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3. *The Indian Crisis.* London: Church Missionary Society. 1858.

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A MISSIONARY standing on St. Thomas's Mount, with the Carnatic at his feet, asked himself, 'From that plain below did the very hand which our blessed Lord called to touch His wounded side point the eye of nations to their God?' This question has been well debated; but is not settled yet, and perhaps never will be. Whether Thomas called Didymus preached the faith in India or not, it was early planted there. The first recorded connexion of our own country with Hindustan had reference to Christianity, and was also associated with the fairest name in our early history. About a thousand years ago, Alfred the Great sent a mission to the tomb of St. Thomas in India.

When Pedro Cabral, one of the early Portuguese navigators, returned from India, part of his freight, which excited much attention, was two Hindu Christians, bearing the names of Matthias and Joseph. It was thus made known to Christendom that fruit of the missionary zeal of the first centuries still remained in the extreme south of India. There a considerable population professed the faith, revered the Scriptures, and had a Christian literature. They also enjoyed more or less consideration from the Kings of the country, and sometimes had even had Christian princes of their own. When Vasco di Gama, the great discoverer, reached the shores of India the second time, he was met by a deputation of those Christians called Syrians, and Christians of St. Thomas. They carried a wand of vermilion wood tipped with silver, and graced with bells. This, they said, was the sceptre of their Christian princes, now passed away; and they offered it to him in token of submission to the Christian prince, his master. Of this they afterwards had cause to repent. When it proved that they did not acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, or believe several of her doctrines, and that many of her ceremonies were not only unknown to them, but distasteful, collisions began. These led to disaster after disaster, until liberties which they had preserved among the heathen were lost, and valuable writings, which their enemies had respected, were cast into the flames by their new friends from the West.*

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* *Madras, Mysore, and South India*, by the Rev. Dr. Hoole, contains a good and brief account of these transactions with the Syrian Christians; as also of the proceedings of the Jesuits at Madura. Hough narrates them at length.

The endeavours of the Portuguese to disseminate Christianity in India were sincere according to their views, and merit admiration for the scale on which they were projected, the energy with which they were followed up, and the personal devotion of some of their missionaries. But these, in the spirit of their church and times, placed their reliance for success to a great extent upon force. They had always their government at command, both as to its political influence and its military power. Terrible scenes of persecution were enacted; the Inquisition itself was transplanted to the soil of India, and flourished in the city of Goa. All its prisoners were not as happy as Father Euphrem.

When the English obtained leave to form a settlement where the great city of Madras now stands, they found about 'six fishermen's huts.' The Agent of the Company, the true father and founder of the 'traditionary policy,' whereby religion was made a matter of account, invited a number of Capuchin monks to settle, among whom was Father Euphrem. This was done with a view to 'draw the Portuguese from St. Thomé,' and thereby secure 'an increase of trade.'* The preaching of Father Euphrem excited suspicions among the zealous worshippers of the Virgin, as to his orthodoxy. They enticed him off British ground to St. Thomé, where he was seized, hurried on board ship, taken to Goa, and immured in the Inquisition. Soon afterwards a party of English sailors landed at the same place. They went round the city to see the sights, and, naturally enough, asked for the Inquisition. But no sooner had they gained admittance, than they secured the gates, drew their weapons, rushed upon the tribunal, then in session, and commanded the fathers, at the peril of their lives, to deliver up the prisoner who had been inveigled off British ground. The inquisitors were conquered for once; and Father Euphrem was carried back to Madras in triumph.

Some strangers appeared among the Brahmans of Madura with complexions scarcely lighter than they had before seen in visitors from the North. These announced themselves as Brahmans from the West, of a much higher order than any in the East, and they bore Hindu names. Their leader, Robert de Nobili, a nephew of the celebrated Cardinal Bellarmine, produced a parchment seemingly very old, with a record in ancient Hindu characters, which declared that

* Hough, the historian, naturally thinks that the monks were invited in order to provide instruction for their co-religionists; but the true reason is stated in the Agent's own letter, as given by Orme, *Historical Fragments, note* xliv.

