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THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. D'AUBIGNÉ'S *History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. Vol. V.—The Reformation in England.* Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd. 1853.

2. HALLAM'S *History of the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries.* London: Murray. 1847.

3. *Writings of* THOMAS CRANMER, *Archbishop of Canterbury.* Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. 1846.

4. *The Works of* NICHOLAS RIDLEY, *D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of London.* Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. 1841.

5. *The Works of* THOMAS BECON, *S.T.P., Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, Prebendary of Canterbury, &c.* Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. 1843.

6. *The Works of* MYLES COVERDALE, *Bishop of Exeter.* Cambridge: Printed at the University Press. 1844.

WE purpose to trace our literature through the first part of the sixteenth century,—that is, through the struggles and establishment of Protestantism in England; and, in so doing, we shall view the dawn of its first really national development. The literary history of a nation may be generally divided into two periods,—that of unfettered creative genius, when each man follows at will the path indicated by his own predilections, strikes, like Israfel, the chords of his own heart, and reaches the sympathies of others whilst expressing what affects himself. During this period, it seems as if, by the mere instinct of passion, language were swayed and moulded to its various uses as

the organ of the soul. But in the next,—the period of science and philosophy,—the mould is fixed; novelty and originality, men think, can no longer be attained, to any appreciable extent, by simply yielding to the impulses of the soul; they are things to be sought out with pain; authority exists and is submitted to; examples of success are before the eyes, to follow which with exactest imitation too often becomes the sole aim of genius itself. An apprenticeship of imitation is to be served by the modern word-artist; his effects are to be wrought by careful study; he must form for himself, diligently, a style which may long be cramped, and even apparently artificial, and in which practice alone may enable him to move with the majesty and freedom of his predecessors.

In England, the first of these periods never existed so perfectly as in the case of the great nations of antiquity. We are called upon to investigate the beginnings of our literature, when, if at all, there should be found such an intuitive sense of beauty and command of language; but we shall discover in our early writers much painful hesitation and imperfection, both of thought and style. The Muse of England at first gave little promise of the glorious utterances into which she has since swelled. Few of the works produced in the former part of the sixteenth century are now read; they remain as imperfect attempts, ere England gathered voice and power to speak, and are regarded only as monuments to mark the commencement of the after glory. Nevertheless, we would invite attention to them, as possessing in themselves interest and beauty; as experiments, not always unsuccessful, in the world of art; and as forming an indispensable portion of our literary annals. The fact is, that it was not with us and the rest of Europe as with Greece. No inborn impulse urged the nation to arouse itself at once from the midst of surrounding darkness, and to become the apostle of art and civilization. Our literature was not so much a change as a growth, having its origin mainly in two great external causes,—the revival of learning, and the unequalled political and social revolution of the sixteenth century. We must expect, therefore, to find in it for a time both the weakness of imitation and the roughness of a fierce struggle.

Seldom has any period been so momentous as the sixteenth century. In contemplating it, we stand within the borders of a new world. It was the time when the Church of Rome first shrank at the contest with nationality; when an ancient and multiform despotism first stood opposed to the fresh, but unformed, spirit of liberty; and when those mingled forms of democracy and absolutism which at present divide Europe, first appeared. The Reformation was nothing less than the modernization of Europe. The mighty power which so long had held the human race in fascination, then recoiled and con-

tracted before a power hitherto unfelt,—the power of public opinion. Her decrepitude brought on general reform; her despotism excited universal resistance; her mummeries aroused the insulted intellect of mankind. For long, the Church had been the moral system of Europe; and, as such, had been a great good. She was the only common element among the masses that peopled Europe at the decay and fall of the Empire, the only bond that held society together. Her fibres, interwoven with every thing, and, from the time of Hildebrand, closely connected with Rome as their head, were for centuries the only organized force that appeared working in the utter confusion: at her altar alone all could bow; her Priesthood was the only class acknowledged by all. She was the refuge of distress, the avenger of wrong, the only administrator of such justice as was to be had. To her chivalry owed its gentleness, romance its charm, art its dignity and nobleness: her voice alone had potency to summon forth the millions of Europe against the Saracen, and, by an exhibition of power altogether unequalled, make interests and factions so utterly opposite forget their animosities in a common cause. But every thing by its own excess works its own ruin; and the sixteenth century saw the Church of Rome too refined and systematized to be otherwise than enfeebled, too enfeebled to be otherwise than corrupt, and too corrupt to endure the light of Divine truth and the scrutiny of that freedom of thought which comes with civilization. We must, however, look further back than the sixteenth century, if we would appreciate the steadfastness of England's resistance to the Papacy, or mark the progress of that literature which, the greatest in the world, has grown with the growth of the Reformation, and flourishes under the protection of civil and religious liberty.

Rome has always used the most vigorous efforts to secure her supremacy in Great Britain: upon no possession has she looked with a more desiring eye; and it is to be remarked that nowhere has her footing been so precarious. The first Romish mission to these islands employed the ablest emissary of the most able of the Pontiffs: no chapter of Romish history is darker or more cruel than that which recounts the intrigues of Augustine against the liberties of the primitive British Church, and the massacre of the twelve hundred British Christians at Bangor. Yet even then the truth of the Gospel, preserved in almost entire purity, found a refuge in Ireland and the famed isle Iona of the Hebrides, whence it pervaded even the triumphant Saxons, who had received Romish hierarchical conversion, and been made the instruments of Romish cruelty. So that even the doctrinal usurpation of the Holy See was not established until four centuries after its first entrance, upon the accession of William the Conqueror. That Prince found it convenient to

follow the mandate of Hildebrand, and to expel, *en masse*, the recusant English episcopacy; but found it equally convenient to fill up the vacant sees again by his own nomination. "I claim," said he, "to hold in this hand all the pastoral staffs in my kingdom:" and the haughtiest of Pontiffs submitted to this bold assertion of royal prerogative. From that time forth, Rome encountered in England an opposition sometimes spiritual, sometimes secular. William even dared to disobey Hildebrand's great innovation, the *universal* celibacy of the Clergy, by decreeing that married Priests in castles and towns need not be deprived of their wives: and again the Pope, who had thrown all Europe into confusion by his measure, gave way. Finally, William forbade his Clergy to recognise the Pope's authority or publish his Bulls: and the Pope in return styled him "the Pearl of Princes." Different was the conduct of Rome towards the coward John. Upon his refusal to acknowledge an Archbishop of Canterbury, illegally appointed by Pope Innocent III., the latter, bolder than Hildebrand, laid the kingdom under an interdict. John submitted; but the resistance of England to the Papacy did not depend upon the temper of her Princes. In 1215, forty-five Barons, clad in steel, wrung from the King his signature of the Magna Charta, which they maintained against the excommunication of the Pope and the sword of his royal vassal, until the sudden death of the latter. In 1350 and 1353, during the reign of Edward III., the coping-stone was laid upon the political Protestantism of England, by the statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*; the former of which secured to the crown and patrons all ecclesiastical appointments; the latter interdicted all appeals to the Court of Rome, all Bulls, excommunications, &c., and thus secured the rights of English Catholics against foreign aggression.

But all this would have been unavailing without something more. England had decided to disallow the foreign jurisdiction of the Papacy; and to that decision is to be imputed much of her freedom, her prosperity, and moral weight: now she was to confute the Papal dogmas, and, finally, to reject the Papal institutions. The man who leads the way to such an attempt shall gain a renown higher than that of the conquerors of Harold and of the Valois. We cannot follow Wycliffe through the scenes of his long and active career, or through his defence of the policy of Edward III. against the violence of Urban V., or his crusade against the turbulent Mendicant Friars, who, in his day, drained the wealth and population of the land. What we are concerned with is his English translation of the Latin Bible. This great and invaluable work issued from the quiet study of the Reformer in the year 1383. Before that time the English language scarcely existed. The amalgamation of the races which at different times found settlements in these islands

was slow, and the fluctuation of language, in consequence, great. The pure British was corrupted by the infusion of the Saxon tongue,—a mixture which prevailed for about three hundred years. This was succeeded by the Danish-Saxon, which lasted from the Danish to the Norman invasion, a period of one hundred and fifty years more; and the last was the Norman-Saxon, "which," says Warton, "formed a language exceedingly barbarous, irregular, and intractable." The result of these admixtures was what is usually denominated "Anglo-Saxon," and this, about the fourteenth century, had, almost imperceptibly, assimilated itself to the modern English, chiefly by the contraction of the orthography of words; by the discontinuance of many inflections, and the consequent use of auxiliary particles; and by that introduction of French and Latin derivatives, to which our language owes so much of its copiousness and variety. For this last circumstance we are indebted chiefly to Wycliffe and his contemporary, Chaucer, who take equal rank as founders of the English language. It was not devoid of significance that the nation, destined to become the greatest in the world, should so soon employ its voice in uttering those truths, on the observance of which all national greatness depends. Considered in a religious point of view, the effects of Wycliffe's Bible were immense. It was eagerly welcomed, and read by nobleman, soldier, and citizen. The truths so long concealed touched and penetrated men's hearts with a strange power. "You could not meet two persons on the highway," writes a contemporary, "but one of them was Wycliffe's disciple." And throughout the struggle that ensued, Wycliffe was supported by a mighty force of public opinion. Prelatic craft might pervert King and nobility; but the people and the Commons ever stood by the fearless Reformer, who so unsparingly attacked the abuses of the times. Wycliffe's work was not to be fruitless, nor the Lollards to perish as a mere bye-word. He committed the germ of the Reformation to the will of the people. That power was felt to be great, even in the fourteenth century: how much greater was it destined to grow!

Thus, then, had the anti-Papal enactments of Edward III. and Richard II. prepared the way for the political Protestantism of Henry VIII., whilst the labours of Wycliffe and his fellows had spread through the nation a leaven that never ceased to work. In more respects than one was the fourteenth century the precursor of the sixteenth. It is an utter mistake to suppose, as modern histories do, that the English Reformation in the sixteenth century was a royal caprice, a political act, viewed with indifference by the nation. The English Reformation was the result of the convictions and deliberate resolutions of the wisest and best: it sprang from the influence of Divine truth upon the consciences of men. Its opponents did not attribute

it to political causes. *They* found martyrs ready in numbers to seal the truth with their blood, long before Henry gave his adherence to it; and were fain to declare, that the inexplicable stubbornness of the Lollards, the Psalm-singers of old, had returned upon England with tenfold force. Dr. D'Aubigné is not one of those historians who go out of their way to seek, in the intrigues of courtiers, or the whims of royalty, the cause of that which could only have sprung from vital Christianity. He perceives that it was the restored authority of the word of God that first awoke the dormant spirit of law and liberty, that the enfranchised conscience led to the enfranchised thought, and that the religious sentiment in the nation can sufficiently account for its own development. Therefore his "History of the Reformation in England" is, in the main, a history of the obscure individuals who were instrumental in making revealed truth known to the people,—their struggles and difficulties, their progress, their human weakness and superhuman strength. "To say," observes he, "that Henry VIII. was the reformer of his people, is to betray our ignorance of history. The kingly power by turns opposed and favoured the reform in the Church; but it opposed before it favoured, and much more than it favoured. This great transformation was begun and extended by its own strength, by the Spirit from on high." Again: "There was much worldliness in the age of Henry VIII.,—passions, violence, festivities, a trial, a divorce; and some historians call that *the history of the Reformation in England.* We shall not pass by in silence these manifestations of the worldly life; opposed as they are to the Christian life, they are in history, and it is not our business to tear them out. But most assuredly they are not the Reformation." So far, indeed, was England from being the only nation that looked upon Church reforms with indifferent acquiescence, that nowhere can those reforms be proved to have met with more lively and general interest and sympathy.

This is undoubtedly true, but must be understood with limitation. The heart of the nation was with the reform movement, but could do little else than beat in sympathy. Although the numbers and influence of the middle class greatly increased during this reign, yet its existence as a power in the State must be referred to a later period. By a rare combination of circumstances, however, we are enabled, at the Reformation, to trace the history of the masses in that of the kingly power; and here we have the origin of the vulgar error of attributing solely to the latter the success of a movement which engaged the attention of all classes alike. At that time the interests of the King and the people were singularly united. The wars of the Roses, succeeded by the cautious and proscriptive policy of Henry VII., had effectually broken the power of the nobility. The age

of the King-makers, of all-powerful coalition on the part of the aristocracy, had passed away for ever; and the new element of democracy, destined one day to crush royal prerogative in England, was rising on the social world, fostered and patronized by royalty itself. Nearly all the acts of the Tudors, intentionally or not, had a tendency to develope this new power; for the suppression of the great houses, by whatever means, became a traditional policy with them. Never were English Sovereigns so absolute as from Henry VIII. down to Elizabeth; and never were they so popular. Hence it will be seen that the Court fairly represents, on the whole, the activity of the nation at the time in question. And this idea must never desert us. We may add to the Court the Universities, which were the scenes of strong reformatory agitation, and which witnessed the preaching of Latimer, the lectures of Sandford, and the disputations of Cranmer. In the history of these centres of influence may be found the history of a movement which was almost simultaneous with the revival of learning, and always enlisted in its cause the most learned men, as well as the most honest thinkers. Nothing, in fact, is more noticeable in the Reformation than this, that the Reformers were all men of learning. The history, therefore, of learning at the time, and some estimate of its results, will claim our first attention.

About fifty years before had occurred the catastrophe of the Turkish capture of Constantinople, an event which scattered the whole Greek nation over Europe, with their noble literature, which thus suddenly re-appeared, after an absence of about seven hundred years, creating every where new habits of thought, and introducing an unknown accuracy of expression. The influence of Greek was soon felt in England. Fox, the founder of Corpus-Christi College, and Wolsey, of Christ-Church, instituted lectures in it, and thus were the first to break through the system which had confined the student to scholastic philosophy, and the acquisition of a bald Latinity. Erasmus, on his first visit to England, at the close of the fifteenth century, met with a select circle of scholars devoted to the newly found language,—Grocyn, Linacre, Latimer, and, above all, Thomas More, of whose genius and acquirements he speaks in terms of friendly hyperbole. Already were the volumes of Plato unrolled; already was the cry, "*Græcum est, legi non potest!*" waxing fainter along the college cloisters, when the Reformation came on. Its first effects were not favourable to the study of the classics, which were abandoned for the time both by Romanists and Reformers.

On the Romanist side, Greek, and, we may say, the majority of Latin, authors lost the support of the higher Clergy, and, with them, of the whole body of Ecclesiastics. Greek especially, which had at first received the enthusiastic support of the

Pontiffs themselves, was soon perceived to lead to innovations in religious belief, in philosophy, and in politics, by no means consistent with the established order of things. Accordingly it encountered the most violent and universal opposition; and. *Græculus iste*, originally applied as an epithet of contempt to Erasmus, soon became synonymous with "heretic." On the other hand, while the Reformers adopted, in theory, what their adversaries rejected, their immediate attention was directed to patristic theology for a solution of the various questions at issue, and little leisure was left them for admiring the turn of a sentence, or the emphasis of a particle. They were, however, fully conscious of the importance of an accurate knowledge of Greek. Erasmus corrected numberless corruptions of doctrine by restoring the right reading of texts upon the authority of codices; and Melanchthon declared that "*Optimus grammaticus optimus* theologus." Innumerable institutions were founded which insured the future cultivation of the language; and the fact that many questions of religious belief were involved in a knowledge of it, rendered the revival of learning in the sixteenth century far more extensive than it would have been, had scholarship been merely a matter of taste.

There were several men—Smith, Cheke, Haddon, Ascham, Udal, Lily—who, although more or less actively engaged in the controversies of the day, achieved a simply literary reputation. These did their best to diffuse a love of philology among the students who attended their lectures; but, notwithstanding their efforts, the progress of that science and of ancient criticism, which has occupied almost exclusively the attention of modern scholars, was slow. The study of languages was seldom, in the sixteenth century, a primary object. Books were few, and, after the abolition of the monasteries, no public library of any magnitude appears to have existed. Hallam states that, before 1550, only two books instrumental to the study of Greek appeared in England. Nor were these augmented at the end of the century, save by a few trifling publications, principally on grammar. In Latin, we meet with no work more than rudimentary; the only one that has at all maintained its ground being Lily's school-famed Latin Grammar, to which Wolsey himself condescended to write a Preface. The editions of Latin classics published in the realm scarcely amounted to a dozen.

But we should arrive at a conclusion rather below the truth, were we to form our estimate of the state of classical literature from the number and quality of the books published. There were many men not unacquainted with Greek, for instance, who did not devote themselves to criticism or philology. Such were Pace, Tunstall, Gardiner, and Tyndale. The editions of Rome and Paris were eagerly sought after; much learning was acquired and perfected by foreign travel, and much was im-

ported by the learned strangers who, headed by Erasmus, made England their home in the early part of the century. In the absence of proper aids, the cultivation of Greek must have been extremely arduous. It was, however, introduced into several of the public schools, and Hallam thus describes the process: "The teacher provided himself with a lexicon, which was in common use among the pupils, and with one of the grammars published on the Continent, from which he gave oral lectures, portions of which were transcribed by each student. The books read in the lecture-room were probably copied out in the same manner, the abbreviations giving some facility to a cursive hand; and thus the deficiency of impressions was in some degree supplied, just as before the invention of printing." To this laborious process, doubtless, is owing that immense verbal memory which astonishes us in the great scholars of the sixteenth century, and in which they have never been equalled. A great amount of exact and curious information, too, was preserved in the *adversaria*, or "common-place books," which it was the fashion among scholars of that day to keep.

The Latin language, as written at this time, is far from presenting that high state of classical finish, of which the productions of modern scholars furnish such exquisite specimens. It was not then so much an accomplishment as an indispensable acquirement,—a spoken, a living language, subject to the fluctuations of colloquial use. In it were conducted the most important transactions; in it were drawn up the most minute statistics. Therefore the classic purity, which it has since cost so much to preserve, was contaminated by barbarous phraseology and foreign idiom. The Italian mania of Ciceronianism, which has since been equalled, did not *then* obtain in England. Our Latinists seem to have considered the sacred language as their own property, as a mere means by which they might express their thoughts to the greatest number of readers; and, provided they attained this object, to have cared little for Ciceronian phrase or rhythm. We need not ask, which view is the more manly,—that which manufactured its meaning according to Nizolius's Index to Cicero, and substituted tame imitations of tame poets for the lovely hymns of the Church; or that which allows free scope to originality of thought and word?—that which gives us Bembo's "*Epistolæ*," or that which gives us More's "Utopia?" There were, however, two or three Englishmen who paid most scholarly attention to their Latin style; among whom must be counted foremost Sir John Cheke, who, indeed, took the lead in every branch of learning. The famous Latin orations of Walter Haddon are remarkable for a certain florid redundance belonging neither to the chaste Ciceronians of Italy, nor to the more original followers of Erasmus, but rather formed on the model of the later Romans. Ascham's

Epistles—of which, as Public Orator of Cambridge, he wrote a vast number—are a more favourable specimen of easy and fluent Latinity. The Latin poetry of this period was something like that of Isaac Barrow, full of thought and force, but often heinous in prosody. It, as well as the prose, possesses that originality which is so killing to classic grace.

The course of study pursued in the Universities may be understood from a letter of Ascham's to Cranmer:—"For oratory they plied Plato and Aristotle, from whose fountains among the Greeks prudence of speaking might be fetched; and to these, among the Latins, they added Cicero. They were versed also in Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon,—the three lights of chronology, truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought also a great lustre upon their other studies. The Greek poets which they took delight in were Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides; the one the fountain, the other two the streams, of all eloquence and learned poetry."

So much for the classical pursuits of the Universities; what of the "logicals and philosophicals" which form the other part of the education given there? We have to record the decline of the long-standing scholastic philosophy. Of this venerable fabric the foundations had been laid as early as the ninth century, in the Rationalism of John Scotus Erigena, a native of Ireland, whose bold and almost pantheistic philosophizing was strangely at variance with his devotional fervour. Its palmiest days were the thirteenth century, when it boasted an Albertus Magnus, a Thomas Aquinas, and a Duns Scotus. Its Doctors adopted the syllogistic method of Aristotle; and this is what is meant by the inaccurate phrase, "scholastic logic." The separate logical treatises written by the Schoolmen were not nearly so numerous or so elaborate as those which have appeared in modern times; and the phrase, "scholastic logic," generally means no more than the formal use, by the Schoolmen, of logical moods and figures. Scholastic philosophy is a mixture of theology with metaphysics, psychology, and other subjects, being thus distinguished from positive theology, which relies solely upon the Scriptures and the Church. As a monument of the greatness of the human intellect, the scholastic philosophy towers almost alone. It exhibits a subtlety and clearness of method well-nigh unequalled, a grandeur of speculation exceeding Plato's, inasmuch as it is always based upon the truths of revealed religion. Indeed, it bears, though not formally, a much stronger resemblance to Plato than to Aristotle, since its greatness and glory is to soar into regions where only the noetic faculty, the higher reason, can avail. The scholastic philosophy borrowed little from Aristotle except the tedious method which has caused it to be forgotten. Nothing is more to be regretted than that a system which made all philosophy a

part of theology, and for five centuries enlisted in the service of religion all the acute philosophizing intellect that appeared in Europe, should now be lost. Since its fall, philosophy has been beset by a spirit of infidelity, which has called itself "pantheistic" and "atheistic" by turns.

Oxford, during the prime of scholasticism, had been second only to Paris in the multitude of its students, and the renown of its Doctors. "What University, I pray," cries Wood, "can produce an invincible Hales, an admirable Bacon, an excellent well-grounded Middleton, a subtle Scotus, an approved Burleigh, a resolute Baconthorpe, a singular Ockham, a solid and industrious Holcot, and a profound Bradwardine?" He adds, that it is "an undeniable truth" that school divinity took its rise and had its perfection in England. This scholastic philosophy, in which Englishmen had so large a share, did not fall so immediately on the advent of the Reformation as is commonly supposed. Its champions had been divided into two bands, —scholastic and genuine Aristotelians; the former adhering to the dogmas and terminology of the Middle Ages, the latter submitting to the authority of the Stagyrite alone. The attack of the Reformation fell principally upon the former, which certainly was involved in many of the errors of Romanism, leaving the latter nearly untouched; and thus it happened, that, while what is most valuable in the Schoolmen, their profound and wonderful inquiries into the nature of ideas, the history of creation, the origin of evil, are forgotten, their logic, and its kindred sciences, which are mere logomachy, remain, and are studied with untiring assiduity to this day. The death, then, of scholasticism was slow, and its shade continued long to hover over the Universities. Disputations were still held, in which the scholastic syllogism was used; and the writings of even the Reformed Divines were often scholastic enough, both in form and subtlety. The Schoolmen found advocates among the Reformers. Melanchthon obtained the establishment of the Aristotelian philosophy in the Protestant schools of Germany, and even prevailed on Luther to retract some of his vituperations against it. But a revolt from Aristotle, not as furnishing the groundwork of the scholastic edifice, but as the author of the dogmatic philosophy, was begun in the very centre of his dominions—in the Sorbonne—by the famous Frenchman, Peter Ramus. "From the writings of Plato," says Hallam, "and from his own ingenious mind, Ramus framed a scheme of dialectics, which immediately shook the citadel of the Stagyrite." His system was more popular in England than in his own country, and was introduced by Andrew Melville into the University of Glasgow. About the same time, Ludovicus Vives, tutor of the Princess Mary, produced his great work, "*De corruptis Artibus;*" in which, complaining of the inefficient

teaching of logic, grammar, rhetoric, ethics, mathematics, and civil law, he attacks the Schoolmen directly. This book also gained great influence in England.

Perhaps no philosopher, though many have appeared of equal powers, has reached the heights gained by the Schoolmen. The Schoolmen wrote without dreaming of an infidel adversary: their works, with all their errors, were for Christians; they always assumed the truths and facts of Christianity, and their wide inferences are drawn therefrom. Since then, Christian philosophers have been compelled to leave the citadel of Zion and fight in the plain; to appeal to the common religious consciousness of man, neglecting the divine purity and beauty of their own faith; while their opponents, rejecting the light of revelation, have done nothing else than re-produce, again and again, the theories of heathen philosophy. Hence arises the affecting spirit of Germanism, its tenderness, its humour, its many-phrased mysticism, its sympathy—it can do no more than sympathize—with the darkness and desolateness of much-enduring humanity, drifting ever onward through a sea of present troubles to an unknown and silent future. We would say more on this subject, but must hasten on to consider the further aspects of learning at the time in question.

The state of the Universities does not always give the true criterion of the condition of learning. In the present case, we must look for it to the Court. At that time, great attention seems to have been paid to the education of Princes. In no respect was the wisdom of Henry VII., the English Solomon, more apparent, than in the careful training bestowed upon his children. Henry VIII., when quite a boy, had written a Latin letter to Erasmus, from his own resources, and in his own handwriting. He was a diligent reader of Thomas Aquinas, and dared to enter the lists of controversy against Luther himself. And Henry took care that the benefits of education should be transmitted to his own children. Edward VI. wrote Latin exercises and letters, of such elegance as to create suspicion among modern historians, that he received tutorial aid in their composition. They argue a mind of great precocity in acquiring knowledge, and a deeply reflective disposition. His interview with the celebrated Cardan, as related by that philosopher, is the testimony of a foreigner to the learning and intelligence of the English Prince. Edward's sisters, the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth, were of nearly equal attainments with himself. The former understood five languages,—Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish: the latter was even superior to her sister, and particularly eminent as a Grecian. Ascham has left a glowing account of her quickness and understanding; and her learning must have been considerable, as we find her, when Queen, haranguing the Universities in Greek. Many other instances

occur of learning among the Court ladies. Foremost of the group stands the beautiful Lady Jane Grey, whose noble and gentle mind, rich accomplishments, and cruel fate, make her one of the sorrows of history. The Countess of Pembroke read Pindar with Ascham; Lady Cecil and Lady Russell were distinguished scholars; Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cook, and mother of the great Lord Bacon, translated the "Apology" of Bishop Jewel from the Latin, and the Sermons of Ochino from the Italian; and her four sisters were equally accomplished with herself.

The literary fame of Henry VIII. and his children rendered the Court at this time the audience-chamber of the learned both of England and the Continent. Numbers of learned foreigners —the distressed in circumstances, the persecuted for opinion— were attracted by it to the palace, there to be retained, or thence to be distributed over the country into situations where they might be of service to the republic of letters. Erasmus, the King of the Schools, Peter Martyr, and Martin Bucer, men of European reputation; Fagius and Tremellius, the greatest Hebraists of their time; all taught in our Universities. Ochino, Menius, Alexander, Jonas, Dryander, Lasco, and Sleidan the historian, are among the names of those who thus found a home in England. The famous Italian, Polydore Virgil, spent the greater part of a long life in the country which his history so unfairly traduces. Cranmer appears to have been the leading patron of these learned strangers. At his invitation they came, and he provided for them on their arrival. At one time he entertained seven of them together in his house.

It is, indeed, scarcely possible to overrate the influence of the Court upon both learning and literature. We must bear in mind what we already have stated of the *popularity* of the Tudors. The Court was, in fact, the reading public of the sixteenth century. Despotic in act, our Sovereigns were always ready to listen to the most liberal sentiments and theories. Erasmus, author of the "Adages," a work unsurpassed in the bitterness of its strictures upon Kings by any seditious modern print, was honourably received by the tyrannical Henry VIII. Sir Thomas More, notwithstanding his bold censures in "Utopia" of the vices of power, was long one of the most favoured courtiers of his day. It was the delight of Edward VI. to sit for hours listening to the long sermons of the Reformed Divines, who by no means confined their admonitions to spiritual subjects, but, like the Prophets of old, took every occasion of inveighing against the political and social abuses of the age. To the King, not to Parliament, did the people look for the redress of their wrongs, and before the King did they lay their memorials. This reciprocal action of the Court and the people is most interesting and important. The Reformation appealed to the people, and the people made

the Court become the means of verifying the enthusiastic aspirations kindled by the Reformation. The example of royalty infused into the nobility a love for literary pursuits which has seldom been equalled, and thus made them the organs of the united will of both King and people. It would be impossible to mention all, having places in the royal household or holding Government offices, who distinguished themselves by literary performances. Suffice it to say, that the continuous succession of English poets begins from Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Earl of Surrey, and Lord Vaux, that "company of courtly makers," and that the fathers of English prose are Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot. And thus arose the majestic form of English literature, instinct with the life of the people, adorned and robed by the hands of nobles, as to meet the eyes of Kings.

An important event in the history of learning in this country was the abolition of monasteries. We shall not inquire whether this was an act of political wisdom or arbitrary folly, but shall merely observe that there is indubitable evidence that, long before this time, the various orders had lost their hold on the minds of the people, and that the measure was acquiesced in. Opinions, again, have been divided as to its effects on classical learning. We cannot think, with Warton, that it was unfavourable; nor do we anticipate that the more consistent opposers of the abolition of monasteries will dispute our position. Monkish learning is not classical learning; and the presence of the one, so far from promoting, is a hindrance to the other. Whatever classical learning might lose by the destruction of the monastic schools, has been well compensated by the numerous foundations, in the reign of Edward VI., of free grammar-schools, which may rank among the most beneficial institutions of any age or country, and have been indicated by Coleridge as the great preservatives of "sound book-learnedness" and sober philosophy.

The abolition of monasteries did, however, in an indirect manner, retard the advance of learning. At the time of Edward's succession, the rapacious laity, who had glutted themselves at the sack of the monasteries, and effected a partial spoliation of other Church property, endeavoured to reduce the endowments and privileges of the Universities. The attempt, though not absolutely successful, occasioned a great amount of confusion. Ignorant laymen were appointed to some of the chief offices of the Colleges, intended for the maintenance of the Clergy; and other annoyances were endured. But these grievances were redressed by the prompt interference of Cranmer, through whose urgent representations Parliament, in 1554, secured the rights of the Universities against all encroachment.

A far more serious evil was the almost total destruction of the conventual libraries. This is lamented by contemporary

writers as altogether irreparable. Treasures were then ruthlessly wasted, which far exceeded the Alexandrian Library in number, and the Vatican in rarity. We certainly share in these laments, though not for classical reasons. How many a gloriously illuminated missal,—how many of those sweet Latin hymns, which as far exceed the Odes of Horace as Christianity exceeds Paganism,—must have utterly perished! About the year 1550, the Council Book mentions the "purging" of the King's Library at Westminster from all superstitious books. A similar fate overtook the Oxford libraries the same year, from the King's Visitors. Merton College suffered severely, a whole cartload of manuscripts being carried off and thrown away. Baliol, Exeter, Queen's, and Lincoln were almost equal sharers in calamity. The barbarous process is thus described by Jeremy Collier: "The books marked with red, or with a cross, were generally condemned, at a venture, for Popery; and where circles and other mathematical figures were found, they were looked upon as compositions of magic, and either torn or burnt. And thus an almost inestimable collection, both for number and value, were either seized by the Visitors and turned into bonfires, or given to binders and tailors for the use of their trade."

We have now to record what was at once infinitely the most valuable fruit of the revival of learning, and the first step of Church Reformation. We mean the publication of the New Testament in the original, by Erasmus. This act alone is sufficient to place him, who, in taste, wit, and learning, stood high above his contemporaries, in the foremost rank of the Reformers. Already had he, in his "*Encomium Moriæ*,"—a book which had an unparalleled circulation,—signally exposed the ignorance and pretensions of the mendicant orders of monks; but in this his greatest work he did far more to shake the gates of darkness. In controversy, his name has been eclipsed by his bolder successors; but the results of that mode of scriptural study and interpretation which he inaugurated, have been more lasting than even those of controversy. "Never before," says D'Aubigné, "had Erasmus worked so carefully. 'If I told what sweat it cost me, no one would believe me.'" He had collated many Greek MSS. of the New Testament, and was surrounded by all the commentaries and translations, by the writings of Origen, Cyprian, Ambrose, Basil, Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, and Augustine. "*Hìc sum in campo meo!*" he exclaimed, as he sat in the midst of his books. He had investigated the texts according to the principles of sacred criticism. When a knowledge of Hebrew was necessary, he had consulted Capito, and more particularly Œcolampadius. "Nothing without Theseus," said he of the latter, making use of a Greek proverb. He had corrected the amphibologies,

obscurities, Hebraisms, and barbarisms of the Vulgate, and caused a list to be printed of the errors of that version. The New Testament of Erasmus crossed the Channel from Basle in 1516. It is not probable that the timid scholar foresaw at all the incalculable consequences of his work. He had seized, as he thought, a favourable opportunity for quietly introducing an acceptable offering to the learned world. But immediately the life-giving word was in every hand. "Men struggled to procure it, read it eagerly, and would even kiss it." Never had any book produced so wide an agitation. Erasmus, seeing that a great work was to be done, had looked for the support of all who loved the Church, and professed to be followers of its Author. Not so; Romanism and traditionalism were stirred up from their lowest depths. Regular and secular, in terror for their ancient common, vied in their attempts to arouse the populace against the Book: the Priests thundered from their pulpits; the monks went about among "susceptible women and credulous men." "Here are horrible heresies," they cried; "here are frightful antichrists. If this Book be tolerated, it will be the death of the Papacy." "We must drive this man from the University," said one; "We must turn him out of the Church," said another. Erasmus stood aghast. "Who," cried he in despair, "could have foreseen this horrible tempest?"

His opponents did not content themselves with clamour. A champion must be sought for against the mighty adversary of human traditions. He was found at length in Edward Lee,—"the Doctor Eck of England,"—a man of talent, but vain, jealous, passionate, and revengeful; who was successively King's Almoner, Dean of Colchester, and Archbishop of York. This worthy, who had been a friend of Erasmus, formed with the monks, the Priests, and the other partisans of the Papacy, a systematized league to prevent the circulation of Erasmus's book. He talked against it at table amongst his numerous guests; he wrote scores of letters against it; and he prepared to reply to it in form. All the Popery of England was engaged in rehearsing what Erasmus called "Lee's Tragedy." At length, when all was ripe, Lee put forth his reply in the form of some *Annotations* on Erasmus's book. He was a poor Greek scholar, and his performance, which, according to Erasmus, was a mere tissue of abuse and blasphemy, was not published, but secretly handed about, sheet by sheet. Through the influence of *the League*, it found its way all over England, and was largely read. "Why don't you publish your work?" asked Erasmus, with cutting irony. "Who knows whether the holy Father, appointing you the Aristarchus of letters, might not have sent you a birch to keep the whole world in order?"

Through the machinations of *the League*, it is doubtful

whether in any other country of Europe the Reformation was so hostilely received as in England. All, however, was in vain. As well might the sun be expected to rise without heat and light, as the Gospel of truth without power. Even greater innovations, or rather restorations, were about to take place. The edition of Erasmus had spoken to the learned world,—it contained nothing but Greek and Latin; the Scriptures were now to be unfolded to the people in their own tongue. Great was the sensation produced by Erasmus in the Universities. "In private chambers, in the lecture-rooms and refectories, students, and even Masters of Arts, were to be seen reading the Greek and Latin Testament. Animated groups were discussing the principles of the Reformation." Soon were to be found, among the youth of Oxford and Cambridge, true possessors of the spirit and power of holiness,—followers of the great Example of Christian life,—men afterwards found willing to seal the word of the Testimony with their blood. Amongst others, we find at Oxford William Tyndale, a young man of blameless life, and of high reputation as a scholar. Himself a true believer, he became anxious that others should experience the blessings which he enjoyed; and what means could be found more efficacious than to give to the people in their own language that wonderful book to which he owed his own happiness? Erasmus himself had boldly avowed that the Scriptures ought to be translated into all languages, and read, not only by the Scotch and Irish, but by Turks and Saracens. Nothing in the history of England is more affecting than the struggles and difficulties of William Tyndale, the poor scholar, during the prosecution of his great design. For some time he laboured in peace and quietness at Sodbury Hall, on the Severn, the seat of his noble patron, Sir John Walsh. At length his design was discovered, and he was compelled to fly. Proceeding to London, he endeavoured, by the graceful gift of a Latin translation of Isocrates, to gain the post of Chaplain to Bishop Tunstall, who, as his favourite Erasmus told him, was "the first of Englishmen in Greek and Latin." Repulsed in that quarter, he was kept from starving by the generosity of Humphrey Monmouth, a princely merchant, in whose house he laboured night and day for some time at his translation. But he was soon again compelled to fly; and, finding no place in England where he could rest in safety, he resolved to seek one on the Continent. A vessel was in the river, about to sail for Hamburg. The same noble hand which before had ministered to his necessities, supplied him with ten pounds for the journey, and with that and his New Testament he departed. In three years he completed the first two Gospels. "The Wartburg, in which Luther had translated the New Testament, was a palace in comparison with the lodging in which the Reformer of wealthy England

endured hunger and cold, while toiling day and night to give the Gospel to the English people." From the Elbe he proceeded to the Rhine, to Cologne, to have the benefit of the famous printers there, Quentel and the Byrckmans. As the work went on, and sheet followed sheet, Tyndale could not contain himself for joy. From his obscure lodging and close seclusion the Gospel was to go forth to the English multitudes. "Whether the King wills it or not, ere long all the people of England, enlightened by the New Testament, will obey the Gospel." Such was his exclamation; but a sudden interruption occurred. One of the printers, whilst intoxicated, betrayed him partially to a zealous agent of Popery, by name Cochlæus; and Tyndale only escaped apprehension by catching up his manuscript, springing into a boat, and rapidly ascending the river towards Worms. "The mountains, glens, and rocks, the dark forests, the ruined fortresses, the Gothic churches, the boats that passed and repassed each other, the birds of prey that soared above his head, as if they bore a message from Cochlæus,—nothing could turn away his eyes from the treasure he was carrying with him." At last he reached Worms, where Luther four years before had said, "Here I stand; I can do no other; may God help me!" To elude the vigilance of his enemies, he began a fresh octavo edition, instead of the original quarto; and before long the two editions were quietly finished, and on their way to England. They were carried across the Channel by five pious Hanseatic merchants, received and stowed by a poor London Curate, named Garret, by whom they were introduced into the Universities. Almost immediately afterwards comes the history of search-warrants and persecution. The struggle of Rome and England began with Tyndale's translation. A third and fourth edition appeared from Antwerp within the next two years. The effects of this were such as always mark the presence of the Gospel of truth, the source of light and life. Tyndale had added the last touch to their popularity, by brief and plain explanations of whatever might be strange in scriptural phraseology to the unaccustomed multitude.

It was to the labours of Tyndale that the Reformation in England owed its universality and living faith. Even if we admitted the hypothesis of the political conversion of a kingdom, it would prove nothing, except the slight hold of Romanism upon the affections of the people that could desert it, *en masse*, at the call of the Sovereign. But it was not so. The alarm of Wolsey and of the supporters of the Papacy was greater at Tyndale's labours, than at any thing else. Sir Thomas More employed his fine genius in vain against the Reformer, to whom he attributed an influence as wide and pestilent as that of Luther. And the hunted and mysterious man, who evaded, as

by miracle, all the efforts of his persecutors, sent forth from his retreat in Germany a reply, which fell into the hands of Anne Boleyn, and through her reached the King. The establishment of the Reformation on royal authority soon followed.

Tyndale, during his labours upon the New Testament, had the occasional assistance of Fryth, Bilney, and others eminent in the history of the times, and deserving honourable mention here. His first edition appeared in 1525; and it was not till 1529, after he had already, with the aid of Luther's German version and the Vulgate, commenced upon the Old Testament, that he met with Coverdale at Hamburg. The latter was a man of like spirit,—ardent, faithful, and courageous. He had already been engaged in the same undertaking in England, under the patronage of Cromwell, who had a precious collection of the necessary books. The two Reformers agreed, after many conferences, to work separately, but to unite the result of their labours. In 1535 appeared Tyndale and Coverdale's Bible; the first complete version of the Scriptures into English, except the now obsolete one of Wycliffe. It is admirable for propriety, perspicuity, and accuracy, and has been closely followed in the present authorized version. Its literary effects were as great as its spiritual. Like its successor, like every book that has obtained a universal circulation, it arrested and stamped into permanence the fleeting forms of spoken language.

Here we may pause to consider the strictures of Mr. Hallam on the literary influence of the Reformation, and the literary character of some of the Reformers,—Luther and Carlostadt in particular. After stating that the great religious schism absorbed all the learning of the day in theological controversy, so that classical studies were no longer pursued for their own sakes, but chiefly with reference to the grammatical interpretation of Scripture, he adds, "In those parts which embraced the Reformation, a still more threatening danger arose from the distempered fanaticism of its adherents. Men who interpreted the Scripture by the Spirit, could not think human learning of much value in religion; and they were as little likely to perceive any other advantage it could possess. There seemed, indeed, a considerable peril that, through the authority of Carlostadt, or even of Luther, the lessons of Crocus and Mosellanus would be totally forgotten." This sentence means, that the men who, by aid of the revived literature of antiquity, had attained to the light and liberty of the Gospel, and who saw the advocates of darkness, with whom they were in mortal struggle, denounce and repudiate that literature, were willing to abandon the means by which their advantage had been gained, and to let the world sink back into ignorance,—which does not seem likely. The fact that they did not do so, Mr. Hallam imputes entirely

to Melanchthon. We think that the common sense of the impugned Reformers might have some share in it. But Mr. Hallam's idea of the legitimate functions of learning is very different from that of the Reformers. He judges the education and the genius of each century, in a great degree, by the classicalism of its Latin prose, and the prosody of its Latin verse. He measures the poetry of modern nations by the exploded standard of Virgil and Ovid. He can find no other offset against the poverty of letters in the dark ages,—the grand ages of Gothic architecture,—than military skill and civil prudence. Consequently, while his decisions on the comparative styles of a Scaliger and a Casaubon, an Erasmus and a Budæus, are *ex cathedrâ*, his critiques upon the great word-painters of the periods he reviews are confessedly dry and imperfect. With unquestionable erudition and untiring industry, he has yet failed to appreciate the spirit of modern art. Historically speaking, Mr. Hallam is justified in devoting so many pages to the ancient literature of Greece and Rome. The mania of Ciceronianism has not been confined to Italy, nor was it extinguished by the sarcasm of Erasmus. That the classic models have been worn away by the hands of students; that their interpretation and emendation have consumed the lives of numberless scholars; that they, instead of nature, have been the inspiration of generations of artists; is matter of history,—a seventeenth century of poetry, painting, and architecture proves it: but the fact is not to be complacently regarded; it is the longest and dreariest chapter of the history of human error. Far different was the view of the Reformers. We are as willing to admit, as Mr. Hallam can be to enforce, this charge. They did consider that the chief value of the great language of antiquity was, that it contained the New Testament of Jesus Christ; and that the most important office of criticism was to elucidate the sacred text. They admired, without worshipping, the great authors of antiquity, and made ample provision for the study of them. Little did they dream that the time was coming when the acquisition of structural skill in the languages of the Æneid and the Agamemnon should be thought worth years of toil, and, as a necessary process, be undergone by all who would claim to be considered educated; when the productions of the classic Muses, chiefly valuable as exhibiting the workings of minds somewhat akin to the mind of modern Europe, and affording a starting-point to the course of modern literature, should be looked upon as examples of excellence unattainable by men of modern mould. The blame of all this, we freely grant, rests not with the Reformation. Nay; to the vigorous elements of thought and freedom which the Reformation introduced, we owe it, that the flood of classicalism did not submerge our literature a century sooner than it did. What, for instance, prevented the

learning of Milton from utterly warping his genius, and rendering him no more than a second Virgilian moon to the Homeric sun, but the strong Hebrew element which is fused with his poetry? The Reformers, including Luther, were men learned in their day; but they were men of original spiritual life; they looked down from a rock higher than Olympus, and gushing with springs of poetry purer and more copious than those of Parnassus.

The great work of the first period of the Reformation, before the reformed tenets were established as the State religion of England, was, as we have seen, the translation of the Scriptures. When persecution is over, and inquisitors have ceased to hunt out and burn the sacred volumes, a new phase in reformatory proceedings appears for our notice. Works of controversy are multiplied; endless and fruitless discussions are carried on, both between the Reformed and Romish Churches, and among the Reformers themselves, on the Eucharist, the nature of justification, the extent of salvation. Lutheranism and Calvinism hold an unrelenting internecine war. In the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII., and in the reign of Edward VI., may be marked the origin of Sectarianism. It is to be regretted that the quarrels of the Reformers, carried often to intemperate lengths, did infinite injury to their cause. Nothing has been so clearly established by the history of the Church, as the uselessness of polemics as a means of producing religious conviction. What is matter of religious belief, cannot be made amenable to reason; it belongs to a higher region,—that of the understanding; it falls under the jurisdiction of a higher faculty,—that of intuition; and argument, proof, logic, rhetoric, sarcasm, have invariably failed in expelling what the mind has in this way perceived. The absurdity of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, it has been well remarked, struck the minds of the Reformers of the sixteenth century as forcibly as it has struck any Protestant since; yet all the tomes which the sixteenth century produced upon the subject, all its canons of scriptural interpretation, all its authorities, all the weapons of its logic, left unmoved the belief of Sir Thomas More, the acutest thinker of his age; and Transubstantiation found in him an unreluctant martyr. In effect, your polemic always starts with begging the question. He frames his logic, constructs his categories, and assumes the falsity of whatever does not fall within these self-invented conditions.

When the star of Wolsey set, and, with it, the ecclesiastical domination of Rome in England, that of Cranmer arose, inaugurating the establishment, on the basis of the State, of the Reformed religion. The career of this man is commensurate, as far as our scope extends, with the war of opinions which prevailed during and after the adjustment of Church and State.

No historical character has been more decried, none more lauded, than Cranmer. By some, he has been denied all talent; by others, all principle. He has been alternately represented as a fool, the puppet of circumstances, the fortuitously great, and as a hypocritical time-server, without either courage or honesty. On the other hand, this greatest name in the English Reformation has been almost deified by his admirers. No spot, no fault, no inconsistency, is allowed to have had existence in his character, conduct, or writings. As usual, the truth lies in the mean. Cranmer was neither fool, knave, nor demi-god. He lived in an age when men had need of all the tact they could muster; and he proved himself prudent and learned. He was one of those useful persons who sometimes acquire influence by the very absence of striking and ardent qualities,—the Melanchthon of our English Reformation. The greatest defect of his character, want of firmness, which has ruined many a man of genius and learning, by a peculiar combination of circumstances secured his advancement, and guided him to fortune. His mind possessed great acuteness; he could generally perceive what was best, although, had vigorous action been required of him, he would have failed to do justice to the clearness of his views. Such a mind is common enough. Fortunately for the usefulness of Cranmer, the time required of him little more than to follow his bent and be moderate. He was surrounded by vehement and excited spirits, who required all the restraint of his temperate and quiet character. And these very traits of his have impressed upon the Church which he moulded, and upon the public office which he, as Primate, had the chief share in drawing up, a noble and dignified moderation, a just and wise tolerance, which has never been lost. It is through Cranmer's influence that the Church of England at the present day is capable of sheltering, at once, the High and Low Churchman, the Universalist and the Calvinist.

The literary character of Cranmer was of great merit, for the time in which he lived. His writings show him to have been a man of extensive research, and of prompt judgment in applying his learning. Disputations and controversial treatises on the Eucharist comprise the greater part of his remains, and these exhibit much acuteness and ingenuity of thought, clearness of distinction, and aptitude in exposing the weak points of his adversary's argument. They may be taken as a fair sample of all the polemic works of this age. In all are to be found the same nicety of distinction and arrangement, the same scholastic subtlety of argument, the same reliance upon patristic authority, the same redundancy of quotation.

The greatest theologian, and probably, next to Cranmer, the most influential character, of the English Reformation, was

Bishop Ridley. His merit, relatively to Cranmer and Latimer, is thus determined by one of his most eminent adversaries: "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer leaneth to Latimer, and Ridley leaneth to his own singular wit." This is so far true, that Ridley, while in learning he is superior to the other two, is free from the harshness of the one, and the indecision of the other. He is not what the controversialists of his day too often became, a mere intellectual machine, colligating, dividing, inferring, and only giving evidence of human sensations by occasional sarcasm and invective. There breathes through his writings a pathos and tenderness which could only have accompanied profound feeling. His mind was a rare union of several high qualities; his thoughts are remarkable both for force and acuteness: but what most distinguishes him from his contemporaries, is his fulness of sympathy, gentleness, and sensibility. The truly great must be great in heart as well as in mind. In Ridley severity, manly seriousness, and depth of thought, are tempered by the noblest love for humanity, the softest compassion for human sorrows and weaknesses. His are almost the only theological works of the time in question, which have, in any considerable degree, taken hold on the public mind. Had his sermons survived, they would have been the most valuable and interesting of the age.

By far the most able and active of the adversaries of the Reformation, after the death of Sir Thomas More, was Stephen Gardiner. A system may be often typified by the qualities and proceedings of a single man; and Gardiner seems to be no unfit representative of the workings of Popery in England during the sixteenth century. He lived under three reigns, in which Popery underwent the three greatest changes that can befall any system,—subversion, degradation, triumph. It was prohibited, it was put under the ban of the State, and, finally, it regained its ascendancy. In each of these stages, Gardiner exhibits in his conduct the general features of his system,—obsequiousness, hostility, violence. In the first, while any advantage could be gained by submitting to the caprice of Henry VIII., he veiled his haughty spirit in the garb of obedience, and became the most active instrument of that Monarch in procuring a divorce. No sooner, however, are the doctrines, of which his conscience does not approve, fully introduced, and sanctioned by the State, than we find him offering to them an open, manly, and befitting resistance. In the third stage, under Mary, the active part he took in the persecution of Protestantism is well known. We approach him during the second stage, at the time of his greatest prominence. He then appeared as the great champion of the Papacy. His activity, boldness, and vigilance earned for him

the *sobriquet* of "the busy Bishop." He appears, indeed, to have been the very impersonation of restless and feverish energy; leaving nothing untried in writing, intrigue, disputation, preaching, or even suffering, that might conduce to the furtherance of his cause. He wrote, in answer to Cranmer, "An Explication of the Catholic Faith, touching the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written against the same." The "Confutation" lies in the alleged discrepancy between Cranmer's denying the Eucharist to be a mere "bare token," and, at the same time, refusing to admit of Transubstantiation. Gardiner displays great dexterity in taking advantage of any seeming ambiguity in his antagonist's expressions; he supports his position by dint of skilful logic, but runs too much into groundless verbal distinctions, and, like the rest, is too liberal of his sarcasm.

Of the controversies waged at this time among the Reformers themselves, the most remarkable was that "concerning things indifferent," commonly called "the Interim." The question at issue was, whether the sacerdotal garments employed in the Church of Rome ought to be continued. The moderate party urged that, as the garments were indifferent in themselves, and were by law established, they ought to be preserved for the sake of order. On the other hand, it was objected that the Interim was a form of worship contrived to keep up the semblance of Popery, and that it was time to disabuse the ignorant, who attached peculiar and superstitious value to the priestly vestments. The question was first raised in England by Hooper, a man of zeal, learning, and ability, who imported from Zurich, the stronghold of the Recusants, extreme and rigorous opinions. He was strenuously opposed by Ridley; and, in the course of the dispute, published his "Declaration of Christ and His Office." This controversy is the more important, because in it may be discerned the germ of the great question of Nonconformity.

We have traversed as quickly as possible the region haunted by the grim and saturnine spirit of controversy. The writings of those elder champions of a long war, both in England and on the Continent, have lost, ages ago, whatever attraction they might once have possessed. We must not seek to measure the Reformation of the sixteenth century by its treatises, but by its actions and institutions. The glory of the Reformers lies in the systems which they established, and the truths they perceived so well. The names of those worthies are in every man's mouth; their practical influence will be felt whilst the world stands; but who reads their books?

"These are they, and many more there were, down to the middle of the sixteenth century, at whom, along the shelves of an ancient library, we look and pass by. They belong no more to man, but

to the worm, the moth, and the spider. Their dark and ribbed backs, their yellow leaves, their thousand folio pages, do not more repel us than the unprofitableness of their substance. Their prolixity, their barbarous style, the perpetual recurrence, in many, of syllogistic forms, the reliance, by way of proof, on authorities that have been abjured, the temporary and partial disputes, which can be neither interesting nor always intelligible at present, must soon put an end to the activity of the most industrious scholar."*—*Hallam's History of Literature*, part i., chap. vi.

Calvin's "Institutes" is the only treatise of divinity of that date which has at all retained general interest. In other theologians, that is, controversialists, we meet with a subtlety of discrimination and finish of detail which are common to the tribe, but little more. Their truths are narrowed to the occasions of their own time, and are often rather implied than stated distinctly. Great principles are left to develope themselves from the explication of their parts, not asserted by any directly pointed observation. As far as we know, they are all pretty much alike in these respects; and little individuality, either of style or thought, can be traced among them.

But, though we regret that the leading intellects of this early part of the Reformation should have been thus swallowed up in the vortex of controversy, the fact remains unaltered, and the major part of the remaining monuments of the period under review consists of polemic treatises; and, therefore, these deserve the attention which we have given them. Notwithstanding their deficiencies, there are many qualities in these writings which may mark the embryo of a great literature. The thoughts are generally sound, equal, and laboriously worked out; there is no glancing at a topic, but every thing is minutely investigated. There is no dishonour about them, no false graces, no feeble expression, no artificial conceits. In their massive sentences there is a fulness of meaning, resulting from stern truth of intellect, which rarely fails of satisfying the mind; often, that sort of pathos which lies in sincerity and earnest conviction. The excitement of controversy imparts to some of them great spirit, which is heightened by the continual recurrence of forms of interrogation, and the close grappling, paragraph by paragraph, almost dialogistically, with an adversary's arguments. Certainly, no one of our polemic authors succeeded in creating for himself a distinct style. They express similar views upon similar subjects in a manner similar to one another. Each sentence is a slow, solemn, encumbered march, the meaning weighing down the words, much as heavy baggage and equipment exhaust an army in motion. Much

* To these general statements there is a considerable drawback, in the fact of a revived interest in the writings of the Reformers, as proved by an extensive republication of their writings by the "Parker Society."—EDIT.

of this may be accounted for by the youth and poverty of the language. Those turns of expression, those delicate shades of meaning, on which mainly depends the charm of a modern style, could then have no existence. Words had not acquired fixed and definite significations, had not come to symbolize complex conceptions, and to call up associative trains of thought; technical terms were few, and much had to be expressed by periphrasis, which is now contained in a single word. On the other hand, we are guaranteed, in these writers, from what, for want of a better word, we call *slang*,—the bane of modern literature. We mean, the carrying to excess of the facilities afforded by the associative power of words; the strained, yet slovenly, efforts to produce effect by a certain selection or a certain sequence, which disgusts us in so many writers at the present day. These, for the most part, are but desperate attempts to appear easy and graceful in borrowed attire. Of course, the only way to write well is to think clearly and vigorously; yet how often do we find, now-a-days, the poorest artifices of verbiage put in place of clear and consecutive thought! It is better that men should express themselves unskilfully and strongly, than that pathos and seriousness should be sacrificed to flippant, self-conscious adornment. The men of the sixteenth century were not *literati*: they wrote for their own generation, not for all time; they aimed at expressing their meaning tersely and simply; and their attraction lies in this undivided purpose.

If, however, the majority of theologians, absorbed in discussion, confined their attention to subjects, the abstruseness of which prevented their popularity, and addressed themselves exclusively to the learned, there were some religious authors who were not so neglectful of the wants of the people. Cranmer's Chaplain, Thomas Becon, produced, during the reign of Edward VI., a long series of devotional tracts, which gave him an influence over the public mind superior to that of any other author of the same age. The titles he gives to his books are rather fantastic, though to the people they would express much, and are supposed afterwards to have moved the ridicule of Ben Jonson. Becon's style is remarkably pure, homely, and perspicuous; his works breathe a spirit of unfeigned and ardent piety, and are often very beautiful in sentiment.

Bishop Coverdale is another of the same stamp. His "Exhortation to the Carrying of Christ's Cross," and his "Fruitful Lessons," are among the most valuable remains of that age. They argue an intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, and much sacred learning; and possess more copiousness, animation, and fluency than perhaps any other writings belonging to the same period. As an author, Coverdale is, with one or two exceptions, the most pleasing of his

day. From his habits as a translator he had acquired large command of diction, and enriched his style with the idioms of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In him we find the first indications of that exuberance of metaphor, which was soon afterwards to swell the periods of Milton and Taylor.

In the same category may be placed the great Preachers of the Reformation. The pulpit was then a very different thing from what it is now. It was not exclusively confined to religion and theology; in the hands of the Reformers, it became a powerful engine against political and social abuses. The sermons of the Reformers are a running commentary on the times. In England, France, Germany, and Switzerland, appeared a crowd of unsparing and fearless Evangelists, whose denunciations and exhortations wrought miracles with the multitude. And, at the time, such a union of the Censor with the Divine was very necessary. No other means existed of bringing abuses to the touchstone of public opinion. The Court used to listen to the voice of the Preacher, as to the voice of the nation. Since then, however, the pulpit has been succeeded by the press, as the organ of national remonstrance, and has become simply a means of religious instruction. This is as it should be. No nation, no Church, can boast of so magnificent a collection of sermons as the English,—a collection equally rich in learning, eloquence, and lofty contemplations of Christian truth. The genius of Howe, Barrow, and Horsley has done much to replace the old school divinity. The most distinguished of the Preachers of the Reformation were,—Latimer, who is admirable for honest warmth, picturesque delineation, and lively metaphor, but not free from invective and rough satire; Ridley, whose sermons have perished, but who, to judge from his other works, must have possessed powers of the highest order as a preacher; Hooper, famed for extraordinary influence over the public mind; Knox, the Scotchman, who resided in England during the reign of Edward VI.; and Hutchinson, remarkable for calm argumentation and great learning. This fashion of political preaching had been set long before by the Romish Priests,—those Priests who blattered from their pulpits against Erasmus and Tyndale,—but latterly their appeals had failed of effect. No sooner, however, did a Wycliffe, and after him a Latimer, go forth, Bible in hand, against the foolish traditions of Romanism, than the mass of the nation rose up to cast aside current errors, and respond to the truth. "The common people heard" the Gospel "gladly," as of old.

About the middle of the reign of Edward VI. were published the Homilies of the Church of England, which, together with the Liturgies now known as the "Book of Common Prayer," including the Communion Book and the "Short Catechism," must be regarded as necessary, though not complete, attempts

to define the doctrines of the Church. We say necessary, for even at that early date is found mention of many strange sects of Anabaptists and the like. The Reformation certainly did not improve the Church of Rome. Had the representations of Luther met with a less haughty reception, had reforms taken place *in* the Church, instead of resulting in a complete schism, the aspect of religion at the present day would have been very different. The attack of the Reformation naturally fell upon the more glaring absurdities of the criminal, yet arrogant, Church,—foolish traditions, invented by monks, and unacknowledged as Church doctrine; administrative abuses, unsanctioned by the theory of Church government. These the overbearing Hierarchy felt it incumbent upon her to uphold; and the miserable sophistries and perversions she was reduced to employ, awakened a spirit of infidelity which has not since been laid, among those who understood the conduct, and watched the rancour, of the contest. The very fact of a feud, open, and on one side malignant and shameless, among those who called themselves Christians, was sufficient to raise terrible doubts in minds which otherwise would have implicitly believed. Nothing is so prompt to suspicion as outraged confidence. Hitherto men had believed, where they could not exercise understanding: henceforth ignorance itself was to reject the authority of Christianity, and broach "perilous stuff" in the shape of philosophic infidelity. Better, far better, the spirit of credulity than of unbelief. "Multitudes of minds," says the most eloquent of writers, discussing this subject, "which in other ages might have brought honour and strength to the Church, preaching the more vital truths which it still retained, were now occupied in pleading for arraigned falsehoods, or magnifying disused frivolities; and it can hardly be doubted by any candid observer, that the nascent or latent errors, which God pardoned in times of ignorance, became unpardonable when they were formally defined and defended; that fallacies which were forgiven to the enthusiasm of a multitude, were avenged upon the stubbornness of a Council; that, above all, the great invention of the age, which rendered God's word accessible to every man, left all sins against its light incapable of excuse or expiation; and that from the moment when Rome set herself in direct opposition to the Bible, the judgment was pronounced upon her, which made her the scorn and prey of her own children, and cast her down from the throne where she had magnified herself against Heaven, so low, that at last the unimaginable scene of the Bethlehem humiliation was mocked in the temples of Christianity."

The few books belonging to the first part of the sixteenth century, unconnected with Theology, which have come down to us, may be dispatched in brief. In 1509 appeared Sir Thomas More's "History of Edward V.," a work worthy of the noble

genius of its author, and which may still be regarded as a model of perspicuous and effective narration. It has been praised for its English, "well-chosen, and without vulgarisms or pedantry;" and is about the first prose work which can lay claim to such praise. Sir Thomas Elyot's "Governor" (1531) is the production of a man of sagacity and learning, and a courtier. It professes to be a treatise describing "the form of a just public weal," after the fashion of "Utopia;" but is in reality a theory of education. Elyot complains, not without reason, of "cruel and *yrous* schoolmasters, by whom the wits of children be dulled," and of the practice of setting boys of fifteen to study the law. In his scheme of education he insists very wisely on the importance of the elegant arts, such as painting, music, sculpture. The works of Ascham, especially his "Toxophilus," or Dialogue on Archery, are better known to modern readers than most of the writings of this age, and have been frequently reprinted. Ascham was one of the most meritorious of the learned men of his time; no one knew more, or turned his knowledge to better account. His style, as Dr. Johnson says, "to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous." In 1553 appeared Wilson's "Art of Rhetorique," the first work that laid down any definite rules for English composition, except a small pamphlet of the same name by Cox, a schoolmaster. Wilson writes with considerable ability and judgment. He blames the fashionable rejection of familiar and natural expressions for others more *recherchées*. "Him," he exclaims, "that can catch an inkhorn term by the tail, they count to be a fine Englishman and a good rhetorician." He also blames the conceit of alliteration, as compelling a forced and inadequate style. The book is fraught with good sense, and was deemed important enough to procure the author an imprisonment when he visited Rome. These few pretty nearly exhaust the list of noticeable non-theological books before the accession of Elizabeth. Literature was still subordinate to the mighty influence to which above all things it owed its existence. The great distinction between the literature of reason and the literature of taste was vague, and not yet strictly recognised.

History may be viewed in two ways: either as a casual and disjointed succession of facts; or as the evolvement, under a series of distinct phases, of the intellectual and moral character of mankind. The former view induces doubt and scepticism: the latter manifests the superintendence of a Divine Being, and the moral law of the universe. The former exhibits nothing more than local catastrophe, and national or personal fortune; it is but a register of dates, giving account of a set of naked facts: the latter shadows forth the progress of the human kindred, moving onward by the fulfilment of events and the development of ideas towards its great hidden destiny. Yet it is

to be observed, that this former aspect of history, which would surely above all things show the nothingness, the chance-birth, of man, which would be a memorial of our race sadder than many cemeteries of grave-stones, has seldom, if ever, been absolutely set forth, even by those who have advocated it. Infidelity itself has been compelled to systematize in declaring the absence of all system. Few otherwise would have been found to look without repugnance upon its hideous doctrines. The danger, in fact, to him who looks for the truth in history, lies in the other extreme. No one should attempt to systematize too rigidly, otherwise he will do away with the free agency of man. True, there is movement in the world; for there is destiny, and every individual is enshrined in the mass of mankind. But events are strong enough to testify this of themselves, and we must not force and dovetail into our system every cause or action that may be found. A growth, putting forth free and wild life,—not a smooth tesselated pavement,—such is history.

We are now to consider the influence of the Reformation upon art,—the art poetic: and it must be acknowledged to have been, for better and for worse, almost incalculable. But we are not therefore to overlook other great independent causes of what is now beheld in English poetry; and still less are we to connect them with the Reformation, as subservient, in any attempt to make the latter a cause of causes. Perhaps some surprise may be excited by our affirming, that the great religious schism of the sixteenth century had any influence at all upon the formation and progress of an art. Nevertheless, we believe that it has been most powerful, both in bad and good results. The *hidden* influences of the Reformation—that promulgation of law and liberty—have been of infinite value in the history of English poetry; but, whenever it has visibly encroached, so as to alter form and method, it has been marked by narrowing and degrading consequences. We see this especially in the ante-Elizabethan period under our notice. Literature, which is always more or less the reflex of society, is never so much so as in times of great political change, when one spirit agitates the mass of mankind, and seizes upon the most prominent and cultivated intellects as the organs of its inspirations. We have already remarked the disproportion between theological and other books during the former part of the sixteenth century, in proof of the extent to which the Reformation occupied the thoughts of men; and in an age when the domains of art were ill defined, we must expect many strange effects of the irruption of a sectarian and bigoted spirit upon the land of ideal liberty and beauty. Eventually, the rays of light and truth, emanating from the Reformation, did not prove convergent. They diverged, and became all-pervading as the sunbeams, giving

its own proper colour to every thing:—but it was not so yet. The Reformation, at first, was like the red lightning, bathing every thing in its own hue.

The poetry of modern Europe is the fusion of two elements,—the classical and the mediæval. By the revival of learning, that enthusiastic veneration for antiquity which had always existed in Italy, and more or less prevented the imagination of the most original Italians, was introduced into Cisalpine Europe. Before this time, the legends of Greece and Rome had, in England, France, and Germany, been moulded afresh by the spirit of chivalry. The element of real classicalism did not enter into the composition of the knightly roundelay or the mazy romaunt. It is true that there were stories of the Knight Theseus, the Knight Proteus, or the Knight Hercules, as of Sir Launcelot or Sir Bevys; but they were told by Dan Ovid or the wizard Virgil; and their spirit, their symbolism, their meaning, was totally different from that of the antique. The romantic or mediæval element was very foreign from the classical element. The difference between them may be succinctly stated. The one primarily regarded man, the other nature. In the one every thing is humanized; nature is only brought within that scope; the truth that God has revealed Himself to man is taught, not from nature, but in an elaborate anthropomorphism; and the essence of ancient poetry is a solemn high-voiced sadness, arising from the uncertainty of human destiny, and the waywardness of human passions. Homer and his successors sing the gradual purging of the soul of Achilles from earthly blindness and prejudice, until the mighty form of the hero was seen a demi-god amid the stormy clouds of the Euxine; Æschylus is full of the workings of a dreadful Nemesis upon the children of men; while the pious hero of the Æneid is virtuous and great, in a social sense, as the founder of a grand empire. To the poetry of the Middle Ages Christianity, which was always felt as a presence, imparted a happiness and serenity, a confidence in the future and an enjoyment of the present, which were productive of the best results. We find there a paramount sense of beauty, a grotesquerie,—a symbolism,—less ornamental, but therefore more impressive, than the mere anthropomorphism of antiquity, and an ennobling conception of the nature of love, such as is never to be found in any Heathen. In Christianity alone can the imagination and fancy find their highest and purest range.

We easily perceive that the mediæval element, with its chivalry, its pure homage to woman, its quick sense of honour, its constant devotion to the glory of religion, its infinite world of grotesque, its deep watchfulness of nature, is by far the more essentially poetic. What, then, has the classical element supplied to modern poetry? Method, perhaps, and an appreciation

of the more unessential rules of art. With all their beauty, all their lavish fancy, the old romances are often very deficient in æsthetics, as at present understood. They often seem mere agglomerations and superventions of incident, without plot, or connexion, or ending. The master-pieces of antiquity afforded unequalled examples of connected incident and sequential development. They are like the ancient sculpture, clear, precise, beautifully modelled; while mediæval romances are equally like mediæval pictures, which often set at nought the rules of perspective, but are full of thought, truth, and beauty. Such a contrast would immediately strike the mind of the sixteenth century; and to the unity of design exhibited by the ancients must be attributed the hopeless admiration with which they were so long regarded. Herein lies the value of the antique models: they show perfect moulds in which poetry may be cast,—the epic, the lyric, and, above all, the dramatic.

