogue the Suakin-Berber Railway in Egypt, had not the troops of the Czar, in a happy moment for the Indian tactician and the alarmist about frontier defence, swooped down upon Penjdeh in the month of March 1885.

The railway from Ruk to Sibi was first begun upon the renewal of war with Afghanistan after the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari in 1879, the object being to facilitate the advance of a British column by the Bolan and Quetta route from the south upon Kandahar. When Sibi was reached it became necessary to decide by what opening the mountain barrier should be pierced and the rails conducted to Quetta. Broadly speaking, there were two alternatives—the Bolan Pass, debouching into the plain at Rindli, sixteen miles to the north-west; and a more circuitous route through the ranges to the north-east by the impressive defile known as the Chuppar Rift and the Nari Gorge. The difficulties and costliness of the Bolan route were felt to constitute so grave an obstacle that the other, or, as it is called, the Hurnai line was chosen, and work was

commenced in the same year. This is the line that was foolishly suspended by the Liberal Government in 1881, in the first flush of their unreasoning desire to reverse *ab initio* the policy of their predecessors, but that was tentatively recommenced by them in December 1883. Definite sanction was given to its complete construction in July 1884; and the line was opened to passenger traffic right through to Quetta, a distance of 155 miles, early in 1887.

When I travelled along this line in the month of January there had been a deep fall of snow, and the surrounding scenery, wild and imposing at any time, was rendered additionally grand. The change in temperature between the lower and higher levels is very sensibly felt, though the ascent, being circuitous, is less steep than by the Bolan, the gradient being nowhere more than one in forty. It has been a costly railway to build, a great deal of tunnelling, and cutting, and bridging being required. The journey, though slow and laborious (fourteen hours, or eleven miles an hour), and frequently impeded or delayed, is worth making, if only to see the natural surroundings, and particularly the Chuppar Rift, a spot 5,500 feet above the sea, where a vast sloping mountain wall is cleft right in twain by a tremendous perpendicular fissure disclosing the windings of a singularly contracted and gloomy gorge. At Bostan, 134 miles from Sibi, the railway emerges upon the upland plain of Pishin, and the remaining twenty-one miles by the Quetta loop line to Quetta are speedily accomplished.

This is the original and first Quetta railroad. The second and later line, shorter, steeper, and more direct, runs straight up the Bolan Pass, and enters the plain of Quetta from the other or southwest side. I travelled by the one line on my outward, by the other on my return journey.

The Bolan route, rejected, as I have pointed out, in 1879, was suddenly determined upon in the pressure exercised by the Russian scare in the spring of 1885. Pushed forward with the haste that is born of panic, amid the greatest engineering difficulties, and under a climate that in the summer months wrought fearful havoc among the beasts of burden, and more especially the camels employed, the rails reached Quetta in August 1886, and the entire line, 100 miles long from Sibi, was opened to passenger traffic on the 1st of April, 1887.

Leaving Sibi we swiftly cross the plain to Rindli, at the foot of the mountains, and enter the famous Bolan Pass, through which our armies have now several times marched to the invasion of Afghanistan, by the Kundalani Gorge. The Bolan is a pass in the most precise and orthodox sense of the term; for throughout the sixty miles of its length it takes the form of a defile, in the narrowest places only some twenty yards wide, though in others expanding to more than a mile, confined by mountain walls of uniform ruggedness though of

varying height. The material of which these are composed is a gravelly amalgam, readily yielding to climatic or aqueous disintegration, so that the heights are fretted into strange and distorted shapes. The floor of the pass is also the bed of the river from which it takes its name, in the dry season a rough and stony channel, along which the rails are laid, often in pools of water, but after the rains of July and August filled by a gross and powerful torrent that sweeps down the gorge, tearing up the sleepers and twisting the rails into extraordinary contortions. Hence the great costliness of keeping up the present line, a large portion of which has to be relaid every autumn. The sullenness and sterility of the pass can scarcely be conceived. Till lately there were but five trees throughout its entire length, which were proudly pointed out to the traveller. I know of no similar scene of desolation save the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Egyptian Thebes.

From Rindli to Hirokh, a distance of fifty miles, the railroad follows the track of the river through scenery of the above description. Then come the finest ten miles of the pass, from Hirokh to Kotal. The mountain walls converge, the angle of cleavage increases in abruptness, and the gorge twists in and out in sharp zigzags. The difficulty arising both from the steepness of the gradient—in many places as much as one in twenty-three—and from the sharpness of the curves, induced the authorities, who, as has been pointed out, were building in headlong haste, to construct a temporary metre-gauge line through this section of the pass; and accordingly a change of trains is at present necessitated both at Hirokh and at Kotal. A realignment of the track with the broader gauge is, however, now being carried out between these two points, several hundreds of workmen being employed, and the rails being for the most part already *in situ*, while the Abt system of ascending steep inclines, the main feature of which is the use of a cogwheel catching in the teeth of a double central rail, has been adopted, and a German engineer engaged specially to superintend the work. As soon as this is completed the broad gauge will run continuously from Sibi to Quetta.

An even more important change is, however, in contemplation; no less than an entire shifting of the line from Much, six miles south of Hirokh, so as to avoid altogether the lower two-thirds of the Bolan Pass, and the calamities arising from the annual spates. The projected line diverging from the pass at Much would traverse the Lalachi Plain, and descend the more easterly Mushkaf Valley to Nari Bank, just above Sibi, a distance of forty-five miles. Whether this is likely to be carried into execution or not I cannot tell.

Emerging from the northern gates of the pass at Kotal Darwaza, 5,800 feet, the present railroad traverses the level upland plain known as the Dasht-i-be-daulat, or 'waste of without-wealth' (such is

the change in its fertility that has been effected since the British occupation that it is jokingly proposed to substitute *ba* for *be*, which would make it the 'plain of with-wealth'), and after a run of twenty-five miles enters Quetta from the south-west, joining there the Bostan loop line which approaches from the opposite direction.

Quetta, though at present unfortified—the old citadel, which would be powerless against artillery, having been dismantled—occupies what military critics describe as a very strong, if not a theoretically impregnable position. Situated in the middle of the Quetta Niabat or district, a tract some forty miles long by three broad, and 5,600 feet above the sea, it absolutely commands the approach to the Bolan Pass, and is itself protected on its flanks by the lofty peaks of the Chehiltan range, 12,000 feet, on the south-west, and by the Zarghun plateau on the north-east, separated by the Sarakula Pass from the snowy crags of Takatu, 11,390 feet. The town contains nothing of interest; but its cantonments accommodate at the present moment two regiments of native infantry and one of native cavalry, two British regiments, two British batteries of artillery, and a corps of native sappers—no mean force.

Here I must diverge for a few moments to detail the circumstances under which we became possessed of this important outpost, and which are valuable as an illustration of the pacific and conciliatory policy that has been pursued with such success by the able staff of officers who have represented the Indian Government in these parts.

In 1839 occurred the first British interference with Kelat (to the territories of which Quetta belonged) arising out of the first Afghan war. Having deposed a refractory Khan, we placed a British nominee upon the throne, and, upon his overthrow shortly afterwards, concluded a treaty with his successor in 1841. A second treaty was negotiated in 1854, by which the Khan, in return for an annual subsidy, undertook to subordinate his foreign policy to the Indian Government, and to receive British troops if called upon to do so. Sir H. Green, in an article in this Review in May 1885 ('The Great Wall of India'), has pointed out that the idea of occupying and fortifying Quetta was strenuously but fruitlessly recommended to the Indian Government by General John Jacob as early as 1855. The circumstances under which his advice was, twenty years later, to be carried into effect, arose as follows. The present Khan of Kelat, Khudadad, succeeded his brother in 1857, being elected by the Beluchi sirdars to what was then the weak and nominal headship of a turbulent confederacy. For twenty years his reign was one of anarchy, feud, and internecine struggle, the sirdars being in open revolt and the Khan powerless to control them. At length, in 1875, the British Government, being appealed to, interfered, and despatched Major (now Sir) R. Sandeman, a most capable officer, to whom the subsequent success is mainly due, with instructions to effect a settle-

ment. The result of his negotiations was the signature of the Treaty of Jacobabad in December 1876, between the Khan, the sirdars, and the British Government. A British agent and British troops were to be admitted into Kelat; the Khan's subsidy was raised; and Quetta was selected as the military post to be occupied. In the succeeding years proposals emanated from the Khan himself to hand over to us the Quetta district for administration, resulting in the year 1882 in an arrangement by which we took over that territory upon payment of an annual quit rent; the culminating step followed in 1883, when the Khan made it over to the British Government in perpetuity with full sovereign rights. Quetta has therefore for some time been an acknowledged British possession.