the Brahmans of the city of Rome were of much older date than those of India, and that the Jesuits of Rome were descended in a direct line from the god Brahma. When closely pressed as to the authenticity of this document, he took oath, before the whole assembly of Brahmans, that he derived his own descent from Brahma.* To sustain this bold imposture, they caused to be discovered a fifth Veda, in which a considerable part of the Bible was ingeniously dovetailed with matter designed to make it pass with Brahmans as part of their indigenous writings. They further adopted the yellow robe of the Hindu hermit, abstained from animal food, carried upon their forehead the marks distinctive of the heathen, and treated the Pariahs with the contempt becoming men of the highest caste. In their ceremonies they adopted all that was most prominent in those of the heathen, not even excepting the dancing women.

Though the Church of Rome may claim a monopoly of religious fraud as a means of conversion in India, it is not so with respect to force. This was adopted by the Protestant Dutch in Ceylon, and unsparingly used. To it they added the further instrument of bribery, offering place only to such as would subscribe a good Protestant confession of faith, and placing all others under disabilities, not merely in this particular, but even as to the tenure of land.†

Attempts to propagate Christianity by aid of force, fraud, and bribery, have had as fair a trial in India as the admirers of such expedients could desire. The result has been what might be anticipated. The Romanists gathered masses of nominal converts, who never advanced beyond the heathen either in intelligence or morality, and have never in any respect brought honour to the Christian name. The Protestant converts of Ceylon, who were numbered by tens of thousands, melted away like snow as soon as the political breezes changed to a milder quarter. We do not mention these proceedings as part of the real planting of Christianity in India, or even as a preparation for it; but only as events in the external religious history of the country which cannot be kept entirely out of sight.

The East India Company had existed more than a century, and no effort whatever had been put forth on the part of the Christians of England to make known the Gospel in the East. In the mean time the Danes had also formed settlements there.

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* De Nobili's Hindu name was Fatwabod Haca Swamy.

† See *Christianity in Ceylon.* By Sir J. Emerson Tennent.

Early in the last century a pious chaplain of King Frederick the Fourth impressed upon his Majesty the duty of making provision for the conversion of his Hindu subjects to the Christian religion. He at once received the royal command to seek for suitable men to undertake such a mission, and with that view wrote to Professor Franck of Halle. That eminent man laid the proposition for the distant mission before two young men, whom he thought qualified to undertake it,—Ziegenbalg and Plutschou. God gave them a heart to accept the call, and they were soon tossing in a lengthened storm on the Bay of Biscay; but they said, 'The more the storming and roaring seas broke in upon us, the more the joy and praises of God increased in our mouths.'

On July 9th, 1706, these first Protestant missionaries touched the soil of India at the otherwise undistinguished town of Tranquebar. Three years later M. Boehm, chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Anne, published in England translations of letters from the missionaries, recounting their early proceedings in translating the Scriptures, establishing schools, and attempting to preach. These he dedicated to the archbishop of Canterbury as president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which had been formed a few years before. That body soon voted £20, to encourage the missionaries, accompanied with the following prayer: 'May the Lord bless you, whom He hath counted worthy to sow the first seed of a work which in time may grow to a tree, in whose branches the birds of the air may build their nests!' This was the first act by which our own nation took any part in the attempt to Christianize India. It was tardy in point of time, and small in amount, but performed in an excellent spirit, and with a truly catholic feeling. It is plain that the Society, in connecting itself with the labours of Christians not belonging to the Church of England, did not act inconsiderately, but meant to show that union with all true Christians ought to be manifested in missionary efforts. They add, 'When all who profess the sacred name of Christ throughout the world shall draw together as members of one body in holy love, they will show forth great strength, and exercise a mighty, though secret, influence over the heathen, who then cannot but see, hear, and feel, that there is a power residing in us to which they are strangers.' Young and feeble as the mission was, three Protestant nations had already joined hands in its support. It was founded by Denmark, manned from Prussia, and encouraged by contributions from England.

With the money from England a garden was bought, at a

village called Poreiar, where a school was established. There the missionaries soon baptized a native convert, and their hearts were filled with joy and gratitude, because they were satisfied by good evidence 'that God had wrought a change of life in him.' About the same time Ziegenbalg issued the first tract, in the form of a circular letter, addressed to the heathen, remonstrating with them on their own errors, and urging them to seek salvation in Christ.