It was well for England that the mediæval ballads and romances had taken deep root in her soil; otherwise, there would have been danger that the study of the classics might have exhausted the sap of all that was native and true in her. The remark has been made, that those nations which are most gifted with imagination, are most apt to be imitative. So it was with susceptible Italy. The Italians dwelt upon the memory of ancient Rome, and worshipped the literature of their mighty ancestors, as if they thought that with Virgil and Horace the count of poets had been made up, and that nothing remained to be done except to admire and tremblingly imitate. Petrarch valued the name of "restorer of learning," more than that of "first of modern poets," and relied for fame upon his Latin hexameters more than upon his Italian sonnets. Boiardo, Pulci, Ariosto, threw off their great poems at leisure moments, laughing at themselves, their readers, and their work. But in England, the quarrel with Rome, the magnificent and ostentatious character of Henry VIII., who loved the Middle Ages, and caused careful collections and revisions to be made of the old ballads, together with a certain happy indocility in receiving impressions, which is characteristic of the people, put off for a century the evil day when the classics took the place of nature, and that degradation of all art ensued over which every Englishman must mourn.

But the general fact remains unaltered, that, as modern English is formed from the infusion of the Latin into Saxon, so modern English poetry arose when "plain spake fair Ausonia." And we shall find, in the poets prior to Elizabeth, innumerable instances of tame and faltering imitation, to which truth and beauty are alike sacrificed; and which is the more important, as the greatest and the most original of our poets have been, more or less, compelled to follow the track of their imitative predeces-

sors. The poets of the first part of the sixteenth century may be nearly divided into those who imitated antiquity, and those who degraded their art into becoming the handmaid of religious partizanship.

We shall now select from the ante-Elizabethan poetry enough to exhibit the workings of these principles. The first names that occur are those of Wyatt and Surrey. Both these men were courtiers in the splendid household of Henry VIII.; both were well versed in the literature of romance, and skilled in the knightly exercises in which the Monarch took delight; both had travelled into Italy, where, having "tasted the sweet and stately measures and style of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the school of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie, from that it had been before, and for that cause may be justly sayd the first reformers of our English meeter and stile." * Great part of the works of these "first reformers" are translations from the Italian or Latin; each of them rendered or imitated much, especially, of Petrarch; and Surrey gave a version of the second book of the Æneid, which is the first blank verse in our language. It is, as might be expected, somewhat inharmonious, and the sense is rarely carried beyond the line. He also lays claim, though with disputed title, to the establishment of metrical or syllabic versification, as distinguished from the rhythmical or accentual versification of Chaucer and his successors. The poems of Wyatt and Surrey were printed together in 1557, and their names are inseparable. They cannot be better compared than in the words of their editor, Dr. Nott: "Wyatt had a deeper and more accurate penetration into the characters of men than Surrey had; hence arises the difference in their satires. Surrey, in his satire against the citizens of London, deals only in reproach; Wyatt, in his, abounds with irony and those nice touches of ridicule, which make us ashamed of our faults, and therefore often silently effect amendment. Surrey's observation of nature was minute; but he directed it towards the works of nature in general, and the movements of the passions, rather than to the foibles and characters of men: hence it is that he excels in the description of rural objects, and is always tender and pathetic. In Wyatt's complaint we hear a strain of manly grief which commands attention, and we listen to it with respect, for the sake of him that suffers. Surrey's distress is painted in such natural terms, that we make it our own, and recognise in his sorrows emotions which we are conscious of having felt ourselves. In point of taste and perception of propriety in composition, Surrey is more accurate than Wyatt; he therefore seldom either offends with conceits, or wearies with repetition, and,

* Puttenham's "Art of Poesie."

when he imitates other poets, he is original, as well as pleasing." So much for the minute differences of their character: in taste and perceptions, as well as in personal career, they were very similar, and are identified in history as the founders of what is called "the amatory school of poetry," which was continued in the "Paradise of dainty Devices," 1576, a collection of short pieces, contributed by Richard Edwards, Lord Vaux, William Hunnis, and others. It contains several love-songs, among the most beautiful in the language.

The most remarkable feature of poets of this class is the entire absence of any thing like light and sportive gaiety, such as that of Herrick or Suckling. All is sad, plaintive, and lugubrious. "It seemed," Hallam says, "as if the confluence of the poetic melancholy of the Petrarchists, with the reflective seriousness of the Reformation, overpowered all the lighter sentiments of the soul." The "Paradise of dainty Devices" abounds in quaintness, antithetical conceits, and alliteration. It displays much of that exaggerated expression of the passion of love, which is seen in the sonnets of Spenser and Shakspeare. We must not omit to mention Nicholas Grimoald, the second writer of blank verse in our language, who added new strength and modulation to the style exhibited by Surrey. His works only exist in fragments; but what is left possesses some poetical power, descriptive and pathetic. He is also remarkable for an amount of the sententious compactness of the didactic poetry of the seventeenth century.

But the greatest of the ante-Elizabethans, that is, those who wrote before the accession of the Queen, or during the first moiety of her reign, is Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Bathurst. In 1559 was published the "Mirrour of Magistrates," a series of dramatic soliloquies, with a Prologue, recounting the misfortunes of eminent Englishmen, on the plan of Boccacio's "*De Casibus Virorum illustrium.*" It seems to have been planned by Sackville, who wrote the Induction, or Prologue, and one of the stories, that of the first Duke of Buckingham. Sackville's Induction, that "landscape without sun," is truly said by Hallam to form a connecting link between the school of Chaucer and Lydgate and that of Spenser. It is a sort of allegory, vigorously sustained, full of imagination, and so far above the elegant coldness of Surrey, that it may be compared, without disadvantage, to some of the best passages in the "Faery Queen." Yet the unbrightened cloud which possesses most of the poetry of the age, the sadness of faith shaken by the spectacle of Church schism, and of imagination somewhat shackled by the contemplation of models deemed unapproachable, rests also upon it. Short as it is, its gloom and grief make it monotonous. The rest of the contributions to the "Mirrour of Magistrates" are flat and prosaic in the extreme.

Observe here the effect of the finished models of antiquity. They quickened the growth of English poetry very rapidly, but they did not prevent it from having a growth. The plant does not look particularly sightly during the process of forcing, though the world is overshadowed by the boughs and green twilights of its maturity. Sometimes our poets sink well nigh into elegantly frigid imitators or translators, as Wyatt and Surrey; sometimes they seem utterly to distrust their own powers of imagination, dreading to use other than the baldest and most usual forms of speech, as in the contributors, except Sackville, to the "Mirrour of Magistrates;" anon comes a stuffed and stilted style, full of affectation and tricks of language, but meagre in sense, exemplified best in the "Euphues" of Lilly,—a book which supplied the place, in Elizabeth's Court, of the old romances, and was so popular, that to talk Euphuism was as necessary then to a Court lady, as to talk French is now. Those poets saw but dimly the glories of the ideal world; they accustomed themselves too much to look thereon through the medium of other minds and another age; they fell into strange and opposite errors of manner, not having greatness enough to be natural. It required the genius of a Sackville, and afterwards of a Spenser, to reciprocate the influences to which they were subjected; to weave into real dreams the gorgeous material supplied to them by the past and present.

We may now gather a few of the flowers, or rather the weeds, of metre, which flourished along the margin of the lava-stream issuing from the burning crater of religious controversy. We shall see poetry made a means of disseminating religious opinion. First appear the metrical translations of Scripture; and foremost among them the well-meaning and well-known version of the Psalter by Sternhold and Hopkins. Of this we need say nothing more than that it is a fair specimen of its class, and that Whittingham, Dean of Durham, who contributed to it, also versified the Decalogue, the three Creeds, the Lord's Prayer, and other parts of the public service. The cause of this will account for very many similar undertakings in this age. Whittingham was a zealous Calvinist, and wished to reduce the Church service to the standard of Calvin's Church at Geneva, where nothing was allowed but preaching, prayer, and singing. We find in the ranks of these metrists the names of Coverdale, Baldwyn, Hall, Pullain, and Parker, with others also famous in history. Perhaps the most notable of them all, in the difficulty of his undertaking, was William Hunnis, who actually turned into verse the whole of Genesis, and called it a "Hive full of Honey." As "Sternhold and Hopkins" has been read and despised by most people, and is neither better nor worse than the rest, we need say no more upon the matter: but it is not wonderful that men of that age should have fallen even

below themselves in an attempt which has quelled the strength of Milton.

From the Scripture versifiers we descend to the religious satirists, who abound chiefly in the reign of Edward VI. The most conspicuous of them are—Robert Crowley, a stationer, and Dr. Turner, a herbalist. The nature of their works may be judged of from their titles: by the one, "The Voice of the last Trumpet blown by the Seventh Angel," and "A Dialogue between Lent and Liberty;" by the other, "The Examination of the Mass," a dialogue. Some epigrams by Crowley are preserved in Strype. They are wretched. A vast number of sectarian ballads was circulated by the partisans both of the Reformation and of Rome. One beginning, "Sing up, heart, and sing no more down," written on the coronation of Edward VI., created great excitement in London. Another, entitled, "Luther, the Pope, a Cardinal, and a Husbandman," is characterized by Warton as "having some spirit, and supporting a degree of character in the speakers." Such is, in outline, the history of poetry in England during the struggle of the Reformation. We have been able to mention only one really great name. The rest of the cultivators of the art may be divided into two great bands,—those who want spirit, and those who want refinement: the one party sedulously cultivating the adventitious graces of poetry, believing that the secret of pleasing lies, now in frigid simplicity, now in hollow bombast; the other party possessing no poetical attributes at all, except vigour and verse. The first party breaks into the sepulchres of antiquity, to carry out little from thence but dust and ashes; while, in the other, the spirit of poetry, which is creation viewed through the lens of the human soul,—the beauty, the glory, the concord of the outer world translated to the ideal world, imbued with the associations, and inspired by the spirit, of mankind, —loses its highest office of conferring pleasure, and is banished from its proper sphere, in order to become the medium of sectarian prejudice. We do not, of course, mean to be exact in such a statement, but in general it is true: although many minor poems of beauty and delicacy were produced in this age, yet they are not sufficient to stamp the character of its poetry, which is as we have described it, now unduly timid, now rough and coarse. But that such a melancholy tuning of instruments should prelude "those melodious bursts that fill the spacious times of great Elizabeth," was, as the case stood, unavoidable. That it did not last long, may be subject of rejoicing.

We may see the same causes at work on art, and with the same results, perhaps, even more clearly in the case of the drama. Although the history of the poetry of modern Europe by no means corresponds so closely to that of the poetry of Greece, as is often imagined; although we find in it little

to resemble the simultaneous passing of the strength and honour of a nation from one form of poetry into another,—that progress from the epic to the lyric, and from that to the dramatic, spoken of by the literary historians of Greece; yet in the drama it must be confessed that some analogy may be traced. The drama may be regarded as the genuine offspring of the sixteenth century. It superseded what were the vital epic of Europe,—the romaunt and the ballad,—which had poured forth its fulness in Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, the poets respectively of mediæval Christianity, of chivalric sport, and chivalric heroism. The epic is a delineation of the deeds of men primarily, not an analysis of their passions; it therefore flourishes in the most *picturesque* (taking the word literally) and simple ages. But in the drama the passions themselves—those complicate sources of action—are laid open, and their varied character disclosed. Therefore the drama, which contains some non-poetical elements, and is more subjective and philosophical than its swift and graceful predecessor, is likely to flourish in an age when the passions and natural dispositions of men still have full play, and are not hidden by the veil of custom and politeness, while at the same time the agencies of civilization in society give birth to minuter shades of character, more numerous occupations, and more diversified interests, than exist when all men are Priests or warriors. The drama is, in truth, the most delicate of all the forms of poetical composition, and has only flourished in real energy once in a nation's lifetime. In England its maturity and vigour naturally fell into the sixteenth century. At that time the wide European epic had ceased to exist; the step from mediæval *picturesqueness* into modern science and civilization was in the course of being made, and would never be repeated; and we are no more to infer from the subsequent appearance of Milton or Klopstock, that the age of epic poetry afterwards existed in Europe, than from the writings of Virgil, that Rome, under the Emperors, was actuated by the simplicity of the Homeric ages. In the sixteenth century England was emergent from what has been rashly called "the barbarism of the Middle Ages;" society was casting off its ancient spirit, and losing the distinctive features which it had worn; but at the same time it was remodelling itself, and putting on a new appearance. A great strife was raging between the mediæval and the modern element. Of such a state of things the drama is the result and representative. In its great master we find the omnipotent artistic spirit of the Middle Ages, their receptive capacity, their deep studiousness of nature, their quaint and ever-present sense of religion, united with the restless thinking, the eager, yet often unhappy, philosophical inquisitiveness of modern days.

The modern drama of Europe, like its poetry, is derived from

two sources, mediæval and classical: and, as in poetry, we are to investigate its approaches to perfection under the quickening influence of the Reformation period. It is to be observed, that comedy is generally rather more ancient than tragedy; and we shall discover no mention of the latter during the first part of the sixteenth century, and are therefore solely occupied in tracing the progress of the former. But the two species may be said to co-exist at first: some other designation than "comedy" should be applied to what we find before their separation; since the oldest comedy is not a mere heartless farce, but possesses deep earnestness, often exhibits situations of tragic suspense, and deals not in wit, but in humour, and the pathos upon which humour ever borders.

The old mysteries, or miracle plays, the Christian descendants of the antique drama, which, in connexion with the processions of the Church, had represented simply and rudely scriptural and legendary stories, about the reign of Henry VI., were turned into allegories, and called "Moralities." The Moralities continued long to be the only dramatic form existent, and were in high favour with the Clergy. But the Reformation period urged them into a nearer approach to regular comedy, by the substitution of individual satire and caricature for their allegorical and abstract personification. The advance was made in the reign of Edward VI., one of the earliest acts of whose Council was to prohibit the Roman Catholic Clergy from preaching. Silenced in the pulpit, they had recourse to the stage, whence they poured a flood of invective against the leaders of the Reformation. To repay in kind was no hard task for the latter; and many Moralities were written on both sides, which display an odd mixture of heavy buffoonery and real comic force. It is evident that from the caricature of individuals the gradation was natural to the representation of real life and manners, which is the business of comedy and tragedy. Besides their theological lampooning, a remarkable feature of the Moralities of this age was the introduction of certain fixed characters, as in the early Italian comedy and our own pantomime. The most usual of these were the devil, and a witty, mischievous creation, called the "Vice." "This," says Mr. Hallam, "seems originally to have been an allegorical representation of what the name denotes; but the Vice gradually acquired a human individuality, in which he came very near to our well-known Punch. The devil was generally introduced in company with the Vice, and had to endure many blows from him."

The longest of the Moralities preserved, belonging to the time in question, and which were rightly termed "interludes," as oscillating between religious satire and comedy proper, is the "Enterlude called 'Lusty Juventus;' lively describing the

Frailtie of Youth, by Nature prone to Vyce, by Grace and Good-Councell traynable to Vertue." This piece is on the side of the Reformation, and throughout it, Collier says, "there is much abuse of the superstitions of Popery, and the devil is made to lament its downfall, as the loss of the chief instrument by which he obtained possession of the souls of men." There is little peculiar in the dialogue, so far as we have seen, except its heaviness; and "Good-Councell quotes the Scriptures, chapter and verse, in a manner truly edifying, but not very dramatic." Another of these interludes, quaintly entitled "Jack Juggler," is one of the oldest pieces in our language which professes to follow a classic original; the author stating in his preface, that he was indebted to "Plautus' first Comedy." It is far less involved in religious controversy than most of the Moralities, and might almost merit the name of comedy. The plot turns upon the blunders and confusion of a simple fellow, who has been persuaded out of his own identity, believing "that he is not himself, but another man." Besides the liveliness of some parts of the dialogue, there is a decided attempt at character in the piece.

These examples are sufficient to show how the Moralities were brought to the threshold of comedy. It was first crossed by Nicholas Udal, who, somewhere about the middle of the century, wrote the first English comedy, under the title of "Ralph Royster Doyster." This piece is by no means the barbarous farce which its name might lead us to expect; it is far superior to "Gammer Gurtin's Needle," to which it is also prior in time. Its character is admirably drawn by Collier: "The plot of 'Ralph Royster Doyster' is amusing and well conducted, with an agreeable mixture of serious and comic dialogue, and a variety of character, to which no other piece of a similar date can make any pretension. When we recollect that it was, perhaps, written in the reign of Henry VIII., we ought to look upon it as a masterly production. Had it followed 'Gammer Gurtin's Needle' by as many years as it preceded it, it would have been entitled to our admiration by its separate merits, independent of any comparison with other pieces. The character of Matthew Merrygreeke here and there savours a little of the Vice of the Moralities; but its humour never depends upon the accidents of dress and accoutrements." The mention of Udal, one of the first scholars of his day, as our earliest playwright, is sufficient to prove that the English drama owed its independent existence to the Latin comedians. Great attention, indeed, seems to have been lavished at this time upon the representation of Plautus and Terence, both in the Universities and the public schools. At Cambridge there was an officer called "*Præfectus Ludorum;*" and Udal himself, the

poet Grimoald, and many others, were authors of Latin comedies. "Gammer Gurtin's Needle" (1575) is a meagre farce, by John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells; but the author, "writing neither for fame nor money, but to make light-hearted boys laugh, and to laugh with them," must not be severely judged.

The first English tragedy was equally the result of ancient literature. Sackville's "Gorboduc" was first represented in 1562. It is written in the classical style of the Italian tragedy of the same age; the action passes in narrative; and a chorus, but in the blank-measure of the dialogue, divides the acts. "The story of 'Gorboduc,'" says Hallam, "which is borrowed from our fabulous British legends, is as full of slaughter as was then required for dramatic purposes; but the characters are clearly drawn, and consistently sustained; the political maxims grave and profound; the language not glowing or passionate, but vigorous; and, upon the whole, it is evidently the work of a powerful mind, though in a less poetical mood than was displayed in the 'Induction to the Mirrour of Magistrates.'" The succeeding tragedies, even before Shakspeare, departed widely from the classicalism of "Gorboduc," by the admission of more action to the stage, and the addition of comic humour to the gravest story.

Scenic representation received great encouragement from the sumptuous taste of the Tudors throughout this period. The florid pages of Sharon Turner are filled with royal revels, processions, masques, and pageants; and Sir Walter Scott's "Kenilworth" has rendered these scenes of magnificence familiar to every one. The revels in vogue were probably a mixture of the old Moralities with jousts and other warlike shows, and those ancient mysteries consecrated to jollity,—the Misrules. As further evidence of the influence of the Court upon the drama, we may mention that at this time the stage first became a distinct profession, when it began to be customary for the great nobility to maintain companies of actors.*

Here we must pause. We have seen the human intellect, in that great "shaking of the nations" which took place during the sixteenth century, enkindled at the torch of divine truth,

* "The office of Master of the Revels, in whose province it lay to regulate, among other amusements of the Court, the dramatic shows of various kinds, was established in 1546. The Inns of Court vied with the royal palace in these representations, and Elizabeth sometimes honoured the former with her presence. On her visit to the Universities, a play was a constant part of the entertainment. Fifty-two names, though nothing more, of dramas acted at Court, under the superintendence of the Master of the Revels, between 1568 and 1580, are preserved. In 1574 a patent was granted to the Earl of Leicester's servants to act plays in any part of England, and in 1576 they erected the first public theatre in Blackfriars. It will be understood that the Earl of Leicester's servants were a company under his protection, as we apply the words, 'her Majesty's servants,' at this day, to the performers at Drury Lane."—*Hallam*, vol. ii., p. 168.

arousing itself, and asserting its immortal puissance, so as, with exulting fierceness, to break through the incrustations of error and decay which had formed upon the Church. We have seen much good perish along with the evil, and many pernicious tendencies receive a dangerous development. Along with the light and liberty of the Gospel were sown the seeds of modern infidelity, to grow up like tares among the wheat. Philosophy was severed from Christianity, and the dreary polemical war commenced, which, for ages, was to exhaust the vigour of the Church, and afford occasion to her enemies. We have also seen the mighty tide that swept away good and evil, spread over the fields of literature and art: so that the imaginative faculties, denied their proper medium, were compelled to take refuge in the idealities of More, Lilly, and Elyot, those founders of the romance school of Rabelais and Cervantes. All this is disruption in social institutions, and anarchy in art. But we have not seen the blending and organization of this tossing chaos, which was soon to follow. Imagination was soon to return to its former channel. Spenser was to draw from the deeply tinged mournfulness of Sackville and his fellows that noble gravity, and from the fancy of the Middle Ages that rich and solemn grotesque, which make him the great exponent of the highest spirit of romance. And Shakspeare was to be the "wreathen chain of pure gold" connecting the beauty and glory of the mediæval and modern world. Upon the clear surface of religious light, law, and liberty, art was to write her fairest characters.

ART. II.—*The Life of the Rev. Robert Newton, D.D.* By THOMAS JACKSON. Post 8vo. London: John Mason. 1855.

IF it be any sufficient evidence of true greatness for an individual, by the exercise of his own unaided powers, to win and maintain, through a long series of years, an elevated and distinguished position, which, on his leaving this world, there is no other person competent to occupy, then Robert Newton was, beyond all question, a great man.

Born in a remote and secluded part of Yorkshire, and brought up to the plough, he had no means of education beyond those afforded by a village school; nor did there appear to be any external circumstances by which he was affected, likely to give any particular direction to his mind, or to effect much improvement in his position, beyond those which arose out of the religious advantages which were supplied in his paternal home.

Robert Newton was born in the year 1780, the sixth child

of his parents, who resided on a farm near Whitby. His father, having heard a Methodist Preacher, the Rev. James Rogers, was so impressed under the sermon, that he soon afterwards invited the Wesleyan Ministers to his house, offering them hospitable accommodation, and his largest room for a preaching place. Under these influences, the elder branches of the family became decidedly pious; and just when the subject of this biography attained his tenth year, his eldest brother, Booth Newton, became a Methodist Preacher.

At this time, (1790,) John Wesley had succeeded in diffusing the evangelical agency of Methodism throughout a great part of the British Islands, and in extending it even to the West Indies and America. Great Britain and Ireland were divided into one hundred and eight Circuits, each being supplied with one, two, or more Ministers; whilst eleven Mission Stations had been established in the West Indies, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland; the aggregate number of members, in all these places, being above one hundred and twenty thousand.

Among the remarkable circumstances which we find in connexion with this extraordinary revival of scriptural religion, there is nothing more truly wonderful than the mental calibre of the men employed by the Founder of Methodism as his coadjutors in the proclamation of divine truth. Neither the history nor the literature of our land has rendered common justice to this race of Methodist Preachers. Taken, almost without exception, from the ordinary avocations of life, without scholastic education or theological training, these men, by the persevering declaration of Gospel truth, produced such an effect on the religious condition of the people to whom they ministered, as has not often been paralleled in the history of the Church. The causes of this extensive success are worthy of serious inquiry and thankful recognition. The Ministers of Wesley were, in the true and proper sense of the terms, "converted men." With them, religion was not merely a science, it was a mighty principle of life and action. They had discerned in the light of the divine word, and by the illumination of the Holy Spirit, their state of guilt, condemnation, and danger through sin; and had individually realized, by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ, the forgiveness of their iniquities, and a measure of sanctifying grace. The far greater portion, indeed, of the Methodists of that day lived in the habitual experience of this great salvation. It was from the most devoted, earnest, zealous, and useful of these, that Mr. Wesley obtained his Ministers. And these men were not only truly pious, and eminently zealous. They were, regarded as a body, men remarkable for intellectual ability, strong sense, and great power of expression. Some of them, indeed, notwithstanding their incessant labours in what may appear to us very ungenial

spheres of action, rose to eminence as scholars, divines, and orators.

These men went through the land—which seemed, at that period, to be covered with moral darkness, and to lie in the shadow of death—as burning and shining lights. It is true that they met with such a reception as might be expected from the unsanctified character of human nature. They were ridiculed and lampooned by learned men and wits, treated with haughty opposition or contempt by bigoted sectaries and formal religionists, and persecuted with brutal ferocity by the violent and the vulgar of all classes. Yet, submitting to all this injustice with Christian meekness and constancy, they pursued their way with unconquerable firmness, and with great success. Wherever they preached the word of life, sinners were brought to the acknowledgment of the truth, and to the experience of salvation. Nor did they neglect the spiritual culture of the souls thus converted to God. An organization, purely religious in its character, was introduced, by which "classes" were raised, societies formed, chapels built, and a complete system of evangelical agency and means brought into operation, for the purpose of preserving those who had been thus brought under the influence of Divine Grace from the evils to which they were exposed, of building them up in holiness, and, at the same time, holding forth an efficient proclamation of saving truth to the whole population of the land. And in the prosecution of these benevolent purposes, these laborious heralds of the Cross took frequent, long, and wearisome journeys; often preaching in the highways and obscure villages, when no more suitable opportunities offered for the dissemination of the truth.

It was through these pious and devoted men that Robert Newton was made acquainted with the Gospel, and with Methodism. We have already said that they periodically visited and preached in his father's house. Robert, therefore, with his brothers and sisters, grew up in intimate intercourse with these Preachers, and in constant attendance on their ministry. Nor was he, even in his youthful years, a careless hearer. Long before his conversion, he seems to have had a persuasion on his mind that he should become pious, and be a Methodist Preacher. So early as the age of twelve years, he composed the outline of a sermon, which he carefully preserved.

It was not, however, until he was about seventeen that he became decidedly religious. And it is a matter of some interest, that this great man was led to a saving experience of Divine Grace under the influence of one of those glorious effusions of the Holy Spirit, which have so frequently marked the history of Methodism, and are known as "Revivals." In one of these, with which the Whitby Circuit was favoured in

1797, when four hundred persons were added to the Society, Robert Newton was among the number. His penitential sorrow was deep and long-continued, and his experience of mercy clear and scriptural.

A mind so full of ardour as his, so entirely free from all affectation of humility and false shame, and so richly imbued with gracious energy, when fully brought under the influence of Gospel truth, with all its terrible revelations respecting the sinner's danger, and all its mighty incentives to that intense love for souls, and that deep concern for the glory of Christ and the extension of His kingdom, which it brings to the enlightened mind, was not likely to remain long an inactive member of the Church. Fired with a godly zeal, young Newton, almost immediately on his conversion, began to assist in prayer-meetings, and soon afterward to exhort and preach.

We cannot help feeling some curiosity as to the impression made by the early efforts of a man, who afterward became so eminent as a Preacher. On this point a distinguished Minister, who was then his friend and companion, says:—

"He had not been long on the Preachers' Plan, before he was called to occupy the principal pulpits of the Circuit; and in all cases his labours were highly acceptable."

And his biographer justly observes:—

"Some men are so evidently designed by the providence of God to accomplish great purposes, that it is hardly possible, even in the early part of their lives, to mistake their destination. Such was Robert Newton, who was no sooner made a partaker of the Gospel salvation, than he began to recommend to others the mercy which he had received; and he had hardly entered on this new and sacred employment, before a general impression was made upon the minds of his hearers, that he would occupy an elevated position among the Ministers of Christ."—Pp. 17, 18.

This "general impression" accounts for the rapidity of Mr. Newton's progress. He was converted in February, 1798. In July of the same year he was recommended to the Conference as a candidate for the Ministry; and by that Conference he was accepted, and appointed to a Circuit, before he had fully completed the nineteenth year of his age.

We can easily conceive of a young man like Robert Newton, after having been thus brought to the experience of salvation, proceeding under the influence of a holy zeal to the work of the Christian Ministry, without once considering the effect of such a step on his worldly prospects. But this was a subject not altogether overlooked by some of his friends. We are told that, when he was proceeding from his home to his first Circuit, he was met by a physician, who, being well acquainted with the family, knew young Newton's character and ability. On learn-

ing his destination, the gentleman addressed him thus: "You have mistaken your calling; a young man of your abilities should get into the medical or some other profession. You will never get any thing among the Methodists." However sound and weighty this counsel might have appeared to his sage adviser, it made no impression on the mind of the young evangelist. Intent on "winning souls," he pursued his way.

An enlightened mind can scarcely contemplate the introduction of a young man of nineteen, possessing the talents and energy of Robert Newton, into the Christian ministry, without feelings of deep solicitude. "Will he steadily pursue a course of fervent piety and labouring zeal, or fall a prey to the numerous temptations by which he is sure to be assailed? Will he continue to labour for souls, or learn to love the praise of men more than the honour which cometh from God?" These are questions which, in such a case, will arise, and cause painful emotion in a pious and considerate mind. We need not wonder, then, at the verdict pronounced by some of the devout villagers in Mr. Newton's first Circuit. Having walked two miles to hear him preach on a Sabbath afternoon, whilst returning full of admiration that a man so young should preach so well, one of his hearers said most emphatically, "He will be a great man, if he keep humble." He did, however, pursue a course which proved all this fear to be groundless.

"The generous hospitality of the wealthy friends in the Circuit was no snare to him. His moderation was known unto all men; he grew in grace; his pious zeal knew no languor; and, perhaps, no man ever made a more marked and sensible improvement in theological knowledge, and in the power of expressing the great principles of revealed truth, than he did at this period of life. His preaching retained an undiminished freshness and popularity. He proposed to himself a high standard of Christian and ministerial excellence, and spared no pains to realize what his heart desired. As if he had foreknown that the time was hastening on, when almost every day would be occupied with public service, he was, in these earlier years of his ministry, indefatigable in his application to study, especially in direct reference to the duties of the pulpit, in which he was most anxious to excel. He was 'diligent in prayers, and in reading the Holy Scriptures, and in such studies as help to the knowledge of the same, laying aside the study of the world and the flesh.'"—Pp. 26, 27.

The result of this steady and consistent line of conduct was uniform acceptance, improvement, and usefulness in the several Circuits to which he was successively appointed. At Pocklington he laboured with great benefit to the people. Appointed to Howden at the succeeding Conference, he continued his ministry with great advantage to the Societies, and manifest improvement in himself. Some of his letters from this scene of labour speak in grateful and glowing terms of the glorious out-

pourings of the Holy Spirit in different parts of this Circuit at that time. At the Conference of 1803, Mr. Newton was appointed to Glasgow. In this city, favoured as it was with the ministry of Dr. Balfour and Dr. Wardlaw, Mr. Newton's preaching was very highly appreciated; but in the neighbouring town of Stirling his fame was exceedingly great. As no room which the Society could procure in this place, would contain the crowds who flocked to hear the young divine, they accepted the offer, spontaneously made by the magistrates, of the Town Hall, as a place for preaching. Here multitudes hung upon his lips, and the cause of spiritual religion was greatly promoted by his instrumentality. But whilst intent on doing good, Mr. Newton was by no means unmindful of the great means of intellectual improvement which his residence in the city of Glasgow placed within his reach. Of these he diligently availed himself; and this was done in a manner and spirit which evidenced the godly jealousy he felt over the state of his own heart, and will serve for a model of correct feeling for every young Minister placed in similar circumstances. In a letter to his sister, written at this period, Mr. Newton speaks thus:—

"We have many privileges here which we cannot have in England. I hear all the divines in the city belonging to the Established Kirk, who preach alternately every Thursday. I hear theological lectures in the Temple on Monday evenings, and attend a course of philosophical lectures during the whole term. I desire and pray that my improvement may correspond with my advantages, and trust that my desire for intellectual improvement does not diminish my desire for more of the mind that was in Christ Jesus. I daily feel that nothing can give real comfort without Christ *in me* the hope of glory. I long for a greater conformity to the image of my Lord."—Page 48.

Mr. Newton left Glasgow at the end of his first year there; and the Conference of 1804 appointed him to Rotherham, where he laboured with much acceptance and success for two years, and was instrumentally the means of giving a new impulse to the cause of Methodism in that locality. In 1806 he was stationed at Sheffield, and during the second year of his ministry in that Circuit Jabez Bunting was his colleague. Thus early, in their ministerial career, were these two eminent men brought into a friendly contact; from which issued a pure and fervent Christian friendship, dissolved only by death. The Conference of 1808 appointed Mr. Newton to Huddersfield, as Superintendent. Whilst labouring in this Circuit, he was strongly urged, by an uncle of his wife, to leave the Wesleyan Connexion, and enter the Established Church; but the effort was vain. Mrs. Newton, who well knew her husband's mind, replied, that "his attachment to the Methodists was so strong and conscientious, that he never could be

happy in any other religious community." In 1810, Mr. Newton was appointed to the Holmfirth Circuit. Being now in the prime of his manhood, he laboured diligently and studied closely, especially in divinity. His fame, as a Preacher, was established; and he was not only frequently solicited to preach on behalf of public charities, but was one of the Ministers chosen by the President of the Conference, to preach one of a course of sermons on the prominent elements of evangelical truth, which were appointed to be delivered before that body of Ministers at their annual meeting, in 1812, held at Leeds. Nor was his regular ministry in his Circuit less acceptable than formerly. His popularity, indeed, from the beginning, seems to have maintained a steady progression, and to have arisen, at least in a great degree, from the peculiar power which he possessed, of rendering every subject on which he discoursed level to the comprehension of his hearers.

The Conference of 1812 stationed Mr. Newton to the London West Circuit, where he laboured with great effect for two years. In one respect, this metropolitan theatre of action was far from being agreeable to this devoted Minister. He had little relish for the business-like operations of the several Connexional Committees, which were necessarily held in the capital; nor, indeed, did he possess much aptitude for this kind of very important, but very harassing, labour; while, on the whole, he could scarcely reconcile his mind to the abstraction of so much time from directly spiritual duties, and especially preparation for the pulpit, as the work of these Committees required. But although, on this account, his engagements in the metropolis were not quite congenial to his mind, there seems good reason for believing, that his residence these two years in London did very much to prepare him for that pre-eminent position which he was soon afterward called to occupy, and which he so long and so nobly sustained.

In this city, through the instrumentality of Mr. Joseph Butterworth, Mr. Newton was induced frequently to advocate the cause of the Bible Society in public meetings. As yet, the claims of the Heathen, and the Christian duty of attempting their conversion, were only urged on the Churches from the pulpit; but public meetings were held on behalf of the Bible Society, and Mr. Newton appeared, on these occasions, as an able and eloquent advocate in favour of the abundant circulation of the word of God. Another fact of equal consequence to the future career of Mr. Newton, which took place at this time, must be noticed. In London this able and zealous Minister was brought into frequent intercourse with Dr. Coke, just before he left England on his Mission to the East. The Doctor was then busily engaged in obtaining the necessary financial provision for his last and greatest missionary enter-

prise. In order to secure this, Dr. Coke was accustomed to wait personally on those persons of wealth and station, whom he thought likely to afford assistance to the cause which lay so near his heart. Mr. Newton frequently accompanied the pious Doctor in these begging excursions; and thus had the missionary fire which glowed in his heart fanned into flame by the labouring zeal and fervent spirit of that man of God, just as he stood on the threshold of his reward.

The next seat of Robert Newton's ministerial labour was Wakefield. Before he removed from London, the Ministers and friends in Leeds, believing the time had come for affording more systematic and efficient aid to the support of Christian Missions to the Heathen than Methodism had hitherto rendered, united in consultation, held a public meeting, and organized a Society for this purpose. The Districts of Halifax, York, Sheffield, Cornwall, and Newcastle soon followed this good example. On the meeting of the ensuing Conference, this important movement on behalf of Missions was carefully considered, and the measures which had been taken by these Districts were approved, and the whole Connexion strongly urged to pursue a similar course. When, therefore, Mr. Newton began his ministry at Wakefield, the Methodist body was just preparing to enter on that widely spread and energetic course of evangelical action on behalf of Missions to the Heathen, which has since diffused the knowledge of Christ to "the regions beyond," with a rapidity and power without a parallel since the apostolic age.

It is a singular circumstance that, at this time, Yorkshire contained three Ministers who were destined to do more than any others in the origination and advancement of this great work,—Jabez Bunting of Leeds, Richard Watson of Hull, and Robert Newton of Wakefield. We have here only to speak of the latter, although it cannot but be observed that, in these three men, the great Head of the Church gave to the Mission cause a rare munificence of mind, a vast and comprehensive range of talent, such as has seldom been seen working in harmonious action in any one section of the Church of Christ. But, while Mr. Bunting originated, and to a great extent directed, this great movement, and Mr. Watson promoted it by the unwearied energy of his sublime and mighty mind, our author truly observes:—

"Yet Robert Newton was the man of the people. There was such a frankness in his tones and manner, that he no sooner began to speak in a Missionary Meeting, than every countenance was brightened with a smile, and the audience, as if by general agreement, surrendered themselves to him. He had the power, above almost every other man, of communicating to the multitude the sentiments and purposes of his own large and generous heart. He was therefore usually selected to deliver the speech just before the collection was

made; and, while he appealed to the crowds around him, their hearty responses and entire demeanour forcibly reminded one of the tribes of Israel, when 'all the people answered to one another, and said, All that the Lord hath spoken we will do.' "—Page 88.

Mr. Newton removed from Wakefield at the Conference of 1817. And from this period we must regard him, not merely as a Wesleyan Minister, however distinguished, zealous, and useful, but also as occupying an extraordinary position in the Church. Thenceforward his labours in the regular ministry were confined to a more limited number of Circuits than usually, during so long a period, falls to the lot of a Methodist Preacher. Of the last thirty-five years of Mr. Newton's ministry, he was stationed in Stockport three years; Leeds, six years; Salford, six years; Manchester, nine years; and Liverpool, eleven years. But, whilst this statement would seem to circumscribe Mr. Newton's labours to a narrower sphere than that usually occupied by his brethren in the Itinerancy, he was, in fact, pursuing a much more extended circle of toil than any of them. For, while feeling deeply interested in the spiritual prosperity of his Circuit, and doing all in his power to promote it, every vacant hour was absorbed in compliance with urgent applications for his aid, in the pulpits, or on the platforms, of innumerable other places. On this point his biographer observes:—

"He was scrupulously diligent in fulfilling his appointments in his own Circuit, and, at the same time, was always ready to serve his friends at a distance, when they applied for his aid. Many were the journeys that he took for this purpose. And great was the self-denial that he practised in leaving his family, and in travelling, by night and by day, to assist in the formation of Missionary Societies, to preach at the opening of chapels, and to plead the cause of local charities."—Page 95.

It is, indeed, scarcely possible to convey to the reader an adequate idea of the vast extent of these labours. In a letter, dated June 7th, 1823, Mr. Newton said,—

"All my friends tell me that I am killing myself. I have attended thirty-eight Missionary Meetings, and travelled about two thousand three hundred miles, since the middle of March."—Page 105.

And this amount of labour and travel was exclusive of occasional sermons, and his regular Circuit work as a Wesleyan Minister! About three Missionary Meetings, and two hundred miles of journeying per week, for these twelve weeks in succession; and this before the introduction of railways, and in addition to his ordinary ministerial duty! Can we wonder that his friends said, he was "killing himself?"

We cannot but feel amazement that any human system could

for so long a time endure such an amount of incessant toil. Yet he seemed to bear it, not only without suffering, but with delight. After speaking, day after day, at a series of Missionary Anniversaries, when every one else would feel heavy and weary, on the following morning, Mr. Newton would be up early, humming a tune, as blithe as a lark, and as ready as ever to enter upon the severe labour of a new day, in the service of his Master. It is, however, still more astonishing how any mind could continue such a series of efforts. That his occasional sermons and platform-speeches were real intellectual efforts, is certain from the results which they produced, and the eagerness with which they were sought after. But some persons may suppose that in these extraordinary labours he spent his strength, and that in his usual Circuit duties he was a different person. Dr. Beecham, a very competent authority, proves that this supposition, however natural, is altogether unjust. On this very important question he speaks thus:—

"The interest which Mr. Newton took in his Circuit and pastoral duties, was not exceeded by the zeal with which he sought to promote the cause of Christ by his more public labours. He endeavoured, when at home, to make up, as far as possible, the lack of service which resulted from his frequent absence. Immediately on his return from his long and arduous excursions, he threw himself into his Circuit work with a freshness which was surprising, and a zest which proved that he felt himself in his proper element; while he industriously redeemed the time, by a close application to his duties as a Christian Pastor."—Page 125.

Mr. Newton continued this course of labour, until the Conference of 1833, perceiving that, notwithstanding his almost superhuman strength of body and energy of mind, he could not possibly supply the continued demand made on him by the Connexion, and at the same time do justice to his own Circuit, very wisely appointed a young man to do his week-day and pastoral work; leaving him thus at liberty to travel during the week-days with more freedom, and, if possible, with more frequency, for the benefit of the Connexion at large. The amount of journeying, preaching, and speaking, which he performed during the ensuing nineteen years, cannot be told; and, if it could, the statement would appear incredible. In every part of the United Kingdom his voice was heard pleading the cause of his Divine Master, the wants of suffering humanity, and the extension of the Church of Christ. And every where he was received with rapture, and multitudes hung on his lips, as though they had never heard him before. Never, it is believed, in the whole history of the world, did any other man travel so many miles, preach so many sermons, deliver so many speeches, or collect so much money for purposes directly religious, as did Robert Newton. And we think it may be safely

added,—never did any man secure, and maintain during so long a period, so extensive and intense a popularity as he.

Nor was it within the Wesleyan circle or in the British Isles alone, that he received such marked and universal homage. On his visit to America, the Clergy, the people, the Congress, all crowded to hear him; and all listened with wonder and delight to the oratory of the English Divine, and celebrated his praises in unmeasured terms.

But, after all, the most singular feature in the popularity of this great man was its universality. Some men are prodigies at home, and mediocre abroad. Others are popular where they are least known, and less esteemed in their own locality. We have said that Mr. Newton was "the man of the people." He was so, in the most emphatic sense. In the Wesleyan Connexion we have found men obtain a measure of this honour, who have not been very highly esteemed among their brethren in the Ministry. It was not so in this instance. There was no man more loved and honoured by Wesleyan Ministers than he. Four times was he placed in the Chair of the Conference, and nineteen times was he elected Secretary to that body. This is an amount of official honour never given to any other man in the whole history of the Wesleyan body. Indeed, so high did this eminent man stand in the estimation of his brethren, that for any Wesleyan minister to doubt or distrust the high Christian principle, brotherly feeling, unsullied honour, or unswerving integrity of Robert Newton, was quite sufficient to place himself in a very equivocal position.

It is not, however, for the purpose of eulogizing the dead, that we make these statements. We have, in the volume before us, a narrative of facts, affording the most abundant proof of Mr. Newton's greatness. And if any of our readers entertain any scepticism on this point, we will fully allow them to distrust our judgment, if they will refer to the book itself, and judge of the man from the detailed account of his career which it so fully supplies. We freely confess, that we have seen enough to assure our mind, that we have before us a character of surpassing grandeur, beauty, and usefulness. The genius and power, the life and labours, of Robert Newton, present to our view a phenomenon which, considered either in respect of philosophy or religion, in regard of his own happiness, or in the results of his labours in the Church and the world, is of the deepest interest as a subject of study, as well as a model of ministerial character.

Let us, then, take a brief survey of this specimen of greatness, and its peculiar manifestations.

Before proceeding to this, however, the reader should be informed that in the year 1843 the University of Middletown, in the United States, conferred on Mr. Newton the well-merited

degree of Doctor of Divinity. From this time, therefore, we have to speak of the subject of this biography as Dr. Newton.

It may be admitted, *in limine*, that his character and usefulness did not result from the outbursting of a mighty genius, which came on the world flashing like a meteor with instant maturity and power. We find in him nothing like what the political world saw in the precocious maturity of Pitt, whose eloquence knew no growth, but commenced at zenith altitude. It was not so with Dr. Newton. He was, it is true, favoured with an exceedingly strong and robust physical system, and an equally vigorous and energetic mind. In both respects he was endowed with powers far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity. In fact, his bodily and intellectual nature seemed to require, for healthy exercise, an amount of exertion sufficient to break down an ordinary man. When placed in a shop in his youth, and shut up to the usual indoor work, his health and strength declined so manifestly, that his master gave up his indentures, and thus enabled him to pursue a more active life. And it is a well-known fact, that his mind required constant and laborious exercise quite as much as his body.

The eminent celebrity attained by Dr. Newton appears to have arisen, not so much from the possession of one or more commanding attributes of mind, as from the constant and intense consecration of all the powers of a clear, strong, energetic intellect, and large heart, to the service of his Redeemer. No sooner was he converted than he began to work for God. And when introduced into the Ministry, he seems to have taken for his motto, "Instant in season, out of season." Not only was every duty attended to, but opportunities for further usefulness were sought out. Nothing pertaining to his ministerial vocation was, in his estimation, little or unimportant. His mind was carefully cultivated, all his powers were developed, and, before the pressure of public duties absorbed all his time, he had availed himself of every opportunity of storing his memory with valuable and varied information, and especially with sterling theology. By these means it was that, perhaps beyond almost any other public man, Dr. Newton's excellencies were alloyed with very, very few defects.

That, however, which in our judgment contributed, more than any thing else, to place this man on the pinnacle of fame, was his steady and prominent adherence to the great objects, agencies, and truths of the Gospel, in their simple and practical influence on those who heard him. We fully recognise the magnitude and power of his natural abilities. Under no circumstances could he have been an ordinary man. His vigorous intellect, his almost intuitive perception, his ability to grasp almost any subject, and, by his peculiar naturalness and graphic manner of presenting it to his audience, to

make it level to their comprehension,—such powers would, in any case, place their possessor in a distinguished position. Nevertheless, as they were found in this eminent Minister, they seemed not only more adapted to explain and enforce Gospel truth than for any other purpose, but to be emphatically, and almost exclusively, adapted to this object.

We have listened to other Ministers when delivering their most successful discourses, and have left them, full of the conviction that they would make a marvellous impression in the Senate, or at the Bar. We never had a thought of this kind when hearing Dr. Newton. He always spoke like a man made for the express purpose of ministering the Gospel of Christ. He was, in the highest sense, perfectly at home in the communication of evangelical truth; so much so, indeed, that, hearing him, you could scarcely think of his powers being engaged in any other way. Nor was this accordance, between the mind and manner of Dr. Newton and his theme, merely external and apparent. His hearers felt invincibly assured of his deep, serious, sterling sincerity. He seemed, in fact, whether on the platform, in the pulpit, or in the social circle, to be saturated with the truth and spirit of his Master. He did not appear as an advocate, but as a principal. There was in his manner and mode of address nothing of the pleader, but the simple earnestness of a man whose soul was set on doing good. He stood before the Church as a personification of the benevolence, purity, and truth, which he enjoined; and thus carried conviction to every mind. By these means Dr. Newton became not only popular, but universally and intensely popular. Other eminent men would fascinate a section, or delight a certain class of mind or taste. But Dr. Newton spoke to mankind. It required no particular powers to apprehend or to relish his discourses. None were too high to be reached by his eloquence, or too low to understand his reasonings. He was therefore, as we have said, more than any other Minister of his day, "the man of the people."

This calls our attention to another excellence in this truly great character. He was the people's favourite orator; multitudes heard, and responded to his appeals with unwonted liberality. This was not an occasional circumstance, but a procedure continued several days a week throughout very many years. He must be very ignorant, who can suppose that such continued intercourse could be maintained, and such influence be used by a public speaker, without producing in his mind a corresponding sympathy with the feelings of his hearers. As they continue to crowd around him, and to bow to the utterances of his intellect, and to the impulses of his will; so, as the result of a natural law, will he feel desirous of retaining their good opinion and confidence. And thus, in many instances, the man who began public life by teaching, directing, and leading the people,

has, in times of popular excitement, under the pressure of public opinion, been warped from the course approved by his judgment and conscience; and led, in order to maintain his *status* with the people, to denounce what he had previously approved, and to advocate that which he had formerly condemned. We have had many melancholy instances of this truckling to popular favour of late, both in the Church and in the world. All who have any acquaintance with the character and career of Dr. Newton, will fully admit that, from his bland and affectionate nature, and his constant and intimate intercourse with the people, he was likely to feel the force of this influence to a greater degree than any other public man of modern times.

It becomes, then, a question of some interest,—How did he act, when the popular will and feeling rolled in opposition to the principles and doctrines which he always regarded as righteous and true? Did he adopt a temporizing policy, and avoid committing himself to any positive expression of opinion on the matters in dispute, that, on the one hand, he might not appear to resist constituted authorities, and, on the other, might not oppose himself to the clamours of the crowd? Did he keep himself aloof from his brethren in the time of their difficulty; and, because his pre-eminent abilities were not of a legislative or administrative character, leave to those on whom the burden of government mainly rested, to resist alone the elements of disorder, and to control the storm of popular insubordination? Robert Newton did nothing of this kind. Two occasions occurred, after he had obtained an eminent position among his brethren, when Dr. Newton's principles were severely tested by the potent and widely spread influence of popular delusion. And on each of these, he proved himself as ready, firm, and immovable, in resistance to popular clamour when the people were wrong, as ever he had been to direct, lead, and encourage them when they were prepared to go right.

We do not, by these expressions, mean to insinuate, that at any time the great body of the Wesleyan people have been disaffected, rebellious, insubordinate, or opposed to the established usages and government of the body. Nothing of this kind has ever occurred. But there have been times when malign and exciting influences have been brought to bear upon the members of this communion, and when—although the great bulk of the people have been content "to stand in the old paths," and "to follow on to know the Lord"—others have, by these agencies, been made restless and dissatisfied; and these have united in disorderly action, and have clamoured for changes alien alike from the spirit and practice of the Wesleyan economy, and the dictates of righteousness and truth. In such cases, as the sound-hearted have been still, the noisy and the turbulent have claimed to exercise all the attributes of the people, and to have their violence heard and regarded as the popular voice. And

as no organ in favour of truth and order has risen to an equal height, these unreasonable claims have been too often conceded.

We are not called to consider the painful causes which produced dissatisfaction in the Wesleyan Connexion in the years 1834–5: these have now become a part of history. But they stood so intimately connected with the official life of Dr. Newton, and called forth from him such nobility of action and patient endurance of unmerited reproach, that his biographer could not avoid a brief recital of these circumstances. It is, however, sufficient for our purpose, to state that during this trying season he shrank from no duty or danger; but calmly and prayerfully evinced the utmost fidelity to the great Head of the Church, and to the Connexion with which he was identified. Those who called themselves "the people," were disappointed and enraged to find the mighty intellect and energy of the man whom they called their own arrayed against their disorderly proceedings. The result makes one blush for our country. What fact can be recorded more truly disgraceful, than that a Minister, like Dr. Newton, should have been driven from his pulpit by violence, and have been hooted, and even pelted, through the streets of an English city, by an infuriated mob?

A repetition of this scandalous behaviour, although not accompanied with the same violent action, occurred in 1849, when Dr. Newton again pursued a course equally pure and noble-minded. This is related by his biographer in the following correct and affecting terms:—

"In the universal records of the Christian Church, it would be difficult to find a character more blameless and upright; and he was as kind and peaceable as he was pure. Yet, because he was popular, was faithful in the maintenance of truth and order in the body to which he belonged, and was therefore regarded as standing in the way of these restless spirits, he was loaded with the foulest abuse. His extraordinary labours were imputed to corrupt and sordid motives, in the absence of every vestige of proof, and every effort was made to cover him with odium, and to defeat the object of his ministry. Justly might he have prayed with the Psalmist, 'Hide me from the secret counsel of the wicked; from the insurrection of the workers of iniquity; who whet their tongues like a sword, and bend their bow to shoot their arrows, even bitter words.'

"Now if the Gospel be a fable, and men are not accountable for their actions, all this may be regarded as the pastime of men who have nothing to fear and nothing to hope for beyond the life which they spend upon earth as a shadow; but if such Ministers as Dr. Newton are the servants of Christ, called and sanctioned by Him to train up for the bliss of Heaven the souls which He has redeemed by His blood, then all such wanton attempts to render their labours useless are not only an open violation of His precepts, but acts of direct opposition to His will and purpose, and must be answered for at His tribunal."—Pp. 293, 294.

We shall not discharge our duty according to the decision of our judgment, and the dictates of our conscience, if we do not here direct attention to another excellence in Dr. Newton's character,—an excellence which at once proves his purity and his greatness. We allude to his freedom from all those feelings of jealousy and rivalry which have sometimes affected, and even sullied, the reputation of distinguished men in the Church of Christ. Dr. Newton not only carried all his own honours meekly, but exemplified the charity which "envieth not" the greatness of others,—not even of those who stood by his side, and were candidates, with himself, for love and honour before the same people. This rivalry of great men has called forth the sorrow and pity of good men in all ages. On this subject it has been said, with equal truth and beauty, "Mountains do not shake hands. Their roots may touch; they may keep together some way up; but at length they part company, and rise into individual peaks. So it is with great men. As mountains mostly run in chains and clusters, crossing the plain at wider or narrower intervals; in like manner are there epochs in history when great men appear in clusters also. At first, too, they grow up together, seeming to be animated by the same spirit, to have the same desires and antipathies, the same purposes and ends. But, after a while, the genius of each begins to know itself, and to follow its own bent: they separate and diverge more and more; and those who, when young, were working in concert, stand alone in their old age. But if mountains do not shake hands, neither do they kick each other. Their human counterparts unfortunately are more pugnacious. Although they break out of the theory, and strive to soar in solitary eminence, they cannot bear that their neighbours should do the same, but complain that they impede the view, and often try to overthrow them, especially if they are higher."

Now, nothing can more accurately set forth the rise of the twin worthies, Dr. Newton and Dr. Bunting, to the highest eminence and honour in the Wesleyan Connexion, than do these figures. They arose out of the ordinary piety of the Wesleyan body, side by side, at the same time, and took their places as Ministers of Christ. They grew up together into eminence, animated by the same spirit, with the same desires and antipathies, the same purposes and ends; and they were recognised by their brethren as distinguished for ability and usefulness. After a while, however, the genius of each was more powerfully felt,—each followed his own bent,—and consequently, in their course of public action, they seemed to diverge more and more, until those two friends, who, when young, were working in concert, stand apart, each in the sphere of usefulness for which his eminent powers qualify him;—and thus they appear as two isolated peaks, of mountainous compass and elevation, the astonishment of the world, and

the praise of the Churches. But here the application of the simile terminates. These mountains do not try to overthrow each other, they do not kick each other: on the contrary, they do shake hands, in all the heartiness of a pure and elevated Christian brotherhood. In every season of great public interest, whether for the defence or extension of the Church, in danger or joy, these two great men would, for a while, leave their respective and onerous lines of duty, and stand, side by side, in the struggle of the breach, or the exultation of the jubilee, partners in the common cause, brothers in the battle and in the song of praise. We know of no more remarkable exception to the laws which usually direct the course of fallen human nature, than the pure and holy friendship of these great and good men.

On one point we may express an opinion, which we have not yet seen propounded, at least with the prominence which it merits. It has been said, that Dr. Newton succeeded to a greater extent than he could have otherwise done, by adhering very closely to the truth, the spirit, and the gracious design of the Gospel. We venture to go a step further, and affirm that, in our judgment, the mind and genius of Newton were emphatically Wesleyan; and that he secured, in his communion with that Body, a degree of usefulness and fame which he could nowhere else have attained. If this seems a strange statement, we say in explanation, that what we mean is simply this,—that as the mind and genius of this great and good man were peculiarly adapted to promote the pure evangelical objects of the Gospel, so were they manifestly best qualified to effect these designs by the agency, and through the means, of Wesleyan Methodism.

There have been men in this section of the Church, who have distinguished themselves as sacred critics, theologians, and commentators; and there have been in the Connexion sufficient learning, taste, and judgment, to appreciate the importance of their labours, and to award a grateful and general homage to their great and useful talents.

Methodism has also produced men of commanding intellect and grasp of mind,—men whose powers, employed in the Council, in the Senate, or at the Bar, would have raised them, in any civilized country, to eminence and honour,—men who have watched over the rising interests of the Body, and its connexion with passing events, political and religious, and who, under the great Head of the Church, have guided it onward, in its progressive advancement and power, with consummate wisdom and unflinching fidelity. These have, with equal vigilance and ability, guarded and maintained the essential principles of the system through all the fluctuations of the times, and in all the flattering and adverse circumstances to which they have been exposed. They have been foremost in seasons of trial and danger, have roused the desponding to action, and

given confidence and courage to the feeble and the wavering. Nor have their wisdom and diligence been less conspicuous in times of prosperity and enlargement. Then they have checked the wayward and rebuked the vain, and preserved the people from presumption, as they had previously saved them from despair. Nor—although no religious community has, as a sect, paid less attention to systematic legislation and jurisprudence, than the Wesleyan Body—have the diligent and devoted employment of these great talents in the consolidation and government of the Body been left unrecognised or unrewarded. On the contrary, their efforts and success have called forth a deep, general, and sincere expression of grateful regard.

Other Wesleyan Ministers have distinguished themselves by the possession and useful exercise of other great mental attributes. A section of these, of which the revered and lamented Richard Watson may be regarded as the head, stand forth as remarkable for sublimity of thought and feeling,—for a pathos and power, by which all they touched was invested with true majesty and beauty. Their minds, imbued with a pure and divine philosophy, laid all nature under contribution, lit up every Gospel truth with heavenly splendour, and moved the very depths of the soul by the force of their reasonings and the energy of their appeals. These, also, have earned for themselves a distinction of the highest order, and an undying reverence for their acknowledged worth.

Yet not one of all these presents to our view such an instance of peculiar greatness, extensive usefulness, or universal popularity, as that which now stands before us. How, then, is this to be accounted for, or explained? We answer, in the terms of the proposition already laid down, namely, that the mind and genius of Newton, and, in consequence, the course of action which he pursued, were in an eminent degree in harmony with the doctrines, principles, and institutions of Wesleyanism.

Let us briefly illustrate and confirm this statement by a reference to representations of the nature and objects of this economy, which have obtained general credit and currency.

The great object of Wesley, in his noble evangelical enterprise, has been described as "an effort to rouse a slumbering Church and nation, and to spread scriptural holiness throughout the land." Now we will not disparage any grade of talent; we will honour learning, devoted labour, and sanctified worth, wherever they are found. But where, since the days of Wesley, shall we find the mighty intellect, the vast energy, the burning genius of a first-rate mind, brought so directly to bear on this pre-eminent object of Wesleyanism, as in the case of Robert Newton? Who, like him, in the labours of one single life, brought the high behests of Heaven to bear so frequently and so powerfully on the sins of the world, and on the lukewarm-

ness of the Church? This was the tenor of all his communications; and what was the language of his example? Who could slumber within the circle of his labours? Who could lie down in sloth in the sphere of his motion? And then, how pure and holy was all this energetic action! Truly was Dr. Newton, in these respects, eminently Wesleyan.

Take another illustration. The enlarged aspiration of John Wesley's mind, and that which spoke its purely Christian character, as it proved the native greatness of his soul, was, "The world is my parish." Let this be considered as the admitted vocation of Methodism, to evangelize, and bring under the saving and elevating influences of the Gospel the whole family of mankind; and then it will be found, that no man in his day lived and laboured for the attainment of this object, as did Robert Newton. With him, these words did not merely contain a sentiment, or propound a theory, but set forth a great truth, involving a series of weighty and important duties. The world was his parish, and the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls its chief Pastor. A chapel Anniversary in his native county, the claims of the Bible Society, for means to enable it to send forth the word of life to the ends of the earth, and the support of Missions to supply the darkest parts of the heathen world with the ministry of reconciliation, were all things in which he was equally at home, and equally interested. With him there was no distinction between regular and irregular duty, ordinary and extraordinary work. All that was possible to be done in the service of his Master, and for the good of mankind any where, rested upon his heart and conscience with the weight of important duty. The aspirations of his charity were as extensive as the globe, and the range of his labours was limited by no distinction of nation or race, but embraced all mankind, and was only bounded by the possibilities of his strength and time.

The eminent Scotch divine called Methodism "Christianity in earnest." Where shall we find so finished a type, such a living embodiment of the system, regarded in this character, as in the life and labours of Dr. Newton? In too many instances, ordinary men excuse the distance which stands between them and the great, by differences in the endowments of nature. Often have we heard it observed, "The little we do, costs us as much real exertion as their magnificent exploits cost them." This may be sometimes correct; although, in general, we incline to think, that truly great men labour with more diligence, and exert their powers with more earnestness and frequency, than those who are content to occupy an ordinary position. But, however this may be in general, it was certainly the case with Dr. Newton. His fame was not raised on any particular outburst of majestic intellect, which the most mighty and acute mind could alone give forth; nor on the display of those creations of unearthly beauty and sublimity, which none

but the glowing power of the most poetic imagination can produce; nor, indeed, on any number of such efforts. The fame of Dr. Newton, on the contrary, was the result of a countless series of successful exertions, which, if none else could perform with exactly the same amount of effect, multitudes could imitate in object and effort. It must not be supposed that he could rise at four or five in the morning, travel by coach or railway for many hours, then preach and speak for hours more, and afterward journey home through the greater part or the whole of the next night,—with the assurance that the following day would call for a repetition of such exertions,—without great self-denial and laborious toil. It has, indeed, been very truly said, that Dr. Newton possessed unusual nerve, energy, and physical power; but then, who among ordinary Christians so carefully husbanded their time, and so devotedly employed all their strength in the service of Christ, and for the benefit of the Church, as he did? He was as alive to the happiness of quiet retirement, as sensible of the luxury of family comforts, as accessible to the blessings of social intercourse, as any man. How much of all these did this pious Minister voluntarily sacrifice on the altar of the Lord, during a public life of fifty years? Here was "Christianity in earnest," in deed and in truth.

In these respects we are of opinion that the labours of Dr. Newton, in their vast extent and glorious success, were called forth and imbued with motive, spirit, and power, to a great extent, by his connexion with a religious community which, more than any other, was adapted to foster the native bent of his mind, to fan the flame of his Christian zeal, and to invite him into, and to afford him a theatre for, an unparalleled career of usefulness. We can conceive of many other men, who have been eminent in Methodism, being equally eminent in any other communion; but, although Dr. Newton would, in any place or circumstances, have been a remarkable man, we frankly confess that we do not think he would have appeared equally great, or have been equally useful, in any other position.

Much has been said as to the inconveniences and injurious operation of the system of Itinerancy; and we feel no disposition to deny that it has its disadvantageous, as well as its beneficial, results. When it is urged that it prevents the full development of the pastoral relation between Ministers and people, it is not easy to contravene the assertion. And therefore, when Wesleyans are told that, under the operation of their itinerant system, they can never have in Methodism a Jay of Bath, nor a James of Birmingham, they must be content to admit that their favourite economy does not contain in perfection every element of which the Christian Church is capable. But, although compelled to come to this conclusion, they need not suppose that all the odds are against them. On the contrary, they may retort with equal truth and certainty, that no Church organiza-

tion but Methodism could, by any possibility, produce a Robert Newton. The connexional principle was embodied and fully developed in him. He was the genius of Itinerancy. It was not merely the association of Churches in Methodism which called forth his talents, and afforded an ample area for their exercise. Methodism was realized and loved by him as a unity, and his sympathies and feelings were bound to all its vast variety of people and interests with intense and unquenchable affection. We shall never forget an occasion, when an imaginative Minister, speaking on a Missionary platform, after eulogizing the Methodists of Yorkshire and Cornwall for their heartiness and zeal, proceeded to say, that he strongly desired a closer union between such excellent people, and felt disposed to publish the banns of marriage between them. Newton, who was present, instantly rose, and, with mingled humour and gravity, interrupted the speaker, saying, "I shall forbid the banns. The parties are too nearly related. We will have no marriage between brothers and sisters." Nor was this expression a mere sally of wit; it was the confirmed judgment of Dr. Newton's mind, the strong emotion of his soul. The Christian brotherhood of Methodism was with him a great fact, and one which, throughout his brilliant career, was the most influential and operating cause of his feelings, his labours, and his fame.

With increased confidence we conclude as we began. If labours on the largest scale, and influence of the widest and the noblest sort; if a maintenance of the purest simplicity of character in connexion with unusual popularity and power; if the application of matchless energies to purposes the very highest, and with success the most extraordinary;—if these be features and evidences of true greatness, they all unite in the character of Robert Newton, and establish his claim to that coveted distinction. In the brightest sphere of human virtue,—in that sphere where whatever is great and good finds its culminating glory and perfection,—in the sphere of SPIRITUAL PHILANTHROPY, he distanced and excelled all his contemporaries. His career unanswerably proves that the simplicity and power of the Gospel is the same in these latter days, as when the first Evangelists received their commission, and the word of God "grew mightily and prevailed." The lesson of his life is for infidels as well as for believers. With potent controversy it refutes the vain philosophy of worldly men, and proclaims that Christianity is not *effete;* that the doctrine of the Cross is still the touchstone of human depravity and the loadstone of divine mercy; that the foolishness of preaching is both the power and the wisdom of God.

We have said so much respecting the subject of this volume, that we have little space left to treat of the manner of its execution; nor are any lengthened observations of this sort

necessary. The learned and amiable Professor of Theology at Richmond has long since established his reputation as an author, and more especially as a biographer. The book before us, therefore, is, as might have been expected, an able and excellent memoir of the great man whose life and labours it records.

The work is especially valuable for several reasons. It is the production of one of Dr. Newton's oldest and most intimate friends,—a man possessing every means and qualification for forming a perfect acquaintance with his subject. In addition to these important advantages, the author had in his hands all the valuable materials possessed by Dr. Newton's family, and which the biographer found to be "far more rich and ample" than he had expected. The book, therefore, presents a full, faithful, and true portraiture of Dr. Newton; and will, as such, hand down a knowledge of his piety, talents, unequalled labours, and fame to the latest posterity.

We are not surprised, however, to hear that this book has not fully met the expectations of some readers. The life of a man like Dr. Newton afforded an opportunity for a far more sparkling narrative than that before us. Here was ample room for painting; abundant scope for the exercise of the author's imagination. Mr. Jackson very wisely, in our judgment, avoided this course. He has given us a plain and faithful, but earnest and breathing, narrative. The work, however, will be exposed to more severe censure than this: it is a scriptural and religious narrative of the most successful evangelical Minister of the day; and it exhibits such a triumph of sterling godliness over every thing earthly and carnal, that it is quite impossible that those who idolize cultivated intellect, and ignore spiritual religion, can allow a work of this kind to pass before them without an affected frown, or an involuntary sneer.

We, however, should have been far from being satisfied, if the author had, in any respect, departed from the path he has adopted, to meet the views of such critics, or to avoid their censure. The public at large, and especially the Wesleyan community, for whose use, primarily, the work is of course designed, have nothing to regret on this account. The Church and the world wanted a faithful representation of the life and labours of Dr. Newton. This Mr. Jackson has given in the book before us with accuracy and fidelity, and—what will be prized by a very great number of readers—with thorough Wesleyan plainness, piety, and sense. We have here no apologies for Wesleyan peculiarities,—nothing of style or composition foreign to the quiet dignity and the labouring zeal of Dr. Newton. This great and good man is here represented to the life, as he went up and down among the people in his Master's service; and we heartily thank Mr. Jackson for an account of his friend, which will hand down to future generations a knowledge of the life and labours of Dr. Robert Newton.

ART. III.—1. *Lectures on the Anatomy and Physiology of the Invertebrate Animals.* By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. 1843.
2. *On the Archetypes and Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton.* By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. 1848.
3. *On the Nature of Limbs.* By RICHARD OWEN, F.R.S. 1849.
4. *Principles of Physiology, General and Comparative.* By WILLIAM B. CARPENTER, M.D., F.R.S. Fourth Edition. 1854.