The success of the treaty was not to be estimated by this fact alone. It must be added that all parties have loyally combined to carry out its stipulations. The Khan has re-established his authority, and is duly recognised by the sirdars; his good faith to us has been abundantly tested and proved in the trying circumstances of the two Afghan wars of 1878 and 1879, after the defeat at Maiwand in 1880, and again in the war-scare of 1885. The Bolan Pass, the jurisdiction of which, along with the right to levy tolls, we purchased from the Khan, has been prudently freed by the Government from all imposts, with the result of an enormously increased traffic, and greater security and ease of communication. From the Quetta Niabat we extract a revenue more than double that which it ever produced before. The entire history of British interference in Kelat may be quoted as a triumphant answer to those who decry British interference anywhere, and extol the odious theory of sedentary and culpable inaction.

Quetta, however, is not the limit of the British frontier. North and north-east of the Quetta plain stretches the great region of Pishin, which, with that of Sibi, was assigned to the British by the Treaty of Gundamuk with Yakub Khan in 1879. Though nominally Afghan, they had never been permanently occupied or held by the Amir; and the change was one from a precarious and ill-sustained authority to a recognised and stable government. For some time there appears to have been a doubt at headquarters as to whether these concessions should be retained;² but the home Government having eventually decided in the affirmative, they have since been acknowledged as part of British territory, and were in 1887 incorporated in what is now known as British Beluchistan, administered by a Chief Commissioner resident at Quetta. The region embraced by the somewhat vague geographical titles of Sibi and Pishin, which has been determined by the most careful and

² The Kurum district, which was assigned at the same time, was afterwards made over to the local tribe of the Turis, as an independent power, in reward for their loyalty and assistance.

exhaustive investigation with the chiefs of the local tribes, may be said, roughly speaking, to extend from Sibi, including the districts of Thal Chotiali and Hurnai, to the Toba plateau on the north. Pishin itself, an area of some 3,000 square miles, commencing in the neighbourhood of Bostan, may be said to extend west to the Kwajah Amran range, or southern boundary of Afghanistan, and north-east to the Zhob Valley, less than 100 miles from the Amir's eastern boundaries in the Gomul Pass.

This is the great expanse of territory, till lately desolated by marauding tribes and owning no central authority, that has almost involuntarily and by accident passed into British hands, and is now being industriously surveyed, explored, and pacified by British agents. A great military road has for a long time been in course of construction from Dera Ghazi Khan through the Bori Valley by Thal Chotiali to Pishin, opening up the lower portions of this region. The north is still in parts almost a *terra incognita*. To the west a military road is also being constructed from Bostan to the frontier fort of Chaman, on the west or Afghan side of the Amran range. The railroad advances in the same direction and the site of the frontier upon that side are the interesting subjects to which I now turn.

Quetta, as has been said, commands the approach to the Bolan Pass. But the approach to Quetta is itself commanded by the Khojak Pass through the lofty Amran range to the north-west. This long and striking range, the highest point of which is 8,864 feet, is the southern border of Afghanistan, and must be crossed by any army marching to or from Kandahar. It is pierced by three main passes, the Khojak, the Rhogani, and the Gwajah; the first named being the most important, inasmuch as it is the direct route to Kandahar. If the Bolan Pass is the key to India on the side of Beluchistan, the Khojak Pass is the key to Beluchistan on the side of Afghanistan. How prodigiously strong must be the position which embraces the occupation of both can easily be imagined.

The strategical operations of the last two years have been principally devoted to strengthening this advanced segment of the frontier. The railroad has been extended from Quetta to the foot of the Khojak Pass, and will before long have pierced the range by a tunnel to the frontier fort of Chaman. At the same time, the military road over this pass is being widened and relaid, having been found in the campaigns of 1879 and 1880 to be impracticable for the heavy guns, which had to be slung in ropes down the steep declivity on the north side. It is also in contemplation, as was mentioned by Sir E. Hamley in his masterly speech in the House of Commons, to construct an entrenched camp beyond Quetta, to protect this line of communication and to serve as a nucleus of defence.

I made an expedition from Quetta to inspect the extension of the railway to the Khojak. Traversing the loop to Bostan, twenty-

one miles, we diverged westwards across a plain, then drab and dusty, but in the spring months blooming with wheat, millet, maize and barley, and irrigated by 'karezes,' or underground watercourses. Crossing the Lora river by a high-level bridge, we reached the junction of Gulistan Karez, thirty-three miles, and then followed a branch line for eight miles to the present terminus of Kila Abdulla. This line was finished in February 1887, but was not opened to passenger traffic till this year.³

Kila Abdulla is situated at the extremity of the plain near the foot hills of the Amran range. Leaving the train here we rode towards the mountains, keeping parallel with the line of embankment and cuttings, which the rails are to follow, and upon which hundreds of Ghilzais and native tribesmen were engaged, till we were presently involved in the lower windings of the Khojak Pass. After an eight miles' ride we came at Shela Bagh to the temporary camp of the workmen, just below the steepest part of the pass. Experimental shafts were already being sunk for the mouth of the projected tunnel, which will start from here, and pierce the heart of the range, underneath the Khojak Pass, terminating after a two miles course on the other side at a slight distance above the fort of Chaman. It will probably not be completed for three years, the duration of the work largely depending upon whether water is or is not encountered in the boring.

Mounting to the summit of the pass, 7,500 feet, and taking the last step on to the crest of the ridge, there suddenly burst upon our view one of those unique and startling spectacles which remain imprinted on the memory for ever. For miles and miles below us lay outstretched the great Kadani plain, an ocean of yellow sand, broken only by island rocks and ridges, and rolling evenly to the horizon, where on the west the tumbled billows of the Registan desert, a howling wilderness, seemed under a light wind to smoke against the sky; while in the northern distance a range of mountains sixty miles distant hid from our eyes the site of Kandahar. It is a historic and a wonderful landscape. Descending the steeper gradients of the pass on the north side we arrived shortly at the fort of Chaman, situated about a quarter of a mile from the base of the range. At present Chaman is only a mud fort, occupied by a company of native regiment, though capable of being greatly strengthened by outworks and fortifications. All around were the ruins of the huts which had sheltered our troops during the war. The actual frontier may be described as an imaginary line drawn a few hundred yards beyond Chaman. Thenceforward all is Afghanistan. Standing there upon the *ultima Thule* of British territory in the heart of Central Asia, his must have been a sluggish heart that did not feel a thrill of

³ Administration Report of the Indian Railways for 1886-87, *Parliamentary Papers*, C. 5122.

excitement at the memories of the past, of confidence in the destinies of the future. A trifling incident brought home with additional force the inspiring character of the *mise en scène*. As we dismounted in the fort, an Afghan messenger came in bringing the last post from Herat, 440 miles distant, including a letter from the news-writer whom by treaty stipulations we maintain there, as at Kabul.

It is the policy involved in the fortification of this advanced section of the frontier, in the railway extension, and in the tunnel-cutting through the Amran range that was called in question in the debate in the House of Commons. An elementary knowledge of history and geography would have spared the House one half of the criticisms so crudely advanced. There has been no annexation of territory, and there is no note of aggression in the plans that have been either contemplated or carried out. The British Government is as much entitled to fortify Chaman and to protect the mountain range, as the German Government is to place Krupp guns on the ramparts of Strasburg or of Metz. More legitimately, but not I think with greater success, has the policy itself been assailed. The alternative plan of halting on the near side of a formidable mountain barrier, and allowing the enemy without interruption to scale and descend its heights, would be like leaving your stable door open and exulting in the security of your horse. A wall is a good defence to an orchard or to any other enclosure, but it must be a wall in possession of the owner; and it is all the better defence if there is a frise of broken glass along the summit. Similar considerations determine the wisdom of piercing the tunnel. If no tunnel is made the railroad to the range becomes practically valueless, for it leaves the difficulties of the pass still to be surmounted; and the range itself, as a frontier palisade, becomes valueless also, for we might as well in that case remain entrenched at Quetta. On the other hand, with the tunnel bored, Chaman fortified, and the entrance to the pass in our hands, we shall be in a position of extraordinary advantage; resting upon a frontier of immense natural strength; and able without delay to concentrate troops and to bring up supplies and ammunition, with a view either to resist threatened attack or to make a counter demonstration in response to any movement by the Russians in the direction of Herat or Kandahar.