Jonas Finck, a young German, in reading the letters of the missionaries, had been touched by their inability to publish their translations, and applied himself to learn the art of printing, with a view to go to their assistance. He then offered himself to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which sent him out with a printing-press. The vessel bearing this precious freight reached Tranquebar just as the translation of the New Testament into Tamul was completed. The press arrived safely, but the printer had been buried in the waves not far from the Cape of Good Hope. The missionaries were distressed by the sight of the invaluable instrument which they were unable to use; but a Danish soldier was found who had been brought up a printer, and in a short time they sent to England a treatise on the *Method of Salvation*, which they called, 'First Fruits of the Word of God bestowed on the Heathen by their Benefactors in England.'

The German missionaries had thus inaugurated the three instruments, by which their mode of propagating Christianity was distinguished from that adopted by those who had preceded them, and which alone have been relied upon by all their successors,—the Sermon, the Book, and the School. The country whose religion they assailed with these simple instruments might be called the fatherland of false creeds. Its two great systems, Brahmanism and Budhism, count half of mankind as disciples. Its sacred books are perhaps as ancient as the Book of Genesis. Its hereditary priests are more numerous than the population of great kingdoms in Europe. With Budhist Asia on its east, and Mohammedan Asia on its west, it is religiously, as well as commercially, the keystone of the greatest and most populous continent on earth. How weak seemed the Sermon, the Book, the School, as means of regenerating such a land as this!—as weak as the preaching of Paul when all the strength of Christianity in Athens thrilled in his single voice.

On the 23rd of August, 1717, a letter left Hampton Court Palace, signed by our first George, addressing the missionaries as 'Reverend and Beloved,' expressing much interest in their work, and saying, 'You will always find us ready to succour

you in whatever may tend to promote your work and excite your zeal.' They gradually received accessions to their numbers, and their converts steadily increased. In those early days, all the features which have since marked the difficulties of missions in India were clearly developed; and the history of the struggles and sacrifices of some of the first converts is among the most touching in the annals of Christian propagation. From great joy over twos and threes, they proceeded until in one year they had 381 accessions to the church; and then, in the days of Schwarz, the Christians were counted by thousands, and the chief missionary had powerful influence with the native court of Tanjore, with the rising, struggling English government, and respect and access even at the barbarous court of Hyder Ali. The heir of the Tanjore King was placed under his instruction, and altogether the mission had gained a position that promised great things.

But two fatal causes of decay began to operate. A blight fell upon the faith of the German churches, from which the missionaries had been drawn, and they were no longer recruited by men of like mind with themselves. Very few came, and even these were left almost dependent upon English support. Within the churches themselves, the intrusion of caste had unhappily been permitted; the German missionaries, in that alone, following the evil example of the Romish ones. This anti-social institution could never be engrafted on a religion of brotherly love like Christianity. These two causes produced a decay of the German missions, during the early part of this century, which was matter of universal regret to the friends of Christianity in the East. The remnants of their flocks have now entirely passed into the hands of English Societies. Nevertheless, these patient and humble labourers did a work, the memory of which will yearly assume greater importance in Christian history. To India they introduced the printing-press, and the word of God in the mother tongue. They began way-side preaching, vernacular schools, and circulation of tracts. They trained the first native catechist, ordained the first native pastors, baptized not less than fifty thousand Hindus, and left in their annals the names of men whose graces and toils are bright examples for the future evangelists of India.

One day in November, 1758, an infant was baptized in Calcutta, one of the godfathers being Colonel Clive, then known as the victor of Plassey, and governor of Bengal; and the father being Kiernander, one of the Tranquebar missionaries who had settled in the north. This incident shows that at the foundation

of the British power in India our great men were not so timid as they afterwards became, about manifesting connexion with missions. It also calls our attention to the fact, that, while the German missionaries were quietly pursuing their labours, a change was passing upon the country which they could never have anticipated. Instead of the nominal Mogul dominion, which they found at the commencement of their operations, they saw the British Company, with a suddenness almost incredible, first shoot up into sovereignty in Bengal, and then, even before Kiernander finished his race, become the supreme power of all India. This great change materially altered the position of Christianity in the country. Thenceforth it was exhibited to the natives by a three-fold representation:—

1. A government administered by Christians.
2. A resident community professing Christianity.
3. Missionaries and their converts.