IN a preceding article, we traced the progress of anatomical science from the time of Hippocrates to the close of the seventeenth century. We now propose to resume the subject, and glance at its progress subsequent to that period, especially in relation to zoological studies.

It is a well-known truth in physical science, that when a body has once, by the action of a continued force, acquired a considerable *momentum,* much less effort is needful to keep it in motion than was requisite to put it in motion at the first. At the opening of the eighteenth century progressive science had acquired this momentum, and was thenceforth destined to break triumphantly through obstacles which had hitherto retarded its progress. Observers became so multiplied, that any attempt to enumerate even the most important of them would carry us far beyond the reasonable limits of an article; consequently we must only glance at those men whose labours have led to the more important results, or to the establishment of great generalizations.

The primary object of all scientific inquiry should be the knowledge of the Creator, who has manifested His attributes in His works. Some of those attributes are in part revealed objectively in Creation; and here we learn that law and order have existed from the beginning. The universe has been built up in accordance with a predetermined plan, and in subordination to pre-ordained laws, which we term the "laws of Nature." The examination of such of these laws as have been discovered, demonstrates that they are in accordance with the loftiest wisdom of which finite humanity can take cognizance; that, beyond all other conceptions which suggest themselves to us, they are best adapted to fulfil their purpose. And whilst they exhibit a perfect adaptation to the most minute ends, they embrace the universe within their sphere. The drops of watery vapour forming the mountain mist, and the waves of the rolling ocean, are held together by a common law. The fertilizing pollen that falls on the pendent pistil, and the most remote orbs of the starry universe, move in accordance with the same primæval *fiat* of Deity.

Though the individual facts which science has discovered

speak so loudly of the Deity, it is not so much in them, however beautiful, as in the grander generalizations of philosophy, that we must seek for the more significant manifestations of God. It has ever been amongst *isolated* facts that the infidel has sought for weapons wherewith to wage unholy war. Such isolations often mislead us, because we see but in part. Thus it was with those *savans* whose acquaintance with the sloth was limited to its feats when crawling on the floor, or hanging piteously to the leg of a mahogany table, and who concluded that the poor beast had been hardly dealt with, and that it was any thing but a display of wisdom and power. But had they watched that same animal on the forest-fringed banks of the Orinoco, hanging without effort from the lofty bough, as it revelled on the green and juicy foliage, how different would have been their verdict! And if, in addition to this, they could have obtained a glance at the præ-Adamite age, and seen the brethren of this sloth, in the form of giant mylodons and megatheria, the monarchs of the forest, whose colossal strength enabled them to uproot the loftiest trees, so far from being objects of pity, they would have commanded their astonished admiration. The sloth is but one link in this vast and important chain of beings. To look at its organization independently of these relationships, is not only to confine the view to one side of the shield, but even to the smallest of its quarterings.

Hence it is that, however manifestly Divine Wisdom speaks in the adaptation of individual organizations to their special life, such lessons are not the most significant which the natural world is capable of teaching. It is when we comprehend a general law to which all creation is subordinated, or when we realize a universal type, in accordance with which an entire group of organisms are constructed, that we approach the nearest to the mind of God. We need scarcely guard our remarks by observing, that we exclusively refer to the study of natural things. It is, therefore, the highest aim of science, as it has ever been the highest ambition of scientific men, to discover these laws; and one such instance of happy intuition does more to confer immortality upon the name of its author than a thousand laboured observations which have failed to lead the observer to such a generalization.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, an humble Lutheran Clergyman indulged his taste for flowers by cultivating a small garden, at the village of Rashult, in Smäland, a province of Sweden. In 1707, the family circle of the worthy Minister was blessed by the addition of a boy, who, as soon as he could run, became the companion of his father in the labours of floriculture; and who thus imbibed, from his earliest days, a love for plants, which soon ripened into an

almost idolatrous devotion. Trained for many years under the parental eye, in the obscure retirement of a Swedish village, he left his home, at the age of twenty-one, to study at the University of Upsal. And such was the rapidity of his progress, and so strong the impression which his genius made upon his teachers, that though he was but twenty-five when the declining health of the celebrated Rudbeck left the botanical chair of the University substantially vacant, the authorities deemed themselves fortunate in finding a nominal assistant, but virtual successor, in Karl Linné. This sphere of labour soon became too limited for the gigantic aspirations of the young Swede. The accidents of education alone made him a botanist. A deeper principle of his being made him a philosopher, whose field of study was to be the entire organized world. Stimulated by a glowing ardour, he undertook a series of voyages with the view of studying the kingdom of nature; and when he resumed his professional duties, he deputed to his pupils the mission of investigating the products of foreign climes. Surely no philosopher ever commanded such an army of enthusiastic travellers devoted to his interests. "Nature was at once interrogated, in the name of one man, from the mountain heights of Norway, to the summits of the Cordilleras and of Atlas; from the shores of the Mississippi, to those of the Ganges; from the ices of Greenland, to those of the Antarctic Seas." *

The isolated discoveries of previous naturalists lay in confusion, awaiting a master spirit to reduce them to order; and the intuition of Linnæus told him that he was equal to the task. He knew himself and his strength :—

> "*Ipse Pater Danais animos viresque secundas*
> *Sufficit.*"

The rest of a life, prolonged through seventy-one years, was devoted to this noble work; and even when mind and body were alike paralysed, in 1776, by apoplectic seizure, he still found delightful solace in his pure pursuits. The examination of a collection of new plants, sent to him from the extremities of Asia by his pupil Thunberg, constituted one of the closing enjoyments of his life.

In 1735 he published the first edition of his great work at Leyden, in Holland. The aim of the publication was shown in its title of "*Systema Naturæ, seu Regna tria Naturæ systematicè proposita, per Classes, Ordines, Genera, et Species.*" To form an adequate conception of the laborious research involved in the production of this marvellous work, we must bear in mind the nature of the writings of his predecessors. Neither the Greek

* De Condorcet.

nor the Roman naturalists ever attempted such a production. It was only in the preceding century that Ray, and some of his contemporaries, made their imperfect efforts at classifying particular groups of organisms. These were the first and meritorious efforts of men seeking to reduce chaos to order; but they worked without any pre-arranged plan, or subordination to general laws.

Linnæus approached his task with very different views of its requirements. Whilst his capacious intellect ranged over the entire mundane creation, as the territory to be won, its excursions were not those of the irregular Cossack, or of Arab hordes, but of the disciplined soldier, whose every movement is in accordance with established military principles and axioms. The Swedish philosopher is best known to the world of dilettantists through the classification of the vegetable kingdom which bears his name, and which it is so fashionable, in some circles, to sneer at as worthless. It would be well if some of the great botanists who speak so contemptuously about the "Linnæan scheme," as if it were some new joint-stock bubble, had half the fervent philosophy possessed by the immortal Swede, or a tithe of his magic power of recommending this beautiful science to others by rendering the study more facile. Let them learn to refer with more decorous respect to the man who has lighted them on their way. As a scientific system, the Linnæan classification was avowedly a preparation for something higher, to be obtained at a future time; but, as affording the young student facilities for the study and identification of plants, it will remain in use when the dry and pretentious technicalities of some modern systematists are forgotten.

Previously to the time of Linnæus, scientific nomenclature was in a most defective condition. Long descriptions were the usual substitutes for names adapted to general acceptation. Thus, in the classification of Ray, we find the turbot glorying in the *sobriquet* of "*Rhombus asper, non squamosus.*" Other ostracionts fishes, again, are designated, "*Piscis majusculus quadrangularis rostratus;*" "*Piscis mediocris quadrangularis maculosus.*" Worse even than these are the various designations of the common sea-mouse, the *Aphrodite aculeata* of Linnæus; called by Dr. Molineux, "*Scolopendra marina e Mare Hibernico;*" by Oligerus Jacobæus, "*Vermis aureus, vel species erucæ marinæ rarior;*" and, worst of all, by Aldrovandus, "*Scolopendra marina lato corpore subcastaneo velut pedibus innumeris longiusculis aurei coloris.*" * Verily the Dutchman must have thought his fellow naturalists were blessed with rare memories in those days. The great Swede was the first to have compassion upon humanity, and to pay some regard to the

* *De Insertis*, cap. xv., p. 636.

natural limitation of human faculties, even when of the highest order.

It is true that Aldrovandus, Ray, Willoughby, Tournefort, and others, had previously employed generic and specific terms; but they did so capriciously. They were not sufficiently alive to their importance, to proceed to a systematic adoption of them: hence their writings present a motley aspect, resembling the ill-arranged objects in many provincial museums, where one specimen rejoices in a learned *sobriquet*, another in some popular appellative, and a third is blessed with no name at all. Linnæus soon decided upon the possibility of amending all this; and in order to give system to his efforts, he laid down a succession of highly philosophical aphorisms, which had relation to every portion of his work. In illustration of our meaning, we would refer the reader to his "*Philosophia Botanica*," completed at Upsal in 1750, but published at Stockholm in 1751, and which, though specially devoted to botanical subjects, contains numerous aphorisms respecting classification and nomenclature, alike applicable to all the natural sciences. We are sure that such of our studious readers as may have been alarmed at sometimes meeting with terrible names (for example, *Plesiosaurus tesseres-tarsostinus!*) will appreciate his two-hundred-and-ninety-first aphorism: "*Nomen specificum, quò brevius, eò etiam melius, si modò tale;*" and most of his three hundred and sixty-five *dicta* are equally terse and significant.

But what brings Linnæus more prominently before us just now is, the basis upon which he constructed his classification of the animal kingdom. It was essentially an anatomical one. The internal organization of animals was his pole-star. Hence his writings abound with manifestations of an exact knowledge on this subject. Whilst he thus placed classification on a more philosophic basis than his predecessors had done, he also enunciated some of those higher generalizations respecting relations and affinities, to which we now attach so much value. When he determined the actual identity, as something more than a mere resemblance, of the seed of a plant with the egg of an animal, he established an homological relationship of the highest order. In like manner, when he pointed out a tendency in animals, which becomes more manifest as we descend the scale, to that generalization of offices by which each part of the organism is capable of performing all the functions that in higher forms were confined to, and performed by, *special* organs, he demonstrated one of the most philosophical of known truths. And when he further taught that, by these conditions, the lower animals approximated towards a type which is still more generally existent in the vegetable kingdom, he proved that, in addition to being the mere classifier of species, which according to some men constitutes his chief claim to remem-

brance, he was a philosopher of the second order, if not of the first. The truths which he thus taught are now "familiar as household words." The Spanish nobles easily made their eggs stand when Columbus had shown them how.

But we cannot leave the time-honoured name of the great Swede, without noticing the habitual recognition of God manifest in his scientific writings.

> "*O Jehova,*
> *Quàm ampla sunt Tua opera!*
> *Quàm sapienter ea fecisti!*
> *Quàm plena est terra possessione Tuâ!*"

is the sublime quotation from the Psalmist with which he prefaces his greatest work; whilst, on an adjoining page, he declares, with Christian devotion,—

> "*Docuisti me*, Deus, *à juventate meâ,*
> *Et usque nunc pronunciabo mirabilia Tua.*"

Let the youthful sciolists of our age, who, on the strength of their flippant philosophy, shroud themselves in a misty Pantheism, and dare to reject a personal God, read the words of a true master of science. When they have learnt from him how to be at once wise and lowly of heart, let them, like him, consecrate their works to the service of their Maker, and cease to bow before the intangible idols whom they profess to adore.

In the same year which witnessed the birth of Linnæus was also born Buffon, the celebrated French zoologist, whose writings contributed most powerfully to the diffusion of a taste for Zoology. After studying at the Jesuits' College at Dijon, and increasing his stores of knowledge by subsequent extensive travels, he was appointed, in his thirty-second year, to succeed Dufay as the Superintendent of the Jardin des Plantes of Paris, then designated the Jardin du Roi, and its fine Museum of Natural History. But though a learned and popular zoologist, his contributions to comparative anatomy were trifling. For the chief anatomical information contained in his great work we are indebted to Daubenton. But even this contribution did not materially or directly advance the study; being chiefly confined to descriptions of the skeletons and *viscera* of the larger quadrupeds. At the same time, the world owes to Buffon, indirectly, a mighty debt, since it was the perusal of a copy of his works that first excited a love of natural history in that prince of comparative anatomists, George Cuvier. In 1708, another great anatomist first saw the light. His father, a worthy Advocate of Berne, was anxious to rear his child for the profession of the law; but the lad's intuitions told him that he was born for something more pleasing than poring over dusty parchments, or trying to make the worse appear the better reason, and he luckily chose the medical pro-

fession, as better suited to his tastes and genius. There are few branches of anatomical science on which Haller has not left the permanent impression of his mental seal. Though it was chiefly in pure physiology that his great discoveries were made, especially in connexion with the spontaneous irritability of some of the tissues, no anatomical retrospect, however slight, should omit the mention of his immortal name.

But the time was now arrived when an anatomist greater than all these commenced his gigantic labours. Sprung from amongst the people until twenty years of age, and trained for nothing higher than the mechanical occupation of a joiner, John Hunter fought his way through impediments which were all but insuperable, and won a position of which British science will long continue to be proud. Previously to his time, numerous collections of natural objects had been made by various men. Sir Joseph Banks had accomplished great things in this way. Sir Hans Sloane, whose collection became the nucleus of the British Museum, did still more. But Hunter and his elder brother, William, were the first to bring together, on *so large a scale*, collections of anatomical dissections and preparations, illustrative of the lower orders of animals. As is well known, the Museum of John Hunter was purchased at his death by the British Government, and presented to the College of Surgeons at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where it became the nucleus of the superb collection now aggregated in their noble halls.

It is from this collection mainly that we must form our estimate of John Hunter. The old and sad story of the destruction of eighteen folio volumes of his manuscripts, by his brother-in-law and surviving executor, Sir Everard Home, is too well known to need repetition; though it is but fitting that each allusion to the history should be accompanied by some note of condemnation of a criminal act, committed, we fear, for the concealment of plagiarism and literary dishonesty. Had we but possessed the ten volumes which were filled with descriptions of dissections, many of the discoveries now referred to others would have been traced to Hunter. A large number of the specimens in the Museum were accompanied by scraps of written memoranda, which, fragmentary as they were, teemed with evidences of his philosophic acumen. It is obvious that even in Palæontology the great principles upon which Cuvier subsequently based his discoveries, were clear to Hunter's mind. We remember seeing amongst his specimens some small unknown fossils from the London clay, known as *rhyncholithes*. Modern geologists obtained the credit of identifying these with the horny beaks of the cuttle-fish. But a label in Hunter's handwriting proved that he had made the identification above half a century previously. This is only one instance out of hundreds that might be selected, showing the amount of light which he

was capable of throwing upon a science which had then scarcely obtained an existence, or received a name. One of the truths which Hunter discovered had relation to the development of organisms. It is now well known that animals in the changes which they undergo during their earliest stages of growth, successively represent *transitional* conditions that, in some other animals, are *permanent:* an important doctrine, which has been developed by Meckel, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and Von Baer, and of which so mischievous and perverted a use has been made in the notorious "Vestiges,"—that literary foundling, whose author, like a cruel parent, still withholds the shield of his name from the child of his affections. Hunter comprehended this doctrine to a considerable extent; and showed that some of the malformed objects popularly known as monsters, were simply animals whose development had undergone some partial or total arrest, preventing them from attaining their normal matured form.

The written anatomical works of Hunter remaining to us are not numerous; but many of the anatomical facts contained in Sir Everard Home's six quarto volumes may, doubtless, be fairly assigned to the ill-used anatomist, as part of his scientific progeny. We are disposed to give the unfaithful executor the full benefit of Sir Benjamin Brodie's testimony to his industry as a dissector. But this industry may have been little more than a verification or development of suggestions contained in Hunter's lost volumes; and where we have obvious grounds for distrust, we know not where to stop. When a fraudulent traveller finds his way surreptitiously into a railway train, he is charged for the entire distance over which the train may have travelled. Convicted of dishonesty, his word is no longer taken, and he may have to pay for more than he has enjoyed. So it will be with men's judgment on Sir Everard Home. Circumstances rendering so much plagiarism by him probable, he will be held responsible to Hunter for all that he may possibly have done himself, as well as for what he purloined. But though the actual writings of Hunter may not have contributed, in a very large degree, towards the progress of comparative anatomy, it is impossible to overrate the impetus which has been afforded to it by his Museum. To it we owe such men as Clift and Owen, to say nothing of a hundred minor names; men who, in extending the boundaries of the science, have contributed so much to its present elevation.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, we find the French comparative anatomists rising to that high position which they have ever since sustained. At that time the Jardin du Roi contained a small Museum, known as the "Cabinet du Roi." In 1793 this establishment was re-constructed; and all its superior officers, being then made Professors, were required

to give systematic courses of lectures to classes of students. The several distinguished men connected with the Cabinet du Roi selected their respective professorial chairs according to priority of appointment to the pre-existing institution. Amongst them was one man already fifty years of age, but who had only joined the institution within a recent period. Up to this time his favourite study had been Botany; but, as the last comer, he could only make his selection from the few departments still unappropriated. He finally undertook to elucidate the two lowest of the Linnæan classes of animals; namely, the insects and the worms; thus comprehending all the organisms now commonly designated "the invertebrate animals."

His knowledge of this subject appears to have been limited to a slight acquaintance with a few shells; but neither his conscious ignorance nor his advanced age daunted him. He entered energetically upon his task, and the result was the appearance of the well-known "*Histoire des Animaux sans Vertèbres;*" a work which has made the name of Lamarck celebrated, wherever knowledge gives delight, or science is thought worthy of pursuit. Would that there were no drawback to this picture. The same work contains the exposition of his mischievous creed of development, in which he tries to establish that man may once have been a monkey, and the monkey a monad; a creed that has been resuscitated in our own time, only to receive its *coup de grâce*. This it has done in such a manner as will surely save us from hearing any further serious avowals of so miserable a phantasm.

A few years before the outbreak of the French Revolution, a young man, of noble and illustrious family, became a pupil under Buffon, and soon afterwards a sub-demonstrator in the Museum. In the stormy period which followed, he held a variety of political offices. Escaping destruction as by a miracle, he was again connected with the Museum under the Empire, and became one of the most illustrious of the French zoologists. This was the Count de Lacépède. His contributions to the Comparative Anatomy of those parts of the animal kingdom which he made the special objects of study, were trifling. That he had not yet learned the value of anatomy to the natural historian, is shown in his neglect of internal organization as a guide to classification. Thus he groups the frogs in the same order of reptiles with the lizards and tortoises, because they all have four legs; whilst the biped batrachians, the true allies of the frog, are placed in a separate order, because they have but two feet. But he did good service in substituting the classification and exact nomenclature of Linnæus for the Gallicisms of Buffon. That he should have done so is the more remarkable, since he was successively the pupil, the assistant, and the successor, of that great naturalist. It was

when surrounded by the inspiring scenery of the Garonne, and with the lofty summits of the Apennines forming a glorious horizon, that he acquired his love for nature; and the spirited writings of Buffon, read under such congenial circumstances, first awakened his taste for natural science.

Anatomical studies culminated in France in the person of George Cuvier. Though he was at once the disciplined statesman, the learned biographer, and the enlightened philosopher, it is principally by his anatomical labours that he will be handed down to future ages. Notwithstanding the efforts of his predecessors, at his birth Comparative Anatomy was still a chaos, alike devoid of order and law. The Linnæan class of *worms* contained an extraordinary *mêlée* of objects, from fishes to sponges and zoophytes, thrown together in heterogeneous confusion. Of the internal structure of these creatures little was known. But when the magic wand of genius was waved over them by Cuvier, order took the place of confusion, and law of caprice. Early in his career Cuvier enunciated a great fundamental principle; namely, "that the internal organs of animals had certain relative values, and were definitely subordinated one to another." It followed from this principle, that the existence of certain organs involved that of others to which they were subordinate; whilst, in like manner, the absence of any organ also presupposed the absence of those of minor value. Thus, in his first great memoir on this subject, he showed that where invertebrate animals had no true heart, there were no true *bronchiæ*, or localized respiratory organs to which the blood was conveyed for purification, but that elastic tubes or *tracheæ* were diffused throughout all the body, conveying the air to the blood; that where there was a heart, the reverse obtained; wherever a heart and *bronchiæ* existed, there was also a liver, which was absent from animals where the centralized circulating and respiratory vessels were wanting.

Discoveries made since the time of Cuvier have materially affected the value of many of his determinations on this subject. Thus, in reference to the first illustration which we have mentioned, he was led into error by rejecting Malpighi's conclusion as to the nature and functions of the long dorsal vessel of the silkworm. A long vessel runs along the dorsal surface of the body of every insect, immediately beneath the skin. Malpighi pointed out that this vessel was divided into segments, which were contractile, and that it fulfilled all the functions of a heart. Cuvier did not admit this, but Malpighi's view is now generally accepted. But insects are, above all others, the creatures which possess the *tracheæ*, which Cuvier dissociates from a heart. This is, of course, merely an error of detail, though it happens to be one of the details by which he specially illustrates his principle. Nevertheless the law of subordination may be right. To

some extent it doubtless is so; but to what degree, will be questioned by different men. If we take the case of the digestive apparatus, we find that the primary *viscus*, occurring in the lowest polype, is a simple cavity, without appendages,—the lowest type of a digestive organ. As we ascend in the scale, we find accessory organs super-added, as a liver, pancreas, and other glands, each contributing some secretion which aids in the performance of the digestive process. These organs would have no existence, were there no primary stomach, or digestive cavity: hence they may be regarded as *subordinated* to such a cavity, in the sense in which Cuvier employs the term; and similar illustrations might be derived from various other parts of the organism. A skeleton with moveable joints presupposes contractile muscles, putting its several parts in motion. Organs of sense involve those special nerves which connect each one of them with the common brain; and a vertebral column, with its continuous spinal canal, indicates the certain existence of the elongated chain of coalesced nervous centres which we designate "the spinal cord." In all these cases, the subordinate organ is that which is accessory to, and dependent upon, some other, though it will in its turn be the superior one in reference to some others. Thus the bones of the vertebral column are subordinate to the spinal marrow; but they have, in turn, other appendages, as the moving muscles, which are subordinate to *them*. Of course, in this latter example, difference of opinion may arise as to which is the subordinate element,—the bones which are moved, or the muscles which move. If priority of occurrence in the ascending zoological scale afforded conclusive evidence, the decision would be in favour of the muscular system, since it presents itself very low down in the animal kingdom, and long before a vertebrate system occurs; and it might be added, in favour of this view, that the vertebrate skeleton is merely an appendage destined to facilitate the action of the muscular system, by giving fixity to the parts to be acted upon. In whatever way we decide these special questions, we are brought to the same conclusion respecting the value of the Cuvierian law.

But it was in the practical application of anatomical laws to geological science, that the most novel and startling discoveries were made by Cuvier. Though the long-forgotten enunciation of Bernard de Palissy, the celebrated potter, that fossils were not *jeux d'esprit* of nature, but the remains of veritable animals, had been clearly established by a succession of observers, men were still far from being familiar with the great differences that existed between fossils and living species, or, in other words, with the extent to which past races of animals had successively become extinct. The discovery of bones of mammoths, rhinoceri, and other tropical mammalia, in the frozen steppes of Siberia, was attracting the attention of the scientific world,

when Cuvier began his career; but so little progress had been made in accurate anatomical study, that even Buffon, in his "*Epoques de la Nature,*" only recognised one lost species amongst these numerous mammals; namely, a mastodon. Such was the state of things when Cuvier undertook their investigation: he quickly demonstrated that the great bulk of these fossil remains belonged to animals that had long ceased to exist upon the earth. Buffon, believing in their identity with Indian forms, had sought to explain their existence in these high northern latitudes, by supposing the climate to have cooled gradually; but the discovery of a mammoth imbedded in ice, and retaining its flesh, skin, and hair, rendered it necessary to abandon this hypothesis, for which Pallas substituted another; namely, that the climate had undergone a *sudden* change, and that these changes had not only destroyed the animals, but imbedded them in the ice by which they were preserved. All this speculation was blown to the winds by Cuvier's demonstration, that the fossil mammoths, mastodons, deer, bears, and rhinoceri, were extinct species. Before arriving at such an important decision, a new science, now termed "Palæontology," had to be created, and the laws limiting the manner and extent of its application to be determined. Cuvier proved himself equal to the Herculean task. Many of the magnificent generalizations at which he arrived, form the solid and unshaken basis of modern Geology, —a basis that will alike withstand the sneers of the uninformed, and the more pretending, but equally harmless, attacks of Granville Penn and his pseudo-learned successors.

But whilst we acknowledge to the uttermost the brilliance and value of the discoveries of Cuvier, we must again protest against some of the pretensions set forth on behalf of comparative anatomists. Take, for example, the following extract from the "*Eloge Historique*" of Cuvier, by M. Flourens, Secretary to the Royal Academy of Sciences of France: "All the parts, all the organs are deducible from each other;.....and such is the rigour, such the infallibility of this deduction, that M. Cuvier has often been seen to recognise an animal by a single bone, by a single surface of a bone. He has been seen to determine unknown genera and species from broken bones, and from one and another indifferently; thus re-constructing the entire animal from one of its parts, and making it re-appear, at will, from each of these; results calculated to astonish, and which we cannot recall without also recalling the original admiration, mingled with surprise, which they at first inspired, and which is not yet weakened."* That something like this was done by Cuvier within particular limits, we are well aware; and if all extinct animals had been constructed in exact accordance with living

* *Mémoires de l'Institut*, vol. xiv., pp. 31, 32.

types, such results might be constantly obtained by those whose knowledge renders them competent to the task. But the animals that roamed through the primæval forests of deciduous trees, basked in the lagoons overshadowed by Cycadean groves, or pursued their prey amidst the giant sigillariæ of the carboniferous age, have not been so constructed. How long were the bones of the Oxford cetiosaurus mistaken for those of cetaceans! How long were those of the Stonesfield pterodactyles attributed to birds! How long were the crustacean remains of the Ludlow rocks believed to be those of fishes! How little is even now decided respecting the dinotherium, notwithstanding the labours of Kaup! Who would have supposed that Mantell's giant iguanodon would be found to have possessed the mouth of an edentate? or who from single bones could have restored the macrauchenia, with its admixture of the camel, llama, and tapir; the horned sivatherium, in which are blended the ruminants and the large pachyderms; the megatherium, which combines the sloths, armadillos, and ant-eaters; the mylodon, which, with its admixtures of claws and hoofs, makes the ungulate inosculate with the unguiculate animals; or, more especially than all the rest, the toxodon of the Pampas,—that union of the rodent, ruminant, and cetacean? That these animals *have* been restored by the genius of such men as Clift, Owen, Mantell, and Falconer, is unquestionably true; but it has been from no single bones, or faces of bones, as the remarks of Flourens and those who echo his sentiments would have us believe. It has only been by the slow and careful comparison of bone with bone, and collection with collection, that the results have been obtained; and when all was done that cautious genius could accomplish, gross mistakes have not always been avoided. Such mistakes involve no discredit, because they are inevitable: they only become disgraceful, when associated with the claim of something like infallibility.

It must not be supposed from the above remarks, that we reject Cuvier's law of the correlation of the various parts of the organism: on the contrary, we believe it to be a true principle, applicable in all probability to the entire organic world. What we contend for is the impossibility, in the present state of anatomical knowledge, of anatomists accomplishing all that florid writers have attributed to them, and the necessity of a becoming modesty on the part of those who pursue the study.

There is yet one more important branch of anatomical philosophy, to the development of which Cuvier largely contributed; namely, the study of what are now designated "homologies;"—the most recent, as well as the most magnificent and comprehensive, of the contributions made by anatomists to philosophy.

The study of homologies appears to have been originated by Vicq d'Azyr, who, in 1774, published his "Comparison of the

Bones composing the Extremities." In this Essay the gifted anatomist points out the close resemblance which exists between the bones of the arm and leg, and between the anterior and the posterior limbs of animals,—a resemblance which is too remarkable and exact to be merely the result of chance: but he appears to have entertained no conceptions of the higher generalization of which his subject was merely an integral.

A still more important step in advance was made by Oken, the German anatomist. His philosophic mind was constantly seeking for general truths and a comprehension of the widest relations of material objects. In this spirit he studied the vertebrate skeleton, and strove, amongst other problems, to ascertain the relations which the bones of the skull bore to the vertebral column. Whilst wandering through the Hartz Forest, the blanched skull of a deer arrested his attention; and, whilst gazing upon it, the happy inspiration flashed across his mind, that it consisted of a chain of vertebræ, the various elements composing which were enlarged, modified, or suppressed, to adapt them to the many peculiar functions which the head is required to perform. The idea thus casually suggested to his mind, Oken afterwards demonstrated in a remarkable manner; showing that, as the brain is a more voluminously developed spinal chord, so is the brain-case an expanded spinal column.

The term "homologue" is defined by Professor Owen as meaning the same organ in different animals under every variety of form and function. Thus the wing of a bird, the pectoral fin of a fish, and the fore-limb of a quadruped, are the homologues of the arm of man. Though the wing of the bird serves for flight, the fin for paddling through the water, the fore-limb of the quadruped for progression, and the arm of man for prehension,—functions substantially different,—the special organs which fulfil these several functions are the same, modified in size and form to adapt them to the work they are designed to perform. Owen has farther divided the relations of homology into three. 1. *Special homology*, or the relation which any part or organ of *one* animal bears to the corresponding part of some other animal. 2. *General homology*, or the relation which any or all the parts of an animal bear to an ideal, fundamental type, which he terms the "archetype." 3. *Serial homology*, or the relation which any part of an animal bears to some other part of the same animal. Thus, when the wing of a bird is said to be the homologue of the pectoral fin of a fish, or of the arm of a man, a *special* homology is enunciated; when the wing of a bird is said to be the homologue of the leg of the same bird, a *serial* homology is spoken of; and when any one of these members is shown to be a modified part of a typical vertebra, that is, of *one* of the segments of which the archetype is merely a chain, a *general* homology is asserted.

To the department of serial homologies Cuvier made large additions. In his "*Leçons Orales,*" for example, he goes through the entire animal kingdom, and examines each organ in all the forms in which it occurs in various animals. But he did not admit some of those higher truths which are now so generally accepted as such. Oken's interpretation of the composition of the skull he wholly rejected. The true relation of the limbs of animals to the rest of their organization was never made a special object of his study. Consequently he had no adequate conception of the truths embraced in the demonstration of general homological relations; or, rather, he wholly rejected the idea, that the special homologies which he had done so much to elucidate, were but the elements out of which was to be evolved the more comprehensive general law.

The brilliant discovery of Oken was not discarded by others as by Cuvier. Goëthe, whose poetic renown has, in some degree, obscured his claim to the rank of a profound natural philosopher, directed his attention to these subjects at an early period. The same genius which enabled him to detect, in the parts of a flower, a mere group of modified leaves, also enabled him to determine some special anatomical homologies of considerable importance, long before the homological idea had occurred to any other writer. Hence he at once seized upon the discovery of Oken as to the nature of the skull, recognising its philosophy and its truth. Still more recently, De Blainville, Carus, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, and Owen have followed in the same track; and, through their labours, the hypothesis of the immortal German has been established as an incontrovertible theory.

It is, however, chiefly through the works of the last-named philosopher, that the hypothesis has attained to its present completeness and general acceptation; and we delight to award to our countryman the meed of praise to which his genius gives him so decided a claim. Oken enunciated the hypothesis, but left it incomplete; De Blainville and Carus, whilst they gave their support to the principle, in many respects obscured it, rather than cleared away the difficulties with which it was invested when it left the hands of Oken. Owen gave it breadth, tone, and harmony. Oken, for example, failed to recognise the nature of the limbs as locomotive members. He thought them to be merely modified *liberated* ribs,—an idea that is wide of the mark, and which fails to give to these members the beautiful unity and significance that they have attained in the hands of Owen.

The following extract explains the fundamental conception of the skeleton, as entertained by the Hunterian Professor:—

"Comparison of the piscine skeleton with those of the higher animals, demonstrates that the natural arrangement of the parts of

the endo-skeleton is in a series of segments succeeding each other in the axis of the body. These segments are not, indeed, composed of the same number of bones in any class, or throughout any individual animal. But certain parts of each segment do maintain such constancy in their existence, relation, position, and offices, as to enforce the conviction that they are homologous parts, both in the constituent series of the same individual skeleton, and throughout the series of vertebrate animals. For each of these primary segments of the skeleton, I retain the term 'vertebra;' but with as little reference to its primary signification, as a part specially adapted for rotatory motion, as when the comparative anatomist speaks of a sacral vertebra. The word may, however, seem to the anthropotomist to be used in a different or more extended sense, than that in which it is usually understood; yet he is himself, unconsciously, perhaps, in the habit of including, in certain vertebræ of the human body, elements which he excludes from the idea in other natural segments of the same kind, influenced by differences of proportion and coalescence."—*Homologies of the Vertebrate Skeleton*, p. 81.

"I define a vertebra as *one of those segments of the endo-skeleton which constitute the axis of the body, and the protecting canals of the nervous and vascular trunks.* Such a segment may also support *divergent appendages.*"—*Ibid.*

For more minute illustrations of these general propositions, we must refer the reader to Professor Owen's work; but we may observe that his definitions at once give to the term "vertebra," a breadth and exactness of meaning which it has never hitherto possessed; and at the same time afford us a clue to the true relations which the limbs bear to the rest of the skeleton.

If we glance at the skeleton of a bird, we shall see that each of the ribs *(pleurapophyses)* forming the lateral boundaries of the chest, has a small bony process projecting backwards, of which the posterior extremity rests upon the adjoining rib, adding to the fixedness of the entire thorax. It is here a mere bony growth, from the side of the rib. If we examine the skeleton of a fish, we shall find that similar appendages are attached to the ribs; but instead of being firmly blended with the rib, the little appendage is loose, and merely attached by a ligament. Hence we learn that this appendage to the rib may be either a detached autogenous bone, or an attached exogenous growth. On examining the anterior and posterior limbs of that half-fish, half-lizard from Western Africa, known as the "*lepidosiren,*" we see that they each merely contain a bone like the costal appendage of the fish, but which has been transversely divided into a number of smaller parts, in order to give it flexibility. This process of transverse subdivision is merely a further repetition of that which detached the costal appendage in the fish, and made it moveable, instead of being firmly fixed to the rib, as in the bird; and in no way militates

against its homological identity. This construction of the limb of the *lepidosiren* serves to establish the transition from the ordinary costal appendage of the fish to the locomotive organs of the higher animals. We may take the human arm as a convenient illustration of our meaning. The arm articulates at the shoulder-joint with the *scapula*, or blade-bone, and the clavicle, or collar-bone. The former of these really belongs to the skull, of the posterior or occipital vertebra of which it forms the *pleurapophysis*, or rib; and, along with the collar-bone, and the top of the breast-bone, or *sternum*, completes the inferior or hæmal arch of this cranial vertebra, as the posterior bones of the skull form its superior or neural arch. Now the *humerus*, or upper bone of the arm, stands in the same relation to this hæmal arch, that the costal appendage of the fish does to its *rib*, and to the hæmal arch of which the rib forms a part. It constitutes no objection to this idea, that the *scapula* and clavicle of man are removed far from the cranial vertebra to which they belong, because such detachments of parts are of constant occurrence in the animal kingdom, where the habits of the organism render such a departure from the archetype needful; but, besides this, we find that in many fishes this *scapula* actually exists in its typical position, being attached to the posterior part of the head. The division of the human arm into numerous bones, whether transversely, as at the elbow, wrist, &c., or longitudinally, as in the fore-arm and hand, in no way alters its primary nature, any more than a vertebra in the pelican's neck differs from a complete thoracic vertebra of the same bird, because in the former case all the elements are firmly united into one bone, whilst in the latter they are separable into several moveable parts. At the same time, in many fishes, all the bones representing the arm are devoid of joints, being firmly and immovably united together, as well as to the bone which represents the thoracic rib, of which they form a mere projection; the part representing the hand, namely, the expanded fin, being the only portion of the limb which admits of motion.

Professor Owen has thus given us a clue to the interpretation of the nature of limbs, which enables us alike to harmonize all the parts of the skeleton with each other, and with the ideal archetype. We are sorry for those, if such there are, who cannot appreciate the deep significance of the following remarks of the distinguished Professor:—

"The satisfaction felt by the rightly constituted mind, must ever be great in recognising the fitness of parts for their appropriate functions; but when this fitness is gained, as in the great toe of the foot of man and of the ostrich, by a structure which at the same time manifests a harmonious concord with a common type, the power of the one great cause of all organization is appreciated as fully, perhaps,

as it is possible to be by our limited intelligence."—*Homologies, &c.*, p. 197.

The homological relations of animals are not confined to the vertebrate skeleton, but extend to every part of their organization. It is true that many difficulties have stood in the way of comparing the vertebrate, with many portions of the invertebrate, creation. In the *viscera* and organs of sense, such homological affinities are obvious enough; but in endeavouring, for instance, to compare the hard segmented *external* skeletons of insects and crustacea with the *internal* skeleton of the vertebrata, the task of identification becomes difficult. In like manner, it is not easy to trace the homological relationship between the six true legs of an insect, or the twenty-one pairs of segmental appendages, variously modified into legs, respiratory organs, and foot-jaws, in the crustacea, and the limbs of a man. But where so many organs have been shown to be common to the vertebrate and invertebrate animals, as well as to an ideal type, there can be little doubt that things which now appear anomalous, will be found capable of similar identification. The future demonstration of this unity was anticipated by the far-seeing intellect of Newton; and though the goal is yet a long way off, we are steadily approaching the verification of his idea. The mariner who has taken his altitudes and lunars with care, has not the less confidence in his course because the land is yet out of sight. We will glance for a moment at what has already been accomplished in this separate field of inquiry.

The most important of recent physiological investigations have had the nervous system for their subject. This system is divisible into two distinct elements,—that in which the nervous force is generated, and that by which the force, so produced, is transmitted to and from all parts of the body. In vertebrate animals, the chief nervous centres, or generating portions, are the brain and spinal marrow, both of which consist of a chain of such centres, which, when isolated, are termed "ganglia," but which, in the more highly developed vertebrata, are so blended together, that no lines of demarcation can be seen between the several parts. But as we descend in the zoological series,—for example, amongst fishes,—we readily distinguish in the brain four pairs of such separate ganglia or nerve-centres; and on re-ascending the scale, guided by the light thus obtained from fishes, we are able to trace, even in the complex brain of man, precisely the same number and distribution of the cerebral ganglia; only they have undergone material alterations as to their respective sizes, correlatively with man's higher mental and moral endowments. The chain of ganglia, forming the spinal cord, are still coalescent, even in fishes; the only evidences of transverse division into separate ganglia being furnished by distinct pairs of nerves given off at the intervals between each contiguous pair of

vertebræ. But this is enough. The brilliant discoveries of Sir Charles Bell and Dr. Marshall Hall have demonstrated that each of these pairs of nerves has its own nerve-centre, which is capable of acting independently of its fellows; though usually co-operating with them through connecting nervous fibres, which enable the various parts of the organism to work harmoniously together. Dr. Hall has further shown, that the influence of any stimulus applied to the periphery, is transmitted through the conducting nerve-fibres to the centre, which sends back a reply to the periphery, impelling the muscles to responsive motion. These phenomena are commonly designated by the term "reflex," their discovery being due to the labours of Dr. M. Hall.

But there is in the human body another set of nerve-centres with their nerve-branches, termed "the sympathetic." These are not disposed symmetrically or equilaterally, as are those of the cerebro-spinal system, but are irregularly distributed in various parts of the body. The existence of this second set of nerves has long tended to obscure the study of the comparative physiology of the nervous system of the invertebrate animals, especially such as insects, crabs, and their allies. These animals have a symmetrical chain of ganglia, arranged in pairs, running the entire length of the body; but, instead of being confluent, they are like so many pairs of small beads strung opposite each other upon two parallel strings, with distinct intervals between them,—each bead representing a nerve-centre, from which are given off nerve-fibres to the contiguous parts of the body. Now, the question long waiting its solution has been,—the relations which subsisted between this nervous system in insects and the two systems of the vertebrate animal,—the symmetrical cerebro-spinal and the unsymmetrical sympathetic. Arguments were found supporting both sides of the question. In the vertebrate creation, the centres of the entire cerebro-spinal system were lodged in the cranium and vertebral column; hence they lay above and behind the *viscera*. But the sympathetic system was chiefly lodged amongst the *viscera*. In insects, the first pair of ganglia alone is lodged *above* the alimentary canal, as in man, all the remainder running along the inferior surface of the body, and consequently *below* the *viscera*; hence many writers concluded, that the relations of these ganglia, notwithstanding their symmetrical disposition, were with the sympathetic, rather than with the cerebro-spinal nerves of the higher animals. It may now, however, be considered as definitely settled, that the first, or, as it is termed, the "supra-œsophageal," pair of ganglia represent the brain of man; and, consequently, the posterior links of the continuous nervous chain represent the spinal cord; the pairs of nerves given off to each articulation of the insect, or lobster, corresponding with the inter-vertebral nerves in the

human subject. Dr. Carpenter further established this generalization by first demonstrating that the reflex doctrines of Marshall Hall were applicable to the articulated invertebrata; and Messrs. Alder and Hancock have clenched the nail still further, by discovering, in some of the naked sea-slugs, the true homologues of the sympathetic system; a discovery which, if confirmed, will prove of the utmost importance to Comparative Anatomy. The advance made within the last few years in the study of the nervous system of the lower animals, has removed some serious obstacles that stood in the way of further generalization. The special relationships of the alimentary canal with its various glandular appendages in different animals, have long been proximately ascertained. The further identification of the several organs of sense in the lower organisms is making rapid progress. The reproductive system is becoming thoroughly understood. The muscular system presents few difficulties. The distinctions of the external, internal, and visceral (or *splanchno-*) skeletons have been accurately determined: and the discoveries of Oken and his illustrious followers, as to the homological relations of the vertebrate endo-skeleton, have left little to be done in that branch of inquiry. The modifications of the circulating system, from the bag-like skin of the infusorial animalcule merely distended with fluid, to the complex arrangement of heart and lungs, lacteals and blood-vessels, in man, are easy of comprehension. Consequently we may safely regard the bold prophecy of Newton as being now in a fair way of fulfilment.

From the preceding remarks our readers may readily infer our high estimation of Professor Owen as a successful investigator of truth. But we regret to see that he is in danger of receiving more injury in the hands of friends than foes. Any attempt to build up the reputation of one man by directly, or indirectly, disparaging the labours of others, is always offensive. Yet something like this has been recently done by a reviewer in his attempt to chant the pæans of the Hunterian Professor. We cannot but think that, however much the latter gentleman may appreciate the motives of his earnest eulogist, he must have felt his modesty severely taxed, and his feelings wounded, at being thus made the lever by which to dislodge others from their well-merited position. Nothing of the kind would, we are satisfied, be desired by him. His world-wide reputation needs no such spurious props. But we regret to say, that both the general tone and the special observations of the writer in question have this objectionable tendency. Of the taste displayed in such unmeasured laudation of a living actor in the literary arena we say nothing; but we cannot refrain from referring to the writer's treatment of three such distinguished *savans* as the late Dr. Mantell, Dr. Carpenter, and Von Baer. A word of

explanation is requisite to enable our readers to understand the first of these questions.

A few years ago, the remains of some *cephalopoda* were discovered in the Oxford clay of Wiltshire, in which the soft parts of a cuttle-fish were associated with a chambered phragmocone, somewhat similar to that found in the interior of the fossil belemnite; the object thus constituted being termed, by the late Channing Pearce, "*belemnoteuthis.*" Professor Owen, regarding the *belemnoteuthis* as almost identical with the belemnite, laid before the Royal Society a memoir on the latter genus of fossils; in which, guided, to a considerable extent, by the *belemnoteuthis,* he gave a restoration of the soft parts of the belemnite, and their relation to the fossils so designated,—long a desideratum in Geology. For this memoir the Hunterian Professor received, in 1846, the gold medal of the Royal Society. Dr. Mantell and Mr. Pearce objected that whilst the restoration *might* be correct, it was merely a conjectural one, such as had been given long before by the late Mr. Millar; and that it received no further support from the *belemnoteuthis,* upon which so much reliance was placed, since the latter was not a belemnite. The reviewer meets these objections by somewhat flippantly telling Dr. Mantell, that the essential part of a belemnite is its chambered phragmocone. But this is not the case. The little cephalopod, called the *spirula,* has, partly imbedded in its interior, the well-known chambered shell, with its unilateral siphuncle, which serves every purpose of a phragmocone, and really is one; but this is not a belemnite. True, it is a spiral shell, whilst the phragmocone of the belemnite is straight: but this is of no more consequence than that one antelope should have a straight horn, and another a spiral one. We agree with Dr. Mantell, that the essential part of the belemnite is its elongated fibro-crystalline osselet, or guard; that it is not the phragmocone, but the osselet, that constitutes a belemnite; and that nothing can be regarded as such, from which the osselet is wanting. The *belemnoteuthis* has no such osselet; for the thin shell which invests it is no adequate representative of the elongated guard of the belemnite.

But the remarks made by the same writer respecting Dr. Carpenter have a more grave aspect. We will not now raise the question of Dr. Carpenter's claim to the primary application of Von Baer's law of epigenetic development to Palæontology; but we do feel our sense of justice roused, when the writer goes on to say, "Dr. Carpenter is so pleasant a writer, and leads the student so amiably and effectively by the hand, *that we shall rejoice to see him in the character of a discoverer.*"* We know not which to condemn most, the impertinence or the injustice

* "Quarterly Review," June, 1853, p. 56.

of this imputation. We will shortly enlighten the reviewer somewhat, by quoting against him the words of Professor Owen himself.

In 1839, Dr. Carpenter, in his prize thesis, enunciated some views respecting the physiology of the nervous system, that were alike new and important. Up to this period, in accordance with the commonly received doctrine, the nervous ganglia of the crustacea were regarded as ministering to pure sensation, —a doctrine long countenanced by Dr. Grant and the late Mr. Newport. In 1843, Mr. Newport announced his conversion to the views of Dr. Carpenter, who contended that, instead of their functions being purely sensational, they exhibited the same reflex or excito-motor phenomena as the spinal cord of the vertebrata.

In 1842, Professor Owen, in his Hunterian Lectures, publicly recognised the correctness of Dr. Carpenter's discovery, and illustrated it by additional facts drawn from Comparative Anatomy; and in the published Hunterian Lectures for 1843, we find another reference to the same fact, where, after alluding to the functions of the nerves in question, he says:—

"In these views I coincide with the ingenious physiologist, Dr. Carpenter; and shall feel happy if their accuracy and soundness have received any additional proof from the facts of Comparative Anatomy, which, in the Hunterian Lectures of 1842, were for the first time brought to bear upon this interesting problem."—*Lectures on the Comparative Anatomy and Physiology of the Vertebrate Animals. By Richard Owen, F.R.S.*, vol. i., p. 173.

Is there no recognition of "Dr. Carpenter in the character of a discoverer" here?

But, further. All naturalists are familiar with Dr. Carpenter's important investigations into shell structures. Let us again hear Professor Owen:—

"The microscopic structure of shells has formed the subject of the investigations of a Committee of the Microscopical Society of London, and of the independent and original observations of Dr. Carpenter. The results of these inquiries will form a valuable addition to the anatomical character of the *mollusca*, and to the physiology of extra-vascular tissues in general."—*Ibid.*, p. 286.

Is there no acknowledgment of discovery here? We may add further, without disparaging the labours of the "Committee," that our chief knowledge on this subject has been derived from the individual investigations of Dr. Carpenter.

But this is not the only way in which a man may rank as a discoverer. It is not merely the discovery of a naked fact, or even the promulgation of a general law, that entitles a writer to this high position. It is equally to be won by the elucida-

tion of subjects previously obscure, and by the appreciation of the value of points hitherto unrecognised. To how large an extent this kind of discovery characterizes the able writings of Dr. Carpenter, is familiar to all physiologists. We would especially refer to his expositions of cerebral physiology and the general philosophy of the nervous system, and to the early period at which he directed attention to the importance of studying cell structures. At a time when this latter subject was comparatively neglected in England, we find it brought prominently forward in his writings; and the best commentary on his foresight is seen in the present universal recognition of the value and importance of this microscopic elementary tissue. We unhesitatingly affirm that, directly and indirectly, he has done more to establish that branch of study in its present significant and fundamental position, than any other English physiologist. The reviewer says further, "Of any original discovery of a palæontological fact, illustrative of the closer adherence in primæval species to the general type, by the author of the 'Principles of Physiology,' we are compelled, with all humility, to confess our ignorance at present." It might, perhaps, have been as well if the "humility" had been seasoned with a little more justice. Dr. Carpenter claims on this subject not the discovery of a "fact," but what is far more important, "*the application of Von Baer's law;*" and to play on the word "fact," in connexion with this claim, is simply unfair. True, he illustrates his doctrine by facts, and especially by the curious *cystidæ* of the palæozoic strata,—an illustration which we still believe to be pertinent, notwithstanding the writer's attempt to weaken its force by pointing out that its value depends on the non-existence of echinoderms and *holothuriæ* at that period. Has the reviewer yet to learn that all geological hypotheses must rest upon such facts as are known, and not upon an endless array of contingent possibilities?

But we have a still more serious ground for objection to some of the assumptions of the reviewer, which affect the claims of Von Baer; and on this point we think Professor Owen is open to the charge of not having duly acknowledged the obligations he is under to that profound thinker, for some of his most important generalizations on the development of embryonic animal life.

It will be remembered by the readers of the "Vestiges," that the author of that mischievous *brochure* laid great stress on the (supposed) fact, that each animal, in its changes from the condition of a rudimentary *ovum* to the mature form, transitorily assumed states that were permanently represented by some other of the lower animals; and concluded that man successively resembled a monad, a mollusc, a fish, a reptile, and a bird, as well as a whole host of other creeping things, before becoming the loco-

motive biped with which we are familiar. Professor Owen, in his twenty-fourth Hunterian Lecture for 1843, brings forward a much more philosophical statement of the truth; one which is fatal to the hopes of any ambitious earthworm that may entertain the hope of seeing its offspring ascend into the air like its feathered foes, or of the yearning dog-crab, which stretches out its tail in the hope of one day ploughing the ocean like its finny companions of the deep. After showing that all the various forms of animals in their earliest germinal states—that is, in the newly-formed egg—are like infusorial monads, he adds,—

"Thus every animal, in the course of its development, typifies some of the permanent forms of animals inferior to itself: but it does not represent all the inferior forms, nor acquire the organization of any of the forms which it transitorily represents. Had the animal kingdom formed, as was once supposed, a single and continuous chain of being, progressively ascending from the monad to the man, unity of organization might then have been demonstrated to the extent in which the theory has been maintained by the disciples of the Geoffroyan school.

"There is only one animal which is either permanently or transitorily represented throughout the animal kingdom: it is that of the infusorial monad, with the consideration of which the present survey of the invertebrated animals was commenced, and which is to be regarded as the fundamental or primary form.

"Other forms are represented less exclusively in the development of the animal kingdom, and may be regarded as secondary forms. These are the polype, the worm, the tunicary, and the lamprey; they are secondary in relation to the animal kingdom at large, but are primary in respect of the primary divisions or sub-kingdoms.

"Thus the *radiata*, after having passed through the monad stage, enter that of the polype; many there find their final development; others proceed to be metamorphosed into the *acephalan* or the *echinoderm*. All the *articulata*, at an early stage of their development, assume the form or condition of the apodal and acephalous worm; some find their mature development at that stage, as the parasitic *entozoa;* others proceed to acquire annulations, a head, rudimental feet, jointed feet, and, finally, wings; radiating in various directions and degrees from the primary or fundamental form of their sub-kingdom.

"The *molluscæ* pass from the condition of the ciliated monad to that of the shell-less acephalan, and, in like manner, either remain to work out the perfections of that stage, or diverge to achieve the development of shells, of a head, of a ventral foot, or of cephalic arms, with the complexities of organization which have been demonstrated in the concluding Lectures of this course.

"The vertebrate *ovum*, having manifested its monad form and relations by the spontaneous fission, growth, and multiplication of the primordial nucleated cells, next assumes, by their metamorphosis and primary arrangements, the form and conditions of the finless cartilaginous fish, from which fundamental form development radiates in as many and diversified directions and extents, and attains more

extraordinary heights of complication and perfection than any of the lower secondary types appear to be susceptible of."—*Lectures, &c.*, pp. 370, 371.

That all this is substantially true we have not a doubt. Our complaint is, first, that it is not new; and, secondly, that its real author is not once mentioned by Professor Owen in connexion with it: much less can it be laid to the credit of Professor Owen, as our reviewer would have us to infer. That Professor Owen has thus helped to bring Von Baer's philosophy into more general acceptation is perfectly true; and, had the reviewer been content with claiming thus much, we would willingly have endorsed the claim: when he does more than this, he goes beyond the record, and must not wonder to find his claim disallowed. Let our readers glance for a moment at the following extracts from the writings of Von Baer, dating as far back as 1826, and, after learning the true paternity of this lofty philosophy, see how far Professor Owen can claim "Von Baer's law by right of capture," as alleged by the reviewer.

Von Baer first clears the way by drawing a just distinction between *types of organization* and *grades of development*. He shows that the whole animal kingdom may be divided into four groups, each having its ideal archetype, and which he respectively designates the peripheral or radiate, the articulate or longitudinal, the massive or molluscous, and the vertebrate. The first of these is represented by the medusæ and star-fishes; the second by insects, worms, and crustaceæ; the third by shell-fish; and the fourth by the vertebrate animals, as fishes, reptiles, mammals, and birds. According to Von Baer, each of these four types presents its own peculiar grades of development, which may be manifested either in transitional or permanent forms; but he contends that, in the former case, the transitional conditions which occur in any one archetype, are never seen in the other three, with the exception of the primary germ, corresponding to the infusorial monad of Professor Owen.

"*The fundamental mass of which the embryo consists, agrees with the mass of the body of the simplest animal.* In both, the form is but little defined; the parts are less contrasted, and the histological differentiation remains even behind the morphological. If we cast a glance over the lower animals, remark in some more of internal development than in others, and then arrange them in a series according to this development, or conceive them to be developed out of one another, it necessarily follows that we should trace an agreement, in the fact of this very progressive differentiation, between the one actual historical succession and the other imagined genetic series; *and in this manner a multitude of coincidences may be demonstrated between the embryo of the higher, and the permanent forms of the lower, animals.* It by no means follows from this, however, that every embryo of a higher animal gradually passes through all the

forms of the lower animals. On the contrary, the type of every animal appears to be fixed in the embryo from the very first, and to regulate the whole course of development."—*Fragments relating to Philosophical Zoology, selected from the Works of K. E. Von Baer. Scientific Memoirs*, 1853, vol. i., part i., p. 209.

"We therefore say, not merely of birds, but more generally, that the embryo of the vertebrate animal is from the very first a vertebrate animal, and at no time agrees with an invertebrate animal."—*Ibid.*, p. 210.

"*In the condition of the actual germ, however, it is probable that all embryos which are developed from true* ova *agree.* This is a strong reason for considering the germ as the animal itself. When in the germ of the bird the primitive streak is developed, we are really inclined to say, Now commences the embryo. But in reality *this is only the instant in which the vertebrate type appears in the germ.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 212.

"*For the simple reason that the embryo never passes from one principal type to another, it is impossible that it can pass successively through the whole animal kingdom.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 219.

In all this we have, not the timid suggestion of a man doubtful of his ground, but the bold and confident enunciation of principles which Von Baer amply illustrates in the remainder of his writings. He thus recognises the low organization of the primary germ,—the infusorial monad of Owen; the four types of organization, which he specially identifies with Cuvier's four primary classes of animals, and which are also identical with Owen's four primary divisions above quoted; and, lastly, the fact that, when the germ leaves its primary condition, in which it is characterized by low organization and imperfect definition, it at once assumes the lowest condition compatible with the type to which it belongs, and not the lowest of existing animal forms.

It must not, for a moment, be supposed that in these remarks we wish to detract from the deservedly high reputation of Professor Owen. We have no sympathy with that invidious spirit that delights in pulling down the truly great from their eminence, and tries to reduce them to the level of smaller men. But the reviewer is bound by his mission to promulgate truth, without reference to personal feelings; and where truth is in danger of being violated, or individuals improperly thrust under the shade of a great name in order that the sunlit giant may stand out in bolder relief, the press must come in as the minister of literary justice. It matters not whether the evil has been done by the master's own hand, or by that of injudicious eulogists: if not publicly repudiated by the former, he lays himself open to a charge which gives envious spirits a hold upon his reputation, and produces results mischievous to science. We regard the fair fame of such men as Owen, Mantell, and Carpenter, as national property; and we know

of no greater compliment that can be paid to any of them than is involved in the recognition of this national claim: but this only makes it the more necessary that each should receive even-handed justice, especially those lamented ones whose earthly strife is ended, and who can no longer vindicate their own philosophic rights.

In contemplating the future prospects of these sciences, we think we see some dangers before us, which it is desirable to shun. There exists a feeling in some circles, that a few highly-gifted individuals, because of their pre-eminence, should have intrusted to them the elucidation of all important matters which are in their line, as being part of their own peculiar manor. This may be a very pleasant doctrine for the men who occupy the favoured positions; and there are, doubtless, instances in which science would be benefited by such an arrangement. But in the long run the effects would be mischievous. Niebuhr reminds us that some nations, as well as individuals, are like buds still folded up in their petals; liable to die away, or open imperfectly, from influences which check their development. Such would be the case here. The budding scientific talent of the nation, out of which the future Owens must arise, would be repressed in its young and earnest aspirations by this system of scientific centralization; whilst the opposite plan, though often leading to the promulgation of individual errors, will finally, by the multiplication of observers, prove more favourable to the development of truth. Apart from this danger, nothing can be more encouraging than the present state of the scientific world. Though great men are continually passing away, others are stepping into their places. Many of these new investigators are aiming at high game, and casting their plumb-lines into parts of the ocean of truth hitherto unfathomed, with singular success. Never were inquirers more numerous, or more earnest; and we have no doubt that, in the arduous struggle with obscurity in which men are so actively engaged, the anatomists and more philosophic zoologists will be found worthy to wear the mantles of their predecessors.

ART. IV.—1. *A Letter to Dr. Merle D'Aubigné on the Principle of Religious Liberty as it is understood in Germany. (La Liberté Religieuse telle qu'on l'entend en Allemagne.)* By a Member of the Deputation to Tuscany. Neuchatel, 1854.

2. *Religious Liberty from Christian Points of View. (Die Religiöse Freiheit vom Christlichen Standpunkte.) A Letter to M. de Bethmann Hollweg.* By DR. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ. Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, 1854.

3. *Letter from* M. DE BETHMANN HOLLWEG, *Privy Councillor of the King, Vice-President of the Second Chamber of the Prussian Parliament, and President of the Kirchentag, to Dr. Merle D'Aubigné.* ("Evangelical Christendom," February, 1855.)

OUR readers may remember that at a Conference held at Homburg towards the end of August, 1853, a Provisional Committee for the Vindication and Promotion of Religious Liberty was formed, having for its President Lord Shaftesbury. At the same time, a Deputation was requested to attend the then forthcoming *Kirchentag* at Berlin, in the name of the Conference, in order to explain and defend the great object it had in view. The *Kirchentag* was held at Berlin in the latter half of September; the members of the Homburg Deputation were introduced to the Assembly by its President, M. de Bethmann Hollweg; and Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, on whom they had devolved the duty, addressed it in their name, asking two practical questions: First. Would the *Kirchentag* co-operate with the Conference in the defence of those brethren who suffered for the confession of Christ in Roman Catholic countries? Secondly. Would they use their influence with the Protestant Governments of Germany in behalf of their Baptist brethen,—one with them in the great evangelical truths of the word of God,—that they might enjoy freedom of worship equally with themselves? The *Kirchentay* gave an affirmative answer to the first of those two questions: the second was eluded by a somewhat Jesuitical vote,—that they no doubt would sympathize with all children of God; but that they must stand upon their own Confessions. As if the expression of a wish for the toleration of a persecuted sect would imply adhesion to its doctrines!

The friends of religious liberty were, of course, but partially satisfied with the reception their overtures had met with, though the general tone of the speakers at the *Kirchentag* was decidedly better than those who knew Germany had expected. One voice only, Dr. Stahl's, was raised in favour of the principle of persecution; and that with so much reserve, with such multiplied precautions, that it was evident he felt himself unsupported in the meeting. It would seem that some of the more eminent and enlightened of the Christian men, from whom the Homburg Association might have expected unqualified sympathy and support, felt that they ought to explain to their brethren why they drew back; and the first Letter on our list was written for this purpose shortly after the *Kirchentag*. Though it is anonymous, the author cannot have intended to remain unknown. Count Albert de Pourtales, son-in-law of M. de Bethmann, and late Prussian Ambassador at Constantinople, is the only member of the Tuscan Deputation from whose pen it can have proceeded; and there is no indiscretion in making free use of his

name, since M. de Bethmann himself, in his Letter of last February, speaks of him as the writer. This Letter may be taken as a sort of manifesto of the views of the moderate Church party in Germany,—men who do not anticipate any good for their country or for the world, except through the agency of national, official, and historical Churches,—who would never themselves persecute, but make no earnest effort to hinder others from persecuting,—who sincerely disapprove of the fines, the imprisonments, the poverty and vexations inflicted on the Baptists, but are still more scandalized at the proselyting spirit of those sectaries, and at the hard words they utter.

Count de Pourtales complains that the principle of religious liberty, as put forth by the Homburg Conference, is highly contestable in itself, and bears an abstract character, political and philosophical, rather than strictly evangelical. A society addressing itself to Christians essentially, and claiming their co-operation, should, he says, have confined itself to seeking the realization of the apostolic prayer, "That the word of God may have free course;" it should have contented itself with seeking liberty for evangelical Christians of all nations and denominations, instead of setting up this abstract principle, which pleads for the exercise of Pagan idolatry as well as for the liberty of the sectarian conventicle, and which can never be realized in its absolute shape; the limits of the right of proselytism, and the determination of what are the acts which are to be tolerated as public worship, being necessarily arbitrary. He finally accuses the Conference of disuniting evangelical Christians, instead of drawing them together, by taking its stand upon a principle which the majority of religious men in Germany cannot countenance.

Dr. Merle D'Aubigné was requested by the Homburg Committee to reply to this Letter, which he did in March, 1854, addressing himself directly to M. de Bethmann, since he was the President of the *Kirchentag*, and since the Letter supposed to represent his views was not signed by the writer. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné contends that respect for the liberty of conscience, though recognised by worldly politicians and philosophers on lower grounds, is strictly a religious principle, founded upon the sovereign and exclusive rights of God over the conscience of man; so that every attempt to place the conscience in any degree under the dependence of a finite being, is an act of usurpation of the place of Him who has said, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." Of course the Prince has a right to interfere when political elements are concealed under the appearance of religion; or when, as in the case of the Church of Rome, they are inseparably connected with religion; but he has no authority to intrude upon sincere religious convictions. It is not in a few special passages, but throughout the New

Testament, that the assertion of the exclusive submission of consciences to the authority of God, and the obligation to remove all constraint from the domain of faith, are to be found. Jesus Christ says, "My kingdom is not of this world." He exclaims to His disciples who wanted to punish the unbelieving, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of." He commands Peter to put his sword into its sheath. He declares that He would not pray the Father for legions of angels to help Him: how much less would He now ask for legions of police agents and *gendarmes?* Every passage in the New Testament that forbids the individual Christian's judging his brother, even in his thoughts, is an *à fortiori* condemnation of the more positive and palpable judgment of the Magistrate. Dr. Merle D'Aubigné quotes the well-known passage of Luther, in which the great Reformer protests against the idea of opposing heresy by force: "It is God's word that must fight here. If this word does not succeed, the secular power will lead to nothing, even though it should water the whole earth with blood. Heresy is a spiritual thing; there is no steel that can cut it, no fire that can burn or water that can quench it. The word of God can alone affect it; as St. Paul says to the Corinthians, 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal.'" Scripture has committed the judgment of offences against society to the Magistrate, and of certain offences of doctrine and morals to the Church: but in Germany the law is reversed; there is no ecclesiastical discipline, and there is civil persecution; the Church habitually leaves undone what she ought to do, and the State often does what it ought not.

M. de Bethmann Hollweg's answer, which is dated November 4th, 1854, and appeared in the February Number of the "Evangelical Christendom," is more like the production of a conscientious mind, consulting a friend privately upon a subject full of difficulties, than a document intended for publication. He says he can subscribe to most of the propositions contained in Merle D'Aubigné's Letter, but that there are some great difficulties which have not been treated in it. The Old Testament must be taken into consideration as well as the New. Now, with the extermination of the Canaanites and the capital punishment of every Israelite who forsook Jehovah, what becomes of the doctrine that religious liberty is the common right of humanity? Nothing ordained or permitted by the law of Moses can be supposed absolutely contradictory to the will of God. Since the Church has been intrusted with the charge of preaching the message of reconciliation, M. de Bethmann is disposed, on the whole, to admit that the charge of maintaining the first table of the law, regarding the relations of man with God, has been taken from the Magistrate; but then it is impossible in practice to make an absolute separation between the two tables, religion and morality being essentially connected:

thus Governments have had to forbid the idolatrous practice of fornication and infanticide. "Nor can I deny," continues M. de Bethmann, "a guardianship of the State in favour of the Evangelical Church. Pomare was right when she sent away the Roman Catholic Missionaries in order to spare her people, yet in their infancy, the perilous responsibility of examining which of the two religions was the better. The question is a practical one, which can only be resolved by facts, and not by theoretical discussion; all depends upon the condition of the people. Happy the nation which, like the English, has reached such a degree of stability as regards Christian feeling and evangelical morals, that the civil Government can resign entirely to the natural action of free forces the care of repelling deadly error!"

It may be fearlessly assumed, that the readers of the "London Quarterly" do not need to be convinced of the great principle of religious liberty. Happily, all schools of evangelical Englishmen are of one mind upon a question settled by the dear-bought experience of our fathers. But it must be owned that M. de Bethmann's plausible argument from the Old Testament requires to be dealt with seriously. Moreover, when we see the majority of pious men in one of the most enlightened and thinking countries of the world so reluctant to receive the principle of complete toleration, there is a natural wish to investigate the cause of their unwillingness. That must be a subtle and persistent error indeed, which can operate upon minds like those of Bethmann Hollweg and Count Albert de Pourtales, the whole tenor of whose lives has been opposed to the retrograde and illiberal party with respect to every other subject, and even in a great measure with respect to this.

In Moral as well as in Natural Philosophy, the perfect and highly developed organic structure must be used to illustrate inferior types of the same class. Intolerance is at home at Rome, and it must be studied there if we would understand its true character, as well as the pleas urged in its favour; for in Protestant systems and countries it is in disguise, tempered and modified by foreign influences. It is the custom of many Romanists to look upon the cruelties perpetrated upon the adversaries of their Church, during the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, as a stain upon the manners of the period merely; they do not recognise any close and inseparable connexion between the Church's theory and the practice of an Innocent or a Dominic; and this opinion is readily embraced by that class of liberal Protestants who, judging of others by themselves, have no idea of the strength of religious feelings, whether well or ill directed. The former must be told that, when a Church claiming to be infallible has formally and repeatedly committed itself to the principle of intolerance, none of her members are at liberty to disavow it. Not Popes merely, but

Popes in council, have declared the extermination of heretics a duty, and pronounced execrable and damnable all opinions to the contrary; so much so, that there is no doctrine whatever more absolutely asserted by the Church officially than this; and the moderate nominal Romanist who allows himself to dissent from it, might just as well set his individual judgment against that of the Church upon any other article of its creed. The liberal Protestant must be told, that the very central and fundamental conception of the Roman Catholic system must produce, as its natural and inevitable consequence, wherever it is dominant, those three great objects of sacerdotal ambition in the Middle Ages,—persecution of recusants at home, propagation of the faith by force abroad, and the supremacy of the religious over the civil power. If those objects are but very partially attainable in our modern world, it is because the principle itself has lost its power over the minds of men; half the world is anti-Catholic, and multitudes, who are Roman Catholics by birth and education, and who, in their indifference, are satisfied with the forms of the religion they have inherited, have never really imbibed its spirit.