Among other questions raised in the debate was the likelihood of the railroad being pushed forward as an offensive measure in the direction of Kandahar. As such a step would involve a total negation of our entire policy towards Afghanistan, which is one of non-interference except upon appeal, it may be dismissed as in the highest degree improbable. That the railway will ultimately be extended to Kandahar I do not, however, for one moment doubt. But it will be as a measure of peace, undertaken at the request or with the concurrence of the Amir, not as a measure of war. The Amir, being

still engaged in consolidating his own authority—a work in which he has already had an unexampled success—is somewhat jealous of British interference within his own borders, as calculated to diminish his personal prestige. In process of time it will be to his interest directly to connect Kandahar, his southern capital, with the British frontier, both as a means of facilitating the advance of armed support, and in order to afford a cheaper and more rapid outlet for the considerable trade of the fertile Kandahar province and southern Afghanistan, which now crosses the Kadani plain in caravans, and makes its way by the Khojak and Bolan Passes into India. The line could be laid without the slightest difficulty across the level plain, very little bridging and cutting, and consequently not much skilled labour, being required. Indeed, it is understood that the plant is already stored in sufficient quantity in Pishin. I have little doubt but that this generation will live to see the work accomplished.

It is scarcely necessary to point out the Imperial advantage of a position which places Kandahar within easy access, as a retort to a possible move by Russia in the direction of Herat. What should be the action of Great Britain when that move is made, as assuredly it will be, and as the ablest judges have predicted, I am not competent to discuss. This however is certain, that any advance by Russia upon Herat will be shorn of more than half its significance if, as is now the case, it can be met by a corresponding British advance to the support either of Kabul, Ghuzni, or Kandahar. Herat has in fact ceased to be the key of India.

I have already alluded to the theory of British policy towards Afghanistan. Rightly or wrongly, wisely or unwisely, the theory of a neutral zone or buffer state between the Russian outposts and our own has now finally been adopted by both parties in the State, and cannot be repudiated by either. There are many, of whom I am one, who regard this policy as containing few elements of permanence, and as almost certain to be dissolved upon the death of the reigning Amir. But, whether this forecast be correct or not, at least we are bound faithfully to adhere to the policy during his lifetime, and as long after as may be, and to lose no opportunity of keeping this buffer state independent, and of making it strong. It was loyalty to this theory that formed the sole, but a sufficient, excuse for the evacuation of Kandahar in April 1881; a measure that was loudly denounced at the time both by military authorities and by the bulk of Conservative opinion at home; but that was a necessary corollary to the acceptance of the principle I have indicated, because an Afghan kingdom without Kandahar can with difficulty remain independent, and can never be strong.⁴ Not the least among the justifications of

⁴ Since writing the above I have observed that Sir Henry Rawlinson (vide 'Results of the Afghan War' in the *Nineteenth Century* for August 1879), though in favour of the temporary military occupation of Kandahar after the treaty of

the frontier extension and fortification which I have described is bearing upon our understanding with the Amir, to whom it is a pledge of our resolute intention at all hazards to maintain the inviolability of our Indian Empire. No powers of thought-reading are required to assure us that two considerations are seldom absent from the mind of an Amir of Afghanistan, viz. the doubt as to whether Russia or Great Britain is the stronger, and the doubt as to whether the latter is in earnest. Our present frontier policy is a satisfactory answer to both these doubts. It removes the first by a display of military strength and activity which produces an immeasurable effect upon the oriental imagination; and it removes the second by the obvious evidence of sincerity afforded by the outlay of large sums and incurring of heavy responsibilities not likely to be undertaken by a business-like nation, unless, to use a colloquial phrase, they 'meant business.'

The line of the Amran range is therefore the new frontier of India in these parts. Its direction north and south from the two extremities of this range are more difficult to trace, because of the uncertain boundaries of the assigned districts, and because of the absence of precise delimitation. Roughly speaking, however, we shall not be far wrong if we prolong the line on the south to Nushki, a point about 100 miles from the Khojak Pass, and north-east over the Toba plateau and by way of the Zhob valley to the Gomul Pass, where, on the one hand, we touch the recognised boundaries of the Amir, and on the other hand descend upon the old Indian frontier at Tonk, near Dera Ismail Khan. The surveys and negotiations that have so far taken place in the mountainous region thus enclosed have had the effect of conciliating the wild native clans, and of introducing tranquillity where lawlessness before prevailed. The Brahuis, Bugtis, Murris, and Boris, whose history has been one of perpetual feud and petty rapine, and who were a scourge to the entire region, are now fairly reconciled both to each other and to the British Government, by whom they are in many cases employed and paid to guard the roads, to detect crime, and to enforce order. Conciliation has been the keynote of British policy in these parts. *Parcere subjectis pacisque imponere morem*, even more than *debellare superbos*, has been the motto which we have wisely borrowed from Imperial Rome.

There is another respect in which the influence of English manners and qualities has made itself sensibly felt. In the engineering and similar works that have been undertaken, employment has been Gundamuk in 1879, strongly advocated its ultimate retrocession to the Amir on the grounds, identical with the above argument, that it was 'indispensable to the success of our general arrangements with Yakub Khan. If we had forcibly dis severed Kandahar from Kabul, Herat would have infallibly followed suit. Turkestan would have next seceded; and the Afghan monarchy would have been irretrievably split up and destroyed.'

given to thousands of natives who have drawn from the British Government regular pay, and have found themselves treated with scrupulous justice. When the Ghilzais revolted last year against the Amir, hundreds of them, to escape the merciless punishment meted out by him, crossed into British territory, where they accepted occupation of this description, and whence, now that the rising is over and an amnesty has been issued, they are returning into their own country, carrying with them a well-founded confidence in British integrity and fair play.

We are now in a position to contrast the two frontiers, the new and the old, in this middle section of our Indian borders. For the old line from Dera Ismail Khan to Jacobabad, running along a river valley, never healthy, and in summer-time almost deadly, commanded by the Suleiman Mountains, the numerous passes through which were not in our own hands but were at the mercy of an invader, has been substituted a greatly advanced line, in an elevated and salubrious region, requiring much fewer fortified posts and a smaller body of men to defend, with the mountain ranges behind instead of in front, and their passes in our own instead of in alien possession. The security which this new frontier gives to our Indian Empire cannot, I believe, be over-estimated. Lord Dufferin in his farewell speech at Calcutta spoke of it with not unreasonable pride as 'almost impregnable.' No longer will a Russian swoop upon Herat send a wave of panic from one end of India to the other; nor can a Russian army now reach India at all, without having forced several formidable passes and fought more than one bloody engagement. As long as our outposts remained in the Indus Valley, it was a positive invitation to an enemy to advance; whilst, had he upon arrival obtained a momentary advantage, there would have arisen the imminent peril of a native rising behind. As it is, the first battle for the Indian Empire will now be waged, not on the Indus, but far away between the Amran range and the Helmund; and even should that be decided against us, the victor would still find his path swarming with obstacles and beset with danger. Entrenched in a succession of almost invulnerable positions we might defy him to reach the Indus at all. Sir John Adye has recently observed that 'a so-called scientific frontier is a fantastic idea which has long been abandoned even by its original advocates.'⁵ The object of this article has been to show, with all deference to so distinguished an authority, not only that it has not been abandoned but that it has actually been attained; and that Lord Beaconsfield's 'scientific frontier,' so scornfully derided at the time, is now, like many other of his 'fantastic ideas' and predictions, an accomplished fact.

No doubt the cost of this frontier defence has been great—Sir J. Gorst stated in the House of Commons that 8,500,000*l.* had already

⁵ 'Central Asia—a Military Problem.' *Contemporary Review*, November 1887.

been spent—and before it is completed will be greater still. But this is an outlay as nothing compared with the ruinous and appalling expenditure that would be incurred were Russian attack to find us in a state of imperfect defence. It is an outlay, not permanent, but incurred once for all; an outlay precautionary in character and peace-making in effect; and on grounds alike of economy and statesmanship, it is an investment which no Englishman, or Indian either, need regret.