During the thirty-four years which succeeded the battle of Plassey, the representation of Christianity to our Hindu subjects was left entirely to the two former agents. In all that time not one missionary was sent. At length one approached the shores; and who was this first messenger from the Christians of England to the millions of the East? William Carey, a Northamptonshire shoemaker, whom the grace of God and a rare genius had raised into a respectable Christian minister. And how did he come? Under a foreign flag; for of all the ships of that great Company to which England had chartered the rich traffic of the East, not one would give him a passage. He and his companion Mr. Thomas supported themselves during the first few years by taking situations in indigo factories. They employed their spare time in zealous labour, first in acquiring the language, and then in preaching and translating the Scriptures. When four coadjutors arrived, they hoped to settle and form a regular mission, but were commanded to quit the British territory. The Danish flag had protected Carey on his voyage to India, and under it he and his companions now took refuge; and thus was founded the celebrated mission of Serampore. Little did our statesmen foresee that a day would come when Providence would shed honour on the memory of the Serampore refugees, by bringing forth a son-in-law of one of them as the most powerful defender of our Empire in a time of urgent danger.

During the forty years and more which elapsed from the foundation of the British power to this first establishment of British missions, how was the representation of Christianity in the East sustained by the government and the resident commu-

nity? As to the government, we do not suppose that the most zealous apologist of the old times in India will allege that it made any attempt whatever, either by word or deed, to represent Christianity. It scarcely cared to keep up its forms among its English servants. Four years elapsed after the victory of Plassey, before the single church which had existed at Calcutta previous to the Black-Hole disaster was rebuilt. The natives had never been acquainted with a government which did not invoke the name, and avow the fear, of some superior power. Every Hindu document began with an invocation; every Mussulman manifesto made solemn reference to the Great Disposer of all. But the natives now beheld rulers over them, who never seemed in any document or public act to acknowledge a power above themselves. Mankind does not believe in a nation without a religion; and it must have been taken for granted that they had one. The natives knew that they were called Christians; but their proceedings seemed to be designed to keep the fact out of sight. Lord Clive himself went to the great temple of Conjeveram, and presented the idol with an ornament worth £370. Nor was the absence of Christian zeal in any degree compensated by regard for Christian morals. No conduct can commend a faith which is concealed; but had the actions of our authorities been worthy of Christians, the natives would soon have discovered the hidden fountain of their virtues. Clive himself committed forgery in a matter so solemn as a treaty; and other public acts were marked by rapacity and bad faith. Yet, on the whole, the new government had traits of moral superiority over its predecessors, which, to some extent, commanded the favourable regards of the conquered people.

In 1793, Mr. Wilberforce succeeded in carrying resolutions in the House of Commons to the effect that 'such measures ought to be adopted for the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, as may gradually tend to their advancement in useful knowledge, and to their religious and moral improvement.' One would imagine that no men in Christendom would object to this. But it so alarmed the East India Company, that loud declamations were directed from the Court of Proprietors against these dangerous views; and the influence exerted upon Parliament was so great that the resolutions were dropped out of the Bill, which was subsequently passed.

In the mean time Mr. Place and other servants of the Company in India observed that the temples were in several cases neglected, and the festivals ill-attended. Instead of looking upon this decay of superstition as a hopeful sign, they immediately

brought the strength of the government to its support. The temple property was taken into the hands of the authorities, and conserved for temple purposes. The people were often marched to the festivals by the police. Rich presents, as the government called them,—offerings, as the natives called them,—were made to the various idols; and in the lapse of years the government assumed to the popular eye all the appearance of zealous supporters of the gods. Even Christian soldiers and officers were forced to honour vile processions with their presence, and our fortresses thundered salutes to the most disgusting idols, and that on the Lord's day at the hours of Christian worship.