The doctrine of the Papacy is this: God has intrusted the salvation of mankind to the Church, that is, to the clerical order. This salvation is essentially effected by the administration of the sacraments. The spiritual dominion exercised by the Church extends by right over the whole world; every human creature belongs to it as much as he belongs to the civil society of which he is born a member, without any choice of his own, both the one and the other being established of God. Lastly, the great mission of the Church is to make this right a fact, by bringing the entire race to obedience to their spiritual advisers, and to the habitual use of the sacraments, and by obtaining from all local civil Governments entire freedom of action for the universal spiritual Government. A bad logician may admit this theory, and deny its consequences; but no man can embrace it from the heart, and prize it as the great divine appointment for the everlasting weal of mankind, without approving its consequences, and desiring practically to follow them out. Why scruple at converting barbarians by the sword? The method has been successful; whole populations have been thus brought within reach of sacramental grace; and if the hearts of a first generation are too obdurate to profit by it, their descendants do. Why shudder at the fearful punishment of heretics? They are rebels, rebels against the highest and holiest authority: we must cut off the diseased member for the good of the whole body; we must punish those that would poison souls. Why be astonished at the assumption of a Priest's superiority over the Kings of the earth? Is he not a nearer representative of God, the possessor of a higher

order of authority, addressing itself to the deepest powers and susceptibilities of our nature? The King, as well as the peasant, in all his conduct comes under the cognizance of the authorized interpreter of the divine will. "The King of England," wrote Innocent III. to Philip Augustus, "thy brother in the faith, complains that thou hast sinned against him: he has given thee warning; he has taken as witnesses great Lords, in order to re-establish peace; and when that failed, he has accused thee to the Church. The Church has sought to employ paternal love, and not the severity of a Judge. She has entreated thee to conclude a peace, or, at least, a truce; and if thou wilt not hear the Church, must thou not be to us as a Pagan and a publican?" It is impossible to adopt the conception of the Church and its agency supposed in the Pope's reasoning, and not admit that his conclusion is just and scriptural. An expression constantly recurring in Innocent's letters, is that of "the liberty of the Church:" in its use he was not always wrong; for the pretensions of the spiritual power provoked reprisals and usurpations on the part of the temporal: but the phrase generally meant that the civil power was to walk out of the Church's way whenever they came into conflict. And so it ought, if it were true that the Creator of heaven and earth had founded the sacerdotal body, and given it the mission to take men and save them, as children are carried out of a burning house, with a merely passive co-operation of their own. The Priest does not want to be King; but he claims the right to reign over the King, which is the surest way of reigning; and, from his point of view, the great business of the secular arm—the reason for which it exists—is the repression of heresy. It is an *arm*, and no more.

Here are two systems in presence of each other. On the one, man belongs to himself, that he may give himself to God; the Church is the society formed by those who have freely given themselves to God; individual piety thus logically, even when not chronologically, preceding collective life; the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ being the introduction to the Church, and the ordinances of the latter being means of grace, the blessing of which depends upon the recipient's moral state and personal relation to God. On the other system, man belongs to the sacerdotal order, and the services of the Church are the only introduction to Jesus Christ: she is the nursing mother of His members, receiving them into her bosom before they are conscious of it, and feeding them with ordinances, the blessing of which is independent of the recipient's moral experiences. It is evident that conceptions so utterly at variance must make their opposition felt throughout the whole series of ecclesiastical relations, in the character of their proselytism, in their manner of dealing with the impenitent, in their attitude toward the heretic or

the Heathen. As has been already said, religious indifference may make the merely nominal Catholic tolerant, but the real Romanist must persecute wherever he has the power; he must interpret after the letter that favourite text of the Dominicans, "Compel them to come in." That is no misrepresentation which makes him say to his adversaries, "When you are the stronger, you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error." What are Rome's doings in Spain and Italy at the present moment? Let the Romish Hierarchy become dominant in some distant island at the antipodes, away from all foreign influences and all excuse of political interest, and it will immediately exhibit its inevitable tendencies. In 1840 the inhabitants of the largest of the Marquesas, at the instigation of their Priests, expelled from the island the minority that had become Protestant. An infallible Church can persecute with a good conscience; for the infallibility of an authority implies its resistless evidence, so that it cannot be resisted without guilt, nor can it ever be mistaken in its blows. This is so true, that it is avowed by the most consistent ultramontane organs of England and the Continent, by the "Tablet," and more unreservedly still by the "*Univers.*" Nay, the zeal of the Anglo-Catholic might shame many a lukewarm Romanist; for one of the symptoms of a thorough appropriation of the sacramental system among recreant Protestants, is a cordial approbation of the use of the sword against the Albigenses and their fellows, who dared to mar the unity of the Church. The late Dean Hurter retained the presidency of the Protestant Clergy at Schafhausen for many years after he wrote his Life of Innocent III.; yet in that work he boldly advocates the propagation of Christianity by force, and, notwithstanding some hypocritical reserves, can hardly be said to conceal his sympathy with the Crusaders of Simon de Montfort and the Inquisitors of the Middle Ages.

A startling proof that a divinely established hereditary religion of authority must persecute those who dissent from it, is to be found in the fact that, when there really was such a religion, dissent was punished, and that with death. But here the argument is retorted, and we are asked what becomes of the principle that man belongs to himself, when, by the order of God, the Hebrew idolater was to be stoned to death? We answer, an abstract right may be left in abeyance for a time, through inability to make use of it. Man, for instance, has an undoubted right to the disposal of his own time and labour; yet the child is properly at the disposal, and under the authority, of his parents, until he is old enough to claim possession of that right, and become his own master. Now, we contend, the world collectively has an age, as well as individuals. Scripture

expressly recognises that there is such a thing as a "fulness of the time,"—a comparative maturity in the development of the human race, or, rather, of the divine purpose towards the race. St. Paul tells us, that the servant of God, under the Old Testament, was a child in bondage under the elements of the world. (Gal. iv. 1–4.) The external character of that religion, its hereditariness, its imposition, as such, by authority, were just so many symptoms and results of religious infancy; and if the Romanist can prove that Christianity is but a renewal of Judaism, that its disciples are placed under "tutors and governors," and kept away from God by a mediating *human* Priesthood, and that the time of adult religion is not yet come, then, indeed, he may be allowed to arm himself with the powers of the Hebrew Priesthood; and we must only wonder that Jesus Christ should have formally forbidden the eradication of real or supposed tares by violence, and rebuked even a spirit of exclusiveness, when it exhibited itself among His disciples. It is not necessary here to accumulate evidence to show that in all these respects the Christian religion stands in contrast to the Jewish; that it is the ministry of the spirit, not of the letter; that it is a final, not a preparatory, revelation; that it raises man to the highest form of religion that can ever be attained upon earth,—a state of conscious reconciliation, "fellowship with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ,"—a state into which no man can be introduced by either the privilege of birth or the exercise of violence,—a state in which the moral man is every thing, and the external observance nothing, except so far as it is the expression of the moral man.

We confess that if man belongs to himself, it is under God. He did not make himself, he did not determine his own nature or its primitive laws. He has an all-wise Master in Heaven; and as long as that Master enjoins upon him a religion involving, by express authority, certain definite external forms and observances, he must bow to that authority; and we cannot, in such a case, be reasonably surprised, if the Priest is the delegate of God in such sense, as to have the *judicial* united with the priestly character. But then we maintain that this condition of religious minority is not perpetual; that it is not the normal state of human society, but one rendered necessary, perhaps, for a time by the state of religious and moral degradation, into which mankind had fallen, when Moses became the organ of the first written revelation. The whole character of Mosaic legislation is that of systematic condescension towards certain conditions of man's fallen state, but with such limitations and appliances as to prepare for his emancipation from those conditions. This might be shown even in matters of detail. The permission of divorce, for instance, among the Jews was a concession to the hardness of the heart;—we have our Lord's authority for saying so;—yet, by

making a legal form necessary, it put a first obstacle in the way of arbitrary and capricious separations, and was really a step in the direction of their total prohibition. But it is the grand features of the economy, its human Priesthood, its symbolism, its temporal sanctions of the law, that essentially demonstrate the principle of divine condescension. The promise of temporal rewards to the faithful members of the theocracy stooped even to accustom the conscience to the divine government by present evidence, and give to the menaces and promises of the law that impress of reality which was, by-and-bye, to be confined to its eternal sanctions. Nay, the very thunders and lightnings of Sinai, with the terrors that shrouded the Divine Presence, and the law graven on tables of stone without the finger of man,—all are results of divine consideration for human weakness in this sense, that they forced attention and respect to utterances of God's holy will, which had once been written on the conscience, but were now well-nigh obliterated.

The forcible imposition of the Jewish religion on individual Jews, is no decision against the abstract principle of religious liberty; still less does it justify religious intolerance, unless the New Testament can be shown to authorize it. Happily, the New Testament leaves no doubt upon the subject. The parable of the tares is a distinct legislative utterance of Jesus Christ against the use of violence in matters of religion. It is the formal repeal of the "Thou shalt surely kill him" of the Mosaic economy. Real or supposed tares are not to be violently weeded out of the field, but left to the judgment of God at the end of the world. No human hand is to anticipate the work of the angels of wrath.

The establishment of unlimited religious liberty is in harmony with all the rest of the New Testament, just as the law of constraint, in respect to the Jewish people, was in harmony with the Old. The very distinguishing characteristic of the times of the Gospel, as hailed from afar by the spirit of prophecy, was that of personal and heartfelt conviction, in contrast with an external law imposed from without. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the Lord." The law of the Jew, graven on tables of stone outside the man, stared him in the face as a dread menace against all disobedience, to be vindicated in this world as well as in that which is to come. The same law is written on the Christian's heart by the Spirit of God,—a divine attraction toward all truth and goodness; the power to understand, to appreciate, and to imitate the graces of the divine character revealed in Jesus Christ. On the system in which the wor-

shipper's offering is a kid or a goat, it would be possible for human hands to constrain him to bring his gift to the altar, though the Old Testament did not go so far; but when he has to offer himself, the sacrifice must be spontaneous, or it is no sacrifice at all; and the unbidden interference of human authority is a foolish and presumptuous intrusion upon ground sacred to the intercourse of God and the repentant soul. It supposes the Redeemer cannot win the poor sinner back to God without the help of the Magistrate,—a virtual denial of the faith, an insult upon Him who said, "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto Me,"—a substitution of the agency of the Holy Ghost for that of the police constable. Doubtless, all real religious life, under the Old Testament, was the work of the Holy Spirit, and an anticipation, to a certain extent, of Christian feeling; but the object of faith was not sufficiently revealed, nor that life sufficiently intense, to stand alone. It is since Jesus Christ has taken our nature, suffered, and risen again, that the darkness is past; that the true light shines, and needs no other authority than its own rays. Hence Christianity was introduced into the world, and had to force its way, in a manner altogether different from Judaism. The dispensation of external authority began by a series of wonderful providential deliverances, setting upon an entire nation an impress that could never be effaced. The dispensation of individual conviction began by the preaching of twelve fishermen in the midst of a hostile community; its confessors a minority struggling for existence, three centuries long, against the Magistrate, the Priest, and the people of every country in the world. In both cases the original principle of the dispensation is exhibited anew with every successive generation. Men were Jews by birth: they become Christians by conversion. The Jew found himself providentially placed under the influence of a system which took his adhesion for granted, and allowed him no choice in the matter. The Christian has become what he is by personal appropriation of the truth providentially placed within his reach. The contrast cannot be better expressed than in the suggestive words of the Saviour: "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it," or, as it is put elsewhere, "the violent take it by force." The kingdom in its legal or preparatory state was a fortress, within the walls of which the Jew found himself by birth: since the kingdom has been fully revealed, we find ourselves outside, and the fortress must be taken by storm.

While recognising a certain *apparent* resemblance between the papal intolerance of Rome and the theocratic legislation by which the Hebrews were governed, we must not forget their essential differences. The law of Moses never attached an idea of merit

to the fact of belonging to the Jewish community; it attributed no sacramental virtue, in regard to personal salvation, to its initiatory rite; it furnished the dying with no passport to eternity. It provided for its infant society imposing ceremonies as the means of drawing near to God, but not as possessing any efficacy independent of the moral state of the worshipper; still less did it pretend to transfer to some members of the community the superfluous merits of others. Indeed, the law provided, in itself, no final relief whatever for the conscience. It was not so much a religion as the preparation for one, the character of expectancy being dominant throughout; as if the saying of Abraham, "In the mountain of the Lord it shall be provided," had been written on the frontispiece of the sanctuary. It was a national, civil, and religious polity, intended to serve a grand providential purpose, irrespective of the religious life of the several generations who were born under it; and for that reason it was not imposed upon foreign nations, nor spread beyond given geographical limits. It encouraged, in their case, nothing beyond peaceful proselytism. Of course the action of the law upon the conscience served a religious purpose; but we mean to say, that its forcible imposition upon the reluctant among the Jews merely served a providential purpose. In short, the sword was drawn under the Old Testament to sustain among them a certain established order of things, desirable as a preparation for the religion that was to come; but now that the expected religion has come, it uses no other power than that of the Holy Spirit in connexion with its own inherent authority over the conscience, and its own ineffable attraction for the weary and heavy-laden. Its ambassadors use only the language of entreaty: "As though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead:" it repudiates, by virtue of its own essence, the mediation of both the human priest and the human magistrate. The voice of the Great High Priest Himself has been heard; He pleads for Himself, and brooks no officious intervention.

When Elijah called down fire from heaven upon the soldiers of Ahaziah, his prayer was granted. Jesus Christ refused to do the same. The Church of Rome has had no fire from heaven at her disposal; but she has known how to kindle from below the mightiest fires that ever consumed the martyrs of either truth or error. And she has not done so honestly and avowedly; but she has added hypocrisy to cruelty, delivering her victims to the secular arm with a recommendation to mercy, as if conscious of the outrage she was perpetrating upon the memory of Him who never crushed the bruised reed, nor quenched the smoking flax. It is the accompanying retribution of sundry crimes, that the guilty are obliged to do homage to the right by useless and gratuitous hypocrisy. In the present instance, the professed tenderness of the Church can hardly be

said to have been meant to deceive the world; and it soon degenerated into perhaps the most atrocious irony in which cruelty, when in a mood to be facetious, ever indulged:—we mean the recommendation to punish the convicted heretic mildly, and without bloodshed. The technical form ran, "*Ut quàm clementissimè et citra sanguinis effusionem puniretur,*" because the most cruel of all deaths drew no blood!

When once the human mind is perverted with respect to the rights of the conscience, the transition to other and to darker forms of religious abuse is but too easy. If I may use violence against the convictions of another, why not craft? Then pious frauds are lawful. If salvation depends upon submission to a given order of things, and a little charlatanism can bring about that submission, who would scruple at deceiving souls for their everlasting good? Again, if the Church can wield the power of the State to punish heretics, why not avail itself of the strength of a single arm, when the State refuses to do its duty? We can understand why so many assassins and regicides were in odour of sanctity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; why the Jesuits exposed the relics of Jaureguy to the adoration of the faithful, and the University of Louvain published "the glorious and triumphant martyrdom of Balthazar Gerard."

That God should have revealed Himself during so many ages to a single people, and deferred for the same period the mission of the Saviour, has been a difficulty to many minds. We would suggest that the very existence of Romanism is a present and intelligible justification of the ways of God in this respect. Men were so far from having waited too long for Jesus Christ, that even after He appeared, they attempted to return to the elementary and imperfect form from which He came to deliver them. Romanism is a relapse into Judaism, modified by certain Christian, and many Pagan, elements. It is the beginning over again of the preparatory religious education that ought to have terminated. The Apostles were no sooner gone, than their followers showed themselves incapable of maintaining the position to which they had been raised, and gradually fell back upon a system which prolonged and repeated over again the spiritual minority of the human race. Its advocates boast of its disciplining rude and ignorant nations; and it must be owned that its unfaithfulness to the spirit of the Gospel, and its compromises with multiplied forms of evil, did not render it altogether unfit to serve the purposes of Providence, since it trained up the Germanic races to the point at which they asserted their independence, and began to realize worship "in spirit and in truth." This we may assert, that Christendom prolonged its minority by its own fault; that, as Israel of old took forty years to accomplish an eleven days' journey, so the subsequent professing people of God

inflicted on themselves a weary march of centuries, only attaining, after generations had perished by the way, the stand-point which from the first had been within easy reach. The very pretensions of Rome are its emphatic condemnation; while professing to be the definitive religious system, its attitude towards the conscience shows it to be but a provisional satisfaction of the religious aspirations, the religion of those who are incapable of having the right one.

It is time to turn from the lofty and consistent theocracy of Rome to the timid theories of Germany. We would wish to meet adversaries so different as M. de Bethmann Hollweg and Messrs. Veuillot or Lucas with different weapons; but their principle is so far the same, that we are unwillingly obliged to refute them by the same argument,—the temporary and preparatory character of the Jewish dispensation. M. de Bethmann Hollweg and the Ultramontanes agree in looking upon the abstract legitimacy of religious intolerance as established by the capital punishment of idolatry under the Old Testament. The former, however, supposes the right of persecution, in a great measure, suspended, or kept in abeyance, by the peculiarities of the Christian dispensation; while the latter argues that his Church succeeds to all the privileges of the Jewish; and, since it is a sin against greater light to reject the Vicar of Jesus Christ than the Pontiff of Jehovah, it is just that the heretic should be burned by fire, instead of the milder death by lapidation.

"No more *auta-da-fé*," says M. de Bethmann Hollweg: "God has taken from the Magistrate the charge of maintaining the first table of the law." If this verdict were not modified by subsequent passages, we should have no controversy, except one of words,—the mere way of stating the question; and doubtless M. de Bethmann Hollweg himself would feel, on reflection, that, since the Christian revelation is final and absolute, one must take the rule from Christianity, and look upon Jewish legislation as a temporary exception, instead of taking, as he does, the rule from Judaism, and making Christian practice the exception. Unfortunately, however, this liberal verdict is more than modified by the sequel. M. de Bethmann Hollweg says, that a first limit is set to religious liberty by the fact, that you cannot absolutely separate religion and morality; and that it is on this principle that the State has a right to forbid idolatry, fornication, and infanticide: in the second place, he cannot give up "a guardianship of the State in favour of the Evangelical Church." As to the first point, we must deny that there is the least practical difficulty in distinguishing between religion and morals, as matters of legislation. When our Government interdicted the cruel practice of Sutteeism in India, it did not do so because it was irreligious, but because it was inhuman. As to the second point, our honourable adversary must admit that any kind of

civil guardianship implies the use of violence upon the refractory. Wherever the Magistrate has a right to interfere, he must, if necessary, punish. To use his own illustration, had Roman Catholic Missionaries stolen into Tahiti, they should have been hindered from preaching, and forcibly sent away at the first opportunity: yet when he sees the Magistrates actually at work, he disapproves of their proceedings; he expressly condemns what he calls "the brutalities of the police" towards the German Baptists. We must say this is not reasonable. If the worthy M. de Hassenpflug, with his fellows and subordinates in Hesse and Mecklenburg, have a right to interfere with the worship of Dissenters, how can they do so otherwise than by brutalities? The secret of this inconsistency is, that M. de Bethmann Hollweg's character is too noble to allow him to bear with the application of his own theory; but, like many other Christians of Germany, he has not moral courage enough to verify, even in his own consciousness, the degree of emancipation from long-cherished prejudices to which he has attained.

"A guardianship of the State in favour of the Evangelical Church:" then, why not a guardianship of the State in favour of the Church of Rome? And in cases of error, supposed to be really deadly, why is the Magistrate to restrict himself to the infliction of slight punishments? If it be part of his mission to distinguish between religious truth and error, he is bound to turn the bolt of the guillotine, as well as the key of the prison. As Mr. Macaulay asks, in his review of Gladstone's "Church and State," "Is the heresiarch a less pernicious member of society than the murderer? Is not the loss of one soul a greater evil than the extinction of many lives?" If it is your duty to restrain, it is your duty to punish; and, if you punish at all, it must be with a severity in proportion to the importance of the offence. If you plead the Jewish law to justify any present interference of Government with religion, it must equally justify the use of capital punishment for the same purpose. The fact is, that the hardy Ultramontanism which burns the heretic, or breaks him upon the wheel, which, in the Middle Ages, sacrifices whole populations without remorse, and, in modern times, condemns them to the sternest exile, is the only effectual, as well as the only consistent, theocracy which can now be assumed. It succeeded with the Albigenses; it succeeded with the Lollards; it extirpated Protestantism in Spain and Italy; it crushed the Reformation in France and Southern Germany; within our own remembrance, it purged the Tyrol and Madeira from the invasion of heresy: but the system of mere governmental pressure and annoyance has never succeeded in stifling the most insignificant community, in any age, or in any country, where it has been tried. It has never even been

tried with sufficient perseverance, because it is founded on no principle. Where is the Government that dares claim the proprietorship of the soul?

As a matter of fact, judging from an evangelical point of view, most of the Governments in the world have been in the wrong upon religious subjects, and the consequences of their intervention deplorable. Moreover, in those fewer cases in which good men have tried to "fight the battles of truth with the weapons of error," they have been almost invariably disappointed. Pomare's guardianship ruined the Protestant Church she intended to protect. Certainly, if the interference of the civil power could be justified in any case, it would be in that of Tahiti. The Island Queen exercised no violence over the consciences of her own subjects, none of them having any disposition to become Roman Catholics: she only tried to protect them from an invasion of foreign proselytizers,—an act which cannot be compared to the spiritual despotism of the petty Sovereigns of Germany. Pomare's fault did not consist in a violation of religious liberty, but in a *want of faith:* she supposed herself to be the Providence of her subjects, and undertook, by a stretch of prerogative, to keep them out of the reach of those trials and perilous responsibilities, which are, by divine appointment, conditions of human probation, and from which, it seems, there is no escape, even in the remotest corner of the Pacific. From Eden to Tahiti, there is no Paradise without the tempter.

In Germany, the principle of religious liberty is chiefly put forward by men who are hostile to all religion, and who only wish to escape from the yoke of legal Christianity. This leads many excellent Christians to attach to that principle the idea of a spirit of antichristian revolt and antagonism to the righteous claims of God. But if they would consent to take in a wider horizon, they would remember that the Christian apologists of the second and third centuries laid hold of the same principle in the interests of Christianity. After the lapse of nearly seventeen centuries, the banner of freedom of conscience needs no better device than the noble words of Tertullian, "*Non est religionis cogere religionem.*" We would set the infidel free from legislative vexations, as well as the Dissenter. We wish for the reign of religious liberty throughout the world; not that man may escape from the authority of God, but that the divine authority may be immediate and real, instead of being mediate and fictitious. "My son," said Louis XIV. to the Duke of Anjou, when going to reign in Spain, "it is God who has made you King: make Him reign in your dominions." This was, in reality, to substitute the authority of the Duke of Anjou for that of God. In whatever measure such a guardianship of the Church is attempted, it betrays unbelief in the power of God to make His claims duly felt, and, as far as human agency is concerned,

unbelief in the efficacy of the agency that God has instituted for the purpose. Neither Louis XIV., nor the respected President of the *Kirchentag*, can trust in "the foolishness of preaching."

The expression, "atheistic State," was first used by M. Royer Collard, a late eminent Frenchman, who was so far from being hostile to Christianity, that he belonged, if we mistake not, to the remnant of the Jansenists. He meant that the State, as such, ought to have no religion; but it must be owned that the expression was a most unhappy one, conveying the idea of deliberate opposition to religion, instead of that of the State's respectful non-interference with a higher sphere than its own. Of course those ill-timed words have been caught up, and are made great use of, by the illiberal party in Germany; but they are only *words*. The State cannot be called anti-industrial, or anti-musical, or anti-medical, if it abstains from spinning cotton, or composing waltzes, or prescribing potions: as little can a State which leaves its subjects' creed and worship to their own consciences be called anti-religious. Few causes, indeed, have been so much discredited by the arguments of their advocates, as is that of toleration on the Continent. Irreligious men of liberal tendencies make it rest on the unimportance of religious interests, the uncertainty of religious ideas, the innocence of doctrinal error. A man's faith, it is pretended, is not of his own choosing; it depends upon intellectual predispositions and upon the medium in which he has been brought up; and it is as unreasonable to make him responsible for it, as for the height of his stature or the colour of his hair. This view of the matter is especially common in France: it is hardly necessary to say, we disclaim all participation in it. Faith determines a man's relation to God and his whole inner life. We are persuaded that the moral evidence of Christianity is decisive for the sincere inquirer, and that they who refuse to admit it are responsible to God for having shut their eyes to the truth; but we contend that they are not responsible to man, and that the higher responsibility becomes all the more prominent and imperative when there is no intrusion of the lower. Of course, in minor matters of discussion among Christian communities, at least among those who confess themselves fallible, the relative uncertainty of their views has its legitimate place as a motive to tolerance, in that sense of the word which is opposed to dogmatism.

Taking Dr. Stahl as the representative of the High-Church party in Germany, it is not too much to say, that the whole argumentation of the party, with respect to religious liberty, rests upon a sophism, which any person of ordinary intelligence ought to be able to detect at once, and which, when detected, is too obvious to be repeated, except by unreasoning passion. In a speech recently delivered before the Evangelical Society of Berlin,

this celebrated lawyer affirms, that the State ought not to allow the profession of any religious belief based on Atheism or Deism; and, as to Christian sects not recognised by the State, "tolerance does not consist in recognising a man's *right of choice as to religious belief*, but in allowing, or tolerating, his peculiar religious condition, that is to say, his *religious consciousness*, however erroneous it may be." And again: "The *Christian* tolerance of the State, then, in its nature and its consequences, is altogether different from that taught by Bayle and Locke, and which was practised by Jefferson in America, and in the French Revolution. The *profane* tolerance of a State is an ignoring of divine revelation; it consists in considering as matters of equal indifference all possible religions and religious opinions, and in recognising man's absolute right of choice in religious matters." What is this but to mistake the assertion of man's religious independence with regard to his fellows, for the assertion of independence with regard to God? We say, that a man is not responsible for his religion to his Prince, and Dr. Stahl supposes us to mean that a man is not responsible to God! The right of choice as to religious belief, at which he shudders, ignores, not the divine revelation, but the apostolate of the civil power,—that presumptuous usurpation of the place of Almighty God, of which Kings, *cultus*-Ministers, and Governments of every nature have been too long guilty. "We have chosen," said the Republic of Berne, three hundred years ago, "We have chosen the Reformed Evangelical Religion for ourselves, and for our faithful subjects of the *Pays de Vaud!*"

The opinion of the moderate party, that the question of religious, like that of political, liberty is an experimental one, to be determined by the degree of moral advancement to which a nation has attained, is not without an appearance of reason; but it is really founded upon a superficial and false analogy to political rights. The suffrage gives men a power, through their representatives, of legislating for others; it does not merely concern the private weal of the individual, but, so far as it goes, is an exercise of sovereignty. And before such powers are put into the hands of men, one ought to be sure that they are qualified to use them intelligently and conscientiously. But the right to worship God according to one's conscience gives no power of control over others; it is exercised at the individual's own peril, and is properly to be compared, not to constitutional privileges, but to the most elementary of civil liberties,—the right to dispose of one's own time and labour. Our German brethren will not allow men to belong to themselves, unless in those countries where it may be hoped that they will use their liberty to give themselves to God. But such a precaution, without the divine warrant, is an intolerable usurpation. When once individual responsibility is recognised to be the principle of the Christian dispensation, it

must be the rule every where. In no one corner of the wide field of this world are tares to be treated otherwise than according to the Master's directions, under pretence that the wheat flourishes there less than elsewhere. Would that our brethren could learn what an important previous condition of the religious life of our own land is that liberty which they look upon with distrust! If they did so, the public mind of their country would certainly be less tolerant of deadly error than it is; for it is the tendency of human nature, when deprived of liberty in one direction, to seek it in another. Things are introverted in Germany. Tolerance and intolerance have changed their legitimate spheres. The most innocent religious *acts* are forbidden by Governments, the wildest and most impious *opinions* are looked upon with indifference by the public, and each extreme of the anomaly contributes to produce the other.

"It is on the patriarchal basis," says M. de Pourtales, "that the absolute Governments in many countries of Europe are founded; and the number who, even among sincere and enlightened evangelical Christians, admit, to a certain extent, this paternal system, is considerable enough to win forbearance for their opinion, or, if you will have it so, for their prejudice. Let me add, it is with the commandment, 'Honour thy father,' &c., that the Doctors of the Reform, as well as the Fathers, connect the doctrine of authority and its consequences; and that it is upon the resemblance between the State and the family that they establish the obligation of the Christian to submit to Princes and Magistrates. If there are bad Princes, there are also bad fathers. But those accidents, however frequent, cannot overthrow one of the first principles of Christian morals." This paragraph offers an instance of the vacillation so frequent with persons who treat practical subjects with reference to instinctive fears or preferences, rather than fixed principles. Neither of the eminent men with whom we are compelled to differ, ever seems to know exactly what ground he is to take up. They will neither practise their illiberal theory, nor justify their liberal practice. M. de Pourtales habitually speaks as a mere interpreter of the views of others; and, in the present passage, he begins by claiming respect for the doctrine of paternal government, only on account of the piety of some of its adherents, and without committing himself to it; but in a sentence or two, when it has begun to look plausible under his pen, he expresses himself as if he actually adopted it. The English reader hardly needs to be told, the thing to be proved is, that Governments are religiously adult, and their subjects infants; and that the former are commissioned to choose the religion of the latter, or even to exercise superintendence over it. Whatever other Doctors may teach, St. Paul forgot the analogy between the State and the family, when he treated the subject expressly, in the thirteenth

chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and settled the civil obligations of the Christian on the grounds on which *he* would have them to rest. If the patriarchal principle is to be admitted at all, it involves consequences from which M. de Pourtales shrinks as much as any body. In the first place, it implies a control of the State over the subject to an extent contrary to the whole spirit of modern society; and in the second place, it makes downright and positive persecution a duty. Let Mr. Macaulay state both consequences in his own lively way: "We do not understand why rulers should not assume all the functions which Plato assigned to them. Why should they not take away the child from the mother, select the nurse, regulate the school, overlook the playground, fix the hours of labour and of recreation, prescribe what ballads shall be sung, what tunes shall be played, what books shall be read, what physic shall be swallowed?" And again: "The right of propagating opinions by punishment is one which belongs to parents, as clearly as the right to give instruction. A boy is compelled to attend family worship; he is forbidden to read irreligious books; if he will not learn his catechism, he is sent to bed without his supper; if he plays truant at church-time, a task is set him; if he should display the precocity of his talents by expressing impious opinions before his brothers and sisters, we should not much blame his father for cutting short the controversy with a horsewhip. All the reasons which lead us to think that parents are peculiarly fitted to conduct the education of their children, and that education is a principal end of the parental relation, lead us also to think that parents ought to be allowed to use punishment, if necessary, for the purpose of forcing children, who are incapable of judging for themselves, to receive religious instruction and to attend religious worship. Why, then, is this prerogative of punishment, so eminently paternal, to be withheld from a paternal government?"

It is strange, that while M. de Bethmann Hollweg and Count Albert de Pourtales suppose themselves to refrain from asserting abstract principles, they really establish the principle of persecution, with a clause of exception during the Christian period, at least, under certain conditions, and in certain states of society; just as we, on the contrary, establish the principle of liberty, with a clause of exception for the infant economy of Judaism. That is to say, their principle is as abstract as ours, with the serious additional demerit of being the wrong one. The fact is, men cannot help having principles, or rather, they cannot help acting in ways that can only be justified or condemned on abstract reasons. When the intelligence is exercised, it must end by coming to ultimate grounds, and pronouncing things right or wrong, instead of leaving them "pinnacled dim in the intense inane." Doubtless ours is a most concrete world; a

whole series of various and sometimes conflicting considerations bears upon every given point of human conduct; and a strong practical mind is sometimes inclined to fasten too exclusively upon the principal consideration, brushing aside the rest, and so far rendering its conceptions imperfect. But no combination of circumstances can change right into wrong, or *vice versâ*. There may be an infinite variety of shades between black and white, and our German brethren are, perhaps, far more capable than Englishmen of discerning and pondering over and hesitating between them; and they can certainly demonstrate that absolute blackness and whiteness are nowhere to be met with in the creation; yet we shall continue resolutely to maintain the distinction. Englishmen will believe in black and white as long as the world lasts.

As an instance of the sterility of abstract principles, M. de Pourtales reminds his readers that the axiom, "All men ought to be free and equal," was first proclaimed in the Constitution of the United States; yet it is there that, after a lapse of eighty years, four millions of human beings are groaning under the most unmitigated slavery in the world. This is indeed a sad proof that men may be inconsistent with the best principles; but is it a proof that the axiom itself is wrong? Will M. de Pourtales or M. de Bethmann Hollweg take upon them to deny that all men ought to be free? It would be impossible to choose an illustration telling more directly against the purpose for which it is made; for it reminds us that a man has exactly the same right to the free use of his hands, and the free exercise of his religion; that the slavery of the limbs, and that of the conscience, are not merely similar, but identical, in principle,—various aspects of the same *paternal government*. He ought, in all consistency, to conclude from the example of the Old Testament, that slavery cannot be condemned on abstract principle; he should also, perhaps, show the same indulgence to polygamy. Neither slavery, nor, as *some* think, polygamy, nor authoritative hereditary religion, could be prohibited in the Old Testament; but a religion which was being prepared in the Old Testament, has led up modern Christian society to a moral elevation, at which all these are condemned alike, and for ever. M. de Pourtales writes, "Do not conclude from what precedes that I am opposed in principle to religious liberty. I believe in its future, as in that of all other liberties." Believe in its *future*, then why not believe in its *present* right? If Providence is engaged in preparing religious liberty as a *fact*, we cannot be wrong in maintaining the *principle*; and it is at least probable, that Providence will use among its instruments those who believe in the principle.

Englishmen hitherto have been but too slow in adopting abstract principles. No people has a stronger consciousness of the degree to which experience falls short of theory, or sets a

greater value upon sobriety in theorizing. The greatest changes registered among the remembrances of the nation, have always been effected on the most modest possible grounds; while our long and busy political experience has accustomed us to perpetual compromises. The Roundheads professed nothing about the rights of men, but claimed the legal rights of Englishmen; the parties who spoke most about the Constitution during the seventeenth century, gradually changed the relation of the orders of the State; the Dissenters had to refuse the boon of religious liberty from the hand of James II.; Whigs and Tories were, for four reigns, almost uninterruptedly in circumstances such as tempted them to act in opposition to their several speculative tendencies. In short, our whole education, as a people, has served to strengthen a native and original want of sympathy with *ultraists* and ideologists of all sorts. But this exclusively practical character has proved to be our weakness as well as our strength. We are wont not to recognise evils and abuses until they have become palpable and intolerable; and we refuse to do justice to the wisest ideas, until their utility has been proved by experience under every disadvantage. Our contempt for pedantry too often keeps us aloof from science; and our dread of speculation condemns us to routine. England received a first warning at the Great Exhibition not to trust to routine in art and industry; she has just learned, at the price of her best blood, a lesson on the deplorable consequences of routine in war. Many generations of Englishmen have been suffering the consequences of routine in law. Surely, under these circumstances, we may claim a right to be deaf to all declamations against abstract principles.

The question naturally presents itself: "By what right can those who do not admit the principle of toleration interfere with foreign Governments in behalf of their own persecuted co-religionists?" The Member of the Deputation to Tuscany anticipates this difficulty. He answers, briefly and vaguely, that he takes his right of intercession from the Gospel. It is the truth that is attacked, and it is in the name of the truth that he will protest. That is to say, you will tell the Grand Duke of Tuscany to empty his prisons, because Protestants are in the right! But what if His Highness should be honestly and irrevocably convinced that Protestants are in the wrong? You help him out with his own theory of intolerance: you give him a reason for liberating your persecuted brethren, which he cannot admit without violating his conscience. It is true, there are the most illustrious precedents for this singular plea. The Reformers did not protest against spiritual tyranny in the abstract, but merely against the tyranny of Rome. In the hour of their inexperience, they naïvely asserted the right of private judgment for those only who agreed with them, and claimed, from the Princes of

Europe, toleration, nay, supremacy, because theirs was the religion of the Bible. "Let the Homburg Conference claim liberty for the truth only," says M. de Pourtales, "and your German brethren will rally around you. Better," he continues, "the narrow path, the three hundred of Gideon, than the larger number of mere worldly liberals that may follow your banner for a time." That is to say, let the Homburg Conference give up principle, and it will be sustained, in some of its proceedings, by a larger amount of instinctive sympathy and prejudice, and it will be gratified with the old humiliating spectacle of Protestants refusing to each other at home what they unite in vain to claim abroad. No; the Conference has chosen the really narrow path, and it is the little band of friends of religious liberty in Germany who have the best right to compare themselves with Gideon's three hundred.

Abstract religious liberty bears to the liberty of the evangelical Christian the same relation that pure Deism bears to Christianity: that is, the former, insufficient when alone, is presupposed as the foundation of the latter. But men are slow to assert the noblest and highest of their rights, because it involves their deepest responsibility, and because it comes into conflict with cherished habits and strong passions. As Vinet says, "We are all tyrants in the bud:" how many are full-grown! Bossuet could say, without exaggeration, that all Christians had long been unanimous as to the right of the civil Magistrate to propagate truth by the sword. No sooner had the Christians of the fourth century escaped from the axe, the stake, the cross, and the jaws of the wild beasts of the amphitheatre, than they began to persecute the heterodox, with much less cruelty, it must be owned, than that of which they had themselves been victims. No sooner did the Reform get the upper hand in any country, than it retorted upon the Church of Rome, to a certain extent, the penal laws by which its own adherents had suffered; and it visited with a rod of iron all attempts at further reformation, all departures from a given official model. To use the strong language of the author of "Fanaticism," "Even if the Church of Rome is unrivalled in cruelty, she is not alone in it, but has been, if not eclipsed, at least worthily followed by each offset Church, and by almost every dissident community. Those who have gone off to the remotest point of doctrine and polity, whose rule of belief and duty has been in every article the antithesis of Rome; and those, too, that have filled the interval at every distance from the extremes; all have wrought, in their day, the engine of spiritual oppression; all have shown themselves, in the hour of their pride, intolerant and merciless." Perhaps it is not generally known, that the last execution of heretics *by fire* in England took place so late as seventy years after the Reformation. One

Bartholomew Legate, an Arian of blameless life, was burnt to death at Smithfield, on the 18th of March, 1612, after having been examined by King James in person, and declared a contumacious and obdurate heretic by Bishop King, in his Consistory at St. Paul's. A pardon was offered him at the stake if he would recant, but he refused it. On the 11th of the following month, Edward Wightman, being convicted by Dr. Neile, Bishop of Coventry, of the heresies of Arius, Cerinthus, Manichæus, and the Anabaptists, was burnt at Lichfield. The whole procedure was exactly that which used to be practised under the Church of Rome, as the reader may see by the writ *De Heretico comburendo*, addressed to the Sheriffs of London, in the case of Legate, which concludes as follows:—

"Whereas the holy Mother-Church hath not further to do and to prosecute on this part, the same reverend Father hath left the aforesaid Bartholomew Legate, as a blasphemous heretic, to our secular power, to be punished with condign punishment, as by the Letters Patent of the same reverend Father in Christ, the Bishop of London, in this behalf above made, hath been certified to us in our Chancery. We, therefore, as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the Holy Church, and the rights and liberties of the same, and the Catholic faith; and such heresies and errors every where, what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with condign punishment such heretics so convicted; and deeming that such a heretic, in form aforesaid convicted and condemned according to the laws and customs of this our kingdom of England in this part accustomed, ought to be burned with fire; we do command you that the said Bartholomew Legate, being in your custody, you do commit publicly to the fire, before the people, in a public and open place in West Smithfield, for the cause aforesaid; and that you cause the said Bartholomew Legate to be really burned in the same fire, in detestation of the said crime, for the manifest example of other Christians, lest they slide into the same fault; and this that in nowise you omit, under the peril that shall follow thereon. Witness," &c.

It is not necessary to speak of that long struggle of the Puritans, to which Englishmen owe all their liberties: every body knows that for a century and a half *the pointed sword of spiritual justice*, borne before British Monarchs at their coronation, was no vain symbol. It was thought to be lineally descended from Peter's sword, and certainly made as free with the ears of Puritans, as Peter did with those of Malchus. But what creates a most painful astonishment, is the existence of a fierce intolerance in quarters where one would never have expected it beforehand. No sooner had the Westminster Assembly agreed upon a direction for prayer (1645), than the

Long Parliament forbad the use of the Church-of-England Liturgy even in any private place or family, under penalty of five pounds fine for the first offence, ten pounds for the second, and a year's imprisonment for the third. At the same time Baptists were imprisoned by wholesale. The following years witnessed repeated discussions as to whether Independents and Baptists should be tolerated. The Westminster Assembly decided in the negative. The Ministers of Sion College wrote to the Assembly against "that great Diana," toleration: they say, "Not that we can harbour the least jealousy of your zeal, fidelity, and industry in the opposing and extirpating of such a root of all gall and bitterness, as toleration is, and will be, both in present and future ages." The Elders and Ministers of London assembled represent the idea of toleration as contrary to godliness, opening a door to libertinism and profaneness, to be rejected as *soul-poison*. Many other provincial assemblies of the Clergy echoed this language, and the Scottish Parliament expressed itself as strongly in a letter to the two Houses. Even Prynne, that martyr of Puritanism, who had been mutilated twice over in the pillory by the hangman's knife, even *he* maintained that the Independents and all others were bound to Presbyterianism, since the Parliament and Assembly had established it. And the Independents, in their turn, after crossing the Atlantic to secure liberty of conscience for themselves, inflicted fines on the ship captains who should be detected carrying Quakers or Baptists to the shores of New England, and even menaced with death members of those communities who should persist in remaining within their frontiers!

Amid all those deplorable aberrations, however, there can be detected a gradual mitigation of the principle of intolerance. The Church of Rome, in her palmy days, claimed a right of *search* over the conscience, interrogating persons who had committed no overt act of Dissent, and punishing them for the heresies they had allowed in their thoughts. The national Churches of the Reformation contented themselves with the obligation laid upon all the subjects of the State to attend their worship, and participate in their ordinances. Later and humbler communities went no farther than the prohibiting Dissenters from meeting for public worship, or publicly performing religious ceremonies. Thus, absolute orthodoxy, positive external conformity, negative conformity,—these are the three several requirements of religious despotism, in its successive stages of empire and decay.

It ought not to be a matter of astonishment that our German brethren, accustomed as they are to absolute power in civil government, should retain prejudices which exhibited such persistence among our own free self-governing people. The past

history of Germany, as M. de Pourtales shows, could not be expected to teach its people religious liberty, as completely as our history has taught it to us Englishmen. The conflict between the two great Confessions in that country was neither as bloody nor as obstinate as in other parts of Europe. The horrors of even the Thirty Years' War were not equivalent to those perpetrated by Tudors and Stuarts, Valois and Bourbons. In England, and in France, the Roman Catholics endeavoured to exterminate the Protestants; and the latter, when they had it in their power, tried at least vigorously to exclude the former. In Germany, on the contrary, the first generation of Protestants witnessed a provisional pacification; and since the Peace of Westphalia, a century later, there have been few mutual vexations. It is natural that the people which has suffered least from intolerance, should be slowest to feel the necessity for absolute toleration; while in England and in France persecution has turned out to be the school of religious liberty. The experiment was bloodiest in France. It was most complete in England, because here the Reform turned its arms against part of its own adherents. In both countries, after long trying to govern consciences by rigorous laws and sanguinary executions, Government has at last withdrawn, nearly or altogether, from the domain of religion. In Germany it still considers itself the religious guardian of the subject; and the claim is less resisted, because it has been less abused. Both the comparative reciprocal tolerance of the Catholics and Protestants of Germany, and their indisposition to make that tolerance universal,—those two characteristic phenomena,—result from the historical education of that people; and, it may be added, those feelings re-act upon each other. The Protestant who has broken less decidedly with Rome, and entertains some faint hope of a future reconciliation of the two Confessions, is inevitably disposed to view with irritation the intrusion of elements, the spread of which would render reconciliation impossible. The few pages devoted to the historical part of the subject by M. de Pourtales, are satisfactory, as an exposition of facts; but it is strange that he should not feel the import of the facts he so ably exposes. It may be summarily said, that, according to his own statement, the religious education of Germany, like its political, has been imperfect. A Letter from Germany against the principle of religious liberty as held by the evangelical Christians of England, France, and Switzerland, is simply the protestation of *inexperience* against the most precious, the most neglected, and the most dearly-bought of all our liberties. We trust it is part of the mission of the Anglo-Saxon race, to teach Germany, and the world, the recognition of God's sole authority over the human conscience, and the conscience's sole responsibility to God.

ART. V.—1. *Lectures on Ancient Art.* By RAOUL-ROCHETTE. Translated by H. M. WESTROPP, ESQ. London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.
2. *The Poetry of Christian Art.* Translated from the French of A. F. RIO. London: Bosworth. 1854.

WHAT is Art?

It is the ideal reflection of Nature. Not the mere literal imitation of its actual presentment; nor the production, by mechanical means, of effects supposed to be equivalent to those of Nature; for then the camera would throw into despair the laborious sons of genius, and the coloured wax casts of Madame Tussaud outvalue all the reliques of ancient sculpture. No: Art is the reflection, or mimetic exhibition, of the appearances or sensible impressions of Nature, according to the *ideas, spirit,* and *design* of Nature.

An able contemporary writer would, indeed, take Music out of this definition. Contrasting it with the sister art of Painting, he remarks, that Music is supplied from inward sentiments, Painting from outward observation; "therefore, that, in presenting them to the comprehension and enjoyment of a race compounded of body and spirit, the Art consists in giving to Music a body, and to Painting a soul; that it is an argument both of our earthly and heavenly nature that Music must be materialized, and Painting spiritualized, to fit them for our service, since only a higher order of beings can be supposed to partake of their ineffable beauties in their abstract essence, and converse with Art, as they do with Truth, face to face." *

This writer very ingeniously illustrates his position by dwelling on what, rightly considered, are but points of difference in the modes of impression, not in the intellectual sources of the respective arts. He forgets that Music, no less than Painting, appeals to, and produces its effect by means of, *sense;* although the conditions of the senses concerned, and of the media appropriate to each, stand in polar opposition. The normal state of the eye is one of positive impression, it is "full of light;" and the function of vision is consequent upon negation. We *see* objects by reason of their obscuration or absorption of light, whereby they are contrasted with the surrounding illumination. But the natural condition of the ear is one of rest: to hear is to be sensible of a positive impulse or disturbance of the atmosphere. If our nerves were liable to the constant impact of *sound,* as of light, Music could be produced only by interception and obstruction.

This distinction premised, we may affirm of Music, as of all

* "Quarterly Review," No. clxvi., p. 481.

Art, that the material element is given in common to all men. All the notes, with all their modulations, of the most complex and elaborate composition, are, at this moment, going loose about the world; all the lines and colours, with all their curves, shadings, and gradations, of the works of Raffaelle and Titian, are before us every hour, fractional quantities in the sum of those impressions which make up our daily and sensuous life. But they are uncombined, dispersed, unorganized. It should seem, then, that some intelligent act, as of selection, arrangement, and subordination, must be required to bring these scattered materials within the scope and dominion of Art. Thus we are thrown back upon the human mind, its powers and laws, both of perception and activity, for the origin of Art.

If, indeed, we could hear all the sounds of Earth,—all its tumult, its grief, its agony; all shouts of victory, all pæans of success, all exclamations of impatience, all deep, calm utterances of heroic suffering and sublime endurance; if by us might be heard the voice of every creature that hath breath; then, doubtless, we should be conscious of a mightier concord than the heart of man hath yet conceived. So, if, from some place among the stars, we could look down, with a purged and piercing vision, on our native planet, and behold, at one wide glance, plain and mountain, river, and sea, and rock; the city and the wilderness, the grove, the forest; the fruitful peace, and the desolating war; here the effete and overcrowded territory, and there the virgin soil, the sail-less stream, the unpeopled savannah, and the boundless prairie; we should discern, within that single and vast impression, all the constituents of a picture, such as no mortal hands can attempt to trace. And yet the impression would, in either case, be most imperfect. For, as time and succession are essential not only to the completion of every natural presentment, but to the very being and course of Nature, to no ear could the universal symphony find due and perfect entrance, but to His who inhabiteth eternity; by no eye, but that which sees the end from the beginning, could the immense scene be contemplated in its integrity.

Does the illustration appear to transcend the importance of the subject? Then, consider that we use it for no other purpose than to remind you of that *unity of design* of which the whole cycle of natural phenomena is an exponent and a demonstration. To *one* end all the phases, movements, processes of Nature are perpetually contributing: over all reigns *one* inviolate law of order, interdependence, and proportion,—in a word, *one cosmical idea.*

And of that idea, the first and co-essential prescript is *form.* The scheme of the sidereal heavens is but a *form,* coeval with the stars, and determining their function. The human body, in like manner, is a form, without which the idea of man could not

be manifested and fulfilled; that is to say, man could not be man without flesh and blood.

Now all form is beautiful, exactly in proportion as it approaches to the pure and absolute form of the idea which it manifests. This, indeed, is the very definition of beauty, and the key to the strict meaning of that much-abused term "Æsthetics," the science which relates to the perception of ideal truth. But, "as one star differeth from another star in glory,"—for "there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars,"—so are there certain original and necessary differences, within the limits of the archetypal human, as of all other forms. "In the image of God created He man; male and female created He them;" thus establishing the first modificatiom of form by *character*. Not that the character is to be regarded as a mere accident or distinction of the form,—still the form follows the idea,—for the idea of woman is distinguished from that of man. It is the softer, gentler, the more tender, delicate, and passive counterpart of the vigorous, the active, the robust, and resolute in humanity. In either sex, too, the varieties of character are infinite. There are the strong, the proud, the stern, the dignified; and, on the other hand, the frail, the graceful, and the elegant,—according to the predominance of some elementary principle, or to some prevailing tendency. And these varieties disclose themselves by certain finer traits, which constitute a *characteristic expression, or specific expression of character.*

It would be an easy task to multiply examples of the manner in which every divine idea reveals itself in Nature. Every thought of God, in the mystic language of Philosophy, is a *word,* a self-substantiating *fiat;* at once purpose, and execution according to the purpose. Nature itself, in the highest sense, namely, that of a spiritual power, or *Natur-geist, (natura naturus,)* is but a phrase significant of that general idea or design of which the entire frame-work of phenomena *(naturæ naturata)* is the form, the organism, and result.

From the cedar and the oak, down to the meanest flower that blows,—the humblest seed that falls into the ground,—God giveth to each "a body as it hath pleased Him;" yet "to every seed his own body," that is to say, the very body which, comprehended in the idea, can alone expound and realize it.

Enough, however, has been said to show what is the law and method of the Divine Artist in all those "splendours of creation," which are still "bright as in the primal day."

It is to those works of man which, conceived in a kindred spirit, are developed by a process analogous to that of Nature,—works wherein a certain central and sovereign idea is projected in a form which it prescribes and assumes for itself as its own proper heritage and nature,—that the name of Art primarily

belongs. Such are the works which, in ancient Greece, procured for their author the title of *Ποιητής*, and which, in every language that contains a critical literature, are described as the offspring of a *creative* genius. Be the material what it may, the subject first has place as an idea in the mind of the artist, whence it springs into outward existence, clothing itself with a sensuous form, which is but a transcript (more or less perfect, according to the practical skill of the workman) of the form in which it arose on the imagination.

The fundamental condition of all artistic presentation, then, is *form*. We insist on this point all the more earnestly, because it is no uncommon thing for the young student of Art,—impatient of the difficulties that impede his acquisition of a consummate technical mastery of forms,—to content himself with a slovenly impression, or take refuge in some plausible contrivance for concealing his defect of knowledge and ability. Of this error, the pictures of Corregio afford innumerable examples. Spite of the fresh, warm, palpable vitality and voluptuous grace of his figures, there is a constant loss of outline, which, though it may exclude all harshness and rude angularity, is, nevertheless, a fault of no inconsiderable magnitude. It is not an easy matter to reconcile definite outline with the luxurious flow and rounded fulness which the great painter excelled in representing; but the business of the artist is to conquer, at whatever expense of labour and study, not to evade the difficulty. Compare the Venus of the National Gallery with the Medicean statue, and you will feel that a Greek critic would not have tolerated the loose drawing of the Bolognese master.

The same remark might be applied to more than one of the favourite works of a great musical composer of our own day. But he is one of whom we can hardly find it in our heart to speak otherwise than with affectionate and unmixed admiration, one whose compositions will live as long as the memory of genius, purity, and goodness is dear to the virtuous and the wise,—as long as the fantasies of hope, and the dreams of love and youth, are sweet,—as long as there are left in the world fair women and gentle-hearted men, to toy with children, to roam among the hills, to wander by moonlight on the banks of grove-embosomed lakes, to delight in the tales of Fairyland, and believe in Paradise.

Suppose it were your object to make a statue of *Man*,—such as he came from the hand of his Maker,—Man in his ideal perfection. Before you could accomplish that intention, you must be familiar with the lines and proportions of the human figure; and that not mechanically, as a shipwright with the ordinary structure of a vessel; but these must have been so collected by the eye, so thoroughly digested and assimilated by the mind, that the very conception of that statue should

evolve them. The inward image must be so true that, without the aid of any external model, or direction, you should know the precise configuration of the whole and of every part. This—at least we have the testimony of Cicero and of Proclus—was the way in which Phidias wrought his Jupiter; and when poor Haydon, with his usual rashness, was pleased to ridicule that statement, he only betrayed a total misapprehension of its meaning. The Athenian sculptor could not have had that mental image of the god, if the type of the human figure—perfect in all its details—had not been, in his mind, as inseparably associated with the thought of man, as the vernacular name of a thing is with every recollection of the thing itself. Haydon, indeed, contends that the Greek artists must have been accustomed to dissect,—a conclusion which is contrary to all historical evidence, and abundantly improbable. It is hard to believe that men so faithful to the truth of nature, in all that we know to have lain within the range of their observation, would ever have left us such impossible and monstrous combinations as the Hippo-centaur, if they had been anatomically acquainted with internal structures, osseous or muscular. The elongation of the vertebral column, the duplication of the *scapulæ* and arms,—the human head, with the brute tail,—and the absence of all *fulcra* and attachments for the dorsal, lumbar, and abdominal muscles of the upper portion of the figure, must, upon that hypothesis, have admonished them that such incongruous formations were inhibited by their own canons of artistic labour. The value of dissection, as a means of gaining the requisite accuracy in delineating the human frame, it is not possible to overrate; but it *is* possible to rely so exclusively upon the efficacy of the practice, as to encourage a neglect of what is of still greater importance, the *severe education of the eye*. No one doubts the need of a cultivated ear for music: fortunately, there is no such thing as musical anatomy; no collateral science, which can be called to supply the omission of direct training and execution of the organ itself. But whatever aid may be derived by the professor of a visual art from anatomical science, it is clear that as he appeals to the faculty of vision, upon that faculty he must mainly depend for his resources.

Now, the extent to which the eye may be trained, the amazing sureness and celerity of the glance of a disciplined organ, are but too little thought of. Yet the old archers of Sherwood,—the Knight whose lance, in the tournament or battle, always struck the centre of the shield or the crest of the helmet,—the adroit swordsman, the skilful pugilist, the sportsman who hits his bird through the body, breaking neither leg nor wing,—all exemplify the swiftness and the certainty which may be attained by ordinary powers of sight. Take a

jockey from Newmarket, and observe with what facility and promptitude he notes every minutest imperfection of shape, pace, carriage, or action of each particular horse in the field, and at once names—foul play and accident apart—the winner of the coming race. Cuvier, perchance, or Sir Charles Bell might arrive at the same conclusion, and be able to demonstrate, by learned anatomical reasoning, the inevitable correctness of his judgment; but most men on the turf would rule their bets rather by the expert eye of the horseman, than the deductions of the physiologist. That eye is conversant not merely with the general shape and development of muscle in the animal, as placed in certain postures of constraint, exertion, or repose, but with the whole varying play of muscular activity and life. The thin, sharp, bony face, the flashing eye, the restless ear and quivering lip, the broad hoof, the elastic tread, the wide chest, the firm high shoulder, and the vigorous haunch, with the flat, tendonous leg, the starting veins all palpitating through the skin, and the fiery impulse, as it were a vital spirit of power and speed, eager and tremulous, pervading every limb and tissue,—all these, and many another and nameless trait, decisive of the qualities and breeding of the race-horse, the professional trainer seizes and measures with the vivid rapidity of lightning,—by a mere *coup d'œil*. And if, by some voltaic energy, a legion of live horses, all in their highest state of action and excitement,—with arched necks and dilated nostrils, breathing, snorting, panting, recalcitrant and prancing, rearing and curvetting,—could be smitten into stone, we should have again what the patient labour of the chisel has achieved for us in the Elgin marbles.

It was from the exercises of the *palæstræ* and the public games, that the Athenian statuaries gained their miraculous knowledge of the fluctuating lineaments and momentary emergencies of animated form. Nor was that knowledge confined to those who made Art their occupation. The whole people had the benefit of the same physical training. From early youth every citizen underwent a course of athletic instruction, which, while it tended to invigorate and sharpen all the faculties of sense, made a peculiar demand on the keen and constant vigilance of the eye. In the ancient Greeks, moreover, something must be allowed for the influence of climate,—the pellucid clearness of a sky that threw out even the stars into prominent relief, an atmosphere so transparent, that they saw a skiey distance beyond the hill which bounded the horizon,—and the superior delicacy of southern organization. If this consideration be duly taken into account, we may, I think, fairly conclude, that to their exquisite cultivation of ocular power the Grecian sculptors were indebted for their unrivalled fidelity to the truth of active, stirring, and life-fraught form. And if

of that culture the immortal fragments in the British Museum are the evidence and the remaining fruits, surely we, in our humble attempts to produce what may be worthy of durable renown, cannot devote too much attention to this indispensable rudiment of a genuine artistic education. As the poet or the orator must have free and facile command of language, rhythm, and metre; or rather, as these, the ministerial agencies of his art, must have entered into his understanding, and become, if we may so speak, consubstantiated with it, so that every spontaneous thought emerges thoroughly armed, and clad with its own verbal shape and panoply; the mind of the sculptor or the painter must be so interpenetrated by the laws, and attoned to the ideal purity, of form, that his conceptions, such as they show themselves to his own inward view, shall be faultless and complete in linear definition. Such, at all events, was the case with Phidias; such the normal posture of the soul of a mighty artist. To that posture, that sovereign elevation, it may not be given to less than the highest genius to attain; but genius can only grow to its full stature and appointed strength by ardent aspiration and sublime endeavour, by struggling towards the inaccessible, and attempting the impossible; for it is the very spirit and distinctive attribute of genius to compass the infinite, and to wax great by the perpetual effort to embrace what must for ever elude its grasp, because transcendent of its reaches and capacity. And herein, truly, genius—as the word imports—is one with nature. In nature, every thing is subject to that agony and lively warfare which alone can lead to victory and peace. From the planet in its immeasurable orbit, to the weed that floats upon the tide, all things subsist by the wrestling of an inherent and projectile, against an outward and constrictive, force. All life, all motion, all organic processes, obey the rule. Every where there is conflict and travail,—the throes of the chained Prometheus,—and a striving of the vital and the free against the inert rock and the bond of fate, till the bond itself, expanding from the fervour of the contest, grows pregnant with the very life of the captive, and the body of Death is transfigured into the glorious liberty of the spirit which it envelopes and detains.

In one of the most brilliant of those tantalizing disquisitions, which, more than twenty years ago, were wont to find a place in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*, we remember to have read the following passage: "A profound thinker has said, that the man of genius is he who retains, with the perfect faculties of manhood, the undoubting faith and vivid impressions of the child. If the same characteristics may be applied to a nation as to an individual, then were the Greeks a *nation of geniuses*." This is most happily said. It points to the grand distinction between poetry and philosophy, and explains the fact that the

first great poet that the world ever heard, keeps the ear of all the nations and the ages, and by the marvellous product of his genius dictates the form and illustrates the laws of poetical narration to the end of time. True science underlies all art; but the conscious instinct of the poet anticipates it with inspired precision, and gives it in revelation to the world.

Homer is the most picturesque of poets. An epithet of his often includes, still oftener suggests, a picture. His descriptions of the aspects of Nature, and of all visual objects, have the power of setting the very object described before your eyes. The shepherd on the lonely hill-side, watching the stars,—the placid smile of ocean in the rays of the departing sun,—the laughter of the waves in the rising light, and the fresh morning air,—the silent camp, with its white tents hushed, and glimmering in the moonbeams,—the glance of lightning,—the crash and havoc of the thunder-bolt,—the stark trees looming spectral and ghastly through the mists of winter,—the cool, deep umbrage of the summer woods,—spring, with its tender verdure, its glistening streams, and its rosy dawn,—the fall of leaves in autumn whirled and eddying with the wind,—are all flashed on the reader with an irresistible clearness of presentment, which not unfrequently avails, for the moment, to shut out from conscious perception the things that actually surround him, as if he saw with his bodily eyes a veritable apparition—glorified, indeed, and evanescent, but warm and life-like—of the scene described. One might well believe, that, in the case of the old Grecian bard, physical blindness had been compensated by a tenfold intensity and brightness of intellectual vision,—such was the purity, and realistic faithfulness to external nature, of that rapt and inward gaze with which, musing on the Chian shore, he

> "*Beheld* the Iliad and the Odyssey
> Rise to the swelling of the voiceful sea."

But the genius of Homer, the artistic structure and complexion of his mind, is most of all conspicuous in the definite individuality of his personages, whether mortal or divine. The apostles of the *Scala Regia* are not more palpably discriminated by their several casts of countenance and personal configuration, than are the groups of the poet. His gods, his warriors, priests, heralds, messengers, have each a peculiar appearance, a bodily formation, mien, air, gesture, strictly his own, characteristic and significant.

How finely is the son of Telamon contrasted with Ulysses! how plainly distinguished both of them from either and both of the Atridæ, and they from the rest, as all the rest are from each other! I am speaking now not of recondite moral distinctions; but of those which are corporeal and patent,—differences

of limb and feature, of bulk, stature, and demeanour. Wh you read the few electric words which describe the slow, hea sway of an arm broad and fleshy, collecting force to cast t stone that no six men of later and degenerate times could ha lifted from the earth, you know instinctively, and without loo ing for the name of the hero, that the arm can no more belo to Hector, to Diomed, or to Achilles, than a Herculean *tor* can be a fragment of the statue of Apollo.

If, then, you can recall, and, at will, regard,—keeping t spectacle verily present to your mind,—these creatures of t heroic Muse, such as they are represented to have been in ou ward lineament and figure, you are not far from that mood thought, that mode of ideal conception, which, in concert wi supreme technical knowledge and perfect manual skill, produc the noblest specimens of Art that the world has seen. On tl point we shall have more to say, by-and-bye. Meantime, have another and collateral branch to trace of the natural h tory and educational procession of a learned and artistic spiri

It is a remarkable fact, that the Fine Arts have, in all ag clung to and delighted to illustrate the records and traditio of a prevailing religion. It is no less worthy of remark, th they have reached their culmination by dint of the same impul of the general intellect which has claimed to investigate a purify, if not to overthrow, the existing faith,—involving, as course all such movements must involve, more or less of in dental evil. The wave which, bearing them upon its crest, h left them fixed in their splendour on an everlasting height, h washed away much of the loose soil that overlaid the nak sternness of the rock, and, though it might be foreign, was n bare of flowers and herbage. The days of Pericles were mark as well by the growing impiety, the moral scepticism, and po tical depravity, which the Sophists both lived upon and foster as by that zeal—partly, no doubt, affected, but, in part, genuin though mistaken—for the popular creed which censured Æsch lus for an alleged disclosure of the Eleusinian Mysteries, a doomed Anaxagoras to banishment, and Socrates to deat The sixteenth century was not without some analogous featur We offer no solution of this fact; but merely allude to it for t sole purpose of directing attention to that astute, earne and inquisitive temper, which too often, on the opposite extrem of dangerous temerity and conservative intolerance, has, neve theless, largely pervaded the generations that have witnessed t noonday lustres of Sacred Art.

Let us assume that the reader participates that temper, r in its controversial asperities and virulent excesses; but in sanctity of feeling, its depth and keenness of inquiry, a its hearty fervour of approved conviction. That sincere a ardent spirit of religious faith—in itself a venerable and enr

bling property, irrespective of the intrinsic claims of the particular creed which it affects—is ever a rich fountain of imaginative strength. It enlivens the emotions; it stirs, concentrates, and invigorates the heart; and often breathes an adventitious and cordial energy into the functions of an intellect, else cold, and dull, and sterile. Even the annals of fanaticism—a species of insanity, which consists in a certain disorder and loss of the due balance of the powers of reason—are filled with evidences, many of them most pathetic, and all instructive, of the intellectual elevation wrought by a fervid spiritual belief. All glowing faith in the invisible has its visions and its prophecies,—things which, though they may degenerate into habitual ecstasies and rapts, are not, even then, to be confounded with simple delusion, any more than with fraudulent imposture. The word "enthusiasm," which the frigid and the heartless are accustomed to pronounce with a contemptuous emphasis, as if it conveyed a summary sentence of dismissal to the limbo of strenuous levities, upon labours too generous and disinterested to be comprehended by their own narrow sympathies, is the very term the Greeks used to designate that self-oblivious possession of the Pythia on her tripod by a divine afflatus, which, purging the soul from the impurities of earth, and shutting out all sordid predilections and coarse worldly realities, made her a *seer* of the designs of Heaven, a reader of futurity, an inspired interpreter of the decrees of Fate. Whatever corruptions may have crept into the service of the Delphian Oracle, the original theory of the service was, that, by virtue of a certain ritual of mediation, men might hold commune with a higher intelligence than their own, and derive aid and counsel for the guidance of their affairs, public or private, from that Spirit of Wisdom, which, "remaining in itself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and in all ages, entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God and prophets." The same conviction, in one shape or another, is common to all schemes of religion that have had place among mankind,—no matter how perverse, unsatisfactory, or vicious they may have been,—and to all sects and parties of religionists.

Luther had his dreams and preternatural visitations, no less than St. Francis and Ignatius Loyola. The English Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the German Anabaptists, had all their pneumatologies and their *Taishotz*, ("second sight,")—agreeing perfectly herein with the experience of Highland soothsayers and mediæval anchorites. The good and sagacious Dr. Doddridge, who disapproved of the introduction of paintings into any place of worship, nevertheless relates, without apparent suspicion of inconsistency, the conversion of his gallant friend, Colonel Gardiner, by the supernatural exhibition of a *picture* of the Crucifixion. We say advisedly "a picture;" with not the slightest intention of throwing discredit on the narrative, striking as in

every view it must be deemed: far otherwise. The fact of the impression is not immaterial to our argument. Neither do we desire to insinuate a doubt of the logical soundness of the explanation which refers the incident to miracle, and accounts it a direct revelation. Such questions have, indeed, a deeper charm than attaches to them on the score of psychological curiosity; but, in this place, they are quite beside the mark. We speak of this impression as a *picture*, because, relatively to the faculties which received it, such it was; and only as such could it have been made apparent. In the same sense we might, without a shadow of irreverence, call even the solemn visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and St. John, celestial and sacred *pictures*. The symbolic cherubim were not the less *statues* for having been modelled according to the pattern which was *showed* to Moses on the Mount. For our part, we never hear of an authentic *seer*, even though he be only a seer of ghosts, but we wish that he had been brought up an artist.