I desire to point out in conclusion that it has been a policy not acceptable to the military authorities or to the ruling clique alone, but indisputably popular with the mass of the Indian peoples. The Indian spokesmen in the House of Commons, who do ample justice as a rule to the native brief, would, I believe, be repudiated by their clients in this particular. Not only have the feudatory Princes voluntarily contributed enormous sums for frontier defence, the money alone that has been offered amounting to 10,380,000 rupees (or at the present rate of exchange nearly 750,000*l.* sterling), and offers having been made in addition to levy troops, to give lands, and supply camels, and even in some cases to place at the disposal of the central Government the entire 'resources of the State;' but the native press, ordinarily so discordant and frequently so licentious, has sounded but one note, and that a note of praise. I read only the other day in the *Statesman and Friend of India*, a well-known mouthpiece of native opinion, that 'to this hour there is hardly a native paper in India that does not approve of the construction of what are called the frontier defences.' In the face of this overwhelming unanimity of judgment, professional, military, scientific, and popular, the irresponsible wail of a few members of Parliament may be disregarded.

Lord Dufferin is about to return to Europe, after attaining at Calcutta the apex of a brilliant career. He is being savagely denounced by the vernacular press in India, for no other reason than that he has not shown himself a second Lord Ripon, a fact which in the opinion of most persons does not redound to his dishonour. It is true that his administration has not been characterised by any sensational *coup* or novel departure. But the new frontier alone is a magnificent monument to his viceroyalty; and when the history of India comes to be written it will be said of him—and a prouder epitaph could not be desired by a statesman—that he found an empire in peril and left it secure. At this moment I venture to assert that the solid character of his achievements is better understood at St. Petersburg than it is in London.

GEORGE N. CURZON.

A WOMEN'S COLLEGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

A RECORD of the struggles made by hundreds of girls during the last century in their efforts to secure a good education, had it been kept, would be of infinite pathos. No one can know the sinking of heart with which many a bright girl, hungry for knowledge, realised the meagreness of the opportunities offered her, and with what heroism she set herself to make the most of all she could get.

I remember that a lady at my father's house once told us how she had grown up with a twin brother, studying from the same books and in the same classes and getting the same 'marks,' or higher ones. Their father often talked of his college days, and it had never occurred to her that she and her brother should not go to college together to study all that their father had studied. One day she said something that showed her father this. 'My child,' he said, 'you cannot go to college. Only men are allowed to do that.' 'Oh, father, you cannot mean it. Only men! Why should it be only men? Why cannot women go too?' The lady told us that she should never forget the blackness of childish despair that settled down on her as she became aware of the barriers that so unjustly and insurmountably lay between her and the education she had looked forward to.

This was before any college had opened an annexe for women and before such a thing as a woman's college was even thought of. The girls of the present generation have fallen on happier times, and I should like to put some part of my happy time on record.

I have been for three years a student of Bryn Mawr College, the youngest American college for women. About ten miles from Philadelphia, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, are three grey stone halls and a smaller building of red brick, standing in their own grounds of about fifty acres. Beyond stretches a wide prospect of rolling country, its hills half tilled, half fringed with wood. The way from the station is along a wide shady road, bordered by the 'cottages' of more or less wealthy Philadelphians. On the other side of the station is the village, with a few shops and a post office.

The station and the village are named Bryn Mawr, and the halls belong to Bryn Mawr College. The name is an old name of the

neighbourhood, which was originally settled by Welshmen. It was founded by Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, who requested that it should not be named after him. He died in 1880, after beginning to build, leaving a board of twelve trustees to carry on the work. In 1884 Dr. James E. Rhoads was elected President of the College, and Miss M. Carey Thomas, who in 1883 received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Zürich, Dean of the Faculty.

The college was opened for students in 1885. It is therefore in its third year. It has at present eighty students, ranging in age from seventeen to thirty-six. There are five fellows, four non-resident lecturers, two tutors, and fifteen members of the faculty, one of whom is English—Miss Charlotte Angas Scott, Associate Professor of Mathematics, formerly Lecturer in Mathematics in Girton College. Miss Rose Chamberlin, who was in the First Class of the Cambridge Modern Language Tripos in 1886, has been for two years tutor in French and German. The other members of the faculty have, with four exceptions, taken their degrees in Germany.

The college has adopted the group system of studies as in use at the Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore. This system will be described further on.

The college day opens at the sound of the big college bell at seven o'clock, and breakfast is served in the dining-room from half-past seven to half-past eight. At a quarter to nine the bell is rung for prayers in Taylor Hall, and at nine lectures begin. Most of the students wear caps and gowns, a modification of those worn by undergraduates at Cambridge. These were introduced by some of the students at the opening of the college, a strong minority objecting, and the wearing of them is purely voluntary. But they are rapidly gaining ground, as they are found to be convenient and economical, and above all *becoming*. Those who wear them put them on for morning prayers, and scarcely lay them aside until dinner time, but they are never worn off the grounds.

All the life of the college until lunch time is in Taylor Hall, where are the lecture rooms and laboratories. Fifty minutes of peopled lecture rooms and empty corridors alternate with intervals in which groups of students collect at the window seats, or in the angles of the corridors, to discuss the previous lecture, or the one about to come.

During these morning hours the library, with its 6,000 volumes, its tables laden with the English, French, and German reviews, and its broad windows facing the wood-fringed hills, is full of students reading on their various lines of study. Books may be obtained at the request of any student from the large public library in Philadelphia, and the college library therefore is in the main for specialists, the head of each department spending at discretion his or her share of the annual \$3,000 (600*l.*) allotted for the purchase of books.

At one (lunch time) the students may be seen trooping across the campus to the houses of residence, of which there are two, Merion Hall and Radnor Hall. The tables in the dining rooms hold about fifteen each, and animated discussions on 'Grimm's Law,' or the 'Binomial Theory,' add an intellectual flavour at most of them. The conversation at lunch is mostly on college work, but at dinner this is strictly forbidden.

From two to five are the busy hours of the laboratories. From five to six is devoted to the gymnasium or to outdoor exercise. Dinner is at six and is the most formal meal of the day. Evening dress is generally expected, and college matters are excluded from conversation. A table often appoints one of its number to read up the news of the day and bring it forward for discussion at dinner.

After dinner until eight the students walk in the halls or congregate in one another's rooms. From eight to nine there is gymnastic work again for those who could not go from five to six, and the rest of the students read or visit one another until ten, when the halls grow quiet from within, and only from the outside the lighted windows show who is reading late.

Some of the students occupy single rooms, some share with another student a 'set' of rooms, consisting of two bedrooms with a sitting room between, and some have each a bedroom and a sitting room. The expense is from \$250 (50*l.*) to \$450 (80*l.*) a year, exclusive of the tuition fee, which is always \$100 (20*l.*).

The furniture in the bedrooms and studies is supplied by the college, but often serves only as a background for the elaborate re-furnishing of the students.

Each hall holds about fifty students and has its own dining room and drawing rooms, and nine bath rooms—enough, with planning, for every one to bathe either in the morning or in the evening; each hall is presided over by a mistress, who has nothing to do with the instruction, but is referred to on questions of propriety, should these arise.

There are no rules, and the students are as free as in their own homes. They may come and go as they like, being required only to register their names when they go into Philadelphia. They may receive visitors at any time in the common drawing room, or in their private sitting rooms. For men to be received in the latter the mistress of the hall must consent to be present as chaperon.

There is no compulsion as to attendance at lectures, since those students who do not pass their examinations at the end of the year will not be received again. There are consequently very few instances of 'cuts.'

Attendance at the chapel services, which are held every morning, is not compulsory, but as a rule most of the students are present. Neither is exercise in the gymnasium required, but all students are

encouraged to give sixteen hours a month to gymnastic work, and the records show that eighty-eight per cent. use the gymnasium.

In short, our experience goes to prove the advantages of a system without rules in the government of a women's college. During the three years of the existence of Bryn Mawr not a single case requiring discipline has occurred.