The spirit from which these measures sprang, is manifested in the language of Lord Wellesley, addressed to the British resident at Lucknow. 'No proceeding can be more calculated to conciliate all classes and descriptions of people than a liberal attention to the religious establishments and charitable foundations of the country. I accordingly authorize you to take the necessary steps for affording the people of Oude the most ample satisfaction on this subject.' The conduct of the government respecting religion was based on the desire to conciliate the natives, and the fear of offending them. This they must soon have become aware of; and as no stream can rise above its source, they would naturally infer that as soon as the British power rose above the fear of offending their prejudices, it would be free, if policy dictated it, to violate their religious scruples. Hence that which was intended to be a means of conciliation, became inevitably a source of distrust.

How different would have been the impression, had our authorities at first, instead of assuming this hollow profession of neutrality, plainly stated the case as it stood!—that they were professors of the Christian religion, and would venerate and honour it before all men, and in all circumstances; that their faith differed from others in its tolerant spirit; for, whilst some religions authorized the employment of force for their own propagation, Christianity forbade it; while others permitted the use of guile, it equally forbade this, and sanctioned no means for its own dissemination but example, instruction, and persuasion. Therefore Christians could not attempt propagation by force, or stratagem, or bribery, but by their principles were compelled to protect every man in liberty to worship according to his own choice. This would have been perfectly intelligible. The natives could not believe in a nation indifferent to its own religion, and favourable to theirs. But they could well believe in a religion, the very spirit of which was tolerant, and which imposed upon its disciples the obligation of abstaining from

force against the consciences of others. A profession of neutrality is what no people can confide in, and no government can sustain. A profession of supreme regard for a religion which enforces toleration, and repudiates insincere converts, would have been first right and candid, and then a firm basis for the confidence of the natives. The 'Indians of the old school' always thought that those who blamed the hollow and suspicious profession of neutrality wanted the government to turn persecutor, or at least to assume a proselyting attitude; and, incredible as it might seem, Lord Stanley, at Lynn, only the other day, blazons this glaring piece of ignorance on his new escutcheon. Those who know better generally treat such apprehensions as merely simulated. For our own part, we should not do so; because we have great faith in the ignorance of some men on religious points.

Neutral as the government wished to be thought, Christianity influenced them in spite of themselves. Lord Wellesley could not dissociate himself from the conscience which our religion creates in favour of light and humanity. He took share in promoting the translation of the sacred Scriptures into the native tongues. When he learned of the frightful scene of infant sacrifice and self-destruction at the confluence of the Ganges with the ocean, he declared it to be 'murder punishable by law,' and sent soldiers to put it down by force. It is true that this was done under the general name of humanity; but that humanity was the religion of Christ correcting human nature, and bringing out its better parts. Humanity, unassisted by revelation, had enjoyed a finer field, and a longer time for development, on the sunny banks of the Ganges, than in the cloudy, humid isles of Northern seas. The inconsistency between this suppression of the rites of the heathen on the one hand, and the support of their temples and priests on the other, continued to follow our government, as the consequence of its temporizing profession of neutrality.

Mr. Chamberlaine, the Baptist missionary, having ventured up the Ganges to Hurdwar, was arrested, and brought back to Calcutta as a prisoner. Dr. Judson, from America, the now celebrated missionary, was deported from our shores. Carey, as we have already seen, was forced to take refuge under the Danish flag. At the same time the government had created sources of revenue in connexion with the pilgrimages and superstitions of Juggernaut, Terapati, Allahabad, and Gya. Yet, while both deriving gain from idolatry, and liberally supporting it with grants and offerings, and thus exhibiting to the natives a desire to conciliate them stronger than any religious principles

of their own, British rulers could not resist the humane tendency of Christianity. It had planted enough of mercy in their breasts to make them fight against heathenism for the sake of mankind. Measures were taken to put down infanticide in Gujerat and other parts of the country, which were attended with great success and credit to the Christian name.