If, then, you in your youth partook of the warm, confiding heartiness and unquestioning sincerity of belief, without which, at any period of life, the mere semblance of religion is of little value, you could not fail to follow the narratives of the New Testament with a willing, wonder-stricken aptitude and recipiency of soul, that caused them to sink deep into your memory. Do you remember none of them, as they then fell into inceptive form, and stamped themselves upon the crystal tablets of imagination? The Nativity, and the herald company of angels, —the aged Simeon at the presentation in the Temple,—the Wise Men of the East with their tributes,—the nocturnal flight at the bidding of the guardian seraph,—the disputation with the Doctors,—the benediction of little children,—the raising of the dead,—the glory on Mount Tabor,—the entry into Jerusalem,— the dread agony in the Garden,—the Cross,—the Resurrection, —the Ascension,—are they not all imprinted on your minds, like scenes which you have actually witnessed? How clear they are! how lustrous in the midst of the floating, golden halo that surrounds them! how distinctly characterized! How the groupings vary of the very same persons, and the attitudes, and the whole composition, as the present event differs from the last recalled! How manifestly is the expression of the One radiant countenance, central amidst them all, counterpoised and interpreted by the responsive phases of expression discernible in the surrounding aspects,—its benignity, by gratitude; its majesty, by submission; its compassion, by supplicating hope; its awful love, by a love emulous, trembling, and ineffable! Foremost among the subordinate figures of these groups, there is a lovely, delicate, but not fragile, woman, in the full bloom of young maternity, with all the unfathomable riches of a mother's heart gleaming forth from meek, calm, marvelling

eyes, that, at a word, would overflow with tears,—happy, thankful, holy tears,—and yet anxious, self-commiserating, and premonitory of approaching sorrow. A kind of thrilling and blissful terror, and foreboding of predestinated woe, spreads, like the shadow of a cloud, over that fair, soft face, so sweet in its solemnity, so touching in its resignation, so sublime in its unutterable pathos. A mother,—but with all the dew of her maiden grace upon her, all the lucid purity of an unfolding lily. O gentle spirit! O fragrant innocence! Blessed indeed among women, but a woman still. All that the prayers of a wise and saintly father could ask of the gifts and spiritual airs of Heaven to be bestowed upon his only daughter, is seen to rest on and be poured around her. Ever sustained by the primal inspiration of the song, she seems to be inwardly revolving the exultant words, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour: for He hath regarded the lowliness of His handmaiden!" while yet her inmost heart quakes to the terrible prediction, "Yea, a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also." Have you no *such* visions? Heartily we trust you have not so long lived without them; for they are needful as a preparation for the study, and the deep delight which should be taken in the works, of Raffaelle.

But what, if, haunted by such visions from your first acquaintance with the sacred history, you should one day, wandering in a foreign land, be startled by beholding, actually and objectively, before your eyes, as in a mirror, the reflection of one, the most cherished of them all, only set forth in stricter proportions, fairer hues, and more harmonious arrangement of details, than you had been at the pains to imagine? Would not the effect be like a glimpse of some former and more blest existence? or a re-union with some long-lost object of your love? Yet it would hardly be too much to aver, that so absolute in its sphere was the genius of Raffaelle, that the scenes which he has painted cannot be truly seen otherwise than as he conceived and represented them. Other painters may have, in some rare instances, rivalled him in nobility and adequacy of conception. Michael Angelo even excelled him in a certain vastness and Titanic grandeur of design, that verged too frequently on rugged sublimity, and the ostensible exaggeration of a purpose too great to be executed by mortal hands. Leonardo da Vinci, in *one* picture, (the Logos,) has surpassed him in the awfulness of severe intellectual beauty; but none have ever been worthy to be compared to Raffaelle for manifest unity of thought, elegant correctness, the luxurious freedom and easy undulation of definite outline, chaste and learned composition, and, above all, for characteristic individuality of figure, and dramatic fulness of expression. We dare affirm of many—we had almost said, of all—of the finer works of Raffaelle, that you could not alter a

single line, deepen a shadow, or vary, in ever so trivial a degree, one solitary tint, without impairing the total effect of the picture.

Has it ever happened to the reader to recover from a dangerous illness? Then, peradventure, you may recollect how, when the fever left you,—when your temples no longer throbbed, nor your brains quivered, as with some fierce galvanic agitation, nor your limbs were racked with pain,—you lay, half slumbering, in a delicious, and not unthankful, sense of relief and rescue, idly endeavouring to collect and reduce to order the vague remembrances and fragmentary images of recent suffering that glimmered through the dubious twilight of reviving consciousness. A murmur as of streams and wind-stirred foliage is in your ears, and the odours of early flowers are wafted to you by the breeze that creeps through the opened casement, to fan your cheek, and welcome you back to life, with Nature's own kiss of love. And as the feeling grows and deepens that you are saved,—spared from death, restored to a world, which, with all its sorrows, none but the desperate or the mad are in haste to leave,—high thoughts return, of holy consolations lately whispered at your side, and words of hope and peace and immortality breathed over you with prayer and blessing. Then, as those words bring with them a flood of solemn, affecting, and yet elevating and celestial, associations, the associated images seem to assume an *outness*, and settle into a visionary symbol in the air. By unseen hands, a curtain that appears to hang in front of you is drawn apart; and beyond,—erect and buoyant upon clouds, and circumfused with an amber radiance, like the glow of congregated stars,—there stands a beatified resemblance of the figure which you have so often seen before, lifting away the coverlet from an awakening infant, or folding the same infant to her bosom, as she goes forth by night into the wilderness: the same sweet, sad, mysterious lustre in the eyes; the same chastened triumph swelling the breast, and almost bursting from the lips; the same yearning fulness of heart revealed in every lineament. Still in her arms she bears the infant God! and yet hardly bears, for the Divine Child raises Himself, as if He could receive no support from aught but His own sovereign volition. With the attitude of one enthroned, with an action of supreme command, and eyes that picture Infinitude, He sits bending slightly towards two suppliant forms that kneel below,—the one, an ancient Priest, clothed with the Roman *pallium;* the other, a woman of noblest beauty, though somewhat proud and stately, who, with hands clasped upon her breast, bows her head obediently, as if propitiated and assenting. Beneath, and leaning on a battlement, are two cherub messengers, one with uplifted wings, awaiting only the command to fly forth on their mission into space,—but both rapt in meditation, filled with poetic thought, and *listening*, as if—

——"Stopp'd upon the wing by sound
Of harmony, from heaven's remotest spheres."

Look more intently,—gaze into the shining depth of that ambient, aërial glory: it is alive, and thronged with radiant faces,—the host of angels praising the Son of God! At this moment, blended with the rich organ tones of a neighbouring church, a strain is heard,—

——"As from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices uttering joy,"—

the immortal *Gloria in excelsis* of the Twelfth Mass. The picture moves and breathes as though the dazzling life of the heavenly choir shot through it for a moment, and is gone!

Even such a picture did Raffaelle once behold, under some such circumstances as we have described, and fixed it on his canvass, for the eyes and souls of all generations of mankind for ever. We have a strong suspicion that the divine passage of Mozart to which we have just referred, was suggested by a reminiscence of the Sistine Madonna. In like manner we conjecture that the opening scenes of Goëthe's "Faust" were drawn, unconsciously no doubt, from the music of "Don Giovanni." Be this as it may, let us make peace with the lovers of high musical art, for the reluctant omission of the ampler notice which, if our limits permitted, we should be only too glad to bestow on the peculiar principles and virtues of their favourite pursuit, by quoting a confession of Mozart,—a confession that, if his works did not attest their author's claim to the distinction, would avail to place him in the foremost rank of profound and genial artists:—

"You say," writes the great composer, "you should like to know my way of composing, and what method I follow in writing works of some extent. I can really say no more on this subject than the following: for I myself know no more about it, and cannot account for it. When I am, as it were, completely myself, entirely alone, and of good cheer,—say, travelling in a carriage, or walking after a good meal, or during the night, when I cannot sleep; it is on such occasions that my ideas flow best and most abundantly. *Whence* and *how* they come, I know not; nor can I force them. Those ideas that please me I retain in memory, and am accustomed, as I have been told, to hum them to myself. If I continue in this way, it soon occurs to me how I may turn this or that morsel to account, so as to make a good dish of it, that is to say, agreeably to the rules of counterpoint, to the peculiarities of the various instruments, &c.

"*All this fires my soul*, and, provided I am not disturbed, my subject *enlarges itself*, becomes methodized and defined, and the whole, though it be long, stands almost complete and finished in my mind, so that *I can survey it like a fine picture, or a beautiful statue, at a glance. Nor do I hear, in my imagination, the parts* SUCCES-

SIVELY, *but I hear them all at once.* What a delight this is, I cannot tell! All this inventing, this producing, takes place in a *pleasing, lively dream.* Still the actual hearing of the *tout ensemble* is, after all, the best. What has been thus produced I do not easily forget; and this is, perhaps, the best gift I have my Divine Maker to thank for."—*Holmes's Life of Mozart.*

We have particularly adverted to the Madonna of the Dresden Gallery, not merely because, in our judgment, it far excels all others that were ever painted, either by Raffaelle himself, or any of his illustrious compeers; but because, both in the Mother and the Christ, you have a superlative example of a power which the fewest of Christian artists have, to any extent, participated;—the power, namely, of *synthetic* expression,—of representing the co-existence, resolution, and inter-union of two opposite natures or conditions in the same subject;—origin—maternity—humanized Godhead. There is, I believe, an unauthenticated tradition that, in the first instance, —before his dream,—Raffaelle had traced a sketch of the Magi doing homage to the new-born Messiah, which he effaced for the sake of embodying the finer conception. If the title of the picture, as it stands, might be taken from the Christ, rather than from Mary, it might still be called the "*Epiphany*,"—"God *manifested* in the flesh." This power, the supreme accomplishment of pictorial genius, is equally observable in the Cartoons, which, in other respects, may be pronounced the most perfect of all extant designs. Some day we hope to have the satisfaction of giving a critical exposition of these wonderful compositions. For the present we must, perforce, be content with a passing indication of one remarkable feature. It is this. The principal figures in several of the Cartoons are such absolute types of *character,*—the *action* being characteristic,—the *expression integral* and independent upon other portions of the work for its significance,—and the *moment* one of which the interest is distinctive and peculiar to the person,—that they might be transferred to marble without alteration.

The Christ of the "Charge to Peter" would make a statue that should put Thorwaldsen to the blush. The Apostle raising the lame man in the Porch of the Temple,—the St. Paul flinging the lightning of heaven upon the face of Elymas, or preaching at Athens,—would tell their own story, if they stood by themselves, in sculptural isolation.

The province of Sculpture, narrower than that of Painting, is subject to a severer rule of ideal simplicity. But as the limits of the art are stricter, so are its aims proportionably higher,—its intellectual relations more subtile and profound. It is conversant with abstractions; it incarnates the invisible. It embodies entities of the pure reason, and turns to shape the airiest inventions of poetic fancy. Whatever cannot be con-

ceived apart, entire and insulated; whatever owes its character to aught that is accessory, circumstantial, or extraneous to itself,—is alien to the business of the statuary. It is only where the idea is necessarily pluriform,—as in the Graces or the Parcæ,—that the rigorous law of Sculpture admits of composite masses. You may show Hercules wrestling with Antæus, or Laocoön and his children writhing in the folds of the serpents; for there the *thought* is *one*, though complex: but if you placed a spectator on the pedestal, a dog watching the contest, or even a friend approaching to assist, or to deliver, you would commit an arbitrary solecism. You might as well pretend to constitute yourself a part of the work; any casual bystander would have quite as much to do with the design as your impertinent addition. What the sculptor has to accomplish is, to present an *express image* of some rational unity,—some homogeneous conception, in which *character* can be revealed by *form*, as the soul by the body. And of all statuesque *compositions* it is the peremptory and abiding canon, that every individual figure or group, evidently contributing to the general import of the whole assemblage, must be so definitively characterized as to lose nothing of its distinguishable identity, if every other part of that composition were annihilated. The Juno must be Juno, whether she be seated by the side of the Thunderer, or left alone,—the Apollo none other than the god of light and harmony, whether his immortal brethren be around him or away. And inasmuch as Sculpture can but seize the mute action of an indivisible point of time, while to that action it imparts the duration of eternity, it is needful that the act selected should be one critically distinctive, supremely characteristic of the permanent being and spirit of the agent. Hence, if the might and worth of genius may be estimated by the difficulties which it solves, and the austere legislation which it conforms to, and, by conforming, renders subservient to its triumphant self-assertion, there can be no question that the great Athenian sculptures were the products of a genius transcendent and incomparable.

It is now about two thousand three hundred years since Phidias was commissioned by the Athenian people to superintend the restoration of the temples and monuments destroyed by the Persians in their second invasion, and the erection of new and more splendid ones than had before existed any where in Greece. Calling to his assistance his two scholars, Alcamenes and Agoracritus, he communicated to them the outlines of his intended operations, and allotted to each his share of labour; to Ictinus and Callicrates, the best architects of the age, he assigned the duty of preparing plans for the greater temple of the tutelary goddess; and committed to Mnesicles, a worthy rival of those eminent men, the task of raising the *Pro-*

pylæa,—a hexastyle colonnade with wings, which was to serve as a sort of ornamental fortification to the Acropolis on its only accessible side, and, at the same time, to form a suitable approach to the magnificent shrines of the national worship. The site of those superb structures is a tabular rock,—about three hundred yards in length upon its surface,—which stands in the midst of the ancient city, towering above the Street of Tripods to the height of one hundred and fifty feet, every where precipitous, except at its western extremity, where, says Stuart, "with no small labour and diligence, the entrance has been constructed." Nearly in the centre of the *plateau,* stood in its glory, as now in melancholy ruin, the stupendous frame of marble which the great artist had demanded for his mythic and commemorative sculptures; for it is not to be supposed that the statues and *relievi* which adorned the exterior of the building were mere architectural embellishments. On the contrary, the whole unrivalled edifice was regarded only as a proportionate stage or scaffolding for the due exhibition of the symbols of the religious faith, the traditional grandeurs, the ceremonial pomp, and the political ascendancy of Athens. It consisted of a *naos,* or *cella,* divided into two compartments, of which the smaller was used as a treasury, or place for depositing the dedicated spoils of war,—the anterior and larger being sanctified by the presence of a chryselephantine idol, thirty feet in stature, of the deity to whom the Attic soil was consecrated,—surrounded by a Doric peristyle of forty-six columns, eight at each end, and seventeen on either side. The metopal, and the Panathenaic frieze, of which so large a portion of the relics is in the Elgin Saloon of the British Museum, are familiar to all visitors of that Institution. It is more than seven years since we last saw them, but (as Wordsworth sings of the lakes of Northern Italy) they have left their beauty with us; and, under a strong conviction of the important educational influences of art, we will conclude by submitting to the reader what appears to us a probable interpretation of the design of Phidias in the pediment of the eastern and principal front of the Temple.

To that design belong the marbles numbered ninety-one to ninety-eight, inclusive, in the Catalogue of the Elgin collection. Alas, that they should be so few! Many different accounts of the figures have been given, some of them simply absurd, others sufficiently ingenious, but either imperfect in themselves, or very imperfectly developed. Except in two or three not unimportant *minutiæ,* our own opinion differs little from that of Bröndsted, who, however, fails to furnish any adequate exposition of the meaning and specific designation of the whole.

The subject of these sculptures, we learn from Pausanias, was the birth of Minerva; and no explanation can be worthy of acceptance, which does not connect the action of every figure

in the groups with that event. The spectator placed in front of the Temple saw to his left, in the southern angle of the pediment, the head and shoulders of Hyperion, or Helios, (the sun-god,) emerging from the sea, with arms stretched forward restraining the steeds of his chariot, as they rose, chafing and impetuous, from the billows. On the other side, the car of Night, (a female figure robed and veiled,) with its matchless horses, was sinking down into the waves. It has been conjectured that by the waves, at either extremity of the composition, the artist intended to denote the *River* ocean which was supposed to girdle the world, thereby intimating that the incident represented was of universal interest. But the obvious and material purpose of the two opposite groups was, doubtless, to signify the moment of dawn, or commencing sun-rise, the early day-break, synchronous with the lingering departure of nocturnal darkness.

Next to Hyperion was the statue commonly known as Theseus,—a name to which it has no other title than the very equivocal circumstance of being seated on the skin of some wild animal. What the slayer of the Minotaur could have to do with the nativity of the goddess, so long antecedent to his own, it would be no easy matter to discover. Mythic chronology, it is true, was a thing conveniently indeterminate and accommodating; but unless some paramount necessity required the presence of Theseus in this place, it had, plainly, enough of authority to exclude him. Nor is this the only reason for rejecting the hypothesis. Of all the Attic heroes, Theseus is the one who was least specially favoured of Minerva: rather he was the *protégé*—according to Euripides, the son—of Neptune. Neither would it have been compatible with the reverent decorum of mythological art to have exhibited a mere traditional demi-god, a canonized human being, who had once been subject to death, as witnessing or taking part in a transaction which concerned the internal relations of the family of *the immortals*,—the highest race of deities. Observe, too, as we proceed, that the other subsidiary figures are all symbolic,—a consideration which precludes us from holding the statue in question to be that of Theseus, unless he can be shown to be a type or personification of some power or attribute, either of nature or divinity, appropriate to the occasion. Visconti calls this inimitable fragment, "Hercules resting after his labours;" to which the one conclusive reply is, that the figure is *not* resting, as any body may satisfy himself by a glance at the erected neck, and the muscles of the right arm and leg. It is in the act to arise and move from his couch, like a man newly aroused from sleep; and in this particular it is finely contrasted with the recumbent Fate, which corresponds to it on the northern side, and in which you see the perfect *abandon* of female composure to repose. More-

over, the muscular contraction of the right fore-arm indicates an easy clenching of the hand, as if it grasped a spear, while the height of that arm, and the slight fulness of the biceps, seem to prove that the spear was pressed against the ground. Now this action agrees with that of Cephalus, as he usually appears on the ancient coins of Cephalonia. Although the legendary apocrypha of Athenian story confound this mythical creature with certain supposititious heroes of the same name, there can be little doubt that he was originally, as that name argues, an impersonation of shade, or *twilight*, called *Κέφαλος, quasi κνέφαλος*, from *κνέφας, diluculum*. The propriety of placing a symbolic figure of Twilight in juxta-position with the rising sun, before which it is about to fly, is obvious; and here the statue answers to the myth which relates that, as Aurora opened the gates of heaven, she descried Cephalus looking out for the coming day, with his hunting spear in his hand, and, enamoured of his beauty, carried him off to Olympus, and wedded him.

The next group consists of two seated female figures, with a third upright and advancing, her light cloak fluttering behind, which are generally known as Ceres and Proserpine, with Iris before them. They are, I apprehend, the Horæ, or Seasons,—*two* in the primitive scheme of mythology; but afterwards a third and younger sister was added. Their names, Dice, Eunomia, and Irene, were significant of the analogy which was deemed to prevail between the course and due state of the physical world and the moral. Irene, the bland, hopeful, and cheering Spring, was a type of peace, which could only proceed from the two kindred powers,—Eunomia, Summer, whose even brightness and fruitful regularity outshadowed the condition of a well-conducted polity; and Dice, in whom the stern, cold gravity of Winter was a fit emblem of the crude and germinal principle of social law. The right hand of Irene being linked in that of Eunomia, while the elder sister laid her head upon the shoulder of the latter, suggested the idea of rude, primæval justice, typified by Winter, having resigned her more direct and coarser rule, giving way to the riper developments and formal proprieties of Eunomia, who was sending forth Irene on her beneficent mission. Yet, by one of those exquisite felicities of genius which distinguished the old Greek art, the glad, airy, salient image of Irene turns itself slightly towards the others, as it moves, as if looking to them for guidance, and confessing its dependence upon their counsels and determination. This movement being such as to describe an arc, also implied the union and cyclical succession of the three, as essential to the existence and the destinies of each.

These three figures, along with that which I take to be Cephalus, are balanced on the opposite side of the picture, by the Fates, and a statue of Victory, winged. The Chevalier Bröndsted

thinks that the last must have been a fourth Fate,—one of those special attendants on divine personalities which were not unknown to Grecian fancy. Unfortunately for this notion, the sockets for the wings are still visible in the shoulders of the torso; and who ever heard of a *flying* Fate? Besides, if we have regard to that principle of complement and equipoise, which is apparent in the extreme points of the composition, and must be presumed to have had sway throughout, we shall find that Victory, and nothing else, is the needful counterpart of Irene. The *chord* cannot otherwise be completed.

Victory, then, with an action corresponding to that of the Irene, not having yet withdrawn the look reverted in petition to Clotho, the youngest of the Fates, for leave to join herself to the Virgin Warrior,—receiving that permission, stretches her wings to fly to the side of her henceforth inseparable ruler and companion. To this permission Lachesis consents, laying aside her distaff, solemnly authorized to confirm the grace by Atropos, the inexorable, the determiner, who, casting herself down, weary and released, contemplates the departing night as the sign of rest, and the termination of her remorseless reign.

The chasm which unhappily occurs between the Seasons and the Winged Victory, leaves only too wide a space open to conjectural sagacity. M. Quatimère de Quincy gives a drawing of the supposed group, in which Jupiter appears, seated on a throne, with his head gaping like a volcano, and the goddess ascending through the rift:—a monstrous and revolting representation, on which Phidias could never have ventured, without incurring the doom that awaited public impiety. Bröndsted, rejecting this fancy as hideous and impossible, is of opinion that Minerva was seen rising from *behind* her sire. With great deference to the antiquarian learning of that astute writer, we cannot readily believe that any part of the entire figure of the deity was concealed. On the face of her own supreme temple, she must, I think, have been the most conspicuous person represented. Looking, therefore, to the outline prescribed by the form of the tympanum, and to the known object of the composition, we suggest, not without diffidence, that the throne of Jove was raised above the floor of the pediment, the eagle being placed below his feet. As the goddess, in her glittering armour, springing from his brain, alighted on the topmost step, or, perchance, partly on the rim of the Ægis, the paternal god drew himself back, inclining to the left, to observe the prodigy,—a posture which afforded opportunity to mark, by the returning motion of the head, the inchoate *nod*, his approbation of her presence, and sovereign confirmation of her gifts; while she, leaning towards him with a beginning gesture of homage and salutation, brought her golden crest and spear into the apex of the pediment. Behind

the throne stood Ilithyia, in attendance on the parent, and an augury of happy fortune to the child, balanced by Venus Murcia, with expanded arms, prepared to welcome and endow with her own beauty the resplendent stranger. Near to her, half retiring in amazement, but still fixed in admiration, stood Vulcan, leaning on his hatchet, to whom corresponded, on the other side, Prometheus: one, the deity who presided over the mechanical arts, all structural labour, and craft of execution; the other, he who, by pure wisdom, reasonable forethought, and prophetic imagination, (the sources, among other things, of design,) had command, as we learn from Æschylus, of the fontal principles,—the animating *fire* and spiritual wealth of Art. Next to Prometheus came Mercury, the genius of prudential shrewdness, politic craft, and persuasive speech; counterpoised by Mars, the spirit of vigorous, fiery, and prompt self-vindication: and beyond them, corresponding to each other, Bacchus, the personified element of fervid, joyous, vital, youthful energy and inspiration; opposed to his appropriate supplement and antithesis, the venerable Themis, maternal deity of counsel, order, and legislation. The combined attributes of these several deities made up that synthesis and consummation of the powers of godhead, which constituted Minerva the equal and the favourite of the Thunderer himself. To the right, all was morning and opening light, and youth, and spring, and peace, setting out on her career of blessing; to the left, Victory set free, and rushing to the side of her future and perpetual mistress, Fate, abdicating all dominion over one whose destinies were in her own control, and darkness disappearing from the scene. And thus was symbolized and visibly declared to the world,—what, indeed, the Temple itself betokened,—*the dawn of a new and glorious era.* Thus was it proclaimed, that the birth of the guardian goddess of Athens, the last and noblest of the offspring of Jove, inaugurated a fairer age, a more auspicious domination.

The spoils of the vanquished Persians affording gold in inexhaustible abundance, the people, in the raptures of their triumph, insisted on a profuse employment of the precious metal to decorate the sacred sculptures. The blaze of light reflected from the pure white walls was so intense and uniform, that the very columns threw a shadow on the building which they enclosed: hence it was judged necessary that *colour* (vermilion, blue, green, and saffron) should be used, on both the statues and the metopes,—as well to bring the gilding into chromatic harmony, as to give relief and full effect to the composition, especially as viewed from a distance. Like some serene and steadfast cloud, self-moulded into symmetry, hung in the purple ether, the mariner, as he sailed round Cape Sunium, on his way to the Piræus, beheld the fane of his divine patroness resting upon the rock, and bearing on its front the august and life-

like effigies, which spoke to him of proud achievement and propitious deity; and as he gazed upon the phantom, refulgent with the ardours of a Grecian sun, he fell on his knees and worshipped, as if he recognised therein a bright celestial Apocalypse, and discerned with open face the gods in their own radiant persons, "breathing empyreal air," instinct with immortality, and moving stately and sublime in their native and congenial element. It was on the farther side of the Ilissus, almost directly opposite to the face of the Parthenon, that, as Plato represents, Socrates and his young friend Phædrus reclined at summer noon under the shade of the plane-tree, in a spot sacred to Acheloüs and certain nymphs, discoursing of love and beauty, and the immutable principles of æsthetic rectitude and truth. One of the gorgeous fables with which the sage entertained and edified his companion, while they inhaled the odours of the *agnus-castus*, not all unconscious of the ripple of the river, or the shrill chirrup of the grasshoppers, was evidently caught from the arrangement of the marbles now under consideration. As they rose to quit the scene of a dialogue as memorable for its kindly tone of mingled sympathy and apprehension, as for the subtile speculations which result in lessons of deepest wisdom and affectionate monition, Socrates says:—

"Shall we not offer up a prayer before we go?

"PHÆDRUS.—Why should we not?

"SOCRATES.—O beloved Pan! O benignant, gracious, and kindred spirit of all vital nature! and all ye gods, ye divine principles, activities, and influences, whose dwelling is in this place! grant me to be *beautiful in soul;* that so all I possess, or can accomplish, of things external, may be at peace, in concord, unity, and adequation with those within. Teach me to esteem *wisdom*, the genial discernment of the good, the true, the fair, the only riches; and give me so much wealth, the actual possession of those riches, and so much only, as a good and holy man may both manage and enjoy.—Phædrus, want we any thing more? for *my* prayer is finished.

"PHÆDRUS.—Pray that I may be even as yourself; for the blessings of friends are common."

It is in the spirit of that prayer, in the faith of that response, that we desire, according to our opportunities and power, to do what in us lies to make our friends, and fellow-citizens in general, participant of the pure and ennobling pleasure which attends the study of Art,—a pleasure which, limited by scant attainments and imperfect insight, has, nevertheless, been fruitful to ourselves of many of the dearest blessings of our life. It is a spur to various and high intellectual exertion, inferring much of patience, fortitude, and hopeful energy: for Art is not, nor ought to be regarded as, the frivolous embellishment of an idle and voluptuous existence, but the fine inspiration of a thoroughly accomplished understanding,—an understanding not severed from the heart, and commencing only with the rigid

formalities and iron mechanism of worldly science, "purchasing knowledge by the loss of power;" but fed, and warmed, and brightened, and endued with genial sagacity by the living soul that flows through and impregnates its whole substance and activity. As long as there are faculties in man which can find their aliment and satisfaction in nothing else than ideal semblances of the good, the true, and the beautiful, so long will Art remain a profound necessity of human nature: nor can that nature ever be adorned with the final grace and loveliness of Virtue,—never can it be verily invested with the perfect "beauty of holiness,"—till it has learned to appreciate and reverence the holiness of Beauty.

ART. VI.—1. *The Chemistry of Common Life.* By JAMES F. W. JOHNSTON, M.A., F.R.S.S. London and Edinburgh, Author of "Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry and Geology," "A Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry and Geology," &c. In Two Vols. 8vo. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1855.

2. *Household Chemistry: or, Rudiments of the Science applied to Everyday Life.* By ALBERT J. BERNAYS, Ph.D., F.C.S., Author of "Lectures on Agriculture," &c. Third Edition, considerably enlarged. 12mo. London: Sampson Low and Son. 1854.

ST. AUGUSTINE reckons up a dozen different divinities employed about a stalk of corn; every one of whom, according to his particular function, takes a peculiar care of it at different times, from the moment the seed has been thrown into the earth till the produce arrives at maturity. Augustine was a man of enthusiastic temperament and poetic fervour; but this is the remark of Rollin, who was neither the one nor the other. Dr. Adam Smith, a man still less to be suspected of "the vision and the faculty divine," was the first to ascribe to the processes of Art this multiplex agency at work in nature, in his well-known passage on the manufacture of a pin: "One man draws out the wire, another straights it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head; to make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it in is a peculiar business, to whiten the pins is another; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper; and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which in some manufactories are all performed by distinct hands," &c. Such is the foundation of that celebrated work, the "Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations;" for such is the foundation on which is reared Smith's superstructure of "the *division* of

labour,"—an astounding exposition, accounting for the manufacture of 48,000 pins by ten men in one day, equivalent to 4,000 a piece; whilst one man, separately, could not have made twenty, perhaps not even one.

This simple passage, with its common-place illustration, has been fated to change the destinies of our political economy. It embodies one of those thoughts or reflections, striking from their originality, yet universal in their acceptance. Few would ever stoop to think at all about the number of hands or operations requisite to produce a pin; yet many must have reeled with astonishment at the vast details of so small a fact, underneath whose coverture the prying philosopher thus found lurking the gigantic principles of productive labour.

With all common things it is the same, if we choose to investigate them properly. Science applies her glass to the most familiar speck of matter, and unfolds marvels undreamt of by the mass of minds. Compacted and impenetrable ignorance alone now shuts its eyes and closes its ears to these disclosures. Time was when even philosophers were content to muddle themselves in a mire of speculation; when a witty King Charles could hoax the Royal Society he had founded, by engaging its flunkeyism in the solution of a royal enigma, without pausing to consider the previous question,—the truth of what had been premised. Now-a-days we are disposed to take nothing for granted, and to suffer nothing to be unexplained, the greatest outcry and reproach against our educational systems resolving into the charge of ignorance of common things. Not that we have retrograded so far as to be no longer able to call a spade a spade. Common things we know as well as our ancestors, and, as we shall see presently, make less ludicrous mistakes about them, though, unfortunately both for them and for us, *names* are not *things*, and names alone are still best known to us. The prosecution of more tangible researches has taught us to believe, with Socrates, that "all we know is,—that we know nothing;" or, with Newton, that, like children at play upon a sea-shore, we have been but picking up pebbles there, whilst the great ocean of truth extends unexplored beyond. Some of the questions started in Sir Thomas Browne's "*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*" are necessarily, as "vulgar errors," sadly in arrear of some once propounded by the Royal Society, although it could hardly be conceived possible for grave, perhaps learned, men to transcend the latter in absurdity; and both together present a remarkable contrast to the state of our ordinary knowledge now. The rise of inquiring spirits like the German Barons Humboldt and Liebig,—the one ransacking Cosmos itself in every department of research, the other probing the really more hidden, because less heeded, arcana of domestic life,—lays bare, however, the paucity of our facts, and the poverty

of our information, on the very points that most intimately concern us, on the very conditions blended with our existence, and the consequences attendant on its indulgence, the few truths discovered barely rendering the darkness visible. Yet can we as heartily affect, as if it were not so very questionable if we can afford, to despise and ridicule the Magi (for they were little better) of the middle and close of the seventeenth century, as if their right reverend historian Bishop Thomas Sprat, of Rochester, the friend of the calm, contented poet Cowley, had not found occasion to indulge in a similar tone towards "the first Monarchs of the world, from Adam to Noah," in his "Epistle Dedicatory" in honour of his Sacred Majesty King Charles. "They lived so many years," says this ingenious Prelate, "and taught their posterity to keep sheep, to till the ground, to plant vineyards, to dwell in tents, to build cities, to play on the harp and organ, and to work in brass and iron; and if they deserved a sacred remembrance for one natural or mechanical invention, your Majesty will *certainly* obtain immortal fame for having established a perpetual succession of inventors." Apsley Pellatt, or Osler and Co., are doubtless in our day proof against Pliny's opinion, that crystal is "*gelu vehementiore concretum;*"* and very likely know well enough that whatever it *may be*, it *is* nothing of the sort: notwithstanding, this extorted from the vanquisher of "vulgar errors" well nigh a dozen pages of demonstration, showing what crystal really is, and in particular—that it is *not* ice. Sir Thomas Browne's refutation of the fable, that Mahomet's tomb at Medina "hangeth in the ayr between two load-stones," and his trite but true explanation, "that it is of stone, and built upon the ground;" his earnest protestation that the diamond, "which is the hardest of stones, not yielding to steel, emery, or its own powder, cannot be soften'd or broken by *the blood of a goat;*" his invocation of Aristotle "On the Mode of Progression in Animals" to disprove the assertion that the elephant, being unable to lie down, *sleeps against a tree*, ending with historical proof of "that memorable show of Germanicus, wherein twelve elephants daunced unto the sound of musick;" not to mention the oracular deliverance, "That some elephants have not only *written whole sentences*, as Ælian ocularly testifieth, but have *also spoken*, as Appianus delivereth, and Christophorus à Costa particularly relateth; although it soundeth like that of Achilles' horse in Homer, we do not conceive possible!"—are not by any means the most surprising instances of the learned Knight's elaborate antagonism to popular error; for it may readily be guessed how

* The whole passage is as follows:—"*Contraria huic (calori nempe) causa crystallum facit, gelu vehementiore concreto. Non aliubi certé reperiuntur quàm ubi maximè hybernæ nives rigent, glaciemque esse certum est, unde et nomen Græci dedére.*"—*Hist. Nat.*, lib. xxxvii., 9.

rapidly the doctrine, "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico,*" would consecrate to vulgar superstition such objects as the tomb of the false prophet, diamonds, and elephants. But it pains us to think that the superb knowledge and indefatigable research of this able and enlightened man, as well as of Sir Kenelm Digby, the most accomplished physician of his time, should have been chiefly taxed to demonstrate such truisms as that of the horse and dove having galls like other creatures; that the beaver, (query, civet?) in order to escape from the hunters, does *not* have recourse to the *dernier ressort* of self-castration; that a "brock," or badger, has not in reality the legs upon one side of its body shorter than upon the other (though by the footprints in last winter's Devonshire snow we might be led back towards this exploded notion); that the she-bear does *not* bring forth her young unformed, and lick them into shape; that a man does *not* become hoarse or dumb, if a wolf should have the advantage of eyeing him *first;* that the griffin and the phœnix, with all their traditionary attributes, exist not in nature; and that frogs and toads do not truly possess all the properties superstitiously ascribed to them; nay, that a salamander does not really live in the flames; that lampreys do not exactly have nine eyes, or moles none, or snails two, at the ends of their horns; that the chameleon does *not* feed on air. These and many more notorious vulgarisms demanding refutation as serious oppressions on the human mind, truly present a lamentable picture of the intellectual darkness and barrenness of common sense amidst which society moved two centuries ago. So inveterate were some of these singular hallucinations, that the astute medical Quixote of vulgar errors himself had evidently not the nerve to quell them. It appears, at all events, highly probable, that he secretly conceived that the ostrich, which he ludicrously designates *struthio-camelus,* or "sparrow-camel," (to use his own expression,) "digesteth iron;" for, on the strength of the analogy, he decidedly commends to the human subject the practice of swallowing cherry-stones to prevent surfeit from the fruit, admitting them to be voided unconcocted; and quaintly remarking, in support of the proceeding, that in culinary operations "flesh boils best when the bones are boiled with it." With regard to flesh, by-the-bye, it ought to be mentioned that Sir Thomas Browne was a vegetarian. He tells us that as for eating flesh, "there is no absolute necessity to feed on any; and if we resist not the stream of authority, and several deductions from Holy Scripture, there were no sarcophagi before the flood," (an occurrence, however, whereby he admits, on the margin, the *natural virtue* of vegetables to have been impaired,) "and our fathers from vegetable aliments preserved themselves unto longer lives than their posterity by any other." Even in the subsisting state of discovery, Sir Thomas Browne and his com-

peers stand excused for exhibiting ignorance of some things; as, for instance, in their speculations respecting the origin of ambergris; since not one particle of further information on the subject will be found in the work of Professor Johnston now before us, unless, indeed, as the sum and substance of modern pretence, we are pleased to accept the analytical jargon, that "eighty-five *per cent.* of the whole is ambreine, a fragrant substance, soluble in alcohol." Browne, with few to bear him countenance, bravely gives way, it is true, to suppositions, and boldly dares hypotheses of which Johnston would never dream; and his works are thus signalized by the adoption of errors, which a long succession of intervening investigators have enabled his modern disciple to eschew. Browne is clear, indeed, that cinnamon, ginger, clove, mace, and nutmeg are *not* the several parts and fruits of one and the same tree; but not at all so clear—indeed, egregiously wrong—concerning what they really are. Thus also he rejects, as a vulgar error, the popular opinion, which for once happens to be correct, that "the *viscus arboreus*, or 'misletoe,' is bred upon trees from seeds which birds, especially thrushes and ring-doves, let fall thereon," being in fact a parasitical plant; concurring rather with Lord Verulam (a great name) and others, that it emanates *from the tree itself* in a different and secondary form from "the specifical intention" of the tree. So little was this utter impossibility in vegetable physiology then comprehended. Browne, who beautifully and philosophically, though quaintly, delivers himself of the sentiment, "Although proverbs be popular principles, yet is not all true that is proverbial; and in many thereof, there being one thing delivered and another intended, though the verbal expression be false, yet the proverb is true enough in the verity of the intention,"—venerated too much the very errors which he contemned, to be able to discriminate with due severity the subtle distinctions of truth and falsehood. With him it was "*Vox populi vox Dei;*" his respect and deference for the popular voice rendered him so solicitous to emancipate it from error. He was too good a classic to believe, although the ancients did, that bays will afford protection from thunder and lightning; for, besides a direct "experiment" which he cites, "of a bay-tree blasted in Italy" by Vico Mercatus, he knew historically that Tiberius with this intent presumptuously (yet with what secret dread!) wore the laurel on his temples; and he applauded in preference the prudence of Augustus, who, for refuge from the storm, was fain to ensconce his dignity under hollow vaults and arches. Yet witness our "ancient sage philosopher's" notion of "how beer and wine come to be spoiled by lightning," as there can be no mistake they do! "Now," says he, "that beer, wine, and other liquors are spoiled with lightning *and thunder*, we conceive it proceeds not only *from noise* and con-

cussion of the air, but also noxious spirits (gases?) which mingle therewith and draw them to corruption; whereby they become not only dead themselves, but sometimes deadly unto others, as that which Seneca mentioneth, whereof whosoever drank either lost his life or else his wits upon it." Liebig or Johnston might furnish a different exposition of the atmospheric changes produced by this species of electric action; but although they possibly never imagined that both Seneca and Sir Thomas Browne were before them, could they supply a more cogent exposition of the fact, that thunder spoils beer, and therefore beer is spoiled by thunder?

But if we compare notes respecting common medicinal and other Plants, with a view of illustrating the progress of the philosophy of common things, as we purpose doing, in order to evince the advantages thence accruing to the science of physical life, we are afraid that we shall discover the prevalent misapprehensions of the times of Sir Thomas Browne to be still more remarkable, and the value of the truths epitomized in the two volumes of the "Chemistry of Common Life," by Professor Johnston, and the single volume of "Domestic Chemistry," by Dr. Bernays, infinitely more striking.

Browne remarks that many of the gross errors of his day arose out of delusions adopted from the names of plants. People were then more accustomed to regard names than things. In our time, we are, or ought to be, in little danger from this source of error. Study is no more pronounced,—

> ——————"Like the heaven's glorious sun,
> That will not be deep search'd with saucy looks."

Objects themselves are rigidly scrutinized, and the study of them now includes nomenclature or taxonomy by the severe and simple process, whereby the greater includes the less; names are nothing to us without a relationship of facts, the shadow is nothing without a perception of the substance. Amongst herbs formerly in repute, *beronica Pauli*, or "Paul's berony," seems somehow to have earned the fame of being connected with St. Paul; whereas Sir Thomas Browne carefully explains this away, its name in reality having been derived from Paulus Ægineta, an ancient physician of Ægina, and the herb itself being simply the common speedwell. In like manner the *herba Trinitatis*, notwithstanding the seeming sanctity of its name, is simply a *hepatica*, or "liverwort." And as for that *lithospermum*, or "grummel," which the herbalists called *milium solis*, it is altogether a misnomer, having nothing to do more than usual with the sun, (despite all the evidence of Professor Hunt's curious treatise,) and *milium Soler* would have fitted it better, "as Serapion from Aben Juliel hath taught us, because it grew plentifully in the mountain of Soler,"—a

tremendous parade of authority, though, to crush a poor little trefoil. The Jew's ear is but a *fungus sambucinus*, an excrescence about the roots of elder, "and concerneth not," says Browne, "the nation of the Jews, but Judas Iscariot, upon a conceit he hanged upon this tree; and is become *a famous medicine in quinsies, sore-throats, and strangulations ever since.*" Horse-radish, horse-mint, bull-rush, &c., are neither equine nor bovine in their natures, but their names are mere Græcisms, the prefixes ἵππος and βοῦς intending simply "great," as the great dock is termed *hippolapathum*, or as Alexander's horse, from his great head, was called Bucephalus.

Browne scouted the belief that basil could propagate, by its smell, scorpions in the brains of men, although the dogma had been advanced by Hollerius, "who found this insect in the brains of a man that delighted much in this smell." Here Sir Thomas found cause and effect irreconcileable. Not so readily did he reject the assertion of toxologists, even though Africans, (for in them the liberal and sagacious inquirer only recognised men better experienced than others in poisons and antidotes,) that whoever had eaten basil, although stung by a scorpion, should feel no pain. In this the wise physician perceived a fact of a very different nature, the simple modification of the effects of the *virus*. He ridicules contemptuously, as "old wives' preaching," the doctrine that the leaves of spurge will produce purgation or vomit, according to the manner in which they have been pulled, that is, downwards or upwards. And, still more singular to relate, he remorselessly impugns a prejudice which, if we are to believe the sentiment of a song in Gay's "Beggars' Opera," long survived his day, that men should throw cucumbers away, and even appeals to Galen on behalf of the *cucurbitus*. He calls upon experience to unteach what tradition had inculcated, that elder-berries are poisonous; and, on the contrary, proclaims them healthful on the strength of daily observation. He doubts very properly, after two several experiments upon dogs, whether *flos Africanus* be poisonous; and alleges that he *knows* the yew and its berries to be harmless, (which is more than we do,) whilst, with equal confidence, he denies that a snake will not endure the shade of an ash. Absurd and trivial as such questions may appear, it must nevertheless be recollected that, such as they were, they served to clear away the crust and scum of ignorance in an unawakened age. They contrast, perhaps, unfavourably with that crowded philosophy of common facts which the modern *savant* steps forward to teach; but they are investigations of the self-same class as those in which our most glaring deficiencies of knowledge still are found. The intelligence with which truth and error is sifted by single writers like Sir Thomas Browne, no less than the obvious utilitarianism of many of his topics, con-

trasts strongly with the foolish queries put by the Royal Society at its origin to Vernetti, a resident in Batavia. The first of these was, "Whether diamonds and other precious *stones grow* again, after three or four years, in the same places where they have been digged out?" ANSWER: "Never, or, at least, as the memory of man can attain to." Could an interrogatory more ludicrous than the following be conceived? "Whether, in the island of Sambrero, which lieth northward of Sumatra about 8° northern latitude, there be found such a vegetable as Master James Lancaster relates to have seen, which grows up to a tree, shrinks down, when one offers to pluck it up, into the ground, and would *quite* shrink unless held very hard; and whether the same, being *forcibly* plucked up, hath a worm for its root, diminishing more and more, according as the tree groweth in greatness, and, as soon as the worm is wholly turned into the tree, rooting in the ground, and so growing greater; and whether the same, plucked up young, turns, by the time it is dry, into a hard stone, much like white coral?" To this, which we think rather inverts the order of the development hypothesis in our "Vestiges of Creation," with a manifest spice of waggery, he replies devoutly, "I cannot meet with any that ever heard of such a vegetable." It is obvious, then, he had never met with one Master James Lancaster in those parts. That Vernetti quizzes the Society, as they richly deserved, in his answers, let his reply to the next question attest. "Q. 7: Whether those creatures that are in these parts plump at the full moon, are lean and out of season at the new, find the contrary at the East Indies?" "A.: I find it so here by experience, at Batavia, *in oysters and crabs.*" Analogous to some portions of Johnston's scientific narratives, the Society also prosecutes its inquiries regarding the stupifying effects of *datura*, and the use of the betel leaf and areca nut. But the questions are still so shaped as to be supremely ridiculous, the answers responding to them like a mocking echo. Thus, "Q. 10: Whether those that be stupified by the juice of this herb *datura*, are recovered by moistening the soles of their feet in fair water?" "A.: No. For I have seen divers soldiers and mariners fall into the rivers and ditches, being stupified by their drink aforesaid, who were *rather worse after they were taken out than better.*" We should suppose so.

Whoever may have cherished a recollection of Derham's "Physico-Theology," in the old "Christian Magazine,"—the real pioneer of the cheap and good literature of our times; whoever may have carried off any of the lasting impressions produced by its earnest and incessant developments of "the providence of God in the works of nature;" or remembers the first sensations proceeding from the perusal of Paley's reasonings, or Butler's more subtle argumentative illustrations;

whoever may have even scanned "The Sacred History of the World," by Sharon Turner, (a work anticipating the plan of Humboldt's "Cosmos," and the particular details of Johnston's "Chemistry,") must heartily thank such authors as Johnston and Bernays, for renewing much of the most delightful reading of a life. Many things will, however, be found in the new volumes of which the keen theologians and honest solicitor never once dreamed; abounding as they do in applications and expositions of scientific truth directed to establish the wonderful works of nature and Providence, and "justify the ways of God to man."

At the very outset of Johnston's first volume we have a beautiful example of this, deduced in the form of paradox, and almost in the language of enigma, yet clearly and explicitly demonstrating the facts connected with the balance of gaseous constituents in the atmosphere, and showing the merciful dispensation by which the noxious influence of one of them—carbonic acid—is counteracted for the preservation of animal life. Every schoolboy now knows that the chief atmospheric gases are oxygen and nitrogen, and that, although *they* form nearly the entire bulk of the atmosphere, in the proportions of about one-fifth and four-fifths respectively, or, more correctly, as 21 to 79, yet there *is* another and more deadly element in the air, besides some portion of aqueous vapour. We do not know that the mode of amelioration of this vital evil has ever been more beautifully explained than by Professor Johnston:—

"The carbonic acid exists in the air in very small proportion. At ordinary elevations there are only about two gallons of this gas in every five thousand of air,—one two-thousand-five-hundredth part of the whole. It increases, however, as we ascend, so that, at heights of eight thousand or ten thousand feet, the proportion of carbonic acid is nearly doubled. Even this increased quantity is very small; and yet its presence is essential to the existence of vegetable life on the surface of the earth.

"But, being heavier than common air, it appears singular that the proportion of this gas should increase as we ascend into the atmosphere. Its natural tendency would seem to be rather to sink towards the earth, and there to form a layer of deadly air in which neither animal nor plant could live. But, independent of winds and aërial currents, which tend to mix and blend together the different gases of which the air consists, all gases, by a law of nature, tend to diffuse themselves through each other, and to intermix more or less speedily, even where the utmost stillness prevails, and no wind agitates them. Hence a light gas like hydrogen does not rise wholly to the utmost regions of the air, there to float on the heavier gases; nor does a heavy gas like carbonic acid sink down, so as to rest permanently beneath the lighter gases. On the contrary, all slowly intermix, become interfused and mutually intercorporated, so that the hydrogen, the carbonic acid, and the other gases which are produced in nature, may be found every where through the whole mass, and

a comparatively homogeneous mixture uniformly overspreads the whole earth. In obedience to this law, carbonic acid, in all places, slowly rises, or slowly sinks, as the case may be; and thus, on the whole, a uniform purity is maintained in the air we breathe. If it seems to linger in sheltered hollows like the deadly gas-lake of Java, it is because the fatal air issues from the earth as rapidly as it can diffuse itself upwards through the atmosphere; and if it rest more abundantly on the mountain top, it is because the leaves of plants, and the waters of the sea, absorb it from the lower layers of the air faster than it can descend to supply their demands."

It is shown that in every conceivable way, indeed, the composition of the atmosphere is beneficially adjusted to the wants and the functions of plants and animals. The animal with every breath extracts oxygen from the atmosphere, whilst the multitudinous green leaves that deck the world suck in the more minutely diffused supply of carbonic acid. A man or animal has but one mouth or air-passage, but it is quite sufficient to insure a copious and essential share in this chameleon's dish. A common lilac-tree, however, *(syringa vulgaris,)* with a million of leaves, has about four hundred thousand millions of mouths, or pores, all at work sucking in the supplies. Nor are these striking adaptations less remarkable than the reciprocal and compensating economy with which the oxygenized animal expires the carbonic acid, poisonous to his system, and restores it to the atmosphere; whilst the plant, with its myriad osculations ready to imbibe what is thus rejected, in its turn gives back oxygen to the common air, —a *quid pro quo!* Nor are the watery particles that float about in the atmosphere less important in their agency. Why, man, vain man, is but a walking water-butt; he is a mere vapour: a man of 154lbs. weight is literally compounded of 116lbs. of water, with only 38lbs. of perfectly dry matter! The circulation of this same watery vapour, constantly evaporating, constantly being distilled, is a fact which strikes the most unobservant viewer of the realms of nature: few even of the most watchful ever, perhaps, trace out all its varied effects,—the blessings of the falling dew, the alternations of temperature which it causes by night and by day, the processes of radiation and cooling which proceed from it, the grander results of rain and clouds, their quantity, distribution, and influence throughout the world. Meteorology, a science on which depends as much of human comfort, and much more of human subsistence, than can, perhaps, be imputed to any one branch of human knowledge, is, strange to say, less zealously prosecuted, and left in cruder hands, than almost any of the natural sciences. We are warranted, we believe, in saying so. The fact was broadly stated and strongly commented on, two years back, in an address on Medical Meteorology, by

the President of the British Association, at Hull. In a former number,* we brought the subject before the notice of our readers, and in a spirit of hopefulness which we thought justified by the aspect of the times. Since then, thanks to some pique of Lord Seymour and the Hon. Member for Maldon, Mr. Evelyn Denison, the only chance of the subject receiving proper scientific treatment in this country has been wilfully thrown away by the reversal in Parliament of a Government grant of £2,000 to the proposed Lawson Observatory of the Midland Counties, which was to have been nearly or entirely a meteorological institution, and towards which the people of Nottingham, engaged as they are in the absorbing pursuits of manufactures and commerce, had enthusiastically subscribed no less than £8,000. The representative of the scientific and literary ancestry of "Sylva" and "Terra" objected that the estimate put on an additional gift of instruments by a veteran meteorologist of Bath—Mr. Lawson—had been overstated, on nobody's authority, except perhaps as a local flourish in the columns of a newspaper; and, branding this incidental expression—which, as the instruments were, after all, the best of their kind, and could *not* have been procured for money, had, it is manifest, nothing to do with the matter—as an imposition on the Treasury, the grant was withdrawn, the subscriptions were returned, and the prospect of the systematic cultivation of this interesting, useful, and important, yet still infantile science, utterly demolished. It is a science of minute and multiplied observations, reductions, comparisons, and calculations, apt to present to us masses of mere figures, disjointed, perhaps discrepant, memoranda, where we had looked for principles and for broad and comprehensive data. Nowhere, save in an observatory appropriated to the purpose, can Meteorology, therefore, be suitably promoted as a science; and we are very loth that the proposition alluded to, and which was actually on the eve of complete success, should be lost sight of. By its defeat the country has certainly been deprived of a valuable institution, as a single extract from the original Prospectus may suffice to show:—

"The science of Meteorology, promising so much to navigation, agriculture, and the public health, is far from the perfection to which its elder sister, Astronomy, has almost attained. The multiplication of observations on plans continually improving in accuracy, seems to be the only way of laying the foundation of an exact knowledge of the changes of the atmosphere, as it regards heat, pressure, humidity, motion, and electric state, which are, doubtless, linked together by laws as real as that which connects the planetary system together, though they have hitherto eluded the search of philosophers,

* London Quarterly Review, vol. ii., p. 128.

chiefly for want of observations taken with sufficient accuracy, regularity, and length of time, in well-chosen situations, and uniformly reduced on one system. The Atmospheric Recorder,* constructed under Mr. Lawson's eye, and honoured with a Council medal at the Exhibition, is specially adapted to a continuous registration of such observations. By this instrument the height of the barometer, thermometer, hygrometer, amount of electricity, rain, evaporation, and the changes and force of the wind, are constantly recorded; so that every change which takes place in the atmosphere is properly registered at the precise moment of occurrence, without the aid of an observer. The introduction of the wet and dry bulb thermometers, in connexion with the barometer, for the determination of certain changes of weather, Colonel Reid's law of storms, the adaptation of agricultural methods to peculiarities of climate, and the Registrar-General's Reports on Public Health,—all indicate that much can be done in this direction. Auroral arches, the appearance of meteors, periodically or otherwise, and the connexion of the Aurora Borealis with magnetic storms, indicated by disturbances of the magnetic needle, would all receive attention at such an observatory. For making these observations, few places, if any, offer so advantageous a position as the neighbourhood of Nottingham. Occupying the centre of a great gap in our English observatories, it possesses an unusual clearness of atmosphere,—no unimportant matter, considering how few hours comparatively are available for astronomical observations. Its central position in England gives peculiar value to the verification of the national survey, which an accurate determination of the latitude and longitude of the observatory would afford. Standing, as it does, almost midway between the eastern and western coasts, and on the verge of the hilly country on the west, and of the plains on the east, it occupies an important position for the determination of the effects of land on atmospheric changes, and for comparing the observations made in the hilly and plain districts by private observers."

We must now descend from the air into the water. How essential is the liquid element to animal life, must be apparent from the large place which, as already noticed, it holds in the actual weight of animals and plants,—no less than three-fourths of their ponderable bulk. It follows that water is the most abundant substance on the face of nature, covering as it does, to an unknown depth, (unless the recent deep-sea soundings of H.M.SS. "Plover" and "Herald" have otherwise determined,) at least three-fourths of the earth's surface. Now we employ this pervading—or rather, predominant—element, water, to extinguish fires, which owe their combustion to the presence of oxygen, aware, as we must be, from the small explosions witnessed in the wetted wick of a burning candle,

* Whilst writing the above, we are glad to learn that the Atmospheric Recorder and other celebrated instruments of Mr. Lawson have been erected, and are at work, in Mr. E. J. Lowe's Highfield House Observatory, Beeston, Nottinghamshire.

that there is in this something dangerous; for water is simply composed of this very agent of combustion, oxygen, and of hydrogen; and hydrogen itself is a gas igniting in air, and in all other inflammable media, as in bituminous coal, in wood, in oils, fats, and olefiant gases. It is, in fact, the necessary combustion of hydrogen in the air which forms water, owing to the presence of oxygen in the atmosphere; although the water *thus* formed passes off, in the first instance, in the form of invisible vapour. Here again, then, we have a set of reciprocations, quite as astounding as any disclosures in the rounds of science. The explanation is this: the gases in the atmosphere are merely mixed promiscuously together; whereas the gases concerned in the formation of water are chemically combined,—chemical combinations resulting, in all cases, in the production of a totally new substance; such is the wise provision of Providence. The Almighty Power and Wisdom were never more remarkably disclosed to admiring intelligence, than in this singular economy of elements, this perfect subordination of matter in circulation to the law of total transmutation, by which antagonistic principles are combined into new and neutral products. The common uses and properties of water, in its consumption by animals more especially, reveal at every stage new causes for gratitude and admiration. The cavilling old sententious cynic, who undertook to demonstrate that snow was black, on the *ipse dixit* that it must be so, because it was composed of water, (by the way, he was wrong; that would be *ice;* whereas *snow* is merely frozen vapour,) would have been rather thrown out by the recognition of many colours in water, adopted by modern science:—

"In nature water is never found perfectly pure: that which descends in rain is contaminated by the impurities it washes out of the air; that which rises in springs, by the substances it meets with in the earth itself. In rivers, the impurity of the water is frequently visible to the eye. It is often of a red colour, as it flows through rocks of red marle, which contain much oxide of iron in their composition; it descends milky from the glaciers of Iceland and the slopes of the Andes, because of the white earth it holds in suspension; it is often grey or brown in our muddiest English rivers; it is always brown where it issues from boggy lakes, or runs across a peaty country; it is sometimes black to the eye, when the quantity of vegetable matter is excessive, as in the Rio Negro of South America; and it is green in the Geysers of Iceland, in the Swiss Lakes, among the Islands of the South Sea, and around our own Islands, because of the yellow matters which it every where holds in suspension or solution. Only in clear and deep waters—like those of the Bay of Naples, and in parts of the Pacific, where minute objects may be seen on the bottom some hundreds of feet down—is the real blue colour natural to water in large masses distinctly perceptible. This is the blue which is seen in the azure grotto of the Isle of Capri, in the Bay of Naples, and in the

deep, indigo-like waters of some parts of the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas."—*Chemistry of Common Life*, vol. i., p. 33.

The purity of the "water we drink," (Johnston quaintly ascribes some action of our lives to each of his topics, "the air we breathe," "bread we eat," "beef we cook," and so on, till some of them become a little ludicrous,)—the purity of our drinking-water is necessarily interesting. That of Loka, flowing over the hard impenetrable granite of Northern Sweden, is one of the purest. There are some waters in the granite regions of Scotland and in the green sand of Surrey, which, though a hundred times less pure than that of Loka, are nevertheless considered to be our best. Edinburgh and London (Thames water) are respectively supplied with waters from two hundred to three hundred times less pure than that of Loka; and yet these waters are regarded as *comparatively* pure, and very good for general consumption. Why not? excepting that the Edinburgh water, ominously yclept "Crawley," is run off the dead bodies of the people's ancestors, the churchyard wherein the Covenanters were interred at the Pentlands having been discovered, one dry summer, with all its headstones, at the bottom of the reservoir: and as for Father Thames, we all know how his morning draught is compounded. The various London Water Companies—with one exception, (New River,) still more impure than the Thames—are not more impure, however, than other drinking-waters. Those of the holy Jordan, "containing seventy-three grains of solid matter to the gallon," are extremely impure.

Why is the sea salt? Solid matters carried down into it remain in the abyss; whilst mere water enjoys a vapoury resurrection. The rains which descend upon the interior have thus constantly dissolved, and continually carried down, throughout its whole extent, saline matter into the vast oceanic depository, until its waters have attained a saline strength of 2,200 or 2,800 grains to the gallon; the Dead Sea having from 11,000 to 22,000, (ten times as much,) and a small lake, east of the steppes of the Volga, actually three-fifths of its weight of water saline. Now the rain of remote country districts is quite pure; river water is next in purity to rain; next, the water of lakes; next, common spring water; and then the waters of mineral springs. The waters of the Black Sea and Sea of Azoff are only brackish. Those of the great ocean are salt, containing perhaps $3\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* of saline matter; whilst the Mediterranean, an inland sea, contains $3\frac{3}{4}$ths, and the Caspian, the Dead Sea, and Lake Aral, which have no known outlets, are the most briny of any. Where the waters of wells have dissolved organic matter and become unwholesome, the use of carbon, (charcoal,) of chips of oak-wood, or of mere boiling, is often found sufficient to effect a purification,—the matter contained in the water being albu-

minous, and consequently coagulating like the white of an egg by the action of boiling, or of the tannin in the oak. The water of the Seine at Paris may be clarified by a morsel of alum. Travellers carry with them nuts of the *strychnos potatorum* to purify the wells of India. The muddy water of the Nile is clarified in Egypt by rubbing bitter almonds on the sides of the waterpots. Moses in the Wilderness of Shur, when the people murmured against the waters of Marah, "cried unto the Lord; and the Lord showed him a tree, which when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet."

The soil is the next subject for consideration. We are dust; and all things surrounding us are sprung from the earth, our common mother. Geology, the foundation of all knowledge of this elementary source of visible objects, was until recently the most decried, derided, and disputed of the natural sciences. Still there were glimmerings of the truths to which discovery has so abundantly testified in the minds of the earliest scientific explorers of the earth. It is to the celebrated mineralogist, John Gottlieb Lehmann, that we are indebted for the division of mountains into primary and secondary strata. Humboldt also observed that the primary strata in Europe always inclined towards the north-east, whilst the secondary mountains dipped towards the south-east. Werner considered granite as the fundamental rock. Cuvier founded on his observation of the differences of rocks, and especially of their organic remains, the remark, that the bark of the earth was not made by a single cast, and that the parts composing it had been successively formed or deposited; whilst Brogniart *("Structure du Globe")* announces, at the outset, the small part of the bark of the globe which we are acquainted with, to be composed of different mineral substances, some homogeneous, some heterogeneous. The first announcement of the distinguishing characters of different rocks ever made in an English publication, was that of a veteran of science over whom the tomb has but recently closed, (Robert Jameson, in 1800,) although his young and ardent successor in the Edinburgh Chair of Natural Science (Edward Forbes) has already followed him to the grave. Dr. Jameson's whole nomenclature, however, comprising the primary, transition, stratified or secondary, and volcanic or alluvial series, consisted in the German words, *Urgeburge*, *Uebergangsgeburge*, *Flotzegeburge*, and *Aufsgeschwemmte*, respectively applicable to these. Very different, certainly, were these crude rudiments of classification from the visionary theories of central fires and mundane eggs indulged in by the compeers of Dr. Thomas Burnet of the Charterhouse, and discussed in his curious "Theory of the Earth." A science of the greatest certainty and precision has since then arisen: far from conflicting with the Mosaic cosmogony, its restorations of perished periods of the earth's exist-

ence are found capable of the most singular reconcilement with Holy Writ. But it is to the officinal, rather than the scientific, structure of the earth, that the chemistry of common life and common things recalls us; it is to the *débris* of the strata composing the earth's crust, and the productive capabilities of the mixture of soils, that Johnston directs our attention. The crumbling of rocks produces soil; the overlapping of different rocks occasions intermingling and diversity of composition; rich ingredients are brought to the assistance of poor, and means are furnished for maintaining, in appropriate variety, all the natural products of the earth. Thus, in the south of England, where the plastic clay, chalk, and green sand intermingle, the stiff clay wheat soils pass off into open barley lands, and these into their chalky downs, until restored by the interposition of the upper green sand to wheat soil and celebrated hop-gardens.

Thus the man who of all others cares least for the refinements and distinctions of science,—the farmer, who secretly thinks that all chemistry is good for, is only to detect adulterations in guano and rape-cake; whilst he is contented enough, however, to sack the results of all safe and warrantable experiments,—is forced to admit, that the very groundwork of his labours rests upon this branch of knowledge. It is this which teaches the hopelessness of culture on the poor granite soils of Devonshire and of Scotland; the certainty of success on the rich trap of the Scottish lowlands and the north of Ireland; the still greater fecundity of the old-world lavas of Italy and Sicily; and, in the golden future of Australia, points to "a fertile and beautiful country, the garden of Australia Felix, the rich soil of which (skirting the famous gold-bearing mountains of Victoria) is the product of decomposed lava."* But the causes which produce and peculiarize soils, are as various as those at work in any other department of the grand laboratory of nature. Rivers wash out, roll away, and finally deposit the rich alluvium; winds assort and distribute the sandy downs; vegetation, decay, and shallow immersion produce peat bogs. These may seem to be all matters of course; but it can be shown that the kinds of husbandry pursued upon the earth, almost the social state and character of its inhabitants, are powerfully modified by the dead rocks and *débris* upon which we tread. The best practical inference to be drawn from this fact is, that, since man is thus far influenced by surrounding circumstances in this world, it is his duty to study closely the nature and causes of these, if he would convert them to his advantage. The discovery of the compatibility of our pursuits with our situation is only to be thus effected. It is shown by Professor Johnston, however, that the influence of long-continued human action overcomes the ten-

* Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society.

dencies of all natural causes. America is the illustration by which he establishes this dogma. He selects the history of that colonial culture—the *vegetable* history of the march of European cultivation over the entire continent of America—in proof of the fact; and proves that, from the Atlantic, the rifled soil first retreated to the Alleghanies and the shores of the great lakes, which have at length been overpassed, and the reckless plunderer, axe in hand, is hewing his way forward to the Rocky Mountains and the eastern slopes of the Andes,—tracts of abandoned land along the Atlantic borders of Virginia and the Carolinas furnishing proof and example of the change and exhaustion. In his "Notes on North America," the same author brought this fact distinctly before the public, by pointing to the flat lands skirting the Lower St. Lawrence, stretching near Montreal into wide plains, celebrated under the French dominion as the wheat granary of America, but where now the oat and the potato are the staples of daily sustenance to those who live on their own farm produce. Even in New-England, wheat culture has become gradually unprofitable: the New-England States, in 1840, yielded 2,014,000 bushels of wheat; in 1850, only 1,078,000. All this would assuredly go to prove that man is still the victim rather than the modifier of circumstances, were it not that the improver can retrieve all the errors of the exhauster. By his large applications of shelly marl he can restore the herbage of Virginia and the Carolinas; and by thinner sowings of gypsum double and quadruple the yield of previous years of wheat. In Britain itself, the philosopher will scarce give us credit for having avoided the defects and vices of American farming. "A century and a half," he says, "has changed the whole surface of our Island; and we are indebted to the commercial importation of new chemical riches from all parts of the world, for the replacing those which rains and rivers have been permitted to wash into the sea."

The constitution and relations of the plant with the soil and the atmosphere require little further consideration. The minute and microscopic apertures by which the leaves suck in the floating gases; and the vascular ramifications by which the sap is absorbed, and ascends from the roots; the chemical agencies at work combining the results of many separate processes going on during the growth of the plant; exhibit a seeming complication and multiplicity, yet, in reality, a certainty and simplicity of mechanism applied alike to rear the most stupendous trunk of the forest, or the minutest hair upon a moss. Amongst the pleasing proofs adduced of chemical changes within the plant, the effects of colour on their flowers are mentioned: charcoal powder darkens and enriches the flowers of the dahlia, rose, petunia, &c.; carbonate of soda reddens ornamental hyacinths, and super-phosphate of soda occasions other alterations.