On account of the group system of studies, the students of Bryn Mawr are not divided into the four classes usual in American colleges. Students who enter at the same time may take widely different courses, and it is not unusual to see girls in their third year attending the same lectures with Freshmen. I say 'Freshmen' because, although there is no class feeling, yet there is an undefined idea that new students must naturally be 'fresh;' and as it is sometimes necessary to distinguish them from the other students, the first-year girls are always called Freshmen. But this distinction is scarcely needed except for the annual entertainment given soon after the opening of the autumn semester by the second- to the first-year students, when each freshman is presented with a lantern as a symbol of the light she will require for her guidance through the college course, and above all in the choice of her group.

There are of course societies. Chief among these is the Bryn Mawr House of Commons. This is modelled after the British House of Commons. Being Americans, it would have seemed more natural for us to have chosen the House of Representatives at Washington as our model, but this would scarcely have served for our purpose of debate. A House of Representatives cannot resolve itself into two parties, with a leader for each side, like the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition, and its system of committees is too complicated and involves too much uninteresting and unnecessary work outside of its sessions. We have, however, retained one thing distinctly American, and that is a written constitution; and we even venture to think that the English Parliament would be very much better off if it had one also.

The House meets fortnightly. Its officers are a Prime Minister, Home and Foreign Secretaries, a Speaker, a Clerk and a Sergeant-at-Arms. The sessions are held in the great hall of the college, which is arranged as far as possible like the English House of Commons, except that visitors are admitted to the body of the House instead of to a gallery. Men cannot be present, even behind an iron grating.

It is the duty of the Sergeant-at-Arms, who is generally the tallest or strongest girl in the college, to register the names on the roll, and to preserve order in the House. She is instructed to keep apartments in the tower of Taylor Hall always prepared to receive all rebellious members who shall resist 'closure' or obstruct too persistently the business of the House. Whether these shall be treated as criminals, or merely as first-class misdemeanants, is as yet a matter of debate.

The bills under discussion this year have been for the abolition of capital punishment, the restriction of foreign immigration, and the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors. A bill for international copyright according to a plan lately set forth in this Review has just been passed. An attempt has been made to introduce an amendment to the constitution requiring all new members of Parliament to pass an examination in Robert's rules of order, but it was lost by the vote of some members who declared there ought to be one thing at least in the college free from examinations.

Besides the Parliament there is also a Reform Club that arranges for an address of half an hour to be given to the college once a month by some one interested in a special reform, as temperance, mission work, Indian education, prison work, &c.

There is also a band of 'King's Daughters,' who have adopted Mr. Ruskin's advice in *Sesame and Lilies*, and every week give a certain portion of time to making clothes for poor children.

The college amusements consist in entertainments of various sorts, given for the most part in the gymnasium. There are frequent tableaux illustrative of the studies in the various departments. The most successful have been from the miniatures of Cædmon, reproduced in vol. xxiv. of the *Archæologia*. A search for earthworms in the fields at night was represented with great applause by the students of biology.

'At homes' have been instituted for every evening from nine to ten, each student taking her turn in opening her room for the purpose, and preparing some light refreshments. Birthday parties are also given, the number of guests being limited to the number of years reached by the entertainer, and all being expected to come in fancy dress.

Besides the gymnasium, there is a great deal of outdoor exercise. The principal game is lawn-tennis, and there are often as many as ten courts in use at once.

Some students take long walks through the surrounding country, and those who have horses of their own drive or ride daily. The country is beautiful, and there are historical neighbourhoods within reach, with memories of the Revolution, and many little battered inns whose signs date from the years immediately succeeding it. The site of the battle of Germantown is within driving distance, and so also is Valley Forge, where Washington and his troops passed a hard winter in 1777.

There are plenty of woods and fields for botanists to ramble in. Occasionally hare and hound hunts have been held. Two of the best runners are chosen for hares and are furnished with bags of paper to drop, and ten minutes after their start twenty-five girls are after them through the leafless woods and down the frozen roads.

Another favourite outdoor sport in winter is sledding, a mild species

of tobogganing. There are very good hills in some of the lanes near the college, and parties of twelve or fourteen girls seat themselves, one before the other, on a long narrow sled at the top of the hill and slide swiftly to the bottom. The horse of some one of the students pulls the sled up again for another start. This sport is especially enjoyed on moonlight nights, when the long white hill, dotted with flying black figures and half shaded by the bare trees along the roadside, presents a weird and beautiful scene.

There is also a good deal of skating in the season on a beautiful little pond about a quarter of a mile away; and sleighing when there is enough snow.

The season for the gymnasium work lasts from November to April. The gymnasium is a hall eighty feet wide, with a basement lined with shower-bath cells and dressing rooms. There is an immense variety of apparatus. Every student who attends is examined three times yearly by the directress, and has suitable exercises assigned her. The costume is very full Turkish trousers, a loose blouse, and tennis shoes. Dark blue and red are the favourite colours. The scene in the busy hours is a very animated one; girls pushing and pulling weights, rowing and jumping, flying through the air on rings or trapezes, or running in steady line around the upper gallery, which serves as a running track.

The health of most of the students improves during residence, and there have been no cases of break-down from overwork. This is the more striking because they are an almost over-diligent race of students, so that the authority of the college is chiefly exerted in the dean's interference with the pursuit of too numerous courses of study, or the compulsory closing of the laboratories at the hour when they would most interfere with the chance of attendance at the gymnasium.

It is of course impossible that all or even the greater number of girls should go to college; but, on the other hand, the students at present at Bryn Mawr have certainly no sense at all of doing anything unusual. They are on the whole decidedly conservative. Less than half of them expect to teach; the rest are at college because it gives them pleasure to be there. They are from all parts of the country, California, Ohio, Georgia, Massachusetts; but all who are admitted to residence must either have come from some other college or university or have passed the examination for matriculation. No certificates are accepted except those of the Harvard University Examinations (answering to the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations) for women, and then only where they cover the ground of the college requirements. For the Bryn Mawr examination there is certainly some difficulty in getting oneself prepared in private or public schools outside of the New-England States. Thirty-five candidates, most of them from the middle States, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey,

and so on, failed to enter last autumn, and that through no fault of their own. It includes an examination in physiography, in the history either of Greece and Rome, or of the United States and England, and in English grammar and composition, the themes being taken from certain books previously assigned in arithmetic, algebra through quadratic equations, and plane geometry; in four books of Cæsar, six of Virgil, seven orations of Cicero, and Latin sight-reading (with allowances); in French, and in German. Candidates must read at sight any French or German shown them, and must have a sufficient knowledge of grammar, but they are not asked to write any but simple sentences. For either French or German they may substitute Greek (sight-reading, *Anabasis* and three books of the *Iliad*); indeed, if they do not offer Greek they must pass an additional examination in the elements of botany, chemistry, or some other science. In theory, four languages are required, for the one omitted in the entrance examination must be studied at college, and in the case of French and German the entrance examination must be passed before graduation.

Once within the college, it is enough if the authorities are satisfied that the student is not idle. No one need study for a degree, although in point of fact nearly every one does. The degree is the same for every one, that of Bachelor of Arts. After graduation there is no reason why the student should leave the college, for in every department post-graduate as well as undergraduate courses are offered. During the present year graduates of other colleges (for Bryn Mawr has not been open long enough to have graduates of her own) are studying Sanskrit, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Old French, Italian, Spanish, Gothic, Middle High German, politics and biology. The college has established five fellowships: in mathematics, Greek, English, history, and biology, entitling the holder to free tuition for the current year, and to the sum of seventy pounds. These are open to the graduates of other colleges, and one has been held by a Canadian. The European fellowship, which sends the graduate student away, is given only to graduates of the college. Of those students who take their degree of Bachelor of Arts in the same year, the one who has acquitted herself most creditably receives one hundred pounds, applicable to the expenses of residence at some foreign university. Two degrees beyond that of B.A. may still be taken at the college, that of Master of Arts, to be obtained by any graduate who remains at the college for at least one year after graduation and passes a satisfactory examination; and that of Doctor of Philosophy (and Master of Arts) which presupposes at least three years' study after graduation, two of them being passed at the college, and may be conferred on graduates of other colleges as well. The examination for this degree is the same as the corre-

sponding examination in Germany, and a thesis must be published. Six graduate students are at present working for this degree.

I have said that the youngest of American colleges for women owes a good deal to the youngest of American colleges or universities for men, the Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore. That is to say, its attitude toward certain modern questions—above all, that of freedom of choice in study—is in the main that of the Johns Hopkins University. The group system is a compromise between the old prescribed studies and the absolute freedom that some American colleges have begun to give. There is no compulsory order of subjects, except where the order lies in the nature of things; and there are no restrictions of time, the degree being given when the work is done. As a rule about four years are required to finish the course, and students who in their entrance examination have passed in four languages may quite easily finish it in three years.