At length, in 1813, arrived the period for the renewal of the Company's Charter; and then Mr. Wilberforce succeeded in carrying in Parliament the points on which he had been defeated twenty years before. Freedom was obtained for missionaries to land and labour in India, and other advantages gained which have ever since assured to them not only complete, but in almost every case cordial, protection from both the central and local authorities. Yet in 1816 regulations were passed by which no natives were permitted to hold certain responsible offices, except Hindus or Mohammedans. The effect was, as Bishop Heber has pointed out, that in Tanjore native Christians had held office so long as government remained in the hands of the heathen Rajah, but became ineligible when it fell into ours. Even chaplains were forbidden to teach the Sepoys Christianity.* In 1819 a native non-commissioned officer, who had embraced Christianity in the city of Meerut, was removed from his regiment for doing so. Still the humane influence of Christianity would assert itself. Dr. Johns of Tranquebar, and Sir Fowell Buxton, first brought to the notice of the British public the fearful rite of Suttee. Their representations were followed by many others; and at last Lord William Bentinck made Christianity triumph over Hinduism, by quenching the fatal pyre on British territory for ever. Another step in the same direction was made under his government, when it was decided that in the schools established by public authority caste should no longer be recognised. The Bible was yet, as it had been from the beginning, excluded; but though heathen books were still taught, this great heathen brand was not affixed on any child at school.

At the next period of renewing the Company's Charter, in 1833, a most important dispatch was issued, enjoining upon the government of India the duty of separating itself from connexion with idolatry. For seven years nothing was done in furtherance of this order. The local governments clung to their old habits, until large bodies of public servants, feeling their consciences aggrieved, remonstrated. Bishop Corry, at Madras, received a severe rebuke from the governor. Sir

* See Regulation xiv. of the Bengal Army. Edition of 1855.

Peregrine Maitland, the commander-in-chief, resigned his high post, rather than continue to bear part in the ceremonies to which he was obliged to send his troops. Then a serious blow was struck at the cherished connexion with idols. And still the inconsistent tendency to obey the dictates of Christian humanity manifested itself. The fearful sacrifices at Goomsur were put down; the Thugs were almost suppressed. On the other hand, the gates of the temple of Somnauth, which a Mohammedan conqueror had carried away to Cabul eight hundred years before, were brought back to India, and a pompous proclamation was issued on the occasion by the governor-general. And the statesman who was guilty of that absurdity in politics and offence in religion, is now minister for the affairs of India! In 1847, a dispatch was sent to Lord Hardinge, ordering him to forbid the civil and military servants of the government to sanction missionary proceedings in their private capacity. This attack upon the freedom of conscience of Christians excited so much indignation, that the governor-general did not even publish the document. It never saw the light till this year, when Mr. Kinnaird succeeded, by a motion in the House of Commons, in dragging it from its long obscurity.

In 1848 a boy at Nagpore, an independent native state, avowed himself a Christian, and fled to the missionaries for protection. The rajah demanded that he should be given up, as the British government were bound by treaty not to interfere with his 'disaffected subjects.' The British resident, Captain Ramsay, compelled the missionaries to surrender him, and the lad was imprisoned for 110 days. In 1849, a native gentleman of good caste, holding a situation in the Hindu College at Calcutta, having professed himself a Christian, was dismissed by the authorities. Yet, while this was going on, Christianity enforced another of its acts of justice. Native Christians were emancipated in 1850 from the disability to hold hereditary property, which had hitherto been enforced against them. In 1850, also, Mr. Graves, the principal of a government college, was told that he must either resign his appointment, or cease to receive into his house on Sundays young men who came to read the Scriptures with him in private.

The state of things at the time of the last renewal of the Charter, in 1853, may be judged by a petition which the Christian natives of Tinnivelly had sent to our Parliament.* It was never presented, because it was in the native language; but it said,—

* See the valuable pamphlet of Mr. Strachan, named at the head of this article.

'In consequence of heathens alone holding office, all low castes of the people are not allowed even to enter the cutcherry to make their complaints.....Low-caste people, such as Shanars, Pallars, Pariars, &c., were prevented from entering. When these men receive injustice, they are obliged to take their complaints in their hands, and, standing at a distance, call out, as men invoke God, saying, "Swamy, swamy." If there happen to be a benevolently disposed person at hand, he will enter the cutcherry, and announce the men's cry. Sometimes their complaint will by these means be received shortly, otherwise the men must wait a day or two before it is received. In the mean time, if the person complained of is a high-caste man, he enters, gives the officer a bribe, and evades justice; he also then makes a false complaint, and puts himself into the position of the other. Moreover, when low-caste witnesses are examined, whether in a case of wounding, beating, murder, theft, and such like, or in a case affecting lands, the witness is obliged to stand at a great distance, and if in the course of examination a high-caste man comes near, the witness is obliged to run off to a greater distance, and thus, while he says one thing, the other writes another; consequently justice fails. This state of things takes place each day in each of the thirteen Talook cutcherries.'