Colour is indeed a strange item in creation. Chemistry asserts, that all the brilliant green foliage of a large tree in summer is produced by the fractional part of an ounce of colouring matter distributed evenly over its myriads of leaves! No wonder the chemist in possession of such secrets luxuriates in the puzzling question, Whence the infinite variations arising in plants from the same food taken in from the air, and similar food drawn up from the soil? some of them, too, sufficiently ingenious, the work of a cunning workman; such as the spikelet of the stinging nettle, having at its base elastic cells forming a reservoir of formic acid, whence the poison, like that of the serpent's fang, is inserted into the wound made by the spikelet. The true purposes served by the economy of vegetation are magnificent to contemplate. Living or dead, the plant is the ministering servant of men and animals; serving, while living, to purify the air we breathe, by consuming carbonic acid and pouring forth oxygen salutary to animal life and health; and contributing, when dead, to nourish and support beasts on the straw, men on the grain, the elephant on forest twigs and leaves, and the lords of creation on the nut and fruit of the tree.

This leads to the question of food, an attentive examination of which solves the paradox why the lower animals can subsist on the less elaborated products, whilst man's organization demands the highest results of produce for his sustenance. Here, may we say, commence the wondrous in our common life,—the phenomena of nourishment. Ever since the rise of Liebig, all Europe has become familiar with the constituents of bread,—the staff of life,—with the relative values of its gluten and its starch. Simple and obvious as this knowledge may appear, few things bear more immediately on the economy of life and the art of living,—an art to which mankind have served a long apprenticeship, in which they have yet much to learn. Honour be to the pioneers of truth who have done so much to promulgate these facts and conclusions of science, that rational arrangements must henceforth either supersede custom and necessity, or the latter must be proved to be in accordance with the rationale of science! And it is astonishing how amply the slow teachings of experience are justified by scientific investigation. Scarcely is there to be found a well-established practice, creeping in however unaccountably amongst human habits, for which the modern chemist cannot assign sufficient cause, although the discovery may have been as original on his part, as the adoption was intuitive or unwitting on the part of its first observers. The fermentation of bread is perhaps as ancient as the culture of the food-giving cereals; yet a more curious or recondite chapter does not occur in chemical literature, than that of the action and extension of leaven and yeast. Bread itself has,

indeed, been one of the exciting topics of all populous countries, and often paramount to every other, whether in the classic age of Rome, the well-watched statistics of "*subsistances*" in France, or the unromantic meal mobs and bread riots of our own labouring districts.

But popular errors on the subject are still in vogue. Our teetotal friends, admirers of the big loaf in the abstract, and reformers of "liquor laws" in the concrete, maintain that if a man must really enjoy the alcohol of grain, he has it entire in the bread he consumes. But, alas! the chemist informs us that "the yeast, added to the dough, changes the sugar which the flour naturally contains, into alcohol (spirits of wine) and carbonic acid gas; the latter forces the tough dough into bubbles, which are still further expanded by the heat of the oven, which, at the same time, dissipates the alcohol."* The visionary scheme some time ago started in London, for catching the alcoholic fumes of the oven, and condensing them as in ordinary distillation, was, therefore, founded in reason, though it failed in practice. The heat of the oven promotes even a further change: a portion of the starch becomes converted into dextrine, (British gum,) a more easily digestible substance. And here we have the philosophy of toast; for, "in making toast," says Dr. Bernays, "very much more of the starch becomes thus changed, and a small portion of it, as well as of the gluten, is carbonized." Johnston adds to this, that the heat of the oven also kills the yeast-plant, and causes the fermentation to cease. A weakness for toast becomes excusable, therefore, on sound sanitary principles. Some, however, would prefer bread that is newly baked, from its peculiar softness and tenacity, though generally considered less digestible. The Professor dissipates the existing delusion in favour of stale bread: it is a fallacy to suppose it drier; stale bread contains almost the same proportion of water as new bread which has become completely cold. The only change is in the internal arrangements of its molecules; and he asserts that if a stale loaf be put into a closely covered tin, and exposed for half an hour to a heat not exceeding that of boiling water, on being allowed to cool after the removal of the tin, the loaf again becomes new. Well-baked wheaten bread, in fact, contains forty-five *per cent.* of water, and, being thus nearly one half water, is actually both meat and drink together! Will any body have the assurance to speak of "dry bread" after this? The truth is that, independently of the water naturally contained in flour and grain, one hundred pounds of fine flour take up, in baking, half their weight in water, and yield one hundred and fifty pounds of bread,—a result facilitated by the onversion of starch into more retentive gum, and by the escape

* Bernays.

of moisture being prevented by the formation of crust. Even the waste occasioned by vinous or alcoholic fermentation can be prevented in bread-making by the use of bi-carbonate of soda and hydrochloric acid, (for which Bernays gives a recipe on the authority of a "physician"). There are worse things, too, than these in bakers' bread. There is alum; there is a rage for *white* bread; and the baker can produce it even from inferior flour by the use of alum, which greatly increases its natural tendency to constipation. White bread altogether is a mistake. Upon brown bread and water a man might live; on white bread and water he would languish and die. We speak of wheaten bread as the great staple commodity of consumption in this country, where wheat is certainly the measure, if not the standard, of value. But elsewhere, and for other purposes of consumption, other grains are adopted. Flavour, colour, and appearance are against barley and rye; but in chemical composition and nutritive quality, wheaten and rye bread possess a strong resemblance; rye bread, the chief victualling article of the foreign marine, longer retaining its freshness, even for months, owing to peculiar properties of its gluten. Indian corn, indeed, concurs in this resemblance of composition and quality, with a flintiness, however, which renders hard its loaves, and an unctuosity of flavour, which, though fattening from its containing more oil than our grains, renders it less relished. Oats, in Johnson's Dictionary defined to be "the food of the Scotch and horses," are, it seems, with infinite justice esteemed in Scotland "an agreeable, nutritious, and wholesome food for man," although suspected of producing a cutaneous irritability not unknown in that quarter of the world. Dr. Pereira, a high authority, denies this charge. Rice, possessed of less than half the gluten of oatmeal, necessitates the devouring of enormous quantities to sustain nature: containing little fat, it possesses, also, a binding quality; and, substituted for potatoes in our workhouses, has, in a few months, produced scurvy, probably from sudden change of diet, or the unwholesomeness of unmixed food, rather than from any inherent evil property in the grain.

On the table lands of Chili and Peru, 13,000 feet above the level of the sea, where rye and barley refuse to ripen, the South Americans grow their quinoa; and, prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, thousands of the natives of those elevated regions lived principally on this small-seeded, broad, picturesquely-leaved grain, whose composition is, according to Dr. Voelcker, nearly that of oatmeal. Without this resource the *plateau* of the Andes, like the summer pastures of the lovely Alpine valleys, would only be a cattle run. The small seed of the Guinea corn is grown and consumed in the West Indies. The small dhurra, dhoora, or millet of India, Egypt, and the African interior, has

been more familiarly heard of in this country, and the attempt has even been made to grow it in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh: its proportion of gluten is one *per cent.* higher than that of buckwheat. The whole class of pulse, beans, peas, lupins, vetches, and lentils, &c., possesses a large per-centage (about twenty-four) of gluten, and some trifle (about two) of fat. They are slightly constipating therefore, but nutritious. The Eastern chick pea or grain is especially so; and becomes the food of travellers crossing the Desert, where weight and bulk are found inconvenient. Trees contribute also to human nutrition. The sago palm yields its pith to the native of New Guinea; he rubs it to powder, washes it in a sieve, and bakes a hard cake by placing it for a few minutes in a hot mould. As 2½ pounds are said to suffice a full-grown man for a whole day, and each tree (cut down in its seventh year) yields 700 pounds of sago meal, it is computed that a single acre of 300 palms must support fourteen men, —cutting down a seventh of them annually. The Chili pine—the splendid *auracaria imbricata* of the Andes and of Patagonia—will from the fruit of one tree maintain eighteen persons *per annum*. The food, in this instance, is the large seed, contained in the cones, and probably as rich in gluten as our beech-nuts, chestnuts, and acorns. The tropical banana yields bread ready grown, and so profusely, that Humboldt has calculated that the same 1,000 square feet which will yield 462 pounds of potatoes, or 38 pounds of wheat, will produce in less time 4,000 pounds of bananas. In point of nutrition, however, it is but upon a par with rice. The "bread of the desert"—the date—sustains life unaided for an indefinite period; the date-tree flourishes when all other crops fail from drought; in Egypt and Arabia and amongst the oases of Fezzan, nineteen-twentieths of the population subsist upon it nine months in the year. The real bread-fruit tree *(artocarpus incisa)* of the South Seas and Indian Archipelago, is a beautiful object in point of foliage, and its fruit attains considerable size, growing abundantly, and covering the tree with crops, for eight or nine months, in close succession. It is seldom relished raw, and is cooked in various ways. Three trees may maintain a man for eight months.

The proverb, that "little knows the one-half of the world how the other half lives," receives curious illustration from this glimpse at the varieties of human food. In addition, however, we have roots and tubers, the turnip, the carrot, (there are turnip and carrot meal; the former rather odious in flavour,) the potato, (very analogous in nutritive value to rice and plantain,) even the onion, and the tuber of a lily roasted and eaten in Kamtschatka; besides leaves, such as the cabbage, whose dried leaf contains thirty-five *per cent.* of gluten,—on all which it were, perhaps, as much too curious to dwell, as on the possibility of Cæsar's or Alexander's dust "stopping a bung-hole." One conclusion emanates from

the whole,—that experience has every where led men to a rude adjustment in kind and quality of the forms of nutritive matter essential to supply their wants; but still more distinct and definite seems the fact of a providential adjustment to the wants of animals in the natural composition of the eatable parts of plants.

If the resort to vegetable food be chiefly for the sake of gluten, the resort to animal subsistence is made for the sake of an analogous substance or principle,—fibrine: the starch of the first—nay, the fat of the second—being of much less importance in nutrition, and, indeed, deriving any importance they possess from processes of chemical conversion, whilst gluten and fibrine directly build up the living frame by assimilation. The unprofitable starch of arrowroot, *(maranta arundinacea,)* sago, tapioca, and cassava, (both these last from *manihot utilissima,)* owes its beneficial influence to association with albumen. Starch for its own sake we never but once happen to have heard of any one having consumed; and that was under the spell of delusion, if not of drink; being in the case of a north countryman who had returned home at night steeped in liquor, and had awoke in a raging fever of thirst, some time after having tumbled into bed. Searching for something wherewith to appease his torment, in the dark he stumbled upon a capacious bowl, as he supposed, of milk, exposed upon the kitchen table, and swallowed down its contents at a gulp. Satiated and solaced with this cooling libation, he even essayed luxuriously to anoint his gallant whiskers with what his idle fancy whispered to be the sole remaining relics of the cream. Returning to bed, the unfortunate wight fell comfortably enough asleep; but, alas! in the morning,—O! horror,—he awoke with a strange stiffening sensation about the throat. Incautiously raising his hands to the seat of the disorder, terror and dismay appeared to disclose to him the appalling fact that he was lying, in all probability, with his windpipe severed, in a cold, viscous, glary cement of his own blood,—the last frail tenure that withheld the vital spark being some mysterious coating of the sanguineous fluid. In this agonizing conviction, he dared not move, convinced that the moment in which he attempted it would prove his last. Relief at length reached him from an unexpected source. The good lady of the house arrived upon the scene full of querulous complaint respecting some over-night depredation committed on a bowl of genuine Glenfield Patent, wherewith the good woman had purposed approving herself the wife of her husband's *bosom,* by imparting to it that exquisite gloss and elastic finish which we read of in the advertisements, as certified by the laundresses of the Queen and the Lady Lieutenant, and Mrs. William Chambers of Glenormiston. To the intense astonishment of his spouse, the bedrid bacchanal bounded gaily

from his lair, exulting that he "had drunk it." A weight had fallen from his spirit, and, though starched down by the whiskers to the pillow, he contrived to rend his way from this nightmare of capillary attraction. Yet we never learned that his deglutition of starch did him any good whatever.

With fat it is much the same. "This fat," says Johnston, "to a certain extent, represents and replaces the starch in vegetable food." What is worse, the doctors recommend the one, but Dr. Granville and the water doctors of the *Brunnens* all forbid the other, to dyspeptics. Still, do not, gentle reader, we beseech thee, do not mistake us: we despise not fat: fat has its uses. Professor Johnston tells us, "that those varieties of animal food are most esteemed, in which a considerable proportion of fat is present:" and this is, indeed, perfectly true. The whole question, we are afraid, will come to the following issue: Are we henceforth to consult our appetites and inclinations, or to take the *dicta* of chemical science for our future guidance in the economy of human life? Science will, perhaps, tell us to glut ourselves with gluten:—would that be agreeable? Perhaps to build up our bodies systematically with fibrine:—would that be genteel? The proverb lays down an injunction against the use of strong meat for babes, which convinces us that the regimen of strict science will not suit an enormous mass of grown-up babies constituting the people of this world. Circumstances and opportunities, strong will and inveterate custom, conspire to prescribe variations of routine; but, happily, although these appear to conflict with the *dicta* of science, the penetrating eye of inquiry has always, somehow or other, detected the rule of science in almost every seeming exception and deviation; or, rather, so reconcileable are these discrepancies, that the exception literally becomes the rule. Were it not so, it would be difficult, indeed impossible, to conceive why men should resort to the many strange devices of infusing beverages, extracting sweets, and fermenting liquors, indulging in narcotics, and enjoying odours, of all which social phenomena Professor Johnston has treated in sequence due. Viewed singly, or in the *tout ensemble*, these are really strange singularities in the habitudes of man. One grand and striking feature in them points to a single and justificatory law,—the law of adoption; for this feature is their prevalence, their universality. Although research, therefore, may unfold many specialties and details which are peculiar, nay, even facetious, science is yet able to place, for the most whimsical general observance, some satisfactory reason upon record.

We might, it is true, have passed onwards to discuss still more singular items included in Professor Johnston's chapters of Chemical Research. We might have set ourselves to trace, with him, the rule or impulse which leads man, after providing

for his first necessities, to devise the means of indulgence, the processes of refinement, the delights of pleasure. Nay, we might have proceeded to contemplate those strange revolting instances of depraved human habitude, which render custom superior to nature, and enable men to devour earths and women poisons (as in the case of the love-arsenic of Styria) with impunity. Not less amazing should we have found the chemist's revelations regarding narcotics, odours, and even offensive smells, some of which seem to form the most fearful weapons of personal and public malignity; as, a grain of metallic tellurium, administered to a healthy man, will make his neighbourhood intolerable for weeks—nay, months—to come; and as Chinese stink-pots of war, and the *boulet asphyxiant*, with which we are threatened by the Russians should we attack Cronstadt, and which the French are reported, on one occasion, to have tried experimentally with fearful effect at Sebastopol. Much rather, however, would we, in a discussion "on man, on nature, and on human life," confine ourselves to common things and common concernments. Sitting down with Dr. Bernays, we are best pleased to hear him discourse upon the chemistry of the breakfast-table, commencing with the table-cloth and unfolding its natural history and economy. To us truths appear invariably the most striking, the nearer they are found to the surface, and not to the bottom of the well.

ART. VII.—1. *The History of the Protestants of France, from the Commencement of the Reformation to the present Time.* Translated from the French of G. DE FELICE, D.D., Professor of Theology at Montauban. In Two Vols. London: Longmans. 1853.

2. *The History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to the present Time.* By CHARLES WEISS, Professor of History at the Lycée Buonaparte. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons. 1854.

WE gladly welcome the appearance, in an English dress, of these works on a very interesting period of French history. The scope and intention of their authors are widely different. Dr. Félice's History is an account of the inner life of the Reformed in France; so much only of the political history of the period being introduced, as is necessarily involved in its course. Professor Weiss's Lectures follow the Huguenot Refugees, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in their residence among the various States of Europe, and on the

continent of America. The History is a plain, straightforward narrative of facts; and although it may not throw new light upon the period of which it treats, it is the first work which has professed to contain a continuous history of the Reformed in France, and it has attained great popularity among the author's countrymen. The Lectures have struck out a new path, and give evidence of considerable research and ability, which have been rewarded by the Medal of the Academy of Moral and Political Science, and the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour. Both pre-eminently exhibit the French spirit in their different points of view,—the former being written from the religious, the latter from the political, aspect; and in each something more is demanded by the national vanity than an impartial tribunal would concede. But the one proves that the world is more indebted than is generally known, to his countrymen, for their industry and ability in science and the arts; whilst the other describes a series of unparalleled persecutions borne with unflinching heroism.

From the time of Francis I. to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV., the history of the Huguenots is almost the history of France, and involves all the intricacies and difficulties of that very complex period. In the intrigues of the Court, in the meetings of the States-General, in the feuds of the great houses, in the various civil wars, religious differences not only form an important item, but were generally the main subject of controversy. They were the occasion of the Catholic League; they were the cause of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; they influenced the policy of Richelieu, and were mingled in the wars of the Fronde; their leaders negotiated with foreign powers, and the whole policy of Europe was powerfully affected by their position; they waged wars, made treaties, and possessed material guarantees for their accomplishment; while their position was so continually shifting, and their prospects so subject to change, that we need a thread to guide us through the maze of such varied circumstances. Of all modern history, that of France is at once the richest, and in this country the least understood; and of all French history, no period requires more illustration than the times of the wars of religion.

Meaux was the first city in France in which the Reformed doctrines were publicly preached, in 1521, the year in which Luther appeared before the Diet of Worms. The leaders of the movement were Lefèvre and Farel, both eminent for their learning and piety; and in Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux, they found an important ally. This nobleman had been the Ambassador of Francis I. to the Court of the Holy See; and, disgusted with what he there saw of the Papacy, had endeavoured, on his return, to reduce his diocese to order, and to enforce the

residence of the Clergy. Their reply was a law-suit against him before the Metropolitan. He then collected around him the most eminent of the Reformed, and each in turn preached the new doctrines; and, wishing to base their teaching on the sole authority appealed to by the Reformation, they published the Four Gospels in French. Their effect was at once prodigious; every body took to reading them. There followed a marked improvement in their daily life, and a reformation in manners; and they forsook the intercession of the saints for the alone mediation of the Saviour.

These proceedings attracted first the attention, and then the indignation, of the Sorbonne, which, infuriated by the ridicule of Melanchthon, used all its influence to oppose the new opinions. Their views were furthered by the policy then prevalent at Court; for Louisa of Savoy, the Regent during her son's imprisonment at Madrid, was a bitter opponent of the Reformed; and as the Pope's aid was required in the Italian wars, a violent persecution was resolved on.

Dr. Félice here remarks, that this first and the succeeding persecutions are to be attributed to the Italians rather than to the French. But surely we cannot acknowledge this defence of his countrymen at the expense of their Italian coadjutors. The Doctor's nationality seems to have strangely blinded him to the real state of the case. Neither French Kings, Princes, nor nobles showed any reluctance in planning and carrying out designs for the extirpation of the Calvinists. It is not the spirit of Italy, but of Popery, that must bear the blame.

The reign of Francis I. was not a period of unmixed persecution, and the treatment of the Reformed varied with the caprice of the Monarch. Briçonnet yielded to the first storm, though it is not known how far he abjured. But the party had a steadier and more powerful supporter in the King's sister, Margaret of Valois. But this reign closed darkly with the Crusade against the Vaudois of Provence. The simplicity and industry of this people might have pleaded in their favour; but their prosperity inflamed the cupidity, as their tenets did the anger, of the Priests, through whose influence an edict of extermination was passed against them by the Parliament of Aix; and after some delay the King, in an evil hour, consented to its execution.

The heart sickens at the narration of the cruelties inflicted upon this unhappy people. At Mérindol a poor idiot alone survived, who had promised a soldier two crowns as his ransom: D'Oppède, the General, flung the money to his captor, and then shot him with his own hand. At Chabrières the men surrendered on promise of their lives, and were then murdered as they came out unarmed. The women were confined in a barn, which was set on fire, and they were thrust back upon the flames at the point of the halberts. The churches were stained

with foul debaucheries, and the altars polluted with blood; whilst the Clergy of Avignon forbade all quarter, and bestowed their blessing on the murderers.

"Towards the close of the reign of Francis I., and during that of his son Henry II., the Reformation in France grew so rapidly, that it becomes impossible to give all the details. Men of letters, lawyers, soldiers, even ecclesiastics, vied with each other in ranging themselves beneath its banner. Several large provinces, Languedoc, Dauphiny, Lyonnais, Guienne, Saintonge, Poitou, Orléanais, Normandy, Picardy, and Flanders, —the most considerable cities in the kingdom, Bourges, Orléans, Rouen, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Montpellier, and La Rochelle,—were peopled with the Reformed. It has been calculated that, in a few years, they amounted to nearly one-sixth of the population, and the very *élite* of it too." The people of the *Tiers Etat* who were best instructed, and the most intelligent artisans, joined their ranks. "Especially," with great *naïveté* says a historian devoted to the Catholic side, "painters, watchmakers, goldsmiths, booksellers, printers, and others who, in their craft, have any nobleness of mind, were most easily surprised." Others only joined the Calvinists in secret, but were recognised in public by their modest demeanour. "I have a mind to turn to the new religion myself," said Catherine de Médicis, "to pass for a pious woman and a prude."

But their affairs did not long remain in so favourable a condition. Under Henry II. the factions began to rise, which subsequently covered France with blood. The King himself, regardless of his father's dying injunctions, openly persecuted the Huguenots. And the year 1551 saw the publication of the Edict of Chateaubriand. It gave cognizance of the crime of heresy to the civil and ecclesiastical Judges, so that, in violation of all justice, the accused, though acquitted by one tribunal, might be condemned by the other. It expressly forbade any one to intercede in their behalf, and cut off the right of appeal against the judgments. It gave a third of the property of the accused to the informer. It confiscated to the King the estates of all who had fled from France. It absolutely prohibited the sending of either money or letters to the fugitives. And, finally, it imposed on all suspected persons the obligation of producing a certificate of Catholic orthodoxy.

This atrocious piece of legislation produced its natural fruits. Infamous accusations were laid, to obtain the property of the accused. But even this was not enough. Paul IV. demanded the establishment of the Inquisition, and Henry was mean enough to acquiesce. The Bull was forwarded in 1557, and the King confirmed it by an Edict. But, to their honour, the Parliament of Paris stood firm. In vain did the King insist upon it in a "bed of justice;" all his violence was spent to no pur-

pose. Yet the affair of the Rue St. Jacques showed that the spirit of persecution was still vigorous; and the superstition of the people was now sharpened by their fears. "The battle of St. Quentin had just been lost. Every one was in dread of seeing the Spaniards at the gates of Paris; and, amidst the common terror, men accused themselves of being too indulgent towards heretics: so again, when Paris was threatened in 1792, after the capture of Verdun, the cry was, that too many of the Clergy and aristocracy had been spared; and then began the days of September."

The affair of the Rue St. Jacques awakened the sympathy of the Reformed party throughout Europe. The Swiss, the Count Palatine, the Elector of Saxony, and other Protestants of the Empire, interceded in their behalf; and Henry was obliged to listen to the prayer of those whose aid he then urgently needed. Nor was this sympathy confined to their fellow Protestants abroad; a large party in the Parliament of Paris saw that the persecution of the Calvinists, now rapidly increasing in numbers, was alike unjust and impolitic. This section, with Anne Dubourg at their head, demanded that the religious differences should be settled by a national council. "It is no small matter," said he, "to condemn those who, from the flames, call on the name of Jesus Christ." The King, infuriated at such tolerance and freedom, ordered Dubourg to be immediately arrested, and declared that he would see him burn with his own eyes: but he himself died by the lance of Montgomery before the trial was completed, haunted, in his last moments, by the remembrance of his injustice and tyranny.

Dubourg's trial was still continued, and he was finally sentenced to be burnt. "His execution," says Mèzeray, "inspired many with the persuasion, that the faith, professed by so intelligent and upright a man, could not be a bad one." Another Catholic writer, Florimond de Remond, then a student in the University of Paris, "owns, that every body was melted to tears in the colleges, that they pleaded his cause after his death, and that his pile did more harm than a hundred Ministers could have done with their sermons." Thus does persecution ever defeat its objects: thus is the blood of the martyrs ever the seed of the Church.

Meanwhile the affairs of the State were becoming more critical daily. The new King, Francis II., was scarcely sixteen years old, and was weak both in mind and body. The different factions of the Court "all took advantage of his youth, and mingled with religious discussions quarrels about their own selfish and ambitious politics." There were three parties in the field. The Guises, at the head of the Catholics, aimed at the extirpation of the Protestants, and the exaltation of the family of Lorraine: the Huguenots, under the Bourbons and Cha-

tillons, were the fiercest opponents of this faction: whilst between them the Politiques, under the Chancellor L'Hôpital and the Constable Montmorenci, counselled mutual toleration and forbearance. Identified with none of them, any further than the interests of the moment might require, Catherine de Médicis, with Italian wiliness, strove to mount to power by all of them in turn; when her vacillation was brought to a sudden crisis by the discovery of the Conspiracy of Amboise. For, goaded by persecution, by insult, and by calumny, the Protestants had long been exasperated against the Guises, and they had plotted to expel the Princes of Lorraine, and restore the real government to their King.

The plot was revealed by a conspirator, and fierce was the revenge of the Cardinal of Lorraine. In his terror he had at first proclaimed an amnesty, but his vengeance grew with his strength. "Twelve hundred conspirators were put to death at Amboise. There was no investigation, nor any form of trial; and as the executioners were unable to get through their work, they flung the prisoners, tied hand and foot, into the Loire by hundreds. The same stream was destined to receive other victims subsequently. Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, and Carrier of Nantes, might shake hands across the interval of centuries."

Despite such wholesale slaughter, the Protestant cause kept gaining ground, and this very year (1560) saw the establishment of public worship by them; whilst, in the Assembly of the Notables held at Fontainebleau, Coligny presented to the King a petition from their party, and undertook to get fifty thousand signatures to it from the province of Normandy alone. To settle the questions in dispute, all parties agreed in demanding the convocation of the States-General, and that measures should also be taken for holding a national Council. For the most enlightened on all sides hoped, by its assistance, to unite the two religions on some common ground. The belief that it was impossible to have two creeds within one State still prevailed in the noblest minds. The States-General were accordingly summoned to meet at Orleans, and thither came the Bourbon Princes. But the Guises had devised a simpler method than discussion for terminating the existing differences. Their first scheme was to murder the two Bourbon Princes in the King's chamber; their second, to put to death or banish every Frenchman who refused to sign a creed drawn up by the Cardinal,—a creed, says Jean de Serres, that *no man of the Religion would have either approved or signed for a thousand lives.* The first was defeated by the King's timidity; the second, by his premature death. Francis died in the seventeenth year of his age, having reigned as many months; and as no one cared for his funeral, in the eager pursuit of their own interest, a blind

Bishop and two aged domestics were all that followed him to the tomb.

The death of Francis II. was, in fact, a revolution; and, for a time, the Protestant influence prevailed, and seemed likely soon to be triumphant. But a Court intrigue restored the Guises to power, and their return was marked by the Edict of July, 1561, which forbade the public assemblies, but sanctioned the private worship, of the Huguenots, and promised a national Council to adjust the religious differences.

Such a Council met in the refectory of the great Convent of Poisy on the 9th of the following September. It was opened by addresses from Charles IX. and L'Hôpital, the latter in a wise and conciliatory tone. After these the Reformed deputies were, for the first time, admitted, rather as culprits than as colleagues in the deliberation. Calvin himself was absent, as the hostages were refused, whom Geneva had demanded for his safety; but his friend Beza filled more gracefully his place, and adorned his arguments by a courtly elocution and address. In the simplest apparel the Reformers entered, and Beza knelt and audibly asked a blessing on their labours. But when they came to the discussion of the separate articles of their Confession, they found, in the doctrine of transubstantiation, an insuperable obstacle to their proceeding, and the cause of a premature conclusion. Both sides, indeed, agreed to a formulary respecting the real presence in the Eucharist; but both sides found that all their learning and rhetoric had been employed in vain. It was now plain that either one or other must be exterminated, or they must continue to live side by side. And the Politiques now first learned, that neither sword nor pen could really gain a final victory, but that mutual toleration and forbearance might make any such victory superfluous.

Still the Huguenots had been gainers by the conference at Poisy. Their tenets became more widely known, and were, in consequence, more widely embraced. Their numbers, at this time, were estimated by the Chancellor L'Hôpital at a fourth of the whole population; and this tolerant and wise Judge drew up the Edict of January, 1562, which permitted them to meet for worship without the walls of any city. Such bare tolerance was, however, highly culpable in the eyes of the Guises. They spared no pains to gain over Antoine de Bourbon, titular King of Navarre, that their faction might enjoy the powers which he wielded as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. Seduced by the prospect of becoming King of Scotland, of Sardinia, or of Tunis, (all three were temptingly suggested,) he avowed himself a convert to Popery; and, with all the rancour of a renegade, joined in a conspiracy to introduce forces from Spain for the extirpation of heresy, and even volunteered an attack upon the Calvinists of Paris.

To support this enterprise, the Duke of Guise was on his way to Paris with a band of armed retainers, and, in passing through Champagne, he heard the church bells of Vassy summoning the faithful to their prayers. "They shall soon Huguenotize in a very different manner," cried the Duke, and he ordered an attack upon them. The Reformed defended themselves with the stones which lay around them, with one of which the Duke was struck in the face. In his anger he gave the command to charge, and sixty were slain, and two hundred more wounded. Their Pastor was taken prisoner, and the Duke ordered him to be hung, but no one could be found who would become his executioner. In the affray there was a volume carried from them to Guise. "Look," said he to his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, "look at the titles of these Huguenots' books." "There is no harm in this," replied the Cardinal; "it is the Bible." "The Bible!" he replied, "how can that be? You see it is not a year since this book was published, and they say the Bible has been published these fifteen hundred years and more."

The news of this massacre roused the blood of the Reformers. Condé and their other leaders in vain demanded justice and the punishment of this flagrant violation of all law. The arts of Catherine were exhausted in evasion and vague promises. Beza appealed to Montmorenci to exert his authority as Constable; but Antoine of Navarre apologized for the Duke, and accused the Huguenots of striking the first blow. "Sire," replied Beza, "the Church is rather wont to be smitten, than to smite; but remember it is an anvil on which many a hammer has been broken." Yet with that Church Guise now engaged in deadly conflict. He seized the persons of Catherine and Charles IX., and kept them in a gentle, but strict, captivity. The triumph of his party was, however, short-lived,—it was a triumph promptly and fearfully expiated. With the massacre of Vassy, and the seizure of the King, commenced the fierce contest of the religious wars, and the darkest era in the dark history of France.

Both sides appealed to foreign Princes for aid; both professed fealty to their lawful Sovereign. The Huguenots demanded vengeance for the massacre of Vassy, the liberation of their Monarch, and the expulsion of the Guises. They ranged themselves under Condé, as being of the blood-royal, and their first efforts in arms were crowned with success. To these attempts the Catholics replied with vigour: they acted with promptitude, decision, and energy, whilst Condé lost his opportunities in vain negotiations. At length the deaths of Antoine of Navarre and the Duke of Guise offered an opportunity of making peace, and Condé was lured, by the promise of becoming Lieutenant-General, to accept for his party very unfavourable terms. Even these were not registered by all the Parliaments, and Catherine

de Médicis withheld from him his promised reward. In his anger he would at once have renewed hostilities, but was restrained by the more prudent Coligny. "I see perfectly well," said the latter, "how we may light the fire, but I do not see the water to put it out."

But that fire only smouldered, and soon burst forth in undiminished fury. Suddenly the Duke of Alva appeared with an army at Bayonne, and the Huguenots flew to the standard of their King. Catherine courteously declined their assistance, promised to maintain the struggle at her own expense, and advanced with her forces to meet the Spaniards. While the Reformed supposed she was preparing to act against the Spaniards, she had been gathering an army to act against themselves; and now, laying aside the mask, she hailed Alva as a friend, and prepared, with his assistance, to crush her opponents. Their imminent danger at last roused them from their credulity, and nothing was left save an appeal to arms. On the plain of St. Denis the Catholics triumphed, though the Constable Montmorenci died from a wound received upon the field. Marshal de Vielville truly described the result of that conflict to Charles IX.: "Neither your Majesty nor Condé have won the battle, but the King of Spain."

Thus war was once again kindled throughout France,—a war which, to all the horrors of a civil contest, added all the rancour of theological hatred, The accounts present to us scenes of bloodshed and treachery on both sides, succeeding one another in horrible monotony. All sense of shame, all regard for honour, all the sanctity of oaths, seemed now to be forgotten. Catherine had often boasted that, with her tongue and a few sheets of paper, she could effect more mischief than all the lances of her army. And no sooner did the Huguenots obtain some slight advantage, than she offered terms of peace, to which, in despite of their leaders, they agreed. At length the Prince of Condé, seeing his army melt away, was compelled to sign the Peace of Longjumeau (1568). "It left his party," Mèzeray says, "at the mercy of their enemies, with no other security than the word of an Italian woman."

But the treaty in reality never existed, save on paper. Measures were still taken entirely to crush the Calvinists. The pulpits proclaimed that no faith should be kept with heretics; and riots and massacres were the result of their teaching. In three months' time more than ten thousand perished. L'Hôpital, having in vain endeavoured to get justice for these murders, retired from the Chancellorship into private life. Marshal Montmorenci was removed from the government of Paris, being suspected of moderation and humanity. Condé's *maître d'hôtel*, while carrying the terms of peace to Languedoc, was seized and murdered, in defiance of the King's safe-conduct.

Once more the Huguenots assembled in arms, and eight thousand men gathered around their standard. Their imminent peril had added to their strength, by terrifying even the more timorous to action; and Coligny repeated the saying of Themistocles: "My friends, we should have perished, had we not been ruined." Yet on the bloody field of Jarnac that ruin seemed complete. The Prince of Condé was murdered in cold blood, and his lifeless body was insulted by the victors; whilst Pope Pius V. sanctioned these excesses, quoting the example of Saul smiting the Amalekites, and representing every emotion of pity as a snare of the devil. The position of the Huguenots seemed desperate indeed. Yet Coligny still survived, and the youthful son of Jeanne d'Albret, the future Henry IV., was dedicated solemnly to *the Cause*, and recognised as their leader. "I swear," he cried, "to defend religion, and persevere in the common cause, till we gain our longed-for liberty by victory or death." Once more his party rallied, and gained some advantages at Roche-Abeille; but their German allies mutinied, and forced the reluctant Coligny to engage the royal forces on the field of Moncontour. Of all their bloody contests it proved the most disastrous. Of twenty-five thousand men, but eight thousand escaped, carrying with them their leader, covered with wounds. The vanquished party in vain called for quarter; D'Andelot, Coligny's brother, was left among the slain; on Coligny's head the price of fifty thousand crowns was placed; his dominions were plundered, and himself treated as infamous by his enemies, who supposed that the Protestants were now crushed for ever. But the Admiral's spirit rose with the danger, and, thirteen days after his defeat at Moncontour, he addressed the following letter to his children:—

"We must not rely too much on what we call wealth, but rather place our hopes elsewhere than on earth, and acquire other resources than those we can see with our eyes, and touch with our hands. We must follow Jesus Christ, our Captain, who has marched before us. Men have stripped us of all they could; and if this is still the will of God, we shall be happy, and our condition good, seeing that this loss has not happened to us through any injury we have done to those who have inflicted it, but solely through the hatred they bear towards me, because it has pleased God to make use of me to aid His Church. .....For the present it suffices that I admonish and conjure you, in the name of God, to persevere courageously in the study of virtue."—*Félice*, vol. i., pp. 192, 193.

Such calm confidence in the providence of God remained unshaked by misfortunes which would have overwhelmed others. From words Coligny proceeded to action; and Catherine beheld him, with mingled surprise and terror, at the head of a still stronger and better appointed army. Accordingly she once more offered peace, which was agreed to at St. Germains,

August 8th, 1570, on more favourable terms than the Huguenots had before obtained. "Liberty of worship was accorded in all places actually in their possession, besides two cities in every province, amnesty for the past, equal right of admission to office, permission to reside in any part of the kingdom without molestation on the ground of religion, and four cautionary towns, La Rochelle, La Charité, Cognac, and Montauban."* Catherine made a show of generosity, and Coligny gladly acquiesced in the arrangement; while France, bleeding at every pore from this intestine conflict, demanded an interval for binding up her wounds.

We cannot pretend here to decide the much-agitated question, as to whether Catherine de Médicis and the Lorraines had already planned the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Without giving the Queen-mother credit for scruples either of conscience or of pity, of which she had never exhibited any symptom, there does not seem any sufficient reason for supposing that foul deed of blood to have been as yet resolved on. The royal party had every thing to gain by peace; and for a time Charles IX. seemed to feel a real respect and liking for Coligny. The veteran warrior was admitted to the Monarch's counsels, and unfolded to him schemes for the aggrandizement of France and the humiliation of the Spaniards, which were subsequently adopted by Henri Quatre and by Richelieu. But this semblance of reconciliation was either altogether feigned, or was confined to the breast of Charles IX. alone. The Guises and Catherine dreaded the growing power of the Reformed, and determined to terrify and crush them at a blow; and, it may be, their designs were hastened by the influence which Coligny seemed to be acquiring over his youthful master's heart. Their plan was first to bring matters to extremity, and then to persuade Charles that retreat was now impossible. As Coligny returned, on Friday, August 22d, from an interview with the King, he was fired at by Maurevel, formerly a page of the Duke of Guise. Charles IX. was at first furious, and indignantly commanded Guise to leave the Court; but his family urged that the Protestants would attribute the attempted murder to himself, and that it was the better policy to break with them entirely. Still unpersuaded, and with many a qualm of conscience, the Monarch angrily exclaimed, "Well, if you think it best to kill Coligny, I agree; but you must, in that case, slay all the Huguenots besides, that not one may remain to reproach me with his death."

At one o'clock on the Sunday morning following, Catherine gave the order for the preconcerted signal; and at the sound of the great bell of St. Germain Auxerrois, the assassins set forth

* Félice, vol. i., p. 193.

upon their errand. Each man's arm was bound with white, to show that he was a good Catholic; all without this badge were to be slaughtered without mercy. Guise proceeded in person to Coligny's lodgings, accompanied by the Duke d'Aumale and the Chevalier d'Angoulême. A creature of the Duke's came out and declared the deed completed; but they were not satisfied, without seeing their yet living victim thrown from the window to the court below. In his dying grasp he clung to the window-frame, and violence was required before they could fling him down. "That is he; I know him," cried the Duke, as he wiped the blood from his features, and with a kick he left him, and rushed out to hasten other murders. "Sixteen years and four months from this date, in the castle of Blois, the corpse of this very Henry of Guise lay before Henry III., who kicked it in the face." Besme was rewarded for this murder of Coligny with the hand of the *daughter* of the Cardinal of Lorraine.

"The sun rose at Paris, August 24th, on a scene of general tumult, carnage, and disorder; large streams of blood flowed down the streets; the corpses of men, women, and children blocked up the doorways;" whilst the blasphemies and curses of the executioners were horribly mingled with the prayers of the dying. Throughout all France like scenes were enacted, and at a moderate computation fifty thousand perished.

Of all the dark crimes with which modern history is acquainted, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew is the foulest it can record. Its victims were the fellow-countrymen, the brothers of its authors, who had been solemnly admitted to a covenant of peace, had sat with them side by side in the council-chamber and at the banquet. They were first lulled to security by an outward show of kindness, and then murdered in the confidence that kindness had inspired. Its authors were not a maddened and infuriated populace, whom long oppression and wrong had goaded into crime. No ignorance, no want of education can be pleaded. It was no sudden burst of passion wrought in the moment of frenzy. Plotted with deliberation, planned in the royal palace, executed without mercy, and justified in the name of piety, no other crime involved in a like degree the violation of all law, human and divine. In England, Scotland, Germany, and Switzerland, the name of "Frenchman" was held in detestation; and when Lamothe, the French Ambassador, appeared to vindicate the deed before the Court of London, the Queen and all her courtiers received him clad in mourning. He stammered out the odious apology, and retired, without a word of recognition. In Scotland, the voice of Knox thundered forth the vengeance of Heaven against the King of France, and denounced impending woes upon his race, and that his name would remain an execration to posterity: whilst at Rome, after singing *Te*

Deum with the College of Cardinals, the Pope caused a *feu de joie* to be fired from St. Angelo. "A picture of the massacre was added to the embellishments of the Vatican; and, by the Pontiff's order, a medal was struck to signalize the Church's triumph over its foes."

The Catholics had flattered themselves that the Huguenots were exterminated; they were speedily taught that they were not yet subdued. The Calvinists revolted, and held out obstinately against an enemy whom no oaths availed to bind, no treaties to restrain. New theories of government and resistance were broached among them, and augured ominously for the future. In the midst of these troubles, Charles IX. expired in frightful agony of mind and body.

In his successor, Henry III., such contradictory qualities were united, as have rendered his character an inexplicable problem. His youth of martial daring was followed by a feeble and voluptuous manhood. He united the most abject and extravagant superstition with the utmost impiety and disregard of religious restraints. Faithful as he was to his worthless associates, he vacillated when honour and prudence called for energy. Gifted with talents of a high order and with a kingly presence, he yet became the object of his people's hate and scorn. He fostered the cause of Rome, but fell a victim to its Clergy; he persecuted the Reformed; but died a martyr to their cause. Whilst his throne was imperilled by treason and revolt, he spent his time and treasure on processions and menageries. Yet, when grossly insulted by the Duke of Guise and the citizens of Paris, he braved them both openly before the assembled States-General, and threatened them with punishment he had not power to inflict.

In this reign, the Catholics founded the great League, whose object was to overthrow the liberties of the Gallican Church, and to place the Guises on the throne. The Calvinists and Politiques combined, on their side, to weaken the royal authority, and had concluded an agreement to set up in the State a species of republic, with its own laws for finance, for commerce, and religion; whilst Catherine and Henry were dubious which side they ought to join, their only care being that that side should prove victorious. To solve these varied problems, and to aid their own intentions, all three desired the Convocation of the States-General; and, on the 6th of December, 1576, the Deputies appeared at Blois, in answer to the royal summons.

Yet their meeting only increased the Monarch's difficulties and indecision. He desired nothing more earnestly than war with the Reformed, and the Deputies were not unwilling to authorize its commencement. But with his usual vacillation, despite the States' concurrence, despite his own inclinations,

Henry shrank from the renewal of such a deadly conflict. His reluctance was fully justified by the event. In war his forces were routed on the field of Coutras, which crowned Henry of Navarre with immortal fame. In peace his person was insulted by the Leaguers, who blamed his toleration of the Calvinists, and openly preached rebellion against him. To stem this torrent of disaster and of shame, he again summoned the Deputies of the States-General to Blois. Their attitude and decisions were in open defiance of his commands, and were evidently guided by Henry, Duke of Guise, who had now but one more step to mount, that he might place himself upon the throne of France. That step the hero of Jarnac and Moncontour had already determined to anticipate by his murder. Early on the morning of December 23d, 1588, the Lorraines were both summoned to the royal chamber, and were assassinated in the King's presence, as they crossed the threshold; whilst Henry, presenting himself to his indignant subjects, triumphantly exclaimed, "At length I am a King!"

It was but a small remnant of the royal authority that Henry III. still retained in his power. He had sown to the wind, and he was now to reap the whirlwind in accumulated disasters, indignities, and shame. The League stirred up the Parisians against him, and openly preached regicide from their pulpits. Paris and half France at once revolted, and he was even forced to beg the aid of his hated foes, the Huguenots, to enable him to support any semblance of authority. We regret to say, that Henry of Navarre allied himself with a Monarch who had told the States of Blois that they were not to believe him, even if he promised with the most sacred oaths, that he would spare the heretics. We regret still more to add, that Dr. Félice justifies that alliance as expedient for the Reformed. The King's affairs, however, took a favourable turn, and the rebels were defeated in several engagements, when the League vindicated, by the knife of Jacques Clement, the doctrines of their Priesthood, and the murder of their chief.

"Henry III. died of his wound in the course of eighteen hours, August 10th, 1589. In him terminated the house of Valois. Francis I. died a dishonourable death; Henry II. was mortally wounded in a tournament; Francis II. did not attain to manhood; Charles IX. expired in convulsions of a hitherto unknown malady; the Duke of Alençon hastened his end by vice and debauchery; Henry III. died by the hand of an assassin. The Valois bear on their brow the ineffaceable mark of St. Bartholomew's massacre."

Nor had this unfortunate race of Princes the goodwill of the party which they laboured to support; the Guises were always opposed to the royal family, unless their influence was prevalent at Court. It was to them, rather than to the reigning Monarch,

that the Catholics had been wont to look for their leaders. Francis II. and Charles IX. were in reality the prisoners of the Princes of Lorraine; whilst Henry III. was foiled at every turn, and insulted by the Leaguers and the Duke of Guise, their chief. Stained with the blood of civil war, with the disgrace of violated oaths, with the odium of the Huguenots, and the distrust of the Papists, they felt the heavy burden of royal responsibility, unsweetened by their own or their subjects' esteem; whilst the last of their race died with the execrations of that vast conspiracy, to whose charter he had placed an unkingly hand. The character of the Court is mainly affected by the reigning Monarch; and, during this period, the morals and superstition of the Court of France were equally revolting to reason and religion. Astrology and secret arts were held in estimation, and all the most sacred truths of Christianity were parodied in blasphemous and immoral shows. The Cardinal of Lorraine, and many of the Prelates, openly violated the rules of decorum. The Duke of Guise was returning from a night of debauchery, when he was summoned to the royal presence, and assassinated. The ladies of the Court led open lives of scandalous immorality. Superstition and bloodshed were, as usual, combined, and an assassin's address might be obtained as easily as a perfumer's. The cup of iniquity seemed already full; but the monks of Paris crowned it to overflowing.

"Jacques Clement was canonized in all the pulpits as 'the blessed son of Dominic, the holy martyr of Jesus Christ.'.....When his mother came to Paris, the monks applied to her the words of the Gospel: 'Blessed is the womb which bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked!' and Pope Sixtus V., to complete the infamy, declared, in full Consistory, that the martyrdom of Jacques Clement was comparable, in its bearings on the salvation of the world, with the incarnation and the resurrection of Jesus Christ."—*Félice*, vol. i., p. 260.

With the reign of Henry IV. commences a new era; it is the termination of the Middle Ages. Sickened with the narrative of bloodshed and crime which we have been sketching, we turn with relief to the altered state of things. What a change from the selfish policy of Guise, or the frivolity of the Mignons, to the fidelity of Duplessis Mornay, and the enlarged and statesmanlike views of Sully! What a transformation from the weakness of France under the House of Valois, to the commanding influence in European politics which she at once acquired under Henry of Navarre! But these events belong rather to the general history of the country, than to that special branch which Dr. Félice has undertaken; and he, consequently, seems, on a cursory reading, scarcely to do justice to the first Bourbon King. This want of justice is, however, only in appearance; for, whilst the learned Doctor sternly and rightly condemns the abjuration of his creed, he fairly admits the

estimation in which, even after that event, Henry was held by his Protestant subjects, and declares that "the twelve years which elapsed from the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes till the death of the King, were one of the most peaceful eras of the French Reformed Church."

It might have been supposed that, at Henry's accession, Protestantism would have become the dominant religion of France; but difficulties apparently insuperable were in the way, and, as King, Henry found himself hampered and fettered, and began to think of gaining his enemies at the expense of his friends. Even his decisive victory on the field of Ivry brought him no nearer to the throne of France; and he seemed like St. George upon the sign-posts, "always on horseback, but never advancing." What the issue might have been, had Henry possessed the indomitable spirit of Luther, is but matter of conjecture; but in truth the gallant Monarch was no such stern hero; and the failing of his race, the yielding to unlawful passion, both scandalized his party, and weakened his convictions. The different parties of Politiques, of moderate Catholics, and of Leaguers, all agreed in rejecting the rule of a Protestant. Among his own immediate friends, there were not wanting those who urgently pressed on him the policy of being united to the Romish Church. The sagacious Sully was the foremost of these advisers, and devised the theory that a man might be saved in any profession, if he held the Decalogue and the prime truths of Christianity; and Henry yielded, because he elevated human reasoning and expediency above God's plain and immutable commands.*

* The apostasy of Henry has found so many apologists, and is so much defended on political grounds, that we are tempted to quote the sterling remarks of a living historian in reply:—"The reverence due to so great a man, and all the probabilities of the case, require us to reject the hypothesis that he was a hypocrite, even when leading the Huguenots in the fields of Coutras and of Ivry. His real responsibility is, that of having acted on the belief that, by disavowing his faith, he would best promote the interests of his people, of his descendants, and of himself.....Doubtless it was not without some plausible sophistry that he reconciled to himself so wilful and so solemn a departure from the sacred obligations of truth. Doubtless he believed it to be, on the whole, expedient for others and for himself. But that it really was inexpedient we know, because we know that, by the divine law, it was unequivocally forbidden. What the future history of France would have been if Henry had clung to his integrity, is known only to the Omniscient; but, with the annals of France in our hands, we have no difficulty in perceiving that the day of his impious, because pretended, conversion was among the *dies nefasti* of his country. It restored peace, indeed, to that bleeding land, and it gave to himself an undisputed reign of seventeen years; but he found them years replete with cares and terrors, and disgraced by many shameful vices, and, at last, abruptly terminated by the dagger of an assassin. It rescued France, indeed, from the evils of a disputed succession; but it consigned her to two centuries of despotism and misgovernment.....If any prophetic voice could have disclosed to Henry the events really depending on his purchase of his crown by his apostasy, would that purchase have been made? If he had sought for guidance in the sacred Book, which was the corner-stone of the faith he abandoned, would it not have reminded him, that 'the lip of truth shall be established for ever; but that a lying tongue is but for a moment?'"—*Stephen's Lectures on the History of France*, vol. ii., pp. 144, 145.

Once established on the throne, Henry was enabled to place the Huguenots in a position of security and freedom. For this purpose the Edict of Nantes was published in April, 1598, and the religious and political assemblies of the Reformed were placed under the sanction and guidance of the King. These assemblies were, in fact, an *imperium in imperio*, and are contrary to our ideas of government and good order. At the same time we must remember that, at the period of their establishment, the Reformed were excluded from the protection of the law. The Edict of Nantes recognised their anomalous position, by giving them certain towns as material guarantees for its fulfilment. Without a clear idea of the Edict itself and of these assemblies, the position of the Calvinists cannot be fully understood: they are thus described by the two Professors:—

"In the preamble of the Edict of Nantes, the King acknowledges that God is adored and prayed to by all his subjects; if not in the same form, with the same intention, in such manner that his kingdom shall ever merit and preserve the glorious title of 'most Christian.' The Edict was declared to be *perpetual and irrevocable*, as being the main foundation of the union and tranquillity of the State. It granted the following concessions in brief:—Full liberty of conscience to all; the public exercise of the Religion in all those places in which it was established in 1597, and in the suburbs of cities; permission to the Lords High-Justiciary to celebrate divine worship in their castles; and, to the inferior gentry, to admit thirty persons to their domestic worship; admission of the Reformed to office in the State, their children to be received into the schools, and their sick into the hospitals, and their poor to share in the alms; the concession of a right to print their books in certain cities; mi-party Chambers in some of the Parliaments; a Chamber of the Edict in Paris, consisting entirely of Catholics, with the exception of one member, but yet offering adequate guarantees for its fulfilling the special purpose for which it was instituted; four Academies for scientific and theological instruction; the convoking of Synods, according to the discipline of the Reformed Church, authorized; and lastly, a certain number of cautionary towns.....This was not religious liberty, nor even bare toleration, as we understand these words in the present day; it was one treaty more, between two peoples in juxta-position on the same soil. There were two rights, two armies, two judicial establishments, and each side had its cautionary towns. Henry IV., as head of the State, performed the part of umpire between the two camps. Still it was a great step in advance."—*Félice*, vol. i., pp. 283, 284.

Our account of the religious and political constitution of the Protestants is taken from M. Weiss's book; he describes it as perfectly developed at the Assembly of Saumur, and we shall at once recognise its republican character:—

"The religious constitution of the Protestants reposed upon the Consistories, the Colloquies, the Provincial Synods, and the National Synods. Every Church formed a Consistory,—that is to say, a little

democratic Council, composed of Ministers, Deacons, and Elders. met weekly. At its meetings took place the division of alms c lected in the assembly of the faithful. Faults committed by memb of the Church were denounced, especially those contrary to ecclesi tical discipline. It was investigated whether the guilty persons w deserving of private exhortation, or of public excommunication. case of disobedience, the delinquent was denounced to the Colloquy.

"The Colloquies met every three months. They were composed two Deputies from each Consistory of a certain district, and th decided the affairs which the first Council had been unable to ter nate. In them were fixed the sums that should be paid to Prote ants persecuted for religion's sake. Censure was passed on Elde Deacons, aspirants to orders, and Ministers who had gone astray fr their duties; and all members of a Consistory who had been guilty prevarication were dismissed from their functions.

"The Provincial Synods met once a year. In them each Colloc was represented by two Deputies, and all the affairs of the provi were discussed. Young Clergymen, who desired promotion to Ministry, were examined. The rate of payment of the Pastors v fixed, according to the amount of the sums received in the gene collection made by the Consistories. To each parish its Minister v assigned, and choice was made of Profesors of Theology.

"The General, or National, Synods, were convoked every th years; but political circumstances often prevented their meeti These assemblies were composed of lay and ecclesiastical deput from all the provinces of the kingdom. They elected the Moderat or President, by a plurality of voices. They judged the appeals of Provincial Synods. They gave final decisions in questions of dog and discipline; and the statutes they enacted, had the force of law all the Churches.

"The government of the Reformed Church was, it is here se arranged entirely upon the representative system; for it consisted assemblies, subordinate one to the other, and all formed by means election. The Consistories were subject to the Colloquies, the Co quies to the Provincial Synods, the Provincial Synods to the Natio Synod. The lowest rank of this Hierarchy were in immediate cont with the people. The Consistories were composed of Pastors a Elders named by the people, or at least admitted into those assembl with the people's publicly-expressed adhesion. The Colloquies w formed of Deputies named by the Consistories; the Provincial Syno of Deputies named by the Colloquies; the National Synods, of Rep sentatives designated by the Provincial Synods. In the hands o minority, which was only too frequently oppressed, such a Gove ment had naturally great vigour. Discipline was maintained as means of union for all the adherents of the Reformed religion, as means of defence against a dominant and jealous Church. There v mutual observation and watchfulness; and the measures adopted w rapid and efficacious, because they were susceptible of being carr into immediate execution, and always conformable to the gene interests of the party."—Pp. 10–12.

The religious and political elements were so inseparably int woven in the policy of the Huguenots, that we should expect

find the political institutions formed on a like principle to those just described. And such was the case. They were governed by Provincial Councils, Circular Assemblies, and General Assemblies, formed in the following manner:—

"The Provincial Councils were composed of the Notables of each province, charged to watch over the maintenance of the rights and privileges granted to the party. They looked into complaints preferred by those of their religion, and transmitted their succinct exposition to the *Deputies-General*, charged to obtain from the King redress of their grievances. The Provincial Councils were anterior to the assembly of Saumur; but their regular meetings dated only from that epoch, and subsisted, notwithstanding the opposition of the Court, until the taking of La Rochelle. The *Circles* established by that Assembly in 1611, on the model of those of Germany, were each composed of several provinces. The name of '*Circular Assembly*' was given to the meeting of the Delegates from the Provincial Councils. Any province of the Circle had a right to convoke it, when danger menaced one or several Churches, or the generality of Churches of France and Béarn. Did the danger become too pressing, the assemblage of Circles, intending upon the royal prerogative, took upon itself to convoke a General Political Assembly.

"The General Assemblies were held in a somewhat irregular manner. They were preceded, and sometimes succeeded, by the Provincial Political Assemblies. In the first case, these named the Deputies of the future General Assembly, and digested the documents that were to be submitted to its deliberations. In the second case, they received a Report on the decisions adopted. The Edict of Nantes permitted these General Assemblies, but on the express condition that they should be authorized by the King. Without such authorization, they lost their legal character, and were held to be seditious. (That of Saumur, in 1611, was the last that was licit and regular.) And the last, that of La Rochelle, in 1620, degenerated into a revolutionary assembly, and gave the signal of that civil war, which cost the Protestants all their political liberties.

"In principle, the General Assemblies had but one well-defined object,—it was the election of the Deputies-General, and, subsequently, the designation of six candidates to the General Deputation, from which the King selected two Commissioners of the Reformed religion to be present near his person in the interval between the Sessions; but, in fact, their functions extended to all things that concerned the party. As long as Henry IV. lived, they did not overstep the restricted circle allotted to them; but under the reign of Louis XIII. they constituted themselves sovereign Assemblies,—following the example of the Dutch States-General,—and provoked disturbances and rebellion."—*Weiss*, pp. 13, 14.

The period from Henry's murder to the fall of La Rochelle, were years of mutual distrust and suspicion. The Court was unfavourably disposed to the Reformed, and their ill-will was confirmed by the intrigues of the Calvinist nobles. On the other hand, the rights of the Huguenots were so constantly

infringed on, that they were easily induced to take up arms against the Court. In the States-General of 1614, the Clergy and nobles openly declared against the heretics, even to the interdiction of all exercise of their religion. It would have needed men of much constancy and faith to guide them in safety through such perils; but it was ever their misfortune to be ruled by selfish and intriguing nobles, who led them into rebellion for their own advantage, and then, deserting them, made terms with the Court for themselves alone. On the side of the Catholics were vigour, union, and no hesitation as to the cruelty of the means which they employed; on the side of the Reformed were divided councils, discordant chiefs, and faithless leaders. Besides, no means were left untried by the Government to bring over seceders of all ranks to the bosom of the Catholic Church. To the nobles these inducements took the form of Court favour, and a share in the wealth and honours which Princes can bestow: to the people they offered a release from persecution, and a small pecuniary reward for their apostasy. On one side were wealth, advancement, and privileges; on the other, exclusion, penalties, persecutions. None, whose faith was not grounded on the true foundation, could long resist such assaults. The little flock became smaller daily.

From 1616 to 1620 the Government prepared to deprive the Protestants of their political organization. For this purpose every engine was set in motion. The pulpits resounded with fierce invectives against them, and roused the people to still fiercer outrages. At Lyons, at Moulins, and at Dijon, the mob drove away their Ministers, burned their temples, and disinterred their dead. In vain was justice demanded against the perpetrators of these acts, and the last hopes of their party seemed quenched by the re-establishment of Catholicism in Béarn, the ancient kingdom of Jeanne d'Albret. In vain did the Parliament of Pau remonstrate. Louis XIII. declared he would go in person, and have the Edict registered; and he kept his word. Yet the submission of the country was but apparent. The Marquis de la Force, its Governor, openly encouraged the people to resume the Church property, and La Rochelle convoked the General Assembly within its walls. Against this illegal act the most eminent of the Calvinists loudly protested. "Were I in a state to be carried to the Louvre," cried the Duke of Bouillon, then ill at Sedan, "I would drag myself, all crippled as I am, to the King's feet, and would ask him pardon for the Assembly." But these wise counsels appeared but timidity to those who had seized on the direction of affairs. They parcelled out the kingdom among their chiefs, levied taxes, and performed other rights of sovereignty; and, in fact, proclaimed a Protestant Republic on the model of the United Provinces. Such a policy was

sheer madness, unless followed up by a like vigour in the field. But though individual towns and leaders showed the utmost heroism, the majority of their chiefs were not hearty in a struggle undertaken in despite of their advice. Lesdiguières abjured, and delivered up Dauphiné in proof of the sincerity of his conversion. Of the rest, the Dukes of Soubise and Rohan were alone devoted wholly to their cause; whilst all Catholic France was indignant at this division of the empire, and heartily supported their King.

Under these circumstances, resistance, though prolonged, could not be lasting. Saumur, all Poitou, and St. Jean d'Angély successively submitted to Louis. Montauban alone resisted all attacks; and when winter and disease had thinned the royal ranks before its walls, the Peace of Montpellier was signed (1621). By its terms,—

"The exercise of the two religions was re-established in all places, where it had been interrupted; but the Protestants had to discontinue their political assemblies, to content themselves with their religious meetings, and to deliver up their strongholds, with the exception of La Rochelle and Montauban. The King promised, however, not to garrison Montpellier, nor to construct a citadel to keep the town in check, and to demolish Fort Louis, recently built at the gates of La Rochelle."—*Weiss*, p. 69.

Yet these last conditions were not observed, and we may well doubt whether they were made in good faith. A garrison was established at Montpellier, and Fort Louis was daily strengthened; whilst to all remonstrances it was answered, that the King "makes no contracts with his subjects, least of all with heretics and rebels."

M. Weiss unhesitatingly condemns the Huguenots of this period for their democratic tendencies, and their endeavours to dismember the kingdom of France. The integrity of that kingdom is so sacred in his eyes, that no sufferings of the Reformed could warrant its disturbance. Those who wish to know by what means a loyal people were brought to desire a republican form of government, will find in M. Félice's pages an account of the false position of both sides at this juncture, and of the way in which the Calvinists became a political party. As, in the days of our own Charles I., there were many in England who loved monarchy, but less dearly than their liberty; so many a Frenchman under Louis XIII., when driven to the choice, esteemed his country less sacred than his creed. The Catholics of France never hesitated to accept the aid of their co-religionists of Spain, of Italy, and of Germany; and why should we wonder that, in the hour of their peril, or when an occasion offered of securing their liberties, the Protestants made use of the assistance which presented itself from any quarter? The mistake of M. Weiss is in expecting the duties

of subjects from those to whom the Government affords none of the rights of protection. Had the Edict of Nantes been still faithfully observed, their party would still have been contented, peaceable, and loyal.

It was while matters were thus involved, that Richelieu succeeded to the helm of government. It was no fault of his that the Huguenots were discontented, and that their opposition weakened the royal authority; but the object of his policy, the humiliation of the House of Austria, was impossible, until that authority was strengthened. He at once perceived that the King could not be powerful abroad, until his Government was respected at home. And as the position of the Reformed was now one of defiance, he determined to make peace with his foreign enemies, and attack the stronghold of the party, La Rochelle. Its ancient privileges, its maritime importance, its independent spirit, and its great strength, had made it the bulwark of Protestantism. Though frequently attacked, it had never been taken, and within its walls fugitive Princes and rebellious Assemblies found a secure asylum. But they had now to deal with a vigorous adversary; and its fall was hastened by the failure of promised succours from England, and by the lukewarmness of the rest of the party in France. "At length, when all hope was gone of obtaining succour from any quarter; when two-thirds of the inhabitants had perished, and the streets were choked with the dead, whom the living had not strength to bury; when men could scarce be found able to sustain the weight of their arms, or to walk without a stick,—the city surrendered;" and with it fell the political privileges of the Reformed. Richelieu, though a devoted Romanist, was not a bigot; and he was too closely allied with the Protestants of Germany to push matters to extremities at home. In their estimate of his motives for toleration, our authors differ widely. He is lauded to the skies by M. Weiss, whilst from Dr. Félice he gets but scanty praise. To us more seems due to his prudence than is attributed by the former, and more to his generosity than is conceded by the latter.

The fall of La Rochelle and the Edict of Pardon definitely terminated the religious wars of France. For the next thirty years the Calvinists employed themselves diligently in the varied arts of peace and commerce, and, under Richelieu, Louvois, and Colbert, were the first in agriculture, in manufacture, and in trade. Excluded from Court employment, and from nearly all civil posts, they could not impoverish themselves by luxury and idleness; and in the results of their industry and ingenuity they were abundantly compensated for the former restraints. The agricultural districts of the Cevennes and Vivarais; the vineyards of Berri and the Pays Messin; the wine-trade of Guienne, of Brouage, and of Oleron; the cloth-markets of Caen;

the maritime trade of Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and the Norman ports; the looms of Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné; the paper-mills of Auvergne, Ambert, and Angoumois; the fine linens of Normandy; the silks and taffetas of Lyons; with many others, far too numerous to mention,—were almost entirely in their hands. They introduced the system of associate manufactures; they carried improvements into every branch of trade which they pursued; and they united, even by the testimony of their enemies, the best qualities of the citizen with the Christian's love of truth and observance of God's laws.

Nor were they wanting in the higher walks of polite literature. Their Preachers excelled in the characteristic eloquence of their country. They had colleges in all the principal cities except Paris. The foremost rank, again, of the military heroes of that martial land is crowded with the names of Huguenot commanders. Amongst others, Marshal Guébriand, the conqueror of Alsatia; Rantzan; De la Force; and Chatillon, the conqueror of Hesdin and Arras; Turenne, the greatest tactician of his age; and Duquesne, the Admiral, styled by the Mussulmen, "the old French Captain who had espoused the sea, and whom the angel of death had forgotten."

We mention these facts to show the real importance of the Reformed, and that an estimate may be made of the folly, as well as wickedness, of attacking so important a portion of the State. Richelieu and Mazarin had felt their worth, and had employed them without scruple for the advantage of their country; whilst Fouquet and Colbert put them in places of importance, as they ever proved themselves capable and trustworthy in finance. And during the first years of his reign, the Grand Monarque himself followed their example, and was disposed to treat them with some degree of lenity, as is shown by his own letters and those of Madame de Maintenon.

It were tedious to tell how a change gradually came over the policy of Louis XIV., and how the advancing years of his reign saw increasing enmity against the Reformed. In 1662, he ordered more than twenty of their churches to be destroyed. This was followed by a clause forbidding the burial of their dead, even at day-break or night-fall. Presently obsolete and barbarous laws against converts were revived; and naked corpses were seen drawn upon hurdles, amid the outrages of the populace. Then the Romish Priests were authorized to present themselves at the bedsides of dying Protestants, and their last agony was tormented by their importunity; whilst the declaration that a man had changed his religion at the last moment, was held sufficient to order his body to be buried in the Catholic cemetery, and his children to be taken to attend the mass. Soon, even more odious regulations were put in force, which interfered with their

fortunes, and carried discord to their hearths. Several professions were closed against them. Their schoolmasters were bidden to confine their instruction to reading, writing, and ciphering. Protestant Magistrates were forbidden to occupy places in their temples, or to wear in them their insignia of office like their Catholic colleagues; which privileges were to be restored to those who should be converted. The mixed Chambers of Justice were suppressed; and the Calvinists had but little chance before a Catholic tribunal, where the justification, "I plead against a heretic," was held sufficient. By-and-bye their places of worship were removed to a distance from the towns, and soon afterwards their schools were ordered to be held close to them, that the scholars might have to accomplish long journeys backwards and forwards daily. An edict of 1681 allowed children to abjure Protestantism at *seven* years of age, without their parents being permitted to offer the *least hindrance,* on any pretext whatever; and thus all paternal authority was undermined, as the father was obliged to make provision for a child that had been brought over to Popery. The next blows were aimed at their Pastors and the circulation of their books. In short, every petty insult which could make the blood of a brave people boil, every little slight that could afford annoyance, every minor indignity that would cut to the quick, was studiously added to their greater wrongs.

"Thus was the condition of the Protestants reduced to the limits of the narrowest tolerance. They had no longer any rights left, save those they could not be deprived of without outraging humanity; such as the right of contracting marriages, burying their dead, bringing up their children. They no longer exercised any other professions but those of traders, manufacturers, agriculturists, and soldiers, which could not be interdicted them without detriment to the State. Even these last limits were soon to be overstepped."—*Weiss*, p. 59.