The system of study consists of major and minor electives leading to a degree. In every important subject taught in the college there is a two years' course intended for undergraduates. Each student on entering selects two such courses which may be pursued either consecutively or side by side. These are the nucleus, or group, and from them the system gets its name of the group system. They must be subjects that go well together. They may be history and political science, or chemistry and biology (animal or vegetal), or physics and chemistry, or physics and mathematics, or mathematics and Latin, or any language and any other language. Ancient and modern languages are not separated, so that the group may be, for instance, French and Latin, Italian and Latin, Greek and English. Besides the group, the student must select some other studies to the amount of a course of one year and a half, the studies chosen to have some bearing on those of the group. Furthermore, she must attend a one year's course in philosophy, she must study some science for at least one year, and history for the same, unless she prefer instead a second year of science; and she must pursue a two years' course in English literature. This English course differs from the two years of English that may be chosen in a group, must indeed precede it, and is made to include in outline the history of the literatures that have influenced English. A year's course in any subject means lectures or recitations five times weekly throughout the year.

The system of private coaching is unknown. Except where Latin and Greek texts are read, the teaching is almost entirely by lectures, which the students usually take down in coverless note-books containing about twenty blank pages stitched together, modelled after the 'hefts' of the German students and called by their German name. These hefts are bound together at the end of the year and make convenient reference books.

At the end of every semester there are examinations leading to

the degree on the work of the term, and the record of these examinations, with the signature of each examining professor, is kept in a course-book, which has also been introduced from Germany.

For example, I am a student in modern languages and my group is French and German. My course-book shows that I have taken as supplementary studies one year of Latin, one of Anglo-Saxon and early English literature, one of English literature after Chaucer, and that I am now studying Italian. I have finished the one year of science required of students in literature. I chose biology and worked six hours a week for a year in the biological laboratory, and, although I dislike science extremely, I am glad to have some idea of the scientific methods of a laboratory. I have taken a year of Greek and know enough to take up its study afterwards for myself.

In all the language courses, ancient and modern, private reading is assigned, with an examination at the end of the year. Besides attending five lectures a week in French and five in German, we have this year read by ourselves four plays of Corneille, nine of Molière, six of Racine, two of Voltaire, and the *Siècle de Louis XIV*, *Le Joueur* and *Le Légataire Universel* of Regnard, *L'Épreuve* and *Le Legs* of Marivaux, *La Métromanie* of Piron, *Le Mariage de Figaro*, Diderot's *La Religieuse* and *Le Neveu de Rameau*, *Le Voyage autour de ma Chambre*, and parts of Malherbe, Régnier, Pascal, Boileau, La Fontaine, *Gil Blas*, La Bruyère, Fénelon, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. In German we have read about as much.

The professor of German is Dr. Hermann Collitz, one of the discoverers of the law of the development of the Indo-Iranian palatals. The professor of Romance languages is Dr. J. J. Sturzinger, formerly privatdocent at Bonn, and a favourite pupil of M. Gaston Paris.

Bryn Mawr is, I think the only American college where the lectures and all the instruction in the French and German courses are given in French and German. The interpretation of Middle High German texts is into modern German, and Old French, Spanish, and Italian are translated by the students into French. I am still to take one year in Gothic and Middle High German and one in Old and Middle French to complete my group, and I shall take a year in modern history.

One's only difficulty in choosing a group is that in so doing one is necessarily cut off from taking other groups equally interesting and valuable. But after all very few of the students regard their four years' course as a thing complete in itself; it is rather an introduction to work, and a foundation for future study.

ALYS W. PEARSALL SMITH.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND COUNTY COUNCILS IN FRANCE.

It is a comparatively easy task to give an account of county government in France, because the whole system has been embodied in one organic law, voted by the National Assembly at Versailles on August 10, 1871.¹ This bill consolidated in one law all the previous legislation, so far as it was maintained; it added considerably to the powers of the 'conseils généraux,' or county councils, and established for the first time a permanent committee, 'commission départementale,' in order to check and control the executive during the intervals between the sessions, and to carry out the measures voted by the 'conseil général.' This law, one of the most important passed by the National Assembly, has not been modified since, save in a very few unimportant details, and has worked smoothly and successfully; it applies to the whole of France, except Paris and the department of the Seine.

The mode of election of the 'conseillers généraux' is perfectly simple, because it is based on the territorial divisions established by the Assemblée Constituante in January 1790, on thoroughly rational principles, and to which the French people have long been accustomed. France, as is well known, is divided into 'départements,' each 'département' into 'arrondissements,' each 'arrondissement' into 'cantons.' But before we proceed to examine the functions of the 'conseil général,' it will be necessary to give a short account of these three territorial divisions, and of the local administration peculiar to each of them. These matters are referred to in the law of 1871, and are generally familiar to Frenchmen, but they require to be explained to the English reader.

The 'canton' is the electoral unit for the election of the 'conseil général;' each 'canton' returns a member, elected by universal suffrage. The 'canton' is generally an aggregate of rural 'communes' or parishes, varying in number, usually from fifteen to forty, with a larger village or small town where the local officials reside. Sometimes it consists of a moderate-sized town with a few of the surround-

¹ The best commentary on this law is to be found in the following work: *Commentaire de la loi du 10 août 1871, sur les Conseils Généraux*, par E. Célières. Paris: Muzard, Place Dauphine, 26.

ing rural parishes. But in the case of large towns the 'canton' consists of a section of the town itself; Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and other great cities are divided into several cantons, each of which returns separately a member to the 'conseil général,' although for municipal purposes the city retains its unity, and is a single 'commune' with its mayor and municipal council. The 'canton' is a very important, perhaps the most important, element in the French territorial system, and lies at the basis of all the administrative arrangements. Each 'canton' has a justice of the peace, 'juge de paix,' who resides at the chief town or village, and administers once a week cheap and paternal justice; he is paid by the State, and discharges a variety of more or less important functions, connected with the police of the district, the investigation of crime, the formation of the jury lists, and so forth. In each 'canton' there is a detachment of 'gendarmerie,' or military police, either mounted or on foot, never less than four men and a corporal, but frequently more. Besides their duties as police they have to carry out a number of details connected with the recruiting and mobilisation of the army; they are a very fine body of men, all old soldiers, and are much respected by the peasantry. The other local functionaries are the receivers of different taxes, the 'agent-voyer,' or county superintendent of roads, and last, not least, the 'doyen,' or dean of the parochial clergy of the 'canton,' something like an English rural dean. These various officials are the only representatives of authority which the vast majority of the French peasantry know or have any dealings with. Except during his term of military service, a French peasant has little contact with the outside world; before and after, his horizon is limited to his commune and his canton, with an occasional trip to the 'chef-lieu d'arrondissement,' generally the principal market-town within his reach.

I have given these details in order to show what an important element the canton is in French country life; it has a regular organisation of its own, with an independent little life of its own, and distinct local interests; the electors know perfectly well the candidates who canvass their votes, and therefore only choose men who live among them and whom they can trust, and that is the reason why the 'conseils généraux' as a whole are more conservative, more steady, than the parliamentary representatives returned by the same electors; consequently, although parliamentary institutions are often violently attacked in France, no one ever thinks of calling in question the efficacy of the 'conseils généraux,' or the excellence of the work which they perform.

The number of cantons into which a department is divided ranges from a minimum of 17 to a maximum of 62; but in the great majority of cases the number is between 35 and 40.

The next territorial division is the arrondissement, which comprises a certain number of cantons, five or six on an average; at its

chief town, or 'chef-lieu,' we find a 'sous-préfet,' who represents the executive, a 'tribunal de première instance,' which, speaking broadly, combines the functions of English magistrates and county courts; besides these there are officials of the financial order, and others, who have, however, very little to do with the 'conseil général.' Each arrondissement has a district council of its own, limited to nine members, who are named by the same electors as return the 'conseillers généraux,' in the ratio of one or two members for each canton. They represent the local interests belonging specially to each arrondissement; their powers are very small, but they are required by law to give their opinion on a good many questions before they are discussed and settled by the 'conseil général.' Of late years there have been several attempts to suppress the 'conseils d'arrondissement' as being of very little use, and to replace them by 'conseils cantonaux,' one for each canton; but it is very doubtful whether the latter would work well, or would be of much more use than the 'conseils d'arrondissement,' for it would be difficult to entrust them with any effective powers. It has also been decided recently to diminish the number of sub-prefects, and of the 'tribunaux de première instance,' and to link together some of the smaller arrondissements for judicial and administrative purposes.