A Christian native of eminence thus writes to an English correspondent:—

'In the Hindu College [a government college in Calcutta] Christian natives are not allowed to receive the benefits of the educational department. This is practically putting native Christianity to an immense discount. The invidious exclusion is felt as a great grievance. I have two nephews, who, if my brother had not embraced Christianity, would have entered the Hindu College like their father and myself; but because they are Christians, they are debarred the benefit of the College. I have a third nephew, son of my sister, who with her husband is a heathen, and he is studying in the Hindu College.....But the Hindu College not only refuses to admit converts, but also expels those who, having been duly admitted, afterwards embrace Christianity.....While Brahmins and Moolahs, as ministers of their respective systems, are not disqualified for service in the educational departments, Christian ministers are so practically.....These disabilities certainly destroy that even balance which should be maintained between the different opinions which divide the population.'

During the first fifty years of the Company's reign, the profession of neutrality was maintained by forbidding Christian missionaries the country, and royally endowing heathenism. During the twenty years' Charter, from 1813 to 1833, it was maintained by feeing priests, taxing pilgrims, saluting and presenting offerings to idols; by tolerating missionaries, introducing bishops for the European community, who took part in missions, and putting down some rites of the heathen. During the next

Charter, from 1833 to 1853, by a series of inconsistent acts on one side and the other.

In 1854 a great change was made by permitting the government to give grants in aid to any schools which afforded a good secular education, even provided they were conducted on Christian principles. Yet in that same year, the Calcutta Bible Society asked permission to place the Scriptures in the libraries of government schools and colleges in the vernacular tongue, and the Council of Education refused leave. The Koran and the Shasters were there. This was followed by an enactment relieving widows who might marry again from the forfeiture of property and rights to which they had been condemned by native law. Then came a law against public obscenity; but by a special exception legalizing indecent exhibitions, *if of a religious kind.** Thus to the last a conflict was maintained between the tendency to conciliate superstition, and that to promote Christian humanity. This created the natural impression of double-dealing, and excited consequent suspicion, all of which would have been avoided by a frank avowal of Christianity on the part of the Government. It would then have shown the natives that holy precepts, held sacred by Christians, required it to put down all that was inhuman, indecent, or contrary to personal liberty, and yet to keep at the farthest possible distance from any outrage upon the consciences of its subjects. But, policy alone being its avowed rule, human nature could not confide. It was distrusted by its cherished soldiery. The ignorance of the religion professed by England was so complete in the ranks of its army, that no scheme of conversion was too absurd to be believed possible. A crisis came, when this combined ignorance and distrust could be turned to account by conspirators; and the Government had to struggle for existence.

When the rebellion broke out, document after document issued from the government of India, but not once was there a hint given that it believed in a God. At last, after anxious months, in the first dispatch of General Havelock there was an acknowledgment of the 'blessing of Almighty God,' and many felt a kind of relief. When those who are set over men seem to be unmindful that there is any Power above themselves, they shock all who are below them. The *Friend of India* terminated an article by expressing a hope that in another century India might have a Christian population. It was immediately 'warned' by the Government. Presby-

* A magistrate at Coimbatore had just fined some men for setting up obscene images in public, and received the thanks of the natives, when this precious Act appeared, to confound him.

terian chaplains were appointed, and they received special instructions not in any way to interfere with the religion of the natives. The native Christians of Krishnugur forwarded an address to the governor-general, expressing their loyalty, and saying, 'In the trouble of our government we are troubled, and with troubled minds we give our signatures to state that, in case any further troubles should arise, we native Christians in the Krishnugur district, if called on, will be ready to aid the government to the utmost of our power, both by bullock-garries and men, or in any other way in which our services may be required.' This address was never acknowledged, as such