The final catastrophe, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, may be attributed to two measures especially,—the purchased conversions and the *dragonnades.* To the first there was a regular fund appropriated: six livres a head was the average price paid; and a detailed account of the disbursements was placed before the King himself. Stratagems and pious frauds were constantly employed; and many poor Calvinists, having received a small sum, as they supposed, in charity, and placed a cross, as their mark, at the foot of the receipt, found to their surprise and terror that they were held to have abjured, and had become subject to the horrible penalties of the law against relapsed converts. The success of Pelisson in these conversions earned for him the name of *Convertisseur,* then first used, and excited the envy of Louvois, who proposed to extend his own influence by giving to the army, which he directed, the principal share in the annihilation of heresy. For this purpose troops were sent into the

districts in which the Reformed abounded, and were quartered in their houses. Then ensued those frightful scenes of cruelty and persecution with the details of which most of our readers are familiar. The sufferings of the unhappy Calvinists were prolonged day after day with a fiendish constancy, until, enfeebled by mal-treatment and the disease consequent upon it, a bitter, oft-times a frenzied, assent was given. The soldiers said they were permitted every licence save rape and murder; and new cruelties were invented to prolong the rigour of their torments, and weary out the patience of their victims. Some were kept constantly awake,—their jaded bodies being deprived of sleep by every device which barbarity could suggest. All their study was to contrive cruelties which should be torturing without being mortal. Painful as it is to dwell upon such enormities on the part of an ignorant soldiery, it is still more painful to turn to the mingled cry of selfishness and blasphemy with which the accounts of the result were received at the polished Court of Louis XIV. Madame de Maintenon, in her Letters, mixes such expressions as, "Pray God that He may enlighten them all," with entreaties to her brother to enrich himself by the purchase of the lands which the Huguenots were deserting. "Land in Poitou," she writes, "sells for nothing; the desolation of the Huguenots will cause more to be sold.....you may easily make a great establishment in Poitou." Nor was it only from the mouth of the King's mistress that there was heard approbation of these horrid persecutions and their results. The leading names of the time in France, Le Tellier, Massillon, and Flechier, will be found among those who extolled the King's measures: we blush for human nature when we add, that the great Arnault and the eloquent Bossuet did not hesitate to declare themselves on the same side.

The Edict of Revocation was carried out with rigour; and but one feeling now possessed the minds of the Reformed, to make their escape from that devoted land. Disguised in every form which ingenuity could suggest, by every outlet that could any where be made available, through every hardship to which the majority were most unaccustomed, the crowd of fugitives pressed forward eagerly from their once dearly loved country. It is impossible to estimate with accuracy the number of the refugees; M. Weiss thinks that about 300,000 departed. How much more is it impossible to estimate the loss in intelligence and industry! Vauban wrote, only a year after the Revocation, that France had lost 60,000,000 of francs in specie, 9,000 sailors, 12,000 veterans, 600 officers, and her most flourishing manufactures.

The hospitable shores of our island-home had long before this period furnished an asylum to the fugitive Huguenots; and under Elizabeth, James I., and even Charles I., they had met with kindness and assistance from the Government. As early

as 1581, annual Colloquies and Synods had been held in London, attended by Deputies from the Huguenot Churches of "Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, Hampton, and Thorney Abbey." At each of these places (and many others might be mentioned) colonies of French Calvinists had been established, and had prepared this country to receive the Refugees whom Louis XIV.'s cruelty compelled to fly from France. Both Charles II. and James II., though from different reasons averse to giving them any protection, were obliged to bend to the current of public opinion in their favour; while the people at large gladly welcomed the arrival of such a body of active and intelligent fellow-Protestants.

"The Refugees who sought asylum in England were from all the provinces of France, but principally from Normandy, Britanny, Picardy, and Guienne. It is impossible to ascertain their exact number, even by examining the registers of all the Churches in the kingdom; for the Consistory never rendered complete lists to the higher authorities, lest they should give umbrage to a nation which, although truly hospitable, is excessively jealous of the integral portion of its territory, and who might, perhaps, one day have closed it to new emigrants. Judging, however, from the registers of the Church in London, to which most of those unfortunates addressed themselves on landing in England, we may estimate at about eighty thousand the number of those who established themselves in the kingdom, during the ten years that preceded or followed the Revocation."—*Weiss*, p. 214.

The old churches failed to contain the throng of the faithful, and to the five temples already existing in the metropolis twenty-six others were successively added, almost all founded in the reigns of William III., Anne, and George I. Yet London only received about one-third of the Refugees: they spread in every direction, especially in Devonshire, where they formed Churches at Plymouth, Stonehouse, Barnstaple, Bideford, and Exeter. The quarter of Edinburgh called Picardy, and French-Church Street in Cork, bear witness to their settlement in those cities. Others joined the colonies of Waterford, Portarlington, and Lisburn, where their descendants still spoke French but little more than fifty years ago.

It will at once be understood that so large an immigration must have had a powerful influence upon the country they adopted; and M. Weiss follows out, with much research, their services in literature, science, and art. But by far the most important result of their arrival was the impulse they gave to English trade and manufactures,—an impulse of which we feel the effects, and are reaping the advantages, at the present time. It is ascertained that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes sent about seventy thousand manufacturers and workmen into the British dominions; many of whom settled in St. Giles' and

Soho, then suburbs; still more in lonely Spitalfields. Here they established a manufactory of silks, made on looms, copied from those of Lyons and of Tours; and they taught the English how to make "brocades, satins, paduasoys, velvets, and stuffs of mingled silk and cotton." The names of the three Refugees have been preserved, to whom the manufactory of figured silks may be ascribed,—Lauson, Mariscot, and Monceaux; as well as that of Beaudoin, the artist by whom the patterns were designed. From another workman they learned the secret of imparting a lustre to silk taffety,—a secret which had been accidentally discovered by Mai, and which had enriched not himself only, but the whole of Lyons:—

"Up to that time the English had annually bought about two hundred thousand livres' worth of black lustrings, manufactured on purpose for them, and known as English taffeties. Often they had imported, at one time, as much as one hundred and fifty cases, worth four hundred to five hundred livres each. After the Revocation, the British Government tripled the import duty on this article. Soon it amounted to fifty-three *per cent.* In 1698, the import of these silks was entirely prohibited. D'Herbigay, the Intendant, pointed out, with grief, to Louis XIV. the progressive ruin of this important branch of the Lyons manufactures. 'French Refugees,' he wrote in 1698, 'having, for some years past, established in England manufactories of taffeties, Parliament has forbidden their import from abroad. This manufacture has not made great progress, and it is not believed that it can attain the perfection it has got to in France; nevertheless, it is to be feared that, in course of time, the English will be satisfied with taffeties made in their own country, or that, some other fashion replacing that of taffeties, they will get accustomed to do without ours. It would be a great loss for Lyons.'"—*Weiss*, pp. 253, 254.

The Intendant's fears were, by no means, idle. The English manufacturers soon sufficed for the home demand, and supplied, besides, the foreign markets which France had before enjoyed. Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we have steadily increased the profit from this manufacture, which we owe to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

"In 1820, the declared value of the silks exported to Germany, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and even to France, was £371,000 sterling. In 1847, it was £978,000 sterling. In 1849, the exportation, to France alone, of those English silk-manufactures, upon which there is not a prohibitive duty, amounted to a value of four millions of francs." (*Weiss*, p. 254.) This gain was as unexpected as it was profitable. Before Louis' fatal mistake, Lyons had beaten the looms of Italy, and seemed destined to monopolize the silk trade of Europe; whilst, in 1698, the number of looms in that city had decreased from "18,000 to 4,000; at Tours there were but 1,200, instead of 8,000; 70 mills, instead of 700; 4,000 workmen, instead of 40,000; less than 60 ribbon-looms, where 3,000 had before existed;

and, in the capital of Touraine, the consumption of silk had sunk from 2,400 bales to 700 or 800."—Page 216.

Nor were these the only benefits derived from Louis's folly. The Refugees introduced the manufacture of fine linen, of Caudebec hats, of printed calicoes, of Gobelin tapestry, of sail-cloth, and of paper. Many of these articles had hitherto been obtained solely by importation; and, where native manufactures were already in existence, they were of coarser material and less perfect design. In that day, as at present, our French neighbours excelled us in the elegance of their designs and the fine quality of their fabrics. In some branches there were secret inventions by which their superiority was attained, and these were transferred, with their possessors, to this country. The Paris hats, now so generally in demand, owe their existence to a hatter named Matthieu, who carried back by stealth to France the secret of the liquid composition which serves to prepare skins, and which had been lost to that country for more than forty years.

"Before this lucky larceny, the French nobility, and all persons making pretensions to elegance in dress, wore none but English hats; and the Roman Cardinals themselves got their hats from the celebrated manufactory at Wandsworth, established by the Refugees."—*Weiss*, p. 260.

"According to Macpherson, the importations from France into England diminished, in the interval from 1683 to 1733, in silks of all kinds, to the amount of £600,000; in linen cloths, sail-cloth, and canvass, £500,000; beaver hats, glass ware, watches and clocks, £220,000; paper of all kinds, £90,000; hardware, £40,000; Chalons serges and Picardy and Champagne stuffs, £150,000; French wines, (for which those of Portugal were generally substituted,) £200,000; French brandy, £80,000. Thus the manufactures taken to England by the Refugees, and the great development they attained, deprived France of an annual return of £1,800,000 sterling."—*Idem*, p. 261.

The descendants of the Huguenots long kept themselves a distinct people, and entertained hopes of a return to their country. But as years rolled by, these hopes grew fainter; whilst, by habit and interest, they became more united to the English. The great crash of the first Revolution finally severed all the ties that bound them to France, and the Royal bounty (reduced in 1817 to £1,200,) was the chief remnant of their former condition. In the active antagonism which sprang up between the two nations, the Refugees would no longer avow their origin.

"Most of them changed their names by translating them into English. The Lemaître's called themselves Masters; the Leroy's, King; the Tonnelier's, Cooper; the Lejeune's, Young; the Leblanc's, White; the Lenoir's, Black; the Loiseau's, Bird. Thenceforward the French colony in London no longer existed. At the present day,

the only vestige of it that remains, is in the Spitalfields district, where a few thousand artisans, for the most part poor, still betray their origin, less by their language than by their costume, which bears some resemblance to that of the corresponding class in Louis XIV.'s time. The architecture of the houses they inhabit resembles that of the workmen of Lille, Amiens, and the other manufacturing towns of Picardy. The custom of working in cellars, or in glazed garrets, is also borrowed from their original country."—*Weiss*, pp. 283, 284.

The ability, the ingenuity, the industry of the Huguenots were lost to France by the folly of their King; they went to enrich the States with whom that King was at war, to enable them to bear more easily the struggle against his enormous power, to rival and excel his country in branches of commerce and manufacture in which it had hitherto commanded the trade of the world. No sooner were they lost than the fatal error was perceived, and fruitless endeavours were made, and large sums in vain expended, to restore to France that useful band of citizens. It was no false alarm which spread its gloom over the heart, and darkened the declining years, of the mighty Louis XIV. It may be called unphilosophical to trace his misfortunes to the crimes he had suffered to be committed in his name; but the pages of history have been written in vain, if we fail to see in them the judgments of a retributive Providence. It is a fact, that the fortunes of Louis declined from the period when his persecution of the Protestants commenced. The power of his empire was immeasurably weakened by his want of sagacity in thus striking out its very sinews. The sympathies of Europe were aroused against him, and the Refugees met every where with a warm reception. The policy of Richelieu, of Mazarin, and of Henry IV. was reversed, and William of Orange combined those Protestant powers against France, which they had employed to humble the House of Austria. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* And a more frantic act of folly, to say nothing of its wickedness, was never committed, than the abolition of toleration in France. The sun of Louis's glory, which had been hitherto unclouded, went down in disaster, defeat, and shame; and the triumphs of Rocroi, of Nordlingen, and of Sens, were reversed at Ramillies, at Malplaquet, and at Blenheim.

But the effects of Louis's intolerant policy may be traced in still remoter and deadlier results. The monstrous doctrine of unqualified submission to the Monarch produced, as its offspring, the still more monstrous theory of the absolute power of the people; and the enormities committed by the servants of the Grand Monarque were precedents for the wholesale butcheries of the Republic. The minds of men, confined within too narrow limits, and compelled to avow obedience to the decrees of Rome, took refuge by running into the opposite

extreme; and the age of universal bigotry was followed by an age of universal atheism. Unchecked by the presence of an opposing faith, and secured in the possession of the entire kingdom, the Romish Priesthood in France fell into disorder, and crowded the ranks of libertines and infidels. The loss of the manufacturing and commercial classes, which was the immediate consequence of the Edict of Revocation, both removed all checks upon the Sovereign and nobles, and lessened the resources from which they were supported. On his death-bed, Louis declared that he had acted by the advice of his Confessors, and they alone must be answerable for his decrees; but it is vain thus to endeavour to shake off responsibility, and to make such a separation between the agent and the act. The real onus of their united deeds must be shared between the King and his advisers; and their crime met its due punishment in their own humiliation, and in the sufferings of their descendants, at that Revolution which was the fruit of their measures. In Dr. Félice's History there are some significant hints, that even the minor details of the persecution of the Huguenots have their counterpart in the sufferings of the Priests under the Republic. But, to pass over these, and regard the matter in a broad and extended view, we do not hesitate to declare, that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was the principal cause of the first Revolution.

We cannot follow our authors any further, although both contain matter of great interest; but from the history of the period which we have rapidly sketched, we may, in conclusion, draw an important lesson,—a lesson which, we think, may fairly be deduced from its perusal; a lesson which it were well that our statesmen should lay to heart,—that, however the circumstances of the times may seem to require a departure from it, or however such a policy may be termed "expedient," yet for States, as for individuals, the law of morality and of right is immutable. We see the fruits of the apostasy of Henry IV. in the miseries of the Protestants under Louis XIV.; and the results of the latter Monarch's iniquitous policy may be as clearly traced. So true is it that crime is ever followed by its punishment, however long the appearance of that punishment may be delayed; so true is it that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

ART. VIII.—1. *The West Indies before and since Emancipation.* By JOHN DAVY, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: W. and F. G. Cash.

2. *Papers relating to the Affairs of the Island of Jamaica.* Blue Books. 1854.

3. *Papers and Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society.*

THE condition of our West-Indian Colonies at the present moment, is one of intense interest to the statesman, the political economist, and the philanthropist. Overwhelmed with a complication of social evils, for the cure or avoidance of which the colonists themselves have hitherto appeared perfectly powerless, those splendid and fertile possessions, once considered the pride and ornament of the British Crown, and the source of almost boundless wealth to its subjects, seem to be on the eve of sinking into utter ruin and desolation; and, unless something can be devised to avoid the catastrophe, it is probable that a large portion of these Colonies will soon be wholly abandoned by the present proprietors, and either revert to their pristine wilderness state, or be cultivated exclusively by that once enslaved, oppressed, and despised race, who have already taken the initiative in rescuing a portion of the soil from the hand of nature.

There are two parties deeply concerned in this question, by whom, however, very different causes are assigned for this singular decadence of one of the most favoured regions, so far, at least, as nature is concerned, on the face of the globe. The one, consisting of the planters and their supporters, the merchants, called collectively the "West India Interest," assert that the reverses are owing entirely to the Abolition of the Slave-Trade in the first instance, and to the Act of Emancipation in the second; both of which measures, they say, have wholly failed of the objects for which they were passed. The other party, embracing the great body of the British nation, allege, with far more truth and justice, that whatever evils have overtaken the West-Indian Colonies, their foundation was laid in the condition of Slavery itself; and in the fact, that since the Emancipation of the Negroes, the *principle* of Slavery has been cherished and retained by the planters, all of whose measures have had for their object the re-establishment of that principle, in a new and modified state, it is true, but still in direct contravention of that compact with the Imperial Parliament, by virtue of which they had received compensation to the amount of twenty millions sterling. It is to the consideration of these two opposite opinions that, with the aid of the works named above, and such other materials as lie within our reach, we shall now address ourselves.

In accounting for the present condition of the British West

Indies, it will be necessary briefly to revert to their past history, with which it is so intimately connected. It would appear, that up to the period of the Restoration, the islands had enjoyed almost uninterrupted prosperity. The system of colonization consisted, in a great measure, of grants of land, of about two acres each, to poor settlers and white servants who had fulfilled their term of indenture. Long, in his "History of Jamaica," written about 1774, says, that Barbadoes, in 1676, was reported to have maintained 70,000 whites and 80,000 blacks; in all, 150,000. These small properties were gradually bought up, their owners seeking their fortunes elsewhere in the adjoining countries. (Barbadoes, be it recollected, is about the size of the Isle of Wight.) The prosperity of these Islands is justly ascribed to the fertility of the virgin soil, and the zeal, industry, perseverance, and frugality of the early settlers. Towards the end, however, of the reign of Charles II., the increase of production, without a corresponding or adequate increase of consumption, coupled with the imposition of high duties, began to affect the price of produce; and from that period may be dated the continuous and growing distress which has been the prevailing tenor of reports from the Islands. In the "Groans of the Plantations," a quarto volume published in London in 1689, the principal causes of the early prosperity and its decline are well deserving attention even now. "In former times," say the "Groans," "we accounted ourselves a part of England, and the trade and intercourse was opened accordingly. But upon the King's Restoration, we were, in effect, made foreigners and aliens, a custom being laid upon our sugar amongst other foreign commodities." The "Groans" go on to state the various restrictions and monopolies then instituted, which obstructed trade, and involved the planters in double expenses. In addition to these, there was the "war of elements," the hurricane, the tornado, the shipwreck, droughts and floods, followed by short or no crops, destruction of property and life, civil dissensions, and, to crown all, *bad management*.* Things went on in this fluctuating way, with alternate seasons of prosperity and adversity, until 1772, when it appears a rapid decline commenced. The following statement, which we extract from the Report of Richard Hill, Stipendiary Magistrate at Spanish-Town, dated January 23rd, 1854,† will explain it:—

"I have looked back into the Annual Reports transmitted to the Home Government from the Island Legislature, and I find insolvency was not a casual occurrence, but a constant calamity. In a Report of November 23rd, 1792, we are told that, in the course of twenty years, which at once sets us back to 1772, one hundred and seventy-seven estates in Jamaica had been sold for payment of debts; and

* Davy, pp. 5–9. † "Blue Book," No. VI.

that ninety-two more were in the hands of creditors; and that executions had been lodged in the Provost-Marshal's office to the amount of £22,563,786 sterling.

"In a Report for November 23rd, 1804, it is stated that every British merchant who holds securities on Jamaica estates, is filing Bills to foreclose; although, when he has obtained a decree, he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become a proprietor of the plantation, of which, from fatal experience, he knows the consequences: that all kind of credit is at an end; that if litigation is at an end, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting from property but for immediate payment; and that a faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.

"In another Report, November 13th, 1807, after setting forth that the distresses of the sugar-planters have already reached an alarming extent, and are now increasing with accelerated rapidity, it states, 'The sugar estates lately thrown up, brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery, amount to about one fourth of the whole Colony; and that the Assembly anticipates, very shortly, the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community; and, in the course of a few years, that of the whole class of sugar-planters.'

"In a Petition of the House of Assembly to the Prince Regent, dated December 10th, 1811, it is therein detailed, that estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island; until there are whole districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single resident proprietor of a sugar plantation.

"The first three of the Reports here quoted take up the period when a flood of enterprise was pouring into the Colony with every fresh cargo of slaves from the coast of Africa. The Memorial to the Prince Regent embraces the period when all the foreign Colonies, except those of Spain, were in the hands of England; and the entire monopoly of colonial produce in the hands of her merchants."

In 1812, the ruin of the original proprietors was represented as completed. In 1813, it was stated in the House of Commons by a merchant of the name of Marryatt, that there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies that had not, during the preceding twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors. Thus, in twenty years preceding 1792, and in the twenty years following, the ruin and distress of the West-India planters was continuous, as well *before* the abolition of the Slave-Trade (in 1808) as after. It must be borne in mind, too, that during the latter period the cultivation of sugar had been wholly suspended in St. Domingo by the Revolution, and was never resumed,—a circumstance which drew off a supply of 70,000 tons of sugar *per annum* from the markets of Europe, and consequently benefited, in the same proportion, the other Colonies, all of which, except those of Spain, fell into the hands of the British by conquest during the second period of twenty years; so that the British planters absolutely enjoyed as complete a monopoly of colonial produce, especially sugar, as it is possible for any body of merchants to

wish for. But, in spite of this, "ruin, distress, and bankruptcy," was the universal cry, year after year.

We must now advance a further period of nineteen years, which brings us to 1831, when the distresses of the planters are described as having reached a climax "alarming and unprecedented." Strong representations were made to the Home Government on that occasion; but both it and the country had now their eyes opened to the true state of the case. And in a Dispatch of the 5th of November of that year, Lord Goderich, the then Colonial Secretary, meets the alarming Report with the following trite and pithy reply:—

"The great and permanent source of distress which almost every page of the West Indies records, is to be found in the institution of Slavery. I cannot but regard the system itself as the permanent spring of those distresses, of which, not only at the present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just."

This Dispatch, of which the logic is so good, that we do not feel disposed to quarrel with the grammar, brings us up to the period, when the boon of twenty millions was granted by Parliament in exchange for the freedom of eight hundred thousand human beings held in bondage on British territory, in defiance of the principles of Christianity, as well as of the Constitution, of both of which Englishmen were wont to boast their possession. This sum paid off, at least, a large portion of the mortgages and other encumbrances on the West-Indian estates, and thus relieved the planters from an amount of interest which must have trenched deeply upon their profits. And here let us pause a moment, to see if we cannot find a cause or causes for this continuous distress, more particular and in detail than the Dispatch of Lord Goderich supplies.

We need not go further back in this investigation than the year 1792, when, whatever may have been the disadvantages under which the planters had previously laboured, the disturbances in St. Domingo produced a change in their favour, which, if rightly improved, might have redeemed the Islands from their embarrassments. "In 1790, St. Domingo exported to France 150,685,000lbs. of sugar, 45,274,000lbs. of coffee, 3,845,000lbs. of cotton, 1,948,000lbs. of indigo, and 600,000lbs. of cocoa."* This supply ceased entirely in 1800, and the whole sugar trade of that Island was thrown into the hands of the other West-Indian Islands; whilst, as we have before noticed, the capture of all the rest of the foreign Colonies except the Spanish, a few years after, still further augmented their profits. For, although the Berlin and Milan Decrees of the first Napoleon aimed at the entire exclusion of our colonial produce, the seaboard of Europe

* Minutes of the Sugar Trade of the British Colonies. Davy, p. 11.

was too extensive, and the wants of her people too pressing, to admit of a strict blockade or exclusion; and, on the other hand, the high price of sugar on the Continent (from five to seven francs *per kilogramme* of two pounds) was a sufficient temptation to the smuggler. The West-India planters and merchants, therefore, were making enormous profits, from 1800, at least, to the end of the war, and they ought, upon the common principles of trade and commerce, to have redeemed themselves from distress. The causes which appear to us to have prevented this result, may be reduced to the following: 1. Absenteeism; 2. Improvidence; 3. The heavy expense of slave labour; 4. The interest paid upon mortgages; 5. The neglect of improvements in both agriculture and manufacture.

1. Absenteeism in the West Indies, like that of its prototype, Ireland, but with more semblance of reason, has been the bane of the planter's prosperity. The estates, committed to the hands of attorneys and managers, were at once involved in expenses actually unlimited in amount, although nominally defined. For instance, the attorney's salary for [illegible] the whole business of an estate is about £150 a year; [illegible] is it that, one way or other, these gentlemen contrive to become the purchasers of the estate, whilst the owner is compelled to sell out? Basking in the precincts of the House of Commons, and worrying each successive Ministry with the complaints of failures to which their own reckless extravagance seemed to give the lie, whilst in reality it furnished the explanation, the proprietors went on borrowing to keep up their splendid establishments at the "West-end;" and, on the other hand, their proxies in the Islands imitated the greatness of their masters, and made the most of their opportunities, regardless of the profits. The following humorous description of the expenses of the estate of an absentee sugar-planter, published some years ago, which we believe to be true to the very letter, will explain, far better than any words of ours, how such an estate is rendered unprofitable.

"A WEST-INDIAN ESTATE.

"A LARGE sugar plantation, in Jamaica, will consist of many thousand acres of land; some in wood, some in pasturage, some planted with canes, some with Indian corn, but by far the greater part uncultivated altogether. This kingdom is governed by an agent living in Kingston or Spanish-Town, who receives the pay of a Colonial Governor for making an annual visit to it, riding over the grounds, attended by all the subordinate officers, and giving dinners, during his stay at the 'great house,' to all the country round about, at the expense of the estate. The Lieutenant of this 'magnifico' is the overseer or 'busha,' who has a house provided for him, and a salary of £100 or £150 a year. Under him are three or four subordinates or bookkeepers,—sallow-faced young men, educating for overseerships, each with £50 or £60 salary, and all living in the house, with their board

provided for them. On the same establishment, there is also frequently a doctor, and not unfrequently an English carpenter, or engineer, brought out to teach the 'blackies' the use of tools. Each of these officials has a brown lady in residence with him, and most of the brown ladies have got a retinue of 'piccaninnies.' The ladies and the piccaninnies are not paid salaries like the rest, but they live equally at the expense of the proprietor, and get 'pickings' in a variety of shapes, which none know better than the brown ladies how to scrape together; and 'Massa pays for all,'—'Massa' who is at home, poor man, at Clifton, or at Cheltenham, anxiously expecting the next mail, and hoping it may contain, '*This my first of exchange*,' from the Kingston agent; who, most probably, is just preparing to send him, instead thereof, a bill of expenses caused by the 'late hurricane.'

"We have described only the staff. If we go on to speak of the working force of the estate, we have more extravagances to unfold. There are the Negroes, each family occupying a house, and having an allotment of ground whereon to grow provisions: we say nothing of the pay of these Negroes. Before the Emancipation, the proprietor had to feed and clothe them; every week salt provisions were distributed amongst them; and every year they were to be provided with coats, trousers, hats, handkerchiefs, and other articles of costume. We set all this against the present pay of the effective labourer. But to carry on a sugar-estate upon the present system, there must be cattle and machinery. The proprietor is both a herdsman and a manufacturer. There are perhaps thirty or forty oxen, as many horses, and twice as many mules, on the estate. The oxen are required for ordinary agricultural operations, and to take the sugar for shipment to the coast; and the mules are needed to bring the canes from the 'hill pieces,' and generally for the upland work of the estate. The horses are less profitably employed. Usually they are for the riding of the 'busha,' the doctor, the engineer, the carpenter, the bookkeeper, and the brown ladies. The first three, perhaps, will have a pair or two of the best of them for their phaëtons. The overseer's lady, possibly, may have a couple of ponies for her carriage, and to take the piccaninnies a drive. It is needless to say, that all these animals are bred, reared, fed, and physicked on the property, all at the expense of 'Massa,' who is enjoying himself in the 'Old Well Walk,' or, if it is winter, at the fireside in 'Widow Joseph's Coffee-room,' at Cheltenham.

"Then there is the machinery. The mill is generally, in the West Indies, a very complicated concern. It may be a steam, water, or cattle mill. The last requires an extra herd of cattle. Under either of these systems, however, it not unfrequently happens that the 'mill' is brought to a stand-still in the very midst of harvest, and then all the canes that are cut grow sour, and are useless for sugar-making. So 'Massa' at home is disappointed again; his year's profits are gone, and he has nothing left but to console himself with another glass of No. 4 at the pump-room, by way of washing off the extra bile occasioned by the news, that there is a deficiency, instead of a surplus, in the annual accounts of his estate.

"'Massa,' in fact, pays for all. He pays for it out of—what?

The profits of the sugar-cane; nothing else, remember. The houses are not profitable to him; they are maintained for the benefit of the agent, the 'busha,' *et hoc genus omne*. The timber is not for him, though the forests of Jamaica abound with precious trees, dyewoods and guaiacum, ironwood and braziletto, mahogany and cedar. The fruits are not his; pines and pomegranates, oranges and citrons, these are wanted for the 'great house' table. The plants are not grown for his consumption, neither the yam, the banana, the sweet potato, nor the cassava; these are required for the 'busha' and his tribe; and the capsicums and peppers are the brown ladies' perquisites. The Guinea corn or maize is not grown for his advantage; that is wanted to feed the 'busha's' horses, and to cram the ducks and chickens in the brown ladies' aviary.

"If these things be true,—and they cannot be gainsaid,—is not a retrenchment necessary, far beyond the small retrenchment of salaries that Colonial Legislatures now propose? We have not told one-half of the story of West-Indian extravagance; but we have said enough to show what is the source of the evils which cause us to receive, by every packet, such terrible accounts of West-Indian ruin. 'Ruin!' of course there *is* ruin under such a system; what else can be expected?"

2. Improvidence was the natural consequence of the facility with which a planter could borrow money, whether upon his estate or his coming crop. Such facility made him reckless in his expenditure. We have seen that, in 1792, independently of the estates that had been sold or seized, debts to the enormous amount of nearly twenty-three millions sterling had been placed in the Provost-Marshal's Court for recovery. During the period of renascent prosperity, namely, from 1800 to 1815, we have reason to believe that this amount was increased rather than diminished, if we can credit the accounts of distress laid before Parliament. In the meanwhile, the absentee proprietors were living in splendour in England, many of them Members of Parliament, the better to protect the "interest," where they found means to work upon the House to grant them protection and privilege at the expense of the country, to enable them to maintain their position. Thus they went on, year after year, mortgaging their estates to the money-lenders, and forestalling their crops with the merchant in Mincing-Lane, until, having wearied both, the property was brought to sale, and most probably the attorney was the purchaser, or the manager; both of whom had been "working the oracle" to such a result. Whilst the Slave-Trade lasted, the slaves were paid for usually by bills at three years' date; and this easy way of procuring human "cattle" led their employers on the estates to work them to the utmost,—a process which soon used them up, so that a constantly renewed importation was needed.

3. The heavy expense of slave labour. It is unnecessary to

enlarge further on this topic, otherwise than to notice the entire disregard of human life during the period of Slavery. After the abolition of the "Trade," common prudence and self-interest induced a greater economy of Negro life; but still, on many estates, the same "driving" system was pursued at certain seasons of the year, destructive of life, as is shown by the diminution of the population under Slavery. During the "Trade," Brydges states, that in ten years seventy thousand slaves had been imported into Jamaica.* This diminution, or excess of deaths over births, applies to all the Islands, with the exception of Barbadoes, in which Island the slaves were better treated than in any other of the colonies, and which is now reaping the benefit of the more humane system pursued.

4. The interest paid upon the mortgages and other encumbrances on the estates, must have materially affected the prosperity of the islands. Paid to parties who had no aim beyond that of exacting the largest rate of interest, the most usurious bargains were submitted to by the borrowers, and a per-centage exacted, enough to sink any ordinary business. The advances also of the merchants upon the crops subjected the planter to interest, besides placing him at the mercy of the party who would have the disposal of the crops. These two sources of expense may well account for the decline of prosperity.

5. The neglect of improvements. This is a standing stigma upon the planters, even to the present day, though some are more alive to the importance of the subject than others. On some of the Islands, not even the plough or scythe has been introduced, the only agricultural implements being the hoe for stirring the ground and planting the cane, the knife for cutting grass, and the basket for carrying, indifferently, manure or produce.† In the manufacture of sugar also, the same indifference to improvements which would lessen manual labour is, with but few exceptions, displayed, and the same wasteful method of manipulating the cane. We shall have occasion to go more closely into this branch of the subject as we proceed; but if the same adherence to the clumsy system ‡ of the early days of colonial history retarded the prosperity of the Islands under Slavery, how much more is improvement needed, now that the scarcity of labour has become the real obstacle to success!

Such were some of the causes of that distress which, at short intervals, was rung in the ears of Parliament up to the year 1832, when the insurrection in Jamaica alarmed the Home Government, and led to the memorable Apprenticeship plan, as a preparatory stepping-stone to emancipation. The exciting

* History of Jamaica, vol. i., p. 499.

† Davy, p. 135.

‡ Davy, p. 12.

cause of the revolt was the belief of the blacks, that their masters had received orders to manumit them, but refused to do so. These suspicions were confirmed by the bullying declaration of some planters at parochial meetings in 1831, that they would "renounce their allegiance to the British Crown rather than give freedom to their Negroes."* An Order in Council also, for enforcing the amelioration of the condition of the slaves, was treated with the greatest contempt; one planter proposing that it should be burnt by the common hangman; and another planter declaring that, "if the British Government attempted to enforce the Order, they had eighteen thousand bayonets to meet them." This was in 1831; and it led to that insurrection which resulted in a frightful sacrifice of life, unheard-of cruelties, and the devastation, by fire, of the western portion of the Island.†

The famous Apprenticeship scheme, which constitutes a kind of interregnum between legalized Slavery and actual freedom, was enacted in 1833. We say "legalized Slavery," because, whatever may have been the intentions of the Imperial Government, the planters were determined, as far as possible, to frustrate them, by retaining the *principle* of Slavery, whilst they gave up the name. The Act of prospective Emancipation, which was accompanied with a bonus of twenty millions sterling, paid down at once, was to prolong the reign of the planter, for four years in the case of the house slaves, and six years in that of the predial slaves. It was ostensibly intended to prepare them for freedom. Had it been continued, it would have proved rather a preparation for the grave! Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica, declared, in his message to the House of Assembly on the 29th of October, 1837, that "the Island is subject to the reproach that the Negroes, in some respects, are in a worse condition than when they were under Slavery." So convinced was Lord Sligo, who was Governor before Sir L. Smith, and also a planter, that the apprenticeship was a mockery, and that the slaves were fit for freedom, that he manumitted his own apprentices, and wrote a pamphlet advising his brother planters to do the same. This humane and politic course was also taken by the planters in the Island of Antigua, which, like Barbadoes, stands out in bold relief, in point of humanity, from all the rest.

"During Slavery," says Davy, "nowhere in our West-Indian possessions were the Negroes treated with more humanity than in Antigua. Of this there are various proofs, greatly to the credit of their masters, and, in its influence, not less to their advantage. They were the first to allow their slaves to receive religious instruction;

* Evidence of Duncan before the Commons' Committee.
† The West Indies in 1832. By Sturge and Harvey.

the first to permit them to marry; the first, not only to tolerate, but to encourage, the labours of Missionaries; the first to grant the slave the privilege of trial by jury; and, lastly,—and it was the crowning measure,—when the Act of Emancipation was passed, they—and they were a solitary example—graciously and generously granted them their liberty, sparing them the galling and irritating trial of apprenticeship, a second and hardly less (cruel) bondage, as the disappointed considered it."—*Davy*, p. 388.

Who can doubt this feeling of disappointment for a moment, who reads the Reports of the Commissioners appointed by Government to inquire into the working of the Apprenticeship system? or the account given by Messrs. Sturge and Harvey, who took the trouble to cross the Atlantic on a "tour of inspection" in 1837? It would appear from these accounts, that the planters, in desperation, were determined to wreak their revenge upon the Negroes, because they were unable to reach the British Government. Not only were the apprentices subjected to still more onerous toil than ever, but the most cruel punishments were resorted to that the malignity of human fiends could contrive, to worry a fellow-creature out of life. The friends of the Negroes—finding that, not content with the old coercive methods of forcing the maximum of labour out of the slaves, the planters had invented new species of torture, to which even pregnant women were subjected, and that nothing would satisfy them, short of the last drop of blood, the last fibre of sinew of their victims, ere Emancipation arrived—recommenced the agitation; and the Home Government, with all their leaning to the "interest," and dread of their power in Parliament, could not shut their eyes and ears to the damning facts, brought by every mail, of the abominations practised under the Apprenticeship system. They therefore judged it prudent to succumb to the clamour that began to arise, and the 1st of August, 1838, was appointed for the cessation of the transition state, and the final and entire Emancipation of the Negroes.

The apprehensions of the planters, (and well might they entertain them,) that the first burst of freedom would be ushered in by acts of violence, in revenge for former wrongs and sufferings, led them to take precautions against them. This was all very well, being no more than a measure of common prudence, which any one would exercise under similar circumstances. The planters, indeed, had no right to expect much favour from the Negroes, nor could they look for much consideration on the score of morality or religion. All the lessons *they* had taught them were of a character little calculated to lead a body of men, suddenly and simultaneously passing from the most galling and abject bondage to entire freedom, to a consideration of claims, the knowledge of which had been withheld from them, and the observance of which the planters themselves had never regarded.

The latter, therefore, we say, armed themselves at all points, and waited in breathless anxiety, prepared to shoot down, hang, burn, and otherwise inflict summary punishment, as of yore, upon the frantic, wild, and lawless multitude who were about to retaliate upon them, at one fearful blow, the centuries of wrong and injury perpetrated upon their race. Eight hundred thousand untaught, unreasoning "human cattle," or, as they were wont to be called, "brute Negroes," were to be turned loose at once upon a small society of different race, by whom they had been treated as beasts of burden, ruled with a rod of iron, and trampled upon as the very offscouring of humanity. "Let them look out; for if we hear the whisper of a cry indicating mischief, we will shoot them down like wolves or foxes." Such was the language of the planters, crouching in the cowardly attitude of fear.

Well! the 1st of August at length arrived, and the eight hundred thousands of human chattels were at once transformed into freemen, subjects, like their former masters, of the British Crown. On the 31st of July, so far as the colonial *lex non scripta*, which commonly overpowered the statute law, was concerned, the planters had the power of life and death over them; but, as soon as the clock struck the hour of twelve that night, they were the masters of their own flesh, and blood, and bones, and sinews, and, what was of still more importance, of their own souls; and their chains were broken off for ever. Now let us see how this great change was received by the newly made men.

Sir Lionel Smith, the Governor of Jamaica, thus wrote home to Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary:—

"The vast population of Negroes of this Island came into the full enjoyment of freedom on the 1st of August. The day was observed, by Proclamation, *as one of thanksgiving and prayer;* and it is quite impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole of the labouring population manifested on the happy occasion; not even the irregularity of a drunken individual occurred."

Sir Charles Metcalf, who, unfortunately for the Island, succeeded Sir L. Smith, said,—

"The conduct of the labouring population generally is represented by the Stipendiary Magistrates as being orderly and irreproachable; and I see no reason to doubt the truth of these representations. The general tranquillity of the country, *without any police*, is a strong proof of the present peaceable disposition of the people."

Strong indeed, Sir Charles! and it would have been well for the Island at large, if you, instead of acquiescing in, had refused your sanction to, laws then enacted,—as unjust as they were mischievous, and to which may be ascribed much of the evil now exhibited by society in Jamaica. We will give only one more testimony, written on the 10th of September after the event, by Sir L. Smith:—

"The reports of the Stipendiary Magistrates will show your Lordship, that although there has been considerable cessation from labour" (on the part of the slaves) "since the 1st of August, it has nowhere been wanting *when encouraged by fair offers of wages;* whilst their orderly conduct and obedience to the laws has been most extraordinary, considering their treatment under the recent operation of the Apprentice law in this Island, and the many provocations they have had to resentment."

Such were the testimonies of the two Governors of the Island most likely, from its antecedents, to be the scene of disorder and outrage on such an occasion. Of all the multitude of the emancipated Negroes in all the Islands, not one instance of outrage, insubordination, or intemperance is alleged. The day was spent in rejoicing and praise as a religious festival; and the absurd and guilty fears of the former masters were at once dissipated, and a new era commenced in the history of the Islands, which ought to have constituted the spring-tide of its prosperity. We shall see, in the sequel, how far the planters themselves have been to blame, if the opportunity was lost.

The first question which came before the Negroes after Emancipation was, that of the price of labour; a very important one, and which it behoved the planters to establish upon just and equitable principles. There were, in fact, rules to guide them in ascertaining the value of this essential commodity, which they would have done well to have attended to. In the bargain between themselves and the Government for Emancipation, the estimated value of a slave's labour was declared *on oath* to be a dollar a day; and this was the standard by which the value to the planter, of the Negro himself, was estimated. Of course the Government would not stand to haggle with the planters about a sixpence or a shilling a day. The principle was at once admitted, and the Negroes were estimated and *paid for,* like an acre of land, on so many years' purchase, at one dollar *per* day.

But, having thus made one good bargain, they had instituted another rule by a fresh one; namely, with the apprentices. By the Act of Abolition the Negroes could compel their masters, at any period of the apprenticeship, to have a valuation of their remaining term made by three Magistrates, two of whom were planters, and one Stipendiary. Many of the Negroes, becoming impatient of the galling yoke still round their necks, determined, with the assistance of their friends the Missionaries, to purchase their remaining terms, the value of which, set by the three Magistrates, was estimated at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d. per* day;* and Mr. Knibb stated that he himself paid £32,000 sterling for a thousand of the apprentices at that rate.† Thus, the planters,

* Parliamentary Papers, West Indies, 1839.

† Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, Knibb's Speech.

having in the first instance been paid at the rate of a dollar a day by the Government, and in the second 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* day by the Negro, for labour, they had themselves established a rate of wages which the Negroes would have been quite satisfied with. Let us see how this rule was observed:—

In the first place, the general price offered for labour was 1*s.* 8*d.* currency, or 1*s.* sterling, *per* day. The Negroes reminded the planters of the standards they had themselves fixed and received. "You have charged the Government a dollar *per* day for our labour for so many years, and some of our friends 2*s.* 6*d.* *per* day for the remainder of their terms; we have a right, at least, to charge you at the latter, if not the former, rate, and we will not work for less." Let it be borne in mind that, wherever this latter rate was admitted, the Negroes went cheerfully to work. These cases, however, were few, and the majority of the planters resisted the claim, to their own undoing.

The next attempt was to mix up the question of rent with that of wages, by making the former a part of the latter, with the power of doubling it, if the Negro tenant worked off the estate. The principle of this measure will be clearly understood by the following notice usually affixed to a receipt for rent:—

"*Every first-class labourer who has been working off the property,* will be required to pay 1*s.* 8*d.* *per* week, and all above ten years of age 10*d.* *per* week, and must work five days in the week, otherwise 1*s.* 8*d.* will be charged (additional) to the first class, and 10*d.* to the second, *for every day they absent themselves* without a satisfactory reason."

To show the working of this planters' law, even when the labourer *did not* leave the estate, we annex the following "Account current," delivered to a Negro, for occupying a miserable hovel which he had built himself, and a patch of ground which he had planted, cultivated, and cropped, himself.

"*December* 31*st*, 1849.

"William Wordsworth

"To William Hassack, Proprietor, Buff-Bay-River Estate.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
"For use and occupation on said estate, for one year to date, of one garden and one house, at 1*s.* 8*d.* *per* week each	8	13	4
"For four cocoa-nut trees on ditto, at 5*d.* each *per* week	4	6	8
"For one ground, feeding self and children, at 1*s.* 8*d.* *per* week	30	5	8
	£43	5	8

We quote this from Mr. Knibb's speech at the Anti-Slavery

Convention,* where he held the account in his hand; but we confess our ignorance of the arithmetical rule on which it is constructed. We have no doubt Sambo was as much mystified as ourselves with it; but we accept it as a specimen of West-Indian correctness and moderation.

The third measure of the planters was the "Small Debt Act," which enabled them to dispossess the Negro, by a summary process, of his dwelling and land, and to turn him and his family into the road.

The fourth and crowning measure was the "Vagrant Act," by virtue of which the planter, after having turned a refractory labourer—that is, one who would not work for him at his own price—into the road, could order him, "*if found destitute, to be taken up and worked in chains on the roads for sixty days.*"

Here we have as complete a Slavery code of laws, enacted by the Colonial, and, we blush to say, sanctioned by the Imperial, Government, as the veriest pro-Slavery man could desire. We shall next give the opinions of various parties respecting it. The late excellent Joseph John Gurney, Esq., in his "Winter in the West Indies," says:—

"In case of any misunderstanding between the overseers and labourers on the subject of work, either as to its duration or price, threats of ejectment have followed. These threats, in many cases, have been put in forcible execution. Cottages have been unroofed and even demolished; cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees have been cut down; provision-grounds have been despoiled by the hand of violence, or trodden underfoot of oxen.....We have often heard of these instances of violence, and *seen* something of them; yet I would charitably believe that they have been comparatively rare. *Not so the plan of doubling or trebling the rent, or even multiplying it four-fold, upon the arbitrary decision of the employer, or of charging it* per capita *upon the husband, wife, and each of the children, as a penal exaction to compel labour: the screw for this purpose being completed in many cases by distraint of goods and imprisonment of person.*"

Dr. Davy makes the following remarks on the same subject, which, although not entering so fully into the merits of the case, are sufficiently explicit:—

"So long as the labourers hold their cottages as tenants at will, liable to be expelled at a day's notice; so long as the planters are insecure of their labour from day to day; so long as land is apportioned to the labourer in lieu, in part or altogether, of money wages; neither the planter nor labourer is likely to be contented, nor fair and honest labour attainable."—*Davy*, p. 528.

The late Daniel O'Connell thus expressed himself upon this subject; and no one understood law better than he did:—

"Ordinances are all vain as the idle wind so long as you permit them to be administered by the master towards the person of the slave.

* Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention, p. 365.

Look at the laws which the Legislature of Jamaica has passed: the blacks are free in point of law; they were free by eternal right before; yet you have a slave-code actually enacted under the auspices of that unworthy successor of Sir Lionel Smith. I like to call things by their right names. I say that Sir Charles Metcalf is mischievous in his situation. He had a noble example set him, which he has taken care to imitate in one way; that is, by going in a directly opposite course; or he never would have given one moment's sanction to those laws made to swindle us out of our money."—*Proceedings of Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 381.

The next quotation is from a speech of Mr. Prescod, a gentleman connected with Barbadoes. Speaking of the good conduct of the Negroes, he says:—

"I regret to say that in none of the Colonies, and particularly [not] in Barbadoes, has that good conduct met with the response it deserved in the conduct of the planters. A contract law came into operation in Barbadoes simultaneously with the Emancipation Bill: the law implied a contract from the circumstance of one week's continuous labour in one place. The people were unwilling to enter into specific contracts, and they were therefore turned into the roads, with their wives, children, and aged parents; and, as Sir Edward Cust truly observes, 'when a labourer is turned out of his hut, he finds it exceedingly difficult to get a settlement and employment elsewhere.' 'That was the conduct of the planters when the Negroes obtained their freedom; and such has been their behaviour up to the latest moment of my leaving the Island to come here.....I have seen enough in the Colonies the last two years to convince me, if I ever doubted the fact, that Slavery demoralizes and debases the slave-holder much more than it does the slave; and that if a law was required to prepare us for freedom, *the slave-holder, and not the slave, needed the preparatory process.*"—*Proceedings of Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 404.

Again, "The laws which have been enacted there (Barbadoes) since the period of freedom, are far more oppressive than those passed in Jamaica. Throughout the length and breadth of the Island, there is scarcely a cottage which the labourer can rent.....I have known the ejected labourers, with their wives, their children, and their aged and infirm parents, compelled to lie in the roads for days together. Such has been the humanity of their friendly employers. These sudden ejectments were illegal. By the Common Law of England these people had a right to three months' notice before they could be ejected.....But last year, (1839,)—and this, with other abuses of the planters, has thrown the country into great agitation,—a law was brought into operation by which these ejectments were legalized. By this law the Magistrates are invested with power to eject after twenty-four hours' notice."—*Proceedings of Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 525.

The Governor, Sir L. Smith, writes on the 24th of September, 1838:—

"So far from the labourers resorting to the woods to squat in idleness, they are submitting to the most galling oppression rather than be driven to quit their homes."

And in May, in the following year, he says:—

"They (the labourers) had not fair play, as was exemplified in many of the Magistrates' Reports sent to your Lordship's office, where *more rent was charged than wages paid*, thus endeavouring to extort work for worse than nothing, since the excess of rent brought *the labourer in debt*. The charging of rent for house and ground for every individual of a family is still continued."—*Parliamentary Paper, West Indies*, 1839.

The foregoing is, we conceive, quite sufficient to establish the fact, both of the good disposition of the labourers, and of the suicidal and unjust conduct of the Colonial Legislatures and the planters: we therefore refer the reader to Mr. Davy's work for further information, in regard to the willingness of the Negroes to work at fair wages. That they would not be *driven* to work by the whip, as when under Slavery, or that, having acquired independence, many of them would only work in a desultory way, we admit; and we question whether any class or race of men would not act in the same manner. The love of ease is inherent in all, whether white or black; and why, under a tropical sun and with a fertile soil, especially with the example of the planters before them, the Negroes should be expected—much less compelled—to work like slaves for the sole benefit of their masters, we have never seen any reason given. We will, however, state an instance or two in proof that the charge of indolence and extortion, brought against the labourers, is false. On the Kinloss Estate in Jamaica, forty Negroes had resisted the coercive measures, and had, with the assistance of the Missionaries, purchased land and erected cottages upon them. The attorney, or proprietor, we do not know which, finding the estate destitute of labourers, changed the overseer, and a Mr. Simpson was appointed. This person called the Negroes together, and said to them, "You have been treated shamefully, and I will pay up your arrears, which amount to £130." The men instantly replied, "We will take you at your word;" and out of the forty families, *not one left;* although the land purchased for them was only two miles from their home.* Again:—

"I took a contract for building a chapel, which a white gentleman stated he could not erect for less than £2,000. I sent round to the estates, and offered the men higher wages than they were receiving, because I knew they deserved it. I gave them just what their masters swore they were worth when slaves. I paid the carpenters half-a-crown or three shillings a day sterling; and we built the chapel for £800 less than the white man said it could be done for."—*Proceedings of Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 369.

We have enlarged the more on this subject, because Mr. Davy has but glanced at it, although, in our opinion, it lies at the

* Proceedings of Anti-Slavery Convention, p. 368.

foundation of the reverses that have befallen the planters. The Negroes, finding their former masters determined to fix the shackles upon them again in a new form, appealed to their friends the Missionaries, who offered to purchase land for them, and thus render them independent of the planter. This plan was carried into effect, and, by the assistance of friends in England, estates were purchased and divided into small lots, on which the Negroes built their cottages. Thousands of these humble but comfortable dwellings, forming towns and villages, sprung up, chiefly in the mountainous districts, becoming the abodes of security, peace, and abundance. The following descriptions will convey to the reader a good idea of the condition of these new freeholds.

J. J. Gurney writes :—

"Here" (at Clarkson-Town) "we were refreshed by the hospitable people with draughts of lemonade. We found them industriously engaged in cultivating their own freeholds. Many of them had long been labourers on a neighbouring estate, from which they had at last been *forced away* by ill-treatment. Their cocoa-nut trees had been felled, their huts demolished: what could they do but seek a new home? They crowded round us, and expressed the most entire willingness again to work on the property, if they were but treated with fairness and kindness."

Another writes :—

"Where besides, in the whole wide world, is there a peasantry so circumstanced, or that, with so little toil, has such a command of the good things of this life? They deserve it all; they use their means handsomely; they live well; they dress well; they send their children to school, where schools are near; they build chapels, and contribute to Church-purposes, as I can easily prove, to the extent of £80,000 or £100,000 *per annum*."

Lord Elgin writes from Jamaica, in 1846 :—

"In many and most important respects, the expectations of the friends of Emancipation have been unquestionably more than realized by the results of that measure. The peaceable demeanour of the recently emancipated classes, their general deference for the law, and their respect for religious observances, have formed the theme for repeated and well-merited eulogy."

Lieutenant-Governor Campbell writes, from St. Vincent's, to Sir C. E. Grey :—

"The predominant feeling evinced by the rural population, is a desire of possessing a house and a patch of land; the result is, that small villages and hamlets have sprung up in various quarters of the island. Upon the first establishment of these, alarm was excited amongst the agricultural body. It was feared that the system, by encouraging other pursuits, would tend to an abstraction of field-labour; but experience proves the supposition to be groundless. I

consider that it should be fostered and encouraged, as one that must be productive of great general advantage: the certain benefit to the estates to which villages are adjoining, is obvious. Considerable prices are realized for land unfit for the cultivation of sugar; and a peasantry capable of carrying on their cultivation, located at convenient distances."

Sir Robert Horsford wrote, in 1846, to Lieutenant-Governor Cunningham, from Antigua, as follows:—

"The energies now exhibited on all sides in the erection of their cottages, and the pride they naturally feel in their independence, and in the possession of property of their own; the solicitude with which they strive to raise themselves in the ranks of social intercourse, and to promote the advancement and welfare of their children,—are all indications of a newly-awakened spirit, which would have slumbered to the end of time, under a state which debarred them of those laudable objects of enterprise which form the very key-stone of civilization."

Mr. Davy, after speaking of their weaknesses, says:—

"With all their failings, however, they are not without good qualities. They are little addicted to drunkenness, less than the European; they are naturally sociable, cheerful, and friendly; self-supporting, doing well without parochial relief or poor-laws; kind to those connected with them, the sick and aged, rarely forsaking or neglecting them. Though passionate, they are not commonly revengeful; and though assaults are common, murders are of extremely rare occurrence, not excluding child-murder.

"Physically considered, their condition since Emancipation has been peculiarly good, and they fully appreciate and enjoy the change. Having hitherto had good wages, the industrious can obtain not only the necessaries of life, but many of its comforts and luxuries. Their houses, commonly of wood, consist of two rooms, and are wholesome and tolerably furnished; a good bed, tables, and chairs, are considered essential. Few of them are without a cow, a pig, or a goat, or without poultry; and the former whether they have land or not. They have abundance of cheap food, living chiefly on vegetables. No fire is required except for cooking, and fuel for this purpose is almost always obtained from the estate on which they work. Little clothing is required; they have commonly more than they need, two or three suits,—one for working days of the coarsest kind, others for Sundays and holidays, and occasions of ceremony, such as marriages, christenings, and funerals."—*Davy*, p. 100.

Again:—

"Since Emancipation, owing to the abundance and cheapness of land, and the natural love of possessing it and independence, the number of freeholders, and persons residing on freeholds, has increased very rapidly. These, it is estimated, now exceed *one third of the total population*. According to Mr. Harfield, Commissary of Population," (for British Guiana,) "the first conveyance by 'transport' of such lands was in 1838; in 1844, the number of such holders, including their families in the number, amounted to about 19,000; in 1847,

29,000; at the end of 1848, to about 44,443. The number of freeholds he states to be about 446, on which are erected 10,541 houses, containing 44,443 inhabitants, averaging something more than four persons to each house."—*Ibid.*, p. 364, *note.*

In speaking of the charge made against the Negro of indolence, our author says:—

"This, I have no hesitation in saying, is a mistake founded on ignorance. What I have witnessed, convinces me of it:—the vigorous quick walk of the Negro going to his work; the untiring zest and exertions made by the Negro lads on a holiday at cricket, not in the shade, but fully exposed to the sun; the extra labour of the Negro when cultivating his own plot of ground in propitious showery weather, often commencing before dawn by moonlight, and recurring to it after a day's work; the amount of work they willingly undertake. In India or Ceylon, each riding or carriage horse is attended by at least two persons,—a groom, called in the latter 'a horsekeeper,' and a grass-cutter; in Barbadoes, one man will, with the aid of a stable-boy, or sometimes without any aid, *take charge of three horses*, act also as coachman, and make himself otherwise useful. These are circumstances which have fully convinced me that he neither hates labour, nor is naturally indolent, when he has a motive to exertion."—*Ibid.*, p. 91.

We could go on, and quote from many other writers on this subject; but we have given sufficient authorities to establish the fact, that, so far as the Negro population—for whose especial benefit the Act of Emancipation was passed—is concerned, that measure, instead of having failed, as the "West-Indian Interest" would make this country believe, has succeeded beyond the expectations or anticipations of its advocates; and *that* in spite of the attempts of the advocates of Slavery to make it a failure, by a re-enactment of Slavery in various forms. We challenge the most strenuous defenders of the planters to produce an instance, in the whole world, of a body of men elevated, in so short a period of time, from a condition of the most degrading and debasing bondage, to such a state of quiet and peaceable independence, and cheerful, steady prosperity. On the other hand, if the planters have not benefited by the change, the fault has rested with themselves. We have shown that, by their inveterate love of slave-holding, they debarred themselves, in the first instance, from the services of the *only* source of profitable labour,—the emancipated Negro population, whom they drove to independence by their harsh injustice. Abundant evidence exists, that immediately after Emancipation *colonial property rose in value*, and was in request. Thus Mr. J. J. Gurney states, in 1840:—

"In all the Islands which we visited, real property has risen and is rising in value. In the towns, both the enhancement and improvement of property are very extraordinary. In the country, the value

of slaves, to say the least of it, is already transferred to the land. Remember the declaration of our friend in St. Christopher's, who had bought an estate before Emancipation for £2,000, and now would not sell it for £6,000; and that of our friend in Jamaica, who sold G—— estate for £1,500, and now remarks that it is worth £10,000. Landed property in the British Colonies has touched the bottom, has found that bottom sound and solid, has already risen considerably in value, and is now on a steady ascending march towards the recovery of its highest value. One circumstance which greatly contributed to produce its depreciation, was the cry of interested persons, who wished to run it down; and the demand for it which has arisen amongst those very persons, is now restoring it to its rightful value. Remember the old gentleman in Antigua, *who is always complaining of the effect of freedom, and always buying land.*"—*Winter in the West Indies.*

Mr. William Grant, a Stipendiary Magistrate for the parishes of Clarendon and Manchester, Jamaica, states thus to the Governor in 1839:—

"I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country, are the very persons who grasp most firmly the property they have in it; and, if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more. I know one who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No; but in the same breath he would assert that the country was ruined."—*Blue Book*, 1850.

Again, Mr. Wemyss Anderson, a solicitor in Jamaica, and a Member of the Legislature, states in 1841:—

"I am not a planter myself, but it frequently happens that I have the disposal of estates; and in all those cases, I have been perfectly beset by people requesting the preference of purchasing these estates. And no longer ago than on my voyage to this country, (England,) I was solicited to obtain the preference for a gentleman to whom I had been under some trifling obligation, for the lease of a valuable estate for which he was disposed to give a handsome rent. The value of property in the neighbourhood of towns has, in many cases, doubled; and I have bitterly repented of many sales of property I have made, in consequence of the increase of its value."—*Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 385.

Another person from Barbadoes states, in 1841:—

"The clamour of ruin finds little countenance and no belief in the Colonies. It is intended exclusively for the ears of the British Government; and, from the earliest period in the colonial history, it has been the usual accompaniment of the improper demands of the planters, and of their opposition to all proper reforms. It has not been my fortune to meet a single resident colonist of any reputation, and but tolerably observant of passing occurrences, who seriously apprehends general ruin, or even general embarrassment, as a consequence of Emancipation; and my experience leads me very much to

doubt whether such a one could be found. There is, on the contrary, in Barbadoes, (which, by the way, Sir Edward Cust, in his amusing pamphlet, gives as a lucid exception, amidst the gloom of colonial despair,) and in all the Islands which I have visited, and to which my inquiries through confidential and trustworthy correspondents have extended, a general admission that they have never been so prosperous, and so likely to prosper, as at present."....."I will here read one or two instances, by way of illustration. Shortly before the abolition of Slavery, in 1833, Plantation Skelton, in Berbice, was taken over by Messrs. Ross, merchants, I believe, of Edinburgh, for a debt of £40,000 sterling, but with little prospect at that time of its ever realizing any thing like that amount. In fact, they would have been glad to get rid of the bargain for half the debt in cash. The crop of 1835, and the compensation money received in that year for the slaves upon the property, cleared off £36,000 of the debt, and left the estate almost clear profit."—*Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Convention*, p. 523.

Such were the testimonies of men of the first respectability, as to the condition of the planters, and the value of property in the Islands, up to the year 1841; and certainly it presents a view of it very different from a failure, even as regards the proprietors. If any of these suffered from Emancipation, it was the consequence of their own injustice and imprudence in not at once meeting the labourers as free men, and offering them a full and fair price for their labour. At this period, however, a new phase in West-Indian policy presented itself; and it is to the consideration of this that we shall now direct the reader's attention. We refer to the immigration scheme, which, from what we *know* of it, was conceived in folly, brought forth in fraud, and resulted in ruin.

Having thrown away the only chance they had of securing efficient and continuous labour, by their attempts to re-enact Slavery, the planters applied to Parliament for leave to import Hill Coolies from India. They had previously procured labourers from England, Ireland, Scotland, Malta, Madeira, and other places. But all these immigrants, with the exception of the Maltese and Portuguese, being natives of a colder climate, were found unable to stand the labour of the Colonies under a tropical sun. The greater number of them died of the diseases incident to the country, especially to the new comers; and of the remainder, very few proved of any value to the planters. At St. Christopher's, a small remnant of English, left out of upwards of two hundred, petitioned the Colonial Secretary, in a simple and melancholy memorial, for means to return to their native country.* Such, we have reason to believe, was the case in every instance where European labourers were introduced: very few of them lived to return home, and they were rather a burden than an acquisition. The colonists, therefore, made

* Davy, p. 449.

application to Parliament to be allowed to go to India for a supply of labour.

This insidious scheme originated at the Mauritius, where, of yore, Slavery existed in the highest perfection. The planters in that Island had, by fraud, obtained compensation for thirty thousand more slaves than there were on the Island, and then, under pretence that the Negroes would not work for them, petitioned to be allowed to import the Hill Coolies. Agents were employed to entrap these men, under the most flattering representations, and by the immediate payment of a small sum in advance. As soon, however, as they were on board, the payments were taken from them, and they were so barbarously used and starved, that numbers of them died. Upon their arrival, they were compelled to bind themselves to the planters for a term of years, were not allowed to leave the estate after the hours of labour without a pass, and were imprisoned and flogged for the most trifling offences. The result was, that of 25,000 Hill Coolies imported, only 18,000 survived at the end of four years. So pleased, however, were both the planters and the British Government with the result, that the system was allowed to be extended; and in 1846 the number imported had arisen to 90,216, of whom twelve *per cent. per annum* died,—a rate of mortality that would depopulate the world in fifteen years. The *success* of the Mauritius planters induced the West-India planters to make a similar application to Parliament, in 1840, for leave to extend the importation to their Islands. This attempt was frustrated, for the time, by the opposition of Dr. Lushington, O'Connell, and other friends of freedom, seconded by strong remonstrances from the East-India Company, who were decidedly hostile to the measure. A second attempt, however, was successful,—not with Parliament, for Lord Grey, the then Colonial Secretary, took the matter upon himself, and extended to Jamaica the permission to import to the number of 5,000, which was subsequently increased, until it was found, that so worthless were they as labourers, that the expense of importing and keeping them involved a dead loss to the planters. Of their treatment, the following extract from a resident's letter to an editor of a London journal, will give the reader some idea:—

"The Coolies, both men and women, work in the field, many of them in a state of nudity, and hardly any of them decently clothed. Many of them are suffering from severe sickness, and are so covered with sores, as to be unable to work. According to agreement, these ought to be provided for; but such, it is reported, is not the case: those who cannot work, get no pay. Their complaints on the subject of wages are loud and numerous, and they generally state their determination to leave their employment as soon as they are free, their belief being that they are slaves. By their own driver, or superintendent, they are often beaten severely, and many of them have

lately run away from their employment on this account. They work in gangs by themselves, and the Negroes appear sincerely to pity them."

A Jamaica paper, the "Falmouth Post," gives the following dismal account of them:—

"The melancholy objects that meet our eyes in every direction, and the wretched beings who people our prisons, and crowd our hospitals, are the miserable evidences of an unwise and unnecessary resolution on the part of our Representatives, to add to the population of the Island, by expending large sums of money for the importation of people *who never will be of any use to us.* In fact, the scheme was conceived in ignorance, born in folly, and nurtured in the lap of flagrant and mercenary selfishness."*

Thus, the various schemes of the planters to supply the place of that labour which they had recklessly thrown away, resulted in their being again plunged in ruinous debts and endless taxation. In twelve years they imported into the West Indies 60,000 immigrants, consisting of English, Irish, Germans, Chinese, Portuguese, Maltese, Hill Coolies, and Africans. This was up to the year 1847; and in those few years the tide of prosperity, of which we have spoken and alleged proofs, was rolled back; so that, in 1848, nearly one-fourth of the Jamaica estates, consisting of 168,032 acres, and employing 24,000 labourers, who produced 14,000 hogsheads of sugar, were abandoned; and in the same period, 465 coffee plantations, comprising 188,400 acres, on which were nearly 27,000 labourers, were also thrown up and the works demolished.

In 1848 the Immigration Act expired and was not re-enacted. In this abortive scheme, which was but a renewed effort of the planters to obtain compulsory labour, we find the solution of that distress which has come upon the West Indies since Emancipation. The expense to Jamaica alone, in eleven years, amounted to £180,252 for importation, independently of that entailed upon the Island, of supporting the wretched beings who were thus inveigled from their homes, and reduced, as they justly alleged, to slavery. Such, in fact, was the effect of the harsh treatment they met with, that in 1852 more than half the entire number (upwards of 100,000) had died, and a large proportion of the remainder were literally beggars, the planters having refused to fulfil their contract to take them back to India when their terms of indenture expired.

* In 1847, a code of "Ordinances" was sent out to the West-Indian Colonies which might with justice be called, "*a code of slavery.*" This was done *without* the sanction of Parliament, and reflects indelible disgrace on the then Imperial Government, in which Lord Grey held the office of Colonial Secretary. Under these Ordinances, we have no hesitation in saying, the immigrants were as complete slaves as the Negroes before Emancipation; for it was impossible for them to comply with those requirements in the Ordinances which would have liberated them from the bondage which it was the object of the "Ordinances" to inflict.

Dr. Davy speaks favourably of the Coolies, at least of those who are able to work, although he admits that they have not the physical strength of the African. He also qualifies his opinion of the adaptation of the former to the climate of the Islands, by quoting the close of the Governor's Report respecting them,—that the rate of mortality amongst them is very small, "if taken due care of; for here, (British Guiana,) as in Trinidad, *where they have been neglected, there has been great suffering, and a fearful mortality amongst them.*"* In Jamaica, at least, this "due care" has not been exercised, if we are to credit the statement of Anthony Davis, Stipendiary Magistrate for the parishes of St. Mary and Metcalf. In his Report to the Governor, he says, "No proper provision has hitherto been made for the reception of immigrants, *and this Island has literally been a charnel-house to the greatest number of those who have arrived.*"†

Of late years, the plan adopted for the supply of labour has been to convey the Africans found on board the captured slave-ships to the Islands, and bind them to the planters for a term of years. This is but one degree better than letting them proceed to their destination on the slave Islands; and, at best, affords but a scanty supply. So much is this the case, that the late Joseph Hume, who was a Trinidad planter himself, urged the necessity of a modification of the Emancipation Act, so as to enable the planters to purchase Negroes from the Coast of Africa. To this we say, "If the salvation of the West-India sugar-planters depends on the re-enactment of Slavery, *perish every estate on those Islands rather than such an iniquity should be perpetrated!*"

We have now come to the period when the Imperial Government, in accordance with the principles of free trade, instituted measures for gradually reducing the protective duties on foreign colonial produce, so as to bring them upon an equality with that from our own Colonies. This measure was passed in 1846, and by its operation slave-grown sugar was, in 1853, admitted to the United Kingdom at the same duty of ten shillings *per* cwt. as the produce of free labour. There are two questions involved in this measure, perfectly distinct in their character, but of which one could not be settled without the other; the one being partly a question of morals, the other of political economy.

With regard to the first of these, it is alleged with truth, that by the admission of Cuban and Brazilian slave-grown sugars, we encourage Slavery, and, in the former case, the Slave-Trade. The result has proved this to be the case; and by the measure the British Government has placed itself in the anomalous position of, first, having paid Spain upwards of half a million of money to suppress the Slave-Trade; then, of having spent nearly a million *per annum* for forty years, to prevent her from carrying

* Davy, p. 365. † Parliamentary Blue Book, Jamaica, 1854.

on that trade in defiance of her engagement; and, finally, of giving her a bonus to keep up both Slavery and the Slave-Trade, by admitting her sugars on the same terms with our own free-labour sugar. Such is the morality of statesmen, and such the clumsy and roundabout method of compelling a felonious neighbour to fulfil an engagement for which she had received compensation; the non-performance of which has now cost us the enormous sum of nearly forty millions sterling!

The second question is that of protection to the West-India sugar-planters; on which ground we do not feel disposed to argue the propriety of a differential duty. The planters have no right to expect it, nor do they require it, as we trust we shall be able to prove.

This measure created a great sensation both in the Colonies and at home. The planters charged the Government with a breach of faith, in that they had, by the Act of Emancipation, deprived them of the means of competing with the foreign slave Colonies, and therefore were bound to protect them against the competition; that the scarcity and consequent high price of labour took from them the power of growing sugar on equal terms with those who had an unlimited and continuous supply of labour; and that the latter would infallibly increase their growth of sugar, and swamp the markets of Europe, and bring down the price so low, as to shut out the free-labour sugar entirely.

It cannot be denied that the allegation has proved correct, so far as the increase of Cuban and Brazilian sugars are concerned; and, also, that the price in the British market has been reduced by the measure. But it has *not* shut out free-labour sugar; nor has it lessened the growth of sugar in our own Colonies. It is true that in the six years from 1847 to 1853, there had been 391,187 acres of plantation land thrown out of cultivation in Jamaica alone.* But this was so common an occurrence, even in the most palmy days of West-Indian prosperity, that we can lay no stress upon it as a proof that the land, with proper management and economy, would not pay for cultivation. For, on the other hand, the increased consumption of sugar in Europe, and especially in the United Kingdom, partly from the reduction in price, and partly from the increase of population,† has rendered it absolutely necessary, in the estimation of our statesmen, to throw open the trade, in order as well to insure an adequate supply,as to complete the working of free trade measures.

It is, however, a fact worthy of remark, that, notwithstanding the large number of estates abandoned in our Colonies, the quantity of sugar from them has increased simultaneously with

* Distributed as follows:—In sugar estates, 128; coffee ditto, 96; pens, 30; total, 254 estates. Besides which there were 159 estates partially abandoned.

† The increase of the population in Europe, since the Peace of 1815, is estimated at from 80 to 100 millions.

that from the foreign slave-Colonies, as the following statements will show. In the first, for the sake of convenience and brevity, we take the quantities at intervals of five years.

SUGAR IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

	British Colonies. Cwts.	Foreign. Cwts.
In 1840	3,230,666	805,179
1845	4,908,969	911,921
1850	4,941,012	2,296,305
1853	5,306,933	1,977,449

And, further, to show that this increase is not partial, but is distributed over the whole of our colonial sugar possessions, we give the following details:†—

	1850. Cwts.	1851. Cwts.
Antigua	123,485	200,235
Barbadoes	524,651	583,840
Dominica	51,816	60,239
Grenada	92,803	121,381
Montserrat	1,607	7,675
Nevis	15,508	33,309
St. Christopher's	70,717	122,029
St. Lucia	33,903	69,930
St. Vincent	139,567	163,409
Tobago	44,297	45,130
Trinidad	366,214	441,772
British Guiana	325,297	595,200
Tortola	1,406	3,070
Mauritius	1,003,296	1,000,269
British India	1,359,690	1,574,473
Jamaica	574,796	627,823
Totals	4,949,053	5,649,784

From this it appears that, so recently as the years 1850 and 1851, with the exception of the Mauritius, there has been an increase in the growth of sugar, which certainly proves any thing but general ruin. We are aware that the season has much to do with production in the West Indies, as well as in Europe; but we have other grounds for concluding that sugar-cultivation is still profitable, when conducted with economy, and with that regard to improvement, in both agriculture and manufacture, which, in the present day, whether at home in the growth of corn, or in the West Indies in the production of sugar, is essential to success. Wherever failure has taken place, we are the more disposed to attribute it to a disregard of such improvements, from the facts that wherever they have been introduced they have been eminently successful, and that where a proper conduct has been maintained towards the labourers,

* "Returns of the Board of Trade." † Davy, p. 546.

there has been no indisposition on the part of the latter t work for the planters. In British Guiana, owing to the jud cious management of the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, th Colony is become settled and prosperous; and even in Jamaic the worst conducted, and, *hitherto*, the worst governed, of ar of the Colonies, Sir Henry Barkly, in his Dispatch to th Colonial Secretary, writes as follows:—

"This much, however, I may safely assert, that the impressio produced upon my mind by my tour, were, on the whole, of a mo encouraging nature than I had, from the gloomy accounts given b all parties, ventured to anticipate; and I certainly returned with higher opinion of the capabilities of the Island, and a more hopef estimate of its social position, than I had when I started.

"The prospects of the cultivators of sugar especially appear to n by no means of the desperate character which, unfortunately, it h become usual to ascribe to them. The worst effects of competitic with the whole world in the production of their staple, are no realized; and yet, speaking dispassionately, and with an earnest desi to represent things in their true light, so far as my information goe I do not believe that any plantation in the Island which was, at th beginning of the year, in tolerable order, and on which no extrao dinary outlay for repairs to works or extension of cane-fields had t be incurred, will entail a loss on its proprietors. To go furthe wherever the cultivation is on a sufficient scale to yield, say 150 hog heads and upwards, I am confident the plantation will leave a handson return, even when carried on by hired agency alone."—*Blue Boo Jamaica*, 1854, p. 54.

In another part of the same Dispatch, he says:—

"Still less am I disposed to refer the unexampled depression whic now prevails in Jamaica, exclusively, or even principally, to the effec of the competition with slave-labour products in the home market.

"Other Colonies, as your Grace has recently pointed out, have mo or less surmounted the difficulties occasioned by the precipitancy wit which the protective duties on sugar were reduced; but by a polic widely different from that which the Legislature of Jamaica has see fit to pursue. Mr. Hill, indeed, describes this Island as sufferin under some special disqualification for the competition in questior and speaks of 'the misery and demoralization of a community ceasin to labour, because it is worth no man's while to pay for labour th yields no profit.'

"I am not, however, aware that there is any soil under heaven s sterile as to yield no return for labour expended upon it; and certainl should not look for it amid the tropical luxuriance of this lovely an fertile Island."—*Blue Book, Jamaica*, 1854, p. 7.

Dr. Davy's invaluable work, which refers, however, to th Westward and Leeward Islands and British Guiana only, full confirms the opinion of the worthy Governor, in regard to th returning prosperity of those Colonies. He has minutel described the social condition of each of these; and althoug

abstaining from comments upon the impolitic conduct of the planters towards the Negroes in the earlier period of Emancipation, he has done ample justice in every instance to the latter, both in regard to their social condition and intellectual capacity. With respect to the latter, indeed, he speaks like the man of science as well as of reason.

"The time is past," he says, "that the Negro was held to be hardly human,—rather a connecting link between the monkey and man. It is interesting to see how truth ultimately prevails; and how science—exact knowledge—aids the cause of humanity. One after another, most of the traits which were adduced as distinctive, and as separating the races, have been made light of, and put aside; and so I apprehend they will be all."—*Davy*, p. 82.

Again:—

"By many it has been asserted that this organ (the brain) in the African is below par in volume and weight, compared with that of other varieties of the human race. This assertion is founded on inaccurate observation, as has been shown in a clear and conclusive manner by Professor Tiedemann and Sir William Hamilton, whose researches on the subject, so carefully and laboriously made, appear free from all objections. The former states that he could detect 'no well-marked and essential difference between the brain of the Negro and the European;' whence he concluded, that 'no innate difference in the intellectual faculties can be admitted to exist between them.' .....Sir William Hamilton, from his extended inquiries, has come to the conclusion, not only that the brain of the Negro is not below the average in weight and size, comparing it with the brain of other races, but more than that, namely, (to use his own precise words,) 'That the Negro *encephalos* (brain proper and after-brain) is not less than the European, and greatly larger than the Hindoo, Ceylonese, and sundry other brains.'"—*Davy*, p. 86.

In regard to the future prospects of these fertile Islands, the great and only want of the labouring population is education, and religious instruction. In the normal condition in which they were left by Slavery, it would have been wise as well as just in the local Legislatures, to have made these points matters of the first importance; but nothing was further from their thoughts or designs. What education or religious instruction the Negro population have received, has been chiefly through the Moravian, Methodist, and Baptist Missionaries, who have been indefatigable in their exertions, and whose success, under discouragements of no ordinary kind, has been gratifying. It is to these gentlemen that the present prosperous condition of this class is to be ascribed; and if they have not visited upon their former owners the retaliation they so much feared, it is owing to the instructions of the despised Missionaries, who taught them a more excellent way.

We believe that a better feeling towards the Negroes begins

to manifest itself amongst the planters generally, superinduced by a knowledge of their worth as labourers, found out when it was almost too late. It is, however, to the next generation of planters that we must look for that complete emancipation from the spirit of Slavery, which has proved such a bar to their success. In this respect, there has been a marked superiority in the coloured race over their white masters. Without any advantages beyond a strong physical conformation, and such mental ability as nature had bestowed upon them, they have exercised moderation, industry, prudence, and economy; and by these means they are gradually rising in the scale of social respectability and consideration, as well as in property: and, had the planters shown the same traits of character from the time that the Act of Emancipation passed; had they, instead of attempting to re-enact Slavery in a new form, met the Negroes as free men, and treated them as such in their labour contracts, their own condition would have been very different from what it is. We are glad, however, to find, from Dr. Davy's work, that the evil is rectifying itself; and, although the Negroes will never again work exclusively for the planter, having become independent of him, there may yet, by the substitution of machinery for hand labour, be labour amply sufficient for the purposes of the sugar states. We see no reason why these should require three or four times the number of hands that a farm of equal size requires in England; and the plough will turn over the ground in the West Indies as well as in Norfolk.

In respect to the manufacturing process, with some partial exceptions in a few of the Islands, the old Spanish system is still in vogue. This is the case, according to Dr. Davy, in Antigua, St. Christopher's, Nevis, Tobago, St. Vincent, &c. Even in Trinidad, Barbadoes, and British Guiana, where improved methods have been introduced, their adoption is very partial and imperfect. The mode of crushing the cane is an instance. The quantity of saccharine in the cane is eighteen to twenty *per cent.* But not more than from eight to nine *per cent.* of this is rendered available, the rest being thrown into the furnace as fuel, with the pressed canes. By the imperfect mode of curing the sugar, too, a loss of from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* is sustained by the draining of the hogsheads during the voyage to England, the drainage being pumped up with the bilge-water. These two items alone, if economized, would have turned the scale from a loss to a profit on many an estate heretofore abandoned. Other changes in economizing the produce we could mention, which would materially affect the prospects of the planters, if adopted.

It will be said, probably, that the Imperial Government ought to interfere, to save the Islands from ruin. We entertain a very different opinion, and think that Government has interfered

already a great deal too much: its interference, in fact, has been one main cause of the evils which exist; and the best way in which it can serve the planters is, by extending its general protection over all classes and races alike, without favour or affection, or regarding one "interest" more than another. The future, in fact, depends on the planters themselves. If they resolutely set about those improvements which the hand of science has revealed, they will save themselves, and make the Islands what they have never yet been,—the abodes of intelligent industry and steady prosperity. Without this, coupled with perseverance and economy, they will assuredly see that once despised and down-trodden race, whom they have rashly driven from them, become the lawful possessors of the soil which was watered with their tears, and enriched with their sweat and blood.

ART. IX.—*The Colonization Herald.* Conducted by the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Philadelphia. January to April, 1855.

THE President of an independent Republic, opening the Session of 1854, addressed the gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives in a speech, the first words of which were as follow:—"Every revolving year brings with it cause of congratulation and thankfulness to God, that the great work in which we are engaged, of rearing up on these barbarous shores a Christian State, is onward in its march, by gradually developing its practicability and excellence." Farther on in his speech the President makes use of these words,—words such as have not often fallen from the mouth of a chief magistrate upon an occasion of state:—"But above all, God has been pleased to bless the people with a gracious visitation of His Churches, inspiring them with a spirit of pure and undefiled religion, thereby wonderfully extending the inestimable benefit of Christianity among the idolatrous tribes of this land, and dispelling the gloom of moral night which has so long overshadowed them."

The Republic of Liberia, from whose President's speech we have transcribed these lines, has already taken an honourable position among the nations of the earth. To quote once more:—

"We continue to receive from her Britannic Majesty's Government assurances of friendly concern for our welfare. From the French Government we are also receiving tangible proofs of the interest his Imperial Majesty feels in the future prosperity of this infant State. As a present to this Government, the French Minister of War has for-

warded recently one thousand stand of arms, to be followed shortly—as advised by our agent in Paris—by an equal number of equipments for our Militia. I am happy also to inform the Legislature that, during the year just passed, the independence of Liberia has been formally recognised by his Belgian Majesty, accompanied with expressions of friendship, and warmest wishes for our success and happiness."

An increasing interest is taken in the colonization and evangelization of Africa, especially its Western Coast, by the American Churches and people; and we are led to believe that the information conveyed by such publications as that above mentioned, will not be without interest, in this country, to the survivors and the descendants of a generation whose Anti-Slavery exertions constitute the noblest *epos* of the age. We believe that the fulfilment and glorious triumph of Anti-Slavery effort will be worked out by means of communities, of which Liberia is the most important, though not the only, specimen. The regeneration of Africa must proceed from her own sons; to them alone will it be possible, in the exercise of a legitimate commerce, to introduce those influences which civilize a people; they alone can stand beneath her burning sky to proclaim the Gospel of truth. The white Missionary is soon struck down by sickness; but the coloured emigrants sent out by the various Colonization Societies of America speedily become acclimated. The mysterious sympathies which bind together individuals of the same race, will serve as the channels of an ameliorative influence; and we may assume that the numerous educated and Christian free blacks who are now flocking to the country of their fathers, will draw from their abominable practices, and elevate in the scale of humanity, tribe after tribe of the population of Africa, until the cruelties and idolatries of its abject millions shall be replaced by the blessings of civilization and religion.

There is, indeed, no organization which commends itself with stronger force to the sympathies and support of the Christian public, than the various American Colonization Societies. These Societies present a platform on which the followers of Christ, of every denomination, can stand and co-operate, without the least disturbing influence to mar their harmony, or interrupt their combined action. The cause is one of unequalled grandeur; it contemplates nothing less than the evangelization of the whole of Africa. For the accomplishment of this sublime object it presents, as it seems to us, the only feasible plan. The Colony of Liberia thus far has prospered beyond all that its friends anticipated. It is now a flourishing Republic, governed by wholesome and wisely-framed laws. Its President is a man of acknowledged ability, and its Legislature will compare favourably with that of any of the old established State Legislatures of America. Many of the friends of these Societies look only to

results connected with the ultimate abolition of American Slavery. This is itself an object of incalculable importance. It is, indeed, a matter of rejoicing, that present results are not unlikely sensibly to hasten that happy consummation, since they open channels through which owners of slaves can liberate them, and give them homes where they will have not only equal civil rights, but equal social advantages. But it is the missionary aspect of the movement which forms the strong ground of our confidence in it. In its probable future we see melting away the vast mountains of difficulty which impede the progress of truth and happiness amongst the victim-nations of a mighty continent. England sends to America that truth which always and every where makes free. Its influence is felt by the poor slave, who is raised to feel the longing desire for all the rights of humanity. It is felt also by men mixed up with the most appalling evils by which Christians were ever surrounded; and they lend a hand to help the African, thus prepared for a great work, to reach the shores from which he or his ancestors were violently torn. Thus is presented an antidote to much past, and a preventive of much future, evil; thus is paid the first instalment of that mighty debt which the Anglo-Saxon race owes to the unhappy children of Ham.

We do not think it necessary to give a detailed account of the early history of Liberia; but feel pleasure in transferring the following remarks from an able article in the "*Revue des Deux Mondes:*"—

"A single effort in favour of the Negro has succeeded; that is, the establishment of Liberia, on the coast of Africa. This Colony, composed of Slaves redeemed or emancipated, is now a little independent State which prospers, and to which a Society really philanthropic conveys annually a certain number of Negroes. This enterprise has had two adversaries,—the slave-merchants and the excited Abolitionists; but it has not been discouraged, and the progress of Liberia has not been retarded from its commencement up to the present day. If it is to the English we must attribute the origin of Slavery in North America, it is just to say, that to them belongs the honour of the first commencement in Africa. After a Decree of 1787, pronouncing that there could be no longer any slaves upon the English soil, they conveyed to the coast of Africa 400 blacks and 60 Europeans. It was to this Colony, which in 1828 numbered 1,500 Africans, that Jefferson proposed to admit emigrants from the United States. He had entertained this intention since 1801. Already, in 1816, this project had occupied the attention of the Legislature of Virginia: the American Colonization Society was organized in 1817, by Mr. Finley. When objections were addressed to him, he replied, 'I know the design of God.' A lady gave 60 slaves to the Society—a planter liberated 80—another 60. The Colony had difficult times, but overcame them courageously. A petty African King, who sold to it some lands, fearing, with some reason, that its presence would be an obstacle to the

Slave-Trade, wished to destroy it: happily it had for its Chief a resolute man, named Jehudi Ashmun. He explained to the colonists in simple and strong language, full of confidence in God and in their good right, the necessity of an energetic resistance. They abandoned 154 houses which they could not defend, they surrounded the remainder with a palisade, and, after several attacks valiantly sustained, the enemy was repulsed. Since then the repose of the Colony has not been any more troubled. In 1847, she proclaimed independence, which has been acknowledged by France and England. The Government is modelled after that of the United States. The actual President, Mr. Roberts, came to London and Paris. He is a most intelligent mulatto. The Republic of Liberia occupies a space of 500 miles along the coast of Guinea. Little numerous still, she extends her protection and her influence over more than 200,000 natives whom she civilizes. She has a flag, custom-houses; has commenced and devoted herself to agriculture;—all her fields are well cultivated. In general, the blacks labour, and are happy and contented with their condition. One of them said, 'Here I am a white man.' There are in Liberia schools and newspapers, and we see that the Negro race emancipated is not every where the same that it has exhibited itself in Hayti. The establishment of Liberia offers several advantages: it is upon this part of the coast a great obstacle to the Slave-Trade; it tends to introduce civilization among the barbarous nations which surround it; it offers, in fine, a true country to men who, in coming out of slavery, would not have found one in the United States."

The bearing of the various Colonization Societies upon American Slavery, though, as we have said, secondary in comparison to the grand result of evangelizing Africa, is yet of present and unspeakable importance. In the Southern States a strong jealousy prevails, lest an "institution," which they consider exclusively their own, should be disturbed, their peace destroyed, and their safety endangered, by the zeal of its enemies in other parts of the Union. In the North, an universal alarm prevails, lest Slavery should invade territory hitherto free, and lest the power of the Government should be wielded by the friends of this peculiar "institution." Under these circumstances the Societies have pursued the even tenor of their way, without meddling with the question whether Slavery shall be abolished, or whether it shall be perpetuated,—whether it shall be restricted within narrower limits, or shall be allowed to occupy a wider sphere. While such questions agitate the Union, and in the opinion of some threaten its dissolution, these Societies follow out their noble objects, without becoming the means of party strife. They see a numerous class, scattered through the length and breadth of the land, who are free without the privileges of freedom; whose numbers are continually increasing, and whose condition in the United States seems without hope of improvement. The condition of the Africans, both in the Northern and Southern States, is indeed much to be deplored. In slave-

holding States they have fewer privileges, but they enjoy a climate more congenial to their physical nature, and are less isolated in their condition. In the non-slaveholding States they feel the baneful influence of a prejudice which deprives them of many rights, and banishes them from the society of those among whom they dwell. These Colonization Societies do not stop to inquire whether or not they are suffering injustice at the hands of their fellow-men. They are equally entitled to commiseration in either case, and to relieve their miseries will be equally meritorious. They have no power to punish their oppressors if they are suffering wrongfully; nor can they elevate their condition while they continue in America. But a way is opened by which all the ends of benevolence will be accomplished, without disturbing any section of the Union, and by means of which both the white and the coloured race will receive immediate relief. The way is one which required no genius, but that of benevolence, to discover. It is the plain and obvious way of restoring the free coloured race to the land of their nativity, where is territory enough to accommodate all, a climate calculated to insure life and health, and a soil fertile enough to sustain them and their posterity.

Though we are not in a position to give the very latest statistics of the Colony, the following figures are not without interest:—

"The Colonization Societies have sent, at their own expense and by the request of those who have gone, (up to the close of 1853,) 8,968 colonists. The United States Government have sent 1,044, who were *recaptured slaves*, making, in all, 10,012 colonists established in Liberia, both by the Colonization Societies and the Government of the United States. Of those sent by the Colonization Societies, 783 were sent during the year 1853.

"The expense of sending a colonist to Liberia, and supporting him there for six months after his arrival, together with a homestead of five acres of good land, &c., is from sixty to eighty dollars each one, both old and young.

"The Colonization Society gives the passage, furnishes provisions and medical aid, with a comfortable house, for the first six months, and longer, when necessary, to each and every emigrant going to the Republic of Liberia, besides the gift of a homestead of five acres of land."

All the materials for commercial prosperity are gradually accumulating in Monrovia and its sister towns. Steam-engines and saw-mills, and machinery for expressing the valuable oil from the palm nut and kernel, are rising in every direction. The necessity for the former is found in the great variety of timber which abounds in the Colony; the latter is required to develope a most important export trade, capable of almost

boundless expansion. As a specimen of the rapid progress already made, we quote the following from a private letter, dated "Monrovia, December 23rd, 1854:"—

"Our mill is in full operation, and we expect to send some lumber to New York, by Rev. Mr. Pinney, not that we cannot find sale here for it, but to have it tried by some of their first-class mechanics. We have cut some seventy or eighty thousand feet of lumber since we commenced, and are yet driving ahead with all our might. We have found sale for all we have sawed, up to this time, and the demand is still increasing. We hope, by the time the year is out, to have cleared our entire mill, and the expense of setting it up. We hope, too, to be able to pay off our loan of two thousand dollars before it is due. This, no doubt, is our hardest year, inasmuch as we have had the mill to set up, and a stock of logs to lay in; but I am in hopes that after we get through with this year, we will be able to do much better."

We look upon every evidence of progress in this young community with interest. Amongst the recent items of news, we find an account of the Honourable D. B. Walker's (fancy a black Honourable!) new and elegant vessel, "T. L. Randall," of thirty-five tons, "the largest and finest vessel ever built in Liberia." The usual ceremony of christening was gone through; the vessel "glided down beautifully into the water," amid the vociferous cheers of the multitude; the accustomed speeches were made; and the whole affair reads like the account of an ordinary launch on the Clyde, the Mersey, or the Thames. Such an occurrence has its significance: those who are little affected by moral considerations, can yet foresee the inevitable result of an extended and prosperous commerce.

The power of combination is beginning to be felt in the Colony. Commercial Companies, among the most prominent of which may be mentioned the Liberia Enterprise Company, have begun to develope the resources of the country, to open out roads, to navigate rivers, and even to lay down railways. With natural wealth in such profusion all around, who shall prophesy the ultimate result?

But the evidences of the interweaving of Christian principle and effort with the secular progress of the Colony, afford the most pleasing of the glimpses given by these recent publications. We stand by, and view with delight that procession, with the Rev. Alexander Cummell, B.A., and Hezekiah Green, at its head, marching to lay the foundation-stone of Trinity Church, in which an Episcopalian congregation will, probably for ages to come, give utterance to the words of their noble Liturgy, in the worship of God. We sympathize with the zeal of the Bishop, who writes:—

"Thus, while I would have at Cape Palmas, Sinou, and Bassa Cove, High Schools, I would establish at Monrovia *a regular College*. And

I would have this work begun in the year 1855. When Trinity Church at Monrovia shall have been completed, or before, the announcement of our intention *to establish an Episcopal College there* would soon elicit, from parties waiting for some such opportunity to bestow their goods, such contributions as would encourage the Committee and us here to go forward in this good work."

We are rejoiced to observe the earnestness with which the Baptists are watching and watering the seed they have sown in various parts of the country. We read, with a smile perhaps, but certainly not with a sneer, those addresses and lectures, in which some dark-coloured orator, with all the energy of Demosthenes, but in a style as luxuriant as the vegetation around him, strives to excite the patriotic aspirations of the young Americo-Liberians. And we may be pardoned if we peruse with unusual gratification, and some degree of pride, the list of Stations of the Ministers appointed by the Liberian Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which met at Greenville, Sinou. The Circuits are arranged in four Districts,—Monrovia, Grand Bassa, Sinou, and Cape Palmas. An increase of members and probationers, to the amount of 119, is stated to have taken place during the year; and the oft recurring words, "One to be sent," not only present a strong family likeness to lists of Missionary Stations with which we are familiar at home, but show that fields of Christian labour stand ready to the harvest, to tax and stimulate the best exertions of the Church.

Monrovia, the capital of Liberia, contains about three hundred houses and two thousand inhabitants, and is built upon a depression of the ridge which sweeps inland from Cape Mesurado. The houses are detached, being built upon lots of a quarter of an acre each. They are of good size, many of them two stories high. In almost every yard there are fruit-trees, mostly the lime, the lemon, the banana, the papaw, and the coffee-tree. Oranges are good, but scarce; the lemons large and fine. The suburbs present many fine views, particularly from Fort-Hill. Of the appearance and conduct of the inhabitants Lieutenant Lynch, of the United States, remarks, in his description of a recent visit:—

"There are five churches, all well attended. Indeed, I never saw a more thorough-going church community, or heard a greater rustling of silk, on the dispersion of a congregation, than here: all were, at least, sufficiently attired; and the dresses of the children were in better taste than those of their mothers. One of the most gratifying things I noticed, was the great number of well-dressed and well-behaved children in the schools and about the streets. The schools are also numerous and well attended."

In conclusion, he remarks:—

"I must say that the town presented a far more prosperous appearance than I had been led to anticipate. From its fine situation, it

must evidently be a salubrious one. The sea-breeze, at all seasons, blows directly over it; and in this respect it is far preferable to Sierra-Leone."

The *soil* of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quality, and productiveness. There is, however, no poor land in Liberia, and most of it is very rich, not surpassed, perhaps, by any other in the world.

Among the numerous agricultural products of the Colony, we may specify, as *exportable* articles, rice, coffee, cotton, sugar, arrow-root, ginger, pepper,—all of which can be raised so as to rival the similar productions of other countries, both in quantity and quality. Indian-corn, or maize, grows well on some lands; not so well, however, as in certain parts of the United States. Fruits in great variety grow luxuriantly and plentifully: amongst them are the pine-apple, lime, orange, papaw, cocoa-nut, tamarind, the plantain, and the banana. Domestic animals can be raised, of every necessary kind, and in any required number, with less trouble and expense than in the United States,—such as cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, geese, turkeys, &c. In addition to these resources, numerous kinds of wild game, including deer of several varieties, are found; and, finally, fish are obtained in all the waters of the territory. To the industrious agriculturist, therefore, Liberia offers an inviting home,—a home in which all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries, of life may be procured with less labour than in most lands.

Any amount of *free-labour* coffee can be grown in Liberia, with suitable capital and labour. But palm-oil is the great staple of Liberia at present. This article is exceedingly high in price, and the consumption in Great Britain and the United States is rapidly increasing. Ground-nuts, for the manufacture of oil, form also a very important article of export for our allies, the French, and one which is getting more into demand in this country. In France, this oil is employed as a salad oil, and also for lamps, and for lubricating machinery. Cam-wood, (a dye-wood,) ivory, arrow-root, and some gold dust, are the principal other articles of export from Liberia. But sugar can be made to any amount, and good cotton grows indigenously: both these valuable products can be supplied in unlimited quantities, by the due application of capital and labour.

The *climate* of Liberia is, on the whole, healthful and pleasant, and well adapted to the constitution of the Negro. The extremes of the thermometer may be set down at 65° and 90°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°. The only recognised division of the year into seasons is the wet or rainy, and the dry season. During the half of the year commencing with May much more rain falls than during the other half commencing with November. As a general rule, however, it

may be stated that some rain falls during every month in the year.

The Republic has a length of sea-coast exceeding five hundred miles, with an average depth of fifty miles. One or two smaller Colonies upon this coast have already been absorbed, by the voluntary act of their inhabitants, into this growing State. A movement is now taking place, however, of great importance; we refer to the attempt to induce the British Government to give up Sierra-Leone, and allow it to form a part of Liberia. Should this take place, the sea-coast line will be extended to more than seven hundred miles. Very much may be said in favour of granting this concession, and we hope and believe the Government will give the subject its best attention. Both Colonies are the result of the same spirit of benevolence. A moral necessity gave birth, in each case, to the enterprise. The suffering and degraded condition of the coloured people in various parts of the British Empire, moved the hearts of Wilberforce, and others of kindred spirit, in 1787, to devise means for their relief and improvement, and the Colony of Sierra-Leone was the result; an example which was influential upon the American Colonization Society, when, in 1816, Liberia, the germ of a future empire, sprang into life. The two Colonies are, therefore, the offspring of the same benevolent spirit; working by the same means to the same great ends. What more natural than that their union should be solemnly pronounced by the British Government? A possession which, in our hands, has no value but what arises from its answering its benevolent design,—and even that value is greatly lessened by the unsuitableness of the climate to European constitutions,—would thus become a source of greatly increased strength to its younger brother and successor. The splendid port and harbour of Sierra-Leone would be a great gain to Liberia; and, indeed, its acquisition is the grand motive to the movement. Let us hand over our possessions on this coast to an *independent* African Government. With its orderly rule we are well acquainted, and our growing commercial relations will always give us influence in its counsels. Our moral support will serve at once as guide and defence in its future career.

The country greatly differs from the usual representations. The scenery is nowhere uninteresting, and every where presents something pleasing to the eye. It is diversified by mountains, hills, and vales,—all embellished by mighty trees, or elegant shrubs, clad in thick and luxuriant foliage of perpetual green. The banks of rivers and smaller streams are decorated with magnificent festoons and natural grottoes, formed by creeping plants, hanging from the tops of the tallest trees to the water's edge. Large farms of rice, Indian corn, and yams, are often to be seen; and many vegetables belonging more properly to tem-

perate climates grow well. Beans, peas, cabbages, tomatoes, cucumbers, and water-melons may be cultivated without difficulty. The cucumber attains the size of fourteen or fifteen inches; the yam is found three feet long, and weighing from twenty to thirty pounds.

A tolerable idea of the interior settlements may be gathered from the following extracts from a letter written by Bishop Payne, during a recent episcopal progress through his extensive diocese. Speaking of SINOU, he remarks:—

"This is a Liberian settlement, intermediate between Cape Palmas and Bassa, and about ninety miles distant from either place, the apparent prosperity of which was far greater than I had anticipated, flattering as had been the accounts of it. Greenville, the sea-port town, presents altogether the most pleasant and respectable appearance of any in Liberia. Not so large by half as Monrovia, nor having so large a number of good buildings, it is yet more compact, has more good houses together, and the style of building is better and more uniform. This arises from the fact, that the inhabitants came chiefly from the cities of Charleston and Savannah, and are many of them men of means and excellent mechanics. I believe all the trades are there represented, from the goldsmith to the blacksmith. A fine steam saw-mill has been erected, and is in operation, on the Sinou River, immediately in the rear of Greenville, and on the border of a heavily timbered forest. Besides the town of Greenville, there are four other villages or townships on the Sinou River, namely, Farmersville, Lexington, Louisiana, and Reedsville. They extend to the distance of seven miles from the sea-shore, and have an aggregate population of about 1,500. These settlements are receiving a yearly accession of population from the United States; and are, I think, destined to improve as fast, and increase as rapidly, as any other places in Liberia.

"The BASSA COVE station may now be regarded as fairly commenced. The settlement of Fishtown, in connexion with which so much difficulty had occurred, and upon which incipient operations had in some measure depended, has been effected. More than two hundred people are on the ground; the city has been laid off, lots drawn, and buildings carried rapidly forward towards completion.

"FISHTOWN is three miles from the mouth of the St. John's River, and the present settlement of Bassa Cove. With the settlement and the intervening plain, it constitutes the city of Buchanan. The project of a railroad to connect the two settlements is in agitation."

The mercantile interest of the Republic seems to be in a healthful state: the merchants are extending their operations by opening up new sources of commerce; and not only are their efforts producing very satisfactory results in reference to products and trade, but the prosperity attending these branches of industry and enterprise has given an impulse to general improvement decidedly encouraging. The steam communication lately established between England and Liberia, is causing to spring up between the two countries a considerable traffic.

The rivalry of America is of course to be looked for, and there is a movement now going on there to establish a line of steamers direct from the Chesapeake to Monrovia, at short intervals. Our American friends are not willing to let the important trade which they foresee will soon arise with the West Coast of Africa, fall altogether into the hands of the English. But rapid transit is the best way to bid for trade. They will thus have to compete with a mode of communication so quick, that President Roberts lately landed at home on the twenty-second day after leaving London. The more of this rivalry the better for Liberia. Let England and America contend, in a friendly spirit, as to who shall buy the cam-wood, the ivory, the palm and nut oil, the sugar, cotton, and coffee of Liberia, and sell her what she may want of cotton, woollen, and silk fabrics, salt, crockery, and ironmongery;—such competition will but work out and develope that prosperous future for Liberia, which we conceive is destined to be attended by such vast results.

We find satisfactory evidence that their educational institutions are in a prosperous state, and are fully appreciated by the people; and preparations are making to introduce a higher order of establishments,—those of the collegiate kind.

We cannot too much commend the principle on which the colonization movement is based. Mankind have ordinarily been led to the colonization and settlement of new countries by motives of commercial advantage. Such was the case in ancient Greece, and such was the origin of the greater portion of the American Colonies, mingled, it is true, in some instances, with a desire to escape from religious persecution. But the cause of African civilization was based upon no such ground. Its object and aim was to benefit a race entirely distinct from that to which the founders and friends of the Societies belong. They were established upon principles of the purest benevolence, and are thus worthy of the sympathy and support of Christian philanthropists of every country. Liberia has already accomplished much for African freedom, and proved a powerful instrument in the suppression of the Slave Trade. She has concluded treaties with many of the native Chiefs of the interior, by which the latter have bound themselves, not only to discontinue dealing in slaves, but to refer to arbitration those inter-tribal differences which prove so frequent a cause of war, and which furnish the principal sources whence the Slave Trade was fed. Let the civilizing influences of commerce have but a fair field, and the Slave Trade, as well as domestic slavery, will disappear from the coast.

The close connexion between African colonization and African Missions is apparent throughout the history of both, at least so far as regards the Western Coast of Africa. The constant growth of the latter, under the fostering influence of the

former; the glorious missionary agency already at work, both in Sierra Leone and Liberia; the rapid multiplication of Churches and Missionary Stations along thousands of miles of the African coast; the gradual extinction of the Slave Trade, and the preparation of Africa for the reception of the Gospel;—these are all encouraging proofs of the happy union and mutual influence of the two great movements. And if we take into the account the facilities in the United States for preparing, and that rapidly, the descendants of Africa to become teachers and guides of their dark-coloured brethren,—we see laid down a mighty circle of influence, which shall pour a current of scriptural truth through the whole of that vast and populous continent.

One grand result which the success of Liberia has already produced, is the solution of the problem, *Is the coloured man capable of self-government?* We lately noticed some elaborate attempts, upon the part of certain American ethnologists, to prove the natural inferiority of the Negro race. We may almost decline to bandy arguments with such men, when we can point to an example like Liberia. Men who can, year after year, go on exercising the highest functions of the Christian citizen, may well pass over such attacks with just scorn. The successful black merchant, the prosperous black agriculturist, may be pardoned if he treats with merited contempt the ravings of these white sciolists, whose claim of superiority is founded neither upon personal nor family merit, but upon the somewhat diluted merit of race. The problem above referred to is now being practically and beautifully solved by the ability and fidelity of the coloured man himself, aided, it is true, by Christian philanthropy. He is carving out for himself, his children, and his race, a NATIONALITY, commanding the confidence and respect of the civilized world. Wherever the coloured man lives, and however deeply he may be called to suffer in legal slavery or social serfdom, while he can point to that prosperous Republic, and say, "There is the country and home of my brother: he constructed its stable Government, preserves its integrity, and promotes its prosperity and power, by his own hand, his own virtue, his own enterprise;" whether personally he be bond or free, whether in the United States, Canada, the West Indies, or Brazil,—that man can never hereafter be held to belong to an inferior race. The ban and the darkness of ages are removed; the true light shines; Ham is not cursed of God, as men would have him cursed; the *theory* fades before the brightness of the *fact*.

Look, again, at the door of escape which Liberia affords to the free coloured population of the United States. It is difficult to realize the sensations of the free black in the States, who may possess wealth and education. An eternal barrier, as it

seems, shuts him out from all that wealth and education procure for their possessor in other circumstances and other lands. Every thing conspires to wound his pride, to lessen his influence for good, to check his natural ambition. If the worst portion of his nature prevail, he sinks into a careless sensualist, or a mere sycophant. But if his education and his religious principles have matured his native powers, and led him to desire that position of influence from which he is debarred by nothing but his colour, what is he to do? It is in such circumstances that Liberia offers him a sphere for his usefulness, a field for his honest ambition. And if we find, as we do, that many of the wealthier free blacks still hold aloof from Liberia, and are waiting till more material comforts are gathered into its houses, we may safely conclude that time will show them their error, and will point out the true sphere for their talents, their wealth, and their influence. But to the poor free black, who has no means to enjoy the luxuries of the large cities of the States, and whose desire is to provide for his family in ordinary comfort, and raise himself and them to a higher grade in the social scale,—to him the opportunity of reaching a land which offers every promise to his hopes, is afforded by the Colonization Societies. It was the language of one of these, who had experienced the benefits of a home amongst his countrymen, when expressing anxiety to return from a visit to the States, "Sir, I feel anxious to return as speedily as possible to my own country; for there I feel myself to be a *man*."

The achievements of colonization on the West Coast of Africa can hardly be exaggerated. There we find a national polity, municipal institutions, Christian Churches, and Christian Ministers; schools, and a sound system of education; a public press, rising towns and villages, a productive agriculture, and a growing commerce. Under its rule about two hundred and fifty thousand human beings are found living together in harmony, enjoying all the advantages of social and political life, and submitting to all the restraints which government and religious principle demand. Means are found to harmonize the habits and interests of the colonists, their descendants, the native-born Liberians, and the aborigines of the coast. As the creation and achievement of less than forty years, we insist that this is without parallel in the history of the world.

But if it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the past history of the movement on this coast, is it possible to over-estimate the vast importance of its future?

The benefits it is conferring already upon America are considerable. The best men in the States are encouraging the establishment of Colonization Societies, having experience of their usefulness in removing from their soil a difficulty of the most pressing kind. The blacks themselves are applying for passages

to Liberia in greater numbers than the Societies can possil overtake; and the letters of those who have had the good f tune to escape to Liberia are filled with invitations to th former friends to come over, and enjoy the good land. Th the Slave Trade will be extinguished, under the influences gro ing up along the coast, taken in connexion with the Ang American Squadron, is in the utmost degree probable. T commercial treaties with the native Kings, in which a clause generally introduced,—we believe we may say, invariably, binding them to discontinue the traffic in their subjects; t increasing number of merchant vessels in those waters, whi the growing commerce of the coast will necessitate; and t experience of the greater profit attending the pursuits of legi mate trade,—all will combine to hasten the fall of this cr and nefarious traffic.

But these are Christian communities, and embrace, amon their machinery, the institutions of the Gospel. They car not only the social seeds of the civil redemption of Afri but the elements, of mighty power, by which that long de lated continent, and those oppressed races, can be rege rated and elevated into civilized and Christian nations. T light from this centre is irradiating the interior of the contine and breaking up the superstition and idolatry of the nat tribes. The accursed Slave Trade, the most afflictive scou of Africa, shall first be destroyed; and every obstacle shall f which would impede the progress of the Gospel among t varied and countless populations of that continent.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., D.C.L., &c. Vols. I.–IV. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1855.

THIS important work has now proceeded far enough to enable us to form a tolerable estimate of its general character and value. The period with which it is concerned is less thrilling in interest, and less picturesque in details, than was that of its great predecessor; but what it loses in this respect, the history gains in the greater proximity of the events narrated to the times in which we live, and the interests in which we are at present involved. The powers of our author have certainly attained their full maturity; but we feel bound in justice to say that, apart from an adherence to some favourite old political views, now almost exploded, we cannot discover any decided falling off, either in thought or style. The only chapter in which those powers seem unequal to all the requirements of his great undertaking, is that, in his first volume, in which the author hastily and somewhat feebly criticizes the literary and artistic worthies of the last half century.

The nearer Sir Archibald approaches the present time, and the more he has to deal with the past conduct of living statesmen, the greater must necessarily be the difficulties of his task; but the general spirit of moderation and candour which he has hitherto manifested in the progress of this work, has not deserted him in the treatment of the important matters to which the fourth volume relates. Whilst he does not depart from his usual practice of giving marked expression to his own particular views, he takes great pains to represent, with perfect fairness, the views and arguments of his opponents. The period embraced in the present volume is one of great events. Its political importance cannot be exaggerated; and Sir Archibald has devoted to its study his highest powers. The ten years which intervened between 1822 and 1832, will ever be memorable in the annals of England and of Europe, for the rapid succession of startling events which they witnessed. In England, the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill first, and of the Reform Bill afterwards; in France, the Revolution which placed Louis Philippe on the throne; in Belgium, the Insurrection which separated her from Holland, and gave to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg the Crown of Flanders; and in Poland, another Insurrection, followed by a desperate and bloody war,—these are the leading incidents upon which the historian of this critical epoch has to dwell; and, now that the peace of Europe is again disturbed, and European politics have assumed a new aspect, we may, perhaps,

not unprofitably turn back to the past, and seek, not in vain, in these records, some encouragement for the present, and some guidance for the future. We need make no apology to our readers for giving them an opportunity of judging of the work for themselves; and first about Poland:—

"The astonishing stand which Poland, with less than a fourth of its ancient territory and inhabitants, made without external aid against the whole strength of Russia in this memorable year, throws a clear and precious light on the causes of its previous decline and long-continued misfortunes. It had received from the hand of nature all the gifts which are required to make a nation great and powerful,—a noble and fertile soil, ample navigable rivers, spacious harbours, a bold and ardent people, passionately attached to freedom. On the other hand, Russia possessed originally far fewer natural advantages. She had, before Peter the Great, no sea-port towns, her territory was less fertile, her inhabitants, till they were swelled by foreign conquest, less numerous, and incomparably less brave and chivalrous. What was it which rendered the one constantly victorious over the other,—which rendered Polish history, during five centuries, nothing but a series of misfortunes, casually interrupted by glory,—Muscovite, of durable victories and acquisitions, never stopped by passing disaster? The reason is to be found in the excess of the very spirit which constituted the spring of Polish vitality, which caused them at times to do such great things, at others to commit such enormous and unpardonable faults.

"The spirit which animated Poland was not the regulated principle of Anglo-Saxon liberty, which has rendered England and America the admiration of the globe, but the wild excess of unbridled democracy. Equality, not subordination, was their passion: their stormy *comitia*, their *liberum veto*, their delegated representatives, prove it. Their idea of freedom was absence from all control, and, above all, liberation from all taxes. This is the first idea of liberty all over the world; unhappily the Poles never got beyond it. They clung to it to the very last, amidst all their misfortunes, till they were fairly swallowed up and partitioned by their former vassals. Russia, on the other hand, came in process of time to combine the lust of conquest and unity of feeling, which in every age have characterized Asia, to the steady policy, scientific acquisitions, so far as war is concerned, and far-seeing wisdom of Europe. Thus Asia in its strength was brought up against Europe in its weakness; thence the conquest of the one by the other. And accordingly the first and only occasion when the balance really hung even between them, was when the resources of a fragment of ancient Poland had been drawn forth by foreign government, when foreign power had compelled its inhabitants to pay taxes, forced them to raise a regular army, and given consistency to their fiery squadrons."

Another subject which occupies a prominent place in these pages, and which is now once more engaging the earnest attention of all who view politics through the medium of Christian truth, is the Grant to Maynooth. With the historian's views in the main our readers will generally agree:—

"Never, perhaps, was there a great public measure which was attended with results so entirely opposite to what was both prophesied

and expected in both islands, as Catholic Emancipation. The Liberals predicted an entire cessation of agitation and violence, the extinction of all causes of discord between the two islands, and the knitting together of the Saxon and Celtic population in the bonds of peace, tranquillity, and loyalty. The opponents of Emancipation predicted from it a vast impulse to the Roman persuasion in Great Britain, the destruction of all the safeguards of Protestantism, and possibly the eventual restoration of the Catholic as the ruling faith of the whole empire. It is hard to say which set of predictions has been most completely falsified by the event. Ireland, so far from having been pacified, has been more agitated than ever, since the great healing measure; the cry for the Repeal of the Union has succeeded that for the removal of the disabilities; monster meetings succeeded, and shook the island to its centre; the Whigs themselves were constrained, within five years of the passing of the Relief Bill, to pass a Coercion Act of surpassing severity; and, at length, matters came to such a pass, that a famine of the thirteenth fell on the population of the nineteenth century, and the annual emigration of two hundred and fifty thousand persons at once thinned the redundant numbers, and removed the political dangers, of the Emerald Isle. Catholicism, so far from receiving an impulse, has, from the same cause, met with the greatest check it has received in Great Britain since the Reformation: it has become rampant, and revealed its inherent ambition; and the consequence has been a vast revulsion of opinion in the middle and ruling classes of the empire against the tenets of the Vatican, and a determination to resist its encroachments, unexampled since the Revolution. The Catholic faith has been embraced by several ladies of rank who sighed for an ecclesiastical opera, and many of fashion who desired the sway of confession, and by some inexperienced men of genius who dreamt of the amiable illusion of unity of belief; but it has been sturdily resisted by the great body of the people. The Grant to Maynooth, small as it is, with difficulty passes the House of Commons; and no one doubts that a reformed House of Commons would never have passed the Relief Bill.

"Yet, though the results have thus falsified the predictions, and been at variance with the expectations, of all parties, an impartial consideration of the circumstances of the case leads to the conviction, that Emancipation was a wise and just measure, and such as, under the administration of a beneficent Providence, might be expected to be attended, even in this world, with its deserved reward. It was not for the reasons of policy and State necessity, which were so powerfully put forward by Mr. Peel, strong and unanswerable as they undoubtedly were; it was advisable for a greater and more lasting reason,—that it was in itself just and equitable. Opinion is not the fit ground either of exclusion, penalty, or punishment; it is acts only which are so. Differences of religious belief are imprinted on the mind so generally by the influence of parentage, habit, country, and circumstances, that they are for the most part as unavoidable as the colour of the hair, or the stature of the body. The legislator is entitled to take cognizance of them, only when they lead to external acts; and when they do so, let those acts be coerced or punished with vigour and justice. So great have been the evils which have arisen from persecution for differences of religious opinion, that they have gone far to

neutralize the whole blessings of Christianity, and led some sceptical observers to hesitate whether it has brought most happiness or misery to mankind. It is the disgrace of Catholicism, that it first began this atrocious system, and forced retaliation upon its opponents as a matter, at the time, of necessity. It is the glory of Protestantism, that it first inscribed toleration on its banners, and practised it—like the Duke of York, in answer to the decree of the Convention forbidding quarter—upon the most inveterate and unrelenting of its opponents."

With Sir Archibald's opinions upon the Reform Bill, most moderate politicians will disagree; and the reader will do well to remember, when perusing his estimate of living statesmen, the strong political bias of the writer. The following is his character of Lord Palmerston:—

"If there is any British statesman of his age who has acquired a European reputation, it may safely be pronounced to be Lord Palmerston, whose name will be for ever associated with the great change in our foreign policy, and the substitution of Liberal for Conservative alliances..... His abilities are not only of the highest order, but they are of the most marketable description. No man knows better how to address himself in speaking to the prevailing feelings and tastes of his audience; in acting, to the inclination and interests of the class in society upon which his influence is rested. Great as are his talents, varied his accomplishments, they are rendered still more powerful by the versatility of their possessor. He can be, when he pleases, all things to all men. He has been a member of every Administration, with the single exception of the short one of Lord Derby in 1852, for the last fifty years. He has alternately aided in expelling his former friends from power, and reinstating them in office; yet, strange to say, his character for consistency has not materially suffered from all these changes. The reason is, that all men see that, like the Duke of Wellington, his leading principle has always been the advancement of the power and glory of his country; and that he has taken a part in so many Administrations, because they successively furnished him with the means of advancing that primary object. He has been, through life, not so much a statesman as a diplomatic soldier of the State.

"His talents for diplomacy and administration are unquestionably of a very high order. To immense acquaintance with foreign treaties and conventions he unites the rarer but not less essential knowledge of courts and statesmen, and the prevailing influences by which they are severally governed. As Secretary-at-War during the contest with Napoleon, and Home Secretary under Queen Victoria, his administrative powers have been equally conspicuous; and such are his oratorical talents, that no man can with greater certainty alternately keep the attention of the House of Commons awake during a long detail of diplomatical proceedings, or fascinate a popular audience by the beauties of a varied and highly-wrought eloquence. Indefatigable in his attention to business, he yet finds time, as men of a similar energetic turn of mind often do, for the pleasures of society; and much of his political influence is owing to the charm which manners of the highest breeding, and courtesy of the most finished kind, lend to a varied and delightful conversation.

"The great fault of this accomplished Minister—and it is a very serious one, for it has more than once brought his country to the brink of the most serious danger—is, that he never calculates the

means at his disposal for effecting the projects which he has at heart, and engages in designs which he has not the means of carrying through, or stimulates movements in other countries which he has not the means of supporting. Bred in the school of Pitt, and essentially patriotic in his feelings and ideas, he sometimes forgets the difference in the situation and power of the country at different times, and has often held as high language in diplomatic intercourse, when a reformed House of Commons had not left twenty thousand disposable men in the country, or ten ships of the line to form a Channel fleet, as when Lord Castlereagh wielded the power of one hundred and fifty thousand men, and one hundred ships of the line bore the royal flag. A sincere friend of freedom, he has sometimes proved its worst enemy, by stimulating movements of the Liberal party among the excitable inhabitants of other States, which the people of this country had neither the means nor the inclination to support, and by being forced, in consequence, to leave them to be crushed by the military force of despotic States. With admirable skill he arranged all the other powers of Europe to check the ambition of France on the Eastern Question in 1840; and it was owing to the influence of his diplomacy that the cordial alliance of France and England was formed which put such a bridle in the mouth of Russia in 1854. But on other occasions his ill-timed assertions of British influence have been attended with the utmost hazard; for they brought us to the verge of a war with France, and once with France and Russia united, at a time when the country was wholly unprepared to maintain a contest with either the one or the other."

Upon the whole, the volume contains a fair and candid narrative of an important decade. Deducting a somewhat excessive attachment to old opinions, and to their champion, Lord Derby, we consider the volume fully maintains the character of the work, and will not diminish the fame of its author. We grant, indeed, that the value of that fame, and the merits of that work, admit of easy detraction and dispute. The "History of Europe" finds no welcome at the hands of the fastidious, no praise from the hyper-critical. It is a great work, notwithstanding,—not classical in style, nor perfect in its judgments; but faithful, comprehensive, full of life and interest;—a history suited to the requirements of a busy, earnest people, for whom the genius of a Tacitus or a Hume might be exercised in vain.

L'Eglise et les Philosophes au 18e Siècle. Par M. Lanfrey. Paris. 1855.

THIS is one of the most extraordinary books we have had the good fortune to see for a long time. Not that it displays any great learning, or any signs of genius; but it is an evidence of the deep fermentation that exists still throughout all the classes of French society: it is, if we may so say, a symptomatic work. We might fancy we had before us a patient, whose excited pulse and heated complexion would, of course, elicit at once from us the verdict that he is labouring under a fever, and that the sooner he applies to the physician the better. M. Lanfrey's volume is a pamphlet, nothing else; but it is a pamphlet which seems as if it had been written thirty years ago, and had sprung up from the columns of the old "*Constitutionnel.*" What then? Have we retrograded to the days of

M. de Villèle's administration? or, after having slept during more than a quarter of a century, do we now awake to find the world in the state in which it was when Paul Louis Courier wrote the "*Pamphlet des Pamphlets,*" and M. de Montlosier published his "*Mémoire à Consulter?*" The spirit which is abroad now breathes in the same direction, at all events. Such is the evil of passion,—it produces passion in its turn; party spirit, like Cadmus, sows around itself a crop of antagonists, who destroy each other as soon as they feel strong enough to do so.

The last few years had revived in France the strongest hopes of the Ultramontane party. Coming after all the vagaries of Red-Republicanism, and appearing once more in the broad daylight, in the midst of a society sick of political upheavings, and anxious for order and repose, the Jesuits obtained an easy triumph. As usual, the hour of prosperity found them wanting: not satisfied with recovering their former position, they began in their pamphlets, in their books, from the pulpit, in the columns of the "*Univers Religieux,*" the most furious attacks against all the writers who had been in any manner connected with the eighteenth century, and had defended either the traditions of Gallicanism, the doctrines of Port-Royal, or the principles of the Constitutionalists of 1789. The finishing stroke was given by M. Nicolardot. This gentleman's volume, entitled "*Ménage et Finances de Voltaire,*" was written with the express purpose of exhibiting in the most odious light the *Encyclopédist* school of metaphysicians. As we have already said, it is one of the great evils of party-spirit, that it kindles a flame which speedily gains ground, and spreads desolation every where. Seeing the insults daily heaped upon the heroes of the last century, and the ideas they have introduced; finding a pack of ill-favoured men in bands and cassock busily engaged in extolling the spirit of religious persecution, and endeavouring to destroy every noble and generous sentiment in the human heart, M. Lanfrey shut himself up in his study, surrounded by all the writers and thinkers of the eighteenth century,—Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, D'Alembert. Such were the men from whose works he sought counsel; and at last, after due preparation, was published the *brochure* we are now considering,—one of the most violent philippics that can well be imagined, a manifesto, a new declaration of war hurled by the philosophy of infidelity against the tendencies of Ultramontanism. Talk of fanaticism, of intolerance! Why, "*L'Eglise et les Philosophes*" is fanaticism double-distilled, and intolerance quintessentiated. With a slight alteration, by substituting the names of our two contemporaries for those of La Harpe and Naigeon, we might employ Marie-Joseph Chénier's celebrated epigram:—

"Nicolardot *fait des athées,*
Et Lanfrey *fait des dévots.*"

It is really quite amusing to see how Voltaire, especially, can be made to appear either of the purest white or of the deepest black, for the purpose of serving the interests of a clique, or becoming the watchword of a faction. The cool, calm, steady appreciation of M. Bungener, M. Sainte-Beuve, M. Vinet, M. Saint-Marc Girardin, will not do. The *philosophe* of Ferney, according to M. Nicolardot, was not only a freethinker and a deist, but a thief, a usurer, and a scoundrel. He speculated on the name of Mademoiselle Corneille,

he stole a load of wood from President de Brosses, and lent money at ten *per cent.* Thereupon comes M. Lanfrey, who, with his "*Audi alteram partem*," proceeds to canonize the author of "*La Pucelle.*" On the very first page of his work we find the singular proposition: "Civilization, that offspring of the eighteenth century!" What do our readers think of such a statement? Before the birth of Voltaire and the speeches of Mirabeau, the world existed not; it was necessary that the "Philosophical Dictionary" should appear, to induce men to leave their primæval forests, and live together in civilized communities. The Golden Age dawned upon this planet about the year 1700, and the first words which men learnt to pronounce were taken from the "*Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme.*" This is, seriously, M. Lanfrey's assertion; he leaves Christianity utterly out of the question; he forgets the Middle Ages, the civilizations of Greece and of Rome; and he introduces us at once to Père La Chaise, Louis XIV., and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His book, we acknowledge, was the legitimate consequence of the Jesuitical canting we have had lately the misfortune to witness; but it is written in an exaggerated style, full of blunders and of errors which it does not require much historical knowledge to rectify. There is no depth in the work; the author glances at almost every thing, yet he does nothing but glance; if he gives anecdotes, those he selects are stale *bons mots*, already published a hundred times before; when he passes judgment upon those who are unfortunate enough not to share his opinions,—Kant, for instance,—his verdicts prove that he can only have skimmed over the books he pretends to criticize. There is another thing which requires to be noticed. Any person at all acquainted with the history of the eighteenth century, is well aware that the camp of the philosophers was far from exhibiting that harmony and that *entente cordiale* which might have been supposed to prevail amongst them. "Whoever loves Jean Jacques," said Voltaire, "does not love me." But M. Lanfrey is not a man to stick at such trifles. He has found the secret of reconciling the most serious differences; and, with his enthusiastic pen, he describes the gathering of the infidels of the last century as a sort of Pantheon, of "Happy Land," where the "*Contrat Social*" and the "Poem on Natural Religion" have adjusted all their squabbles,—nought is to be found but smiles, embraces, and cordial *poignées de main.* The contrast to this beautiful picture springs quite naturally from the conspiracy at present organized against the "benefactors of humanity." (!) Shame upon M. Saint-Marc Girardin, M. Sainte-Beuve, and M. Nisard! Like three *condottieri*, or rather like three slaves of superstition, they have pledged themselves to destroy Rousseau's character, they have sold their talent and their dignity to the obscurantism of the Priests. M. Lanfrey is on the alert, most fortunately: Catiline, Cethegus, and Lentulus shall be expelled from Rome, and the author of the "*Nouvelle Heloïse*" rescued from the daggers of the conspirators.

M. Lanfrey is very loud in his defence of philosophy; he scarcely talks of any thing else, and he is always clamouring for the claims of the human thought. We may here observe, first, that for a man who seems so anxiously to advocate intellectual freedom, his book is a great deal too dogmatic, it is too much like laying down the law. He delivers his opinions in the midst of thunder and lightning.

In the second place, the philosophy which he advocates is not the spiritualism of Descartes, that doctrine which, under the pen of M. Cousin, has at least the merit of appealing to the noble elements of our nature. No, M. Lanfrey, we are sorry to say, would lead us back again to the grossest schemes of D'Holbach and Diderot; he takes his religion from the "*Systéme de la Nature*," and calls the "Theodicy" of Leibnitz a *jeu d'esprit*. The eclectic school of our times had endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the teachings of revealed truth and the *data* of metaphysical speculation. M. Lanfrey gives up the attempt, proclaims it to be a mystification, a piece of humbug, and compares it to the "exhibition of a *lusus naturæ* with two heads for the amusement of the multitude."

We shall proceed no further in our critique. The work we have just been noticing, although intrinsically of very little merit, has created a perfect sensation. We do not feel surprised at this; it is extremely remarkable as a sign of the times. There is, evidently, an immense amount of hatred accumulating in France against the insolence and the pretensions of the clerical party. At the very first opportunity, an explosion cannot but take place; and, from the nature of M. Lanfrey's volume, we may foretell that it will be of the most violent description. So true it is, that when a nation does not acknowledge the truths of the Gospel, superstition and atheism are the two poles between which it must always be oscillating.

Cours de Littérature Dramatique. Par M. Saint-Marc Girardin, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Vols. I.–III. Paris: Charpentier.

It will, perhaps, seem almost a paradox to many of our readers, if we recommend a Course of Lectures on Dramatic Literature, as deserving to take a place, side by side on the same shelf, with the moral essays of Abbadie, Nicole, and La Placette; and yet we do not hesitate to make this assertion on behalf of Professor Saint-Marc Girardin. Let any one take up the three volumes which form the subject of the present article, read them carefully, and judge for himself.

Literary criticism has assumed, in France at least, two totally distinct shapes. Those who are acquainted with the feuilletonistes and lecturers of the Napoleonic era, will remember the works of Geoffroy, Dussaulx, Lemercier, and Suard, as furnishing tolerable examples of ingenuity and acute observation, applied to the niceties of verbal criticism. This was all these gentlemen could do. The pressure of public events lay too heavy upon the generations whose life-blood stained the battle-fields of Austerlitz, Wagram, and Eylau, to allow them much time for the profound study of the human heart; besides, it appears very doubtful whether the free discussion of psychological subjects would have been tolerated by the Government, even from a Professor of *Belles Lettres*. The Restoration, however, brought about another state of things; and the extraordinary intellectual revolution which took place between 1829 and 1836, under the name of *Romanticism*, substituted in the domain of æsthetics the analysis of moral principles, and a reference to the laws of right and wrong, instead of the felicitous, but comparatively useless, weighing of words and syllables,—the traditional stock in trade of the old school.

M. Saint-Marc Girardin was appointed Professor at the Sorbonne at the very time when the new dramatists seemed to be—to use the political jargon—*masters of the situation.* MM. Ponsard and Emile Augier had not yet given the signal of a reaction to the eternal axioms of decency and of taste; and, amidst the mad enthusiasm with which *la jeune France* applauded M. Dumas' "*Antony,*" M. Gaillardet's "*Tour de Nesle,*" and M. Victor Hugo's "*Lucrèce Borgia,*" it was, we can assure our readers, almost an act of heroism in any one, to stand up and protest, either in a lecture-room, or from the columns of a newspaper. This M. Saint-Marc Girardin was determined to do, and, for the space of twenty years, he manfully, and without interruption, defended the Thermopylæ of sound literature against the barbarians. More fortunate than Leonidas of old, he has seen his efforts crowned with success; the very fanatics who, not long ago, denounced Racine as too "slow" for the nineteenth century, are the first to gather around him, and to bestow upon him their well-deserved applause.

It is impossible to form a complete estimate of M. Saint-Marc Girardin's powers, except for those who have heard him. The delivery, the tone of voice, the *coup d'œil* of the Professor, go for a great deal in the effect produced upon the audience; and, in addition to the real substantial merits of the Lectures, such as they appear when perused leisurely in the seclusion of the study, one must needs make some allowance for many incidents which, suggested at the moment, and often arising necessarily from the feelings both of the orator and the hearers, cannot, of course, find their way into the pages of a volume. Enough, nevertheless, remains to assist the reader in forming a correct appreciation of M. Saint-Marc Girardin; and this appreciation, we assert it most confidently, can have only one issue, namely, that of stamping him as a critic of the very highest order.

The "*Cours de Littérature Dramatique*" is a reprint, corrected and revised, of the Lectures delivered at the Sorbonne by the author. We have called them "Lectures," the more correct name would perhaps be *Causeries;* there is nothing in the least pedantic about them, and we believe that one of the great reasons of M. Saint-Marc Girardin's success with young men is the familiar, the cordial, manner with which he addresses them. He never speaks, as it were, *ex cathedrâ;* his appeals are those of a friend, not of a dry and stern censor. The influence he exercises upon his auditors will seem extraordinary to those who are aware how unsparing he is in his condemnation of the vices and follies which have been so fashionable with *la jeune France.* No one so clever as he in deducing a moral lesson from the analysis of a character or the critical examination of a play; no one so judicious in pointing out the union which exists between the beautiful and the true. M. Saint-Marc Girardin's *programme* as a lecturer is one you would in vain look for, except, perhaps, in the pages of M. de Chateaubriand and the brilliant sketches of M. Villemain. Instead of taking, as his post of observation, any special drama of Racine, Corneille, or Molière, and examining, for instance, how far the *dramatis personæ* of Roxana, Chimène, or Sganarelle are in accordance with Boileau's conceptions or the traditions of scholastic *goût,* he makes the human soul his stand-point, selects one particular passion,—say, that of maternal love,

—and, after having described its nature, its bearings, its distinguishing features, he shows how it has been painted in the master-pieces of human genius, tracing at the same time the want of taste and the blemishes disfiguring the productions of some popular authors to their systematic disregard of the laws which govern our nature. Never was this mode of analysis more *à propos* in France than at present, when dramatists and romance-writers have done their best to prove that in the struggle for ever going on in the heart of man between passion and duty, all our sympathies belong to those who set at defiance the ordinances of God and the rules of society. M. Saint-Marc Girardin has done much towards pulling down from their usurped pedestals the *poètes incompris*, the "Rénés," the "Werthers," and the "Lélias," of our own times; to use M. Sainte-Beuve's accurate expression, he has pricked the balloons, let all the air out of them, and exposed them in all their emptiness to the public scorn. Common sense, it will be perceived, is the forte of the "*Cours de Littérature Dramatique.*" We cannot help regretting that the clever author should not have felt the necessity of taking a somewhat higher test; and whilst we would not think of insulting him by comparing him with such critics (so-called) as M. Jules Janin or M. Théophile Gautier, we wish we could find in his otherwise exquisite Lectures that acknowledgment of the principles of revealed religion which gives so much weight to the productions of another writer,—the late M. Vinet.

In the beginning of January last, M. Saint-Marc Girardin appeared once more in that Sorbonne amphitheatre, which for the last twenty-five years has become for him the scene of an uninterrupted series of triumphs. He was about, he said, to speak of Racine; and the mere announcement of the subject he had selected drew forth from his auditors the most deafening cheers. Since then his brilliant improvisation, and the soundness of his taste, have been preparing from week to week fresh materials for another volume; and we are sure that the issuing of a fourth series of Lectures from the same author will be hailed with universal delight. We may as well say that besides his duties as a Professor, M. Saint-Marc Girardin finds time also to write articles both in the "*Journal des Débats*" and the "*Revue des deux Mondes.*"

Real-Encyclopädie, für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche. Herausgegeben von Dr. J. J. Herzog. Drittes Band, Erste Hälfte. 8vo. Stuttgart and Hamburg: Rudolf Besser. London: Williams and Norgate. 1855.

One of the most valuable contributions to the theological literature of the present day is that of the "Encyclopædia of Protestant Theology and Church History," edited by Dr. Herzog. The first half of the third volume is now before us, and gives us the opportunity of referring to the merits of this singularly useful and comprehensive work.

The portion now under notice fully sustains the character of the previous volumes, and is equally marked by sound scholarship and adaptation to the purposes of practical utility. Those of our readers who may not have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with

Chemistry, Theoretical, Practical, and Analytical, as applied and relating to the Arts and Manufactures. By Dr. Sheridan Muspratt, F.R.S.E., M.R.I.A., &c., &c. Glasgow: Mackenzie.

THE completion of one division or volume of this important work has enabled us to judge, with tolerable certainty, of what it is likely to be when completed. From a careful examination of this division, we feel justified in expressing our belief, that it will prove one of permanent value and interest. We have seldom met with a performance of the kind which so thoroughly deals with the topics upon which it treats, which places before us so fully all that the reader may reasonably expect to find, or which so fairly represents the actual state of an advancing science.

The work is correctly described on its title-page. It is neither a manual of chemistry, nor a chemical dictionary. The contents are arranged alphabetically, and many of the articles are perfect treatises upon their particular subjects. The completeness of such articles is surprising; and, where requisite, an ample supply of illustrative woodcuts are given. The following extract, although inadequately brief, will give some idea of the curious information in which the work abounds:—

"BUTTER.—Though butter may be considered as one of the most common of all ordinary things, yet the ancients were nearly, if not entirely, ignorant of its existence. The older translators of Hebrew seemed to think that they had met with it in Scripture, but most modern biblical critics agree that what was formerly interpreted 'butter' signified 'milk or cream,' or, more properly, 'sour thick milk.' The word referred to plainly alludes to a liquid, as it appears that the substance meant was used for washing the feet, and that it was imbibed, and had an intoxicating influence. It is well known that mares' milk, when sour, has a similar effect. Those acquainted with the authorized version of the Bible would infer, on reading the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs, that butter was prepared by shaking or beating; the original, however, signifies 'pressing or squeezing,' evidently meaning milking, and not the making of butter.

"Herodotus, in his account of the Scythians, makes obscure mention of butter. This is the oldest reference known."

Of the more strictly scientific articles we cannot profess to give any specimens. To manufacturers the work will prove of great importance; and to all who may desire to study the *rationale* of the chemical processes involved in the arts and in manufactures, Dr. Muspratt has provided a work which will at once meet their wants, and greatly add to his own reputation.