When the present system was organised, about a century ago, communications were long and difficult, good roads were scarce, and it was absolutely necessary that the representative of the executive and the lower courts of justice should be within comparatively easy reach of the people. The system has worked well; it is suited to the habits of the country, and a number of vested interests have grown up around it; so that the proposed changes have met with considerable opposition. On the other hand, it has been proved that many of the 'tribunaux de première instance' have very little to do, and it is argued, moreover, that the roads and railways which intersect the country in every direction make it easier nowadays for a suitor to reach the chief town of the department than it was fifty years ago to get to the 'chef-lieu d'arrondissement.' In the same way, the sub-prefects, who are the lieutenants of the prefect, are in constant telegraphic communication with their chief, as well as with the local mayors and other subordinate officials, and could manage in many cases two arrondissements with greater facility than they could a single one in former days. However, this reform, which can be defended on excellent grounds, does not appear to be popular, and there is still considerable hesitation on the subject both in Parliament and at the Home Office; the more so, as the 'arrondissement' was for a long time, and may become again, the unit for the parliamentary representation of the country.

We now come to the 'département,' which is the equivalent of the English county. There are 86 departments in France, varying, of course, very much both in wealth and population. At the top of

the list we find the Seine, which contains Paris and the neighbouring towns and villages, with a population of nearly three millions; then the Nord, with considerably over a million and a half; while at the other end of the scale there are the Alpine and other mountain departments, which have not much more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, and the territory of Belfort, with eighty thousand. The general average lies between four and five hundred thousand inhabitants.

Leaving aside the Seine and Paris, which have a special administration, all the other departments are organised on a perfectly uniform system. The State or executive is represented in each department by a 'préfet,' whose primary function is to enforce obedience to the laws of the land, and to carry out all decrees or regulations emanating from the central government; he is appointed or dismissed by the Minister of the Interior, and is responsible to him alone, but he corresponds directly with the other ministers on all matters belonging to their respective offices, and he has power to make such bye-laws and local regulations as are required to carry out the general purposes of the State and the special instructions he has received. The prefects are essentially political functionaries, and are expected to represent and further the views of the ministry of the day; the consequence is that they are frequently changed, and either shelved altogether or sent to some other 'département,' where they may turn over a new leaf. These frequent changes, together with the growing importance of the 'conseil général' and of its permanent committee, have considerably diminished the influence of the prefects. Under the Empire they played the part of petty viceroys, and often carried things with a high hand; they disposed of all the local patronage, which in a centralised government like that of France is very considerable; they were the channel of all official favours and honorary distinctions; and in all elections they were expected to use, and did use without stint, all their influence on behalf of the government candidates.

Since the establishment of the Republic all this has changed very much for the better; the electors have become much more enlightened and independent, they are less inclined to take their 'mot d'ordre' from the 'préfecture,' and they yield much more freely to their own impulses, good or bad, and to the political direction of the great parties in the State. Nevertheless the 'préfet' remains a person of considerable importance in the 'département,' on account of the large share of patronage still in his hands, and because there is in almost all Frenchmen a deeply rooted habit of looking to the representative of the central government for the solution of all difficulties. The influence of the 'préfet' is still very strong in the poorer and less enlightened parts of France; but even in the wealthier and manufacturing departments, if he is a man of tact and discernment, and particularly if he is left long enough in

office to become well acquainted with the population he administers, he may exercise considerable influence and materially assist the ministry of the day. Besides representing the Executive of the State, the prefect is also the executive officer of the 'conseil général' and has to prepare all the measures which will be laid before it during its sessions. To give an accurate idea of his powers, I cannot do better than quote the very words of the law (article 3): 'Le préfet est le représentant du pouvoir exécutif dans le département. Il est, en outre, chargé de l'instruction préalable des affaires qui intéressent le département, ainsi que de l'exécution des décisions du conseil général et de la commission départementale, conformément aux dispositions de la présente loi.'

All the branches of the State administration are represented in each department by special officers who reside at the chief or county town; but they are not much in contact with the 'conseil général,' except when called upon to give information or advice; for their work is simply a local branch of the general work of the State, which is carried on with the money of the State, and therefore is not under the control of the 'conseil général.'

Having given this brief sketch of the department and its subdivisions, and of the method by which the general administration of the country is carried out in each of them, I will now show what are the special attributes of the 'conseils généraux' and of their permanent committees, and what are their finances.

Their most important function is the management and maintenance of the wonderful network of roads of different classes which is spread all over France, and which, I have no hesitation in saying, is superior to everything of the kind I have seen, either in England or on the Continent.

All over France the roads are divided, according to their importance, into the following categories:—

1. *Routes Nationales*.—These are the great highways which lead from Paris to different points of the frontier, or which join two great provincial towns, such as Lyons and Bordeaux, or again which connect the different fortified towns along the frontier. At the beginning of the century these high roads were almost the only ones which were kept in good repair, and for many years they were the main arteries of traffic and of travel all over France. But since the establishment of railways, which generally run parallel to them, they are much less used, and in some places I have seen the grass beginning to grow upon them; they are, however, still kept in good order all over the country. This class of roads is entirely maintained by the State, and is under the management of State engineers, 'ingénieurs des ponts et chaussées,' whose chief is the Minister of Public Works.

2. *Routes Départementales*.—These connect the different towns of a department with each other and with the towns of the

neighbouring departments. They are not quite so broad as the 'Routes Nationales,' but are kept in admirable order, and bear more traffic than any other class of roads. They are maintained entirely out of the funds of the department, or, as would be said in England, out of the county rates; they are under the direct management of the conseil général.

3. *Chemins de grande Communication.*—These are considered as nearly equivalent to the 'Routes Départementales,' but are almost all of more modern construction; in most cases they were only begun when the network of the 'Routes Départementales' was completed. In many departments the 'Routes Départementales' and the 'Chemins de grande Communication' have been completely amalgamated; in others they are still managed by different staffs, but always under the authority of the conseil général. The original difference between the two sets of roads was mainly that whereas the 'Routes Départementales' were maintained entirely out of the county rates and managed by State engineers, the 'Chemins de grande Communication' were constructed and kept up partly out of the county funds, partly out of the contributions of the different parishes interested, and managed by county officials.

4. *Chemins d'intérêt commun.*—These are country roads, of less width and less solid construction than the preceding, and connecting together the principal villages of a canton with each other and with their 'chef-lieu,' or with that of a neighbouring canton. They have been generally made up out of old village roads, which have been repaired, widened, and straightened under the direction of the county officers; they are of the greatest use for the local circulation, and it is always an object of ambition for a country parish to get one of its village roads comprised in a 'ligne d'intérêt commun.' These roads are mainly kept up out of parochial contributions, but the county gives considerable help, in the form of annual grants, which are variable, and are voted every year.

5. *Chemins vicinaux ordinaires.*—These are the purely parochial roads, connecting together one village with another, or the different hamlets of one parish. They are maintained out of the resources of the 'commune,' but in the case of the poorer parishes, when a new road is to be constructed, both the State and the county contribute a certain grant in aid, which is distributed according to certain fixed rules. Before obtaining any external aid, the 'commune' must undertake to maintain the road, once it is completed, out of its own funds, and must furnish proof that it is able to do so. Parish roads are under the supervision of the mayors of the communes; but the county officials always lend their assistance or advice when required, and draw up the plans for the construction of new roads.

The supervision, the repairing of all these roads, and the construction of new ones, require of course a considerable staff of officials, which the 'conseils généraux' are free to organise as they think fit.

In some departments the old 'Routes Départementales' have been left in the hands of the engineers of the State (Ponts et Chaussées), whereas the other roads are confided to a local staff, called 'service vicinal.' In other cases, the whole of the roads are managed by the engineers of the Ponts et Chaussées, who receive on that account a special indemnity or extra pay from the department. But in most cases, as far as I am aware, the 'conseils généraux' have entrusted the whole network of county roads, great and small, to their own officials of the 'service vicinal,' paid entirely out of the county budget, and under the direct control of the county representatives, who could stop their pay if they had any serious cause of complaint.

At the head of the 'service vicinal' is the 'agent voyer en chef,' who is sometimes an engineer who has left the service of the State for that of the department, sometimes a man who has distinguished himself in the 'service vicinal.' Under him there are several 'agents voyers d'arrondissement,' and in each canton one or two 'agents voyers cantonaux,' according to the size and importance of the canton. These latter agents have under their orders a large number of 'cantonniers,' who are attached permanently to the different roads and execute all the current minor repairs; when these are not sufficient, other workmen are engaged temporarily. In the rural districts these 'cantonniers' are generally allowed a month's holiday at harvest-time, and are able thereby to eke out considerably their rather scanty pay. The 'agents voyers' now form a considerable body of skilled men all over France; they are regularly trained in the art of constructing and repairing roads, of making the best use of the very variable materials at their disposal; their methods are embodied in regular handbooks, and all questions connected with their profession are discussed in a monthly review; many of them have become excellent practical engineers.

The next point to be considered is the nature and origin of the financial resources, by means of which the network of roads is so admirably kept up. This portion of my subject ought to be particularly interesting to English readers, as it illustrates one of the new principles contained in Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill, viz. that those who use the roads should pay for them.

The following are the principal items which make up the 'budget des routes et chemins:' 1, The 'Prestations en nature,' which I will describe in detail presently; 2, 'Subventions Industrielles,' paid by manufacturers and others who subject the roads to special wear and tear; 3, A large contribution from the general county rates, or 'centimes additionnels,' of which I shall speak hereafter.

I will first explain the system of the 'Prestations.' Every rate-payer, except such as are exempted by the 'conseil municipal,' is bound to furnish, for the repairing and maintenance of the roads in his parish or in the immediate vicinity, three days' labour, which

are called 'journées de prestation;' and, further, three days' work of all horses, donkeys, mules, draught oxen, and carts in his possession, and of the servants or permanent labourers in his employment. The poorer ratepayers often perform their three days' work in person; the farmers and some landowners send their horses and carts with men to quarry, load, or unload the earth or stones which have to be carted; this is the real 'prestation en nature,' that is, a contribution *in kind* as distinguished from contributions in money. But in practice a large proportion of the 'prestations' are redeemed, according to a moderate tariff which is voted every year by the conseil général, and are converted into money payments. The tariff varies of course in different parts of France. In my own department, the Aisne, which is a rich one with large manufacturing and agricultural interests, the day's labour of a man can be commuted for two francs, or 1s. 8d., the day of a horse or draught ox for three francs and a quarter, or 2s. 8d., and the rest in proportion. In prosperous years there is always an increase in the money payments, whereas in years of depression there is invariably more labour in kind and less commutation; therefore the results of the 'prestations' afford in a certain measure a test of the local prosperity. Generally speaking, it is the interest of the county that a large proportion of the manual labour should be commuted for money, because the regular paid labourers do more and better work than the casual workmen who come to acquit themselves of their 'prestations.' On the other hand, the more carting is done by the 'prestataires' the better for the county finances, for it is cheaper than hired carting, and in some districts the latter is difficult to obtain in sufficient quantity. The 'prestations,' besides being redeemable in money, may be converted into piecework. For instance, a farmer, or an association of several farmers, may engage to cart away a certain quantity of earth when a road is being widened, or they may undertake to furnish a given quantity of stones along a certain stretch of road; and this is often done, because the operation is advantageous both for the 'agents voyers' and for the farmers, the former having merely to verify the quantity of road stuff delivered instead of superintending the daily work, while the latter can choose their own time and do their carting when their cattle and wagons are not required for the work of the farm.

The 'prestations' are executed under the direction of the 'agents voyers cantonaux,' who assign to each parish the task it has to perform, and the particular roads and sections of roads on which the work must be done. This is sometimes a delicate duty, for the 'prestataires' naturally object to going any distance from their villages, whereas materials in many cases must be fetched from quarries situated some miles off, or repairs must be carried out on roads which run through a neighbouring parish. In these cases it is

for the 'agent voyer' to decide what work will be best performed by hired labour, and what can be fairly assigned to the 'prestataires.' When a parish thinks that it has been unfairly treated, it can appeal for redress to the conseil général, whose decision is final. In all contracts entered into by the 'service vicinal' for the regular keeping up of the roads, the portion to be paid in money and the portion to be executed by the 'prestataires' are always clearly specified. In order to mark the importance of the 'prestations' I may state that in my department they represent rather more than half of the total expenditure on the roads maintained by the 'conseil général,' and this is not all, for some of the 'prestations' are employed on the 'chemins vicinaux ordinaires,' or purely parochial roads.

The 'subventions industrielles' are an important element in the road-budget, at least in the manufacturing districts. They are levied on the principle that certain industries and manufactures which make use of large wagons and cart very heavy loads cause an abnormal wear and tear of the roads, the repairing of which cannot be fairly charged on the general body of ratepayers. This is particularly the case with sugar factories, distilleries, and other industries, whose chief period of activity is in the autumn and winter, when the roads are wet and peculiarly liable to be cut up by heavy traffic. The amount of the 'subvention' is debated between the 'agents-voyers' and the parties interested, and a fair arrangement is generally agreed upon under the sanction of the 'conseil général;' but if the parties cannot agree the matter is referred to the 'conseil de préfecture,' or administrative tribunal, with whom the final decision lies. The 'subvention industrielle' must always be spent on certain specified roads or sections of roads, and cannot be applied indiscriminately to the general purposes of the 'service vicinal.' Some manufacturers prefer contracting for the keeping up the roads they use, and these arrangements must also be sanctioned by the 'conseil général' or its permanent committee.

Besides the 'prestations' and the 'subventions industrielles' there are some other minor sources of revenue which belong to the road-budget; for instance, the sale of the trees planted along the roads and the tolls paid at ferries; but these are of small importance.

A special budget for the roads is prepared every year by the 'agent voyer en chef,' and laid before the 'conseil général.' It is divided into two sections, the first comprising all the ordinary annual repairs, the second relating to the reconstruction of old and ill-constructed sections, the straightening of sharp curves, the lowering of steep gradients, or the construction of entirely new roads; the last mentioned case is not, however, now of frequent occurrence, at any rate in the wealthier departments.

The budget is presented in the following simple shape: First comes the estimate of the cost of all the ordinary repairs for the

ensuing year ; from this total is deducted the estimated value of the 'prestations en nature' and of the 'subventions industrielles,' which do not vary much from year to year, and the balance of the expenditure is covered by a large contribution from the general county rates. This contribution is voted separately, and then becomes one of the items of the general budget of the department. The second portion of the budget, relating to new work or exceptional repairs and alterations, is established on a rather different basis ; in this case the 'prestations' and the 'subventions industrielles' are not applicable, for they are reserved by law for the ordinary repairs and maintenance ('entretien') of the roads. Instead of this resource we find the voluntary contributions of the communes and of individuals, without which the department nowadays seldom undertakes to carry out any new work or expensive alteration. The balance of the expenditure is provided for out of ordinary or special county rates and out of the proceeds of loans which have been duly authorised for that purpose. In all cases where alterations of old roads or the construction of new ones are demanded by 'communes' or parishes, they are obliged to indemnify the owners for the new land that must be taken up ; where the land is cut up into small holdings this is a very serious charge on the parish rates ; but where it belongs to middle-class or large proprietors it is almost always given up gratuitously.

The 'chemins vicinaux ordinaires,' or strictly parochial roads, do not properly come within the sphere of action of the 'conseils généraux,' because they are entirely maintained out of the parochial rates and out of that portion of the 'prestations' which is reserved for parochial uses. It is only in the case of new parochial roads that the conseil général and the State give grants in aid, in proportion to the poverty of the parish on the one hand, and to the sacrifices made by the parish and the gifts of individuals on the other. For instance, if a landowner makes a free gift of all the land required for a new road, and if the parish votes even a small rate, both the State and the department, or at any rate the latter, will come to their assistance.

The last section of the road-budget comprises the salaries and indemnities of the agents, office expenses, and pensions. Such is the organisation of the 'service vicinal' in a French department ; it is a very simple and effective one, and has produced admirable results.

(To be continued.)

WADDINGTON.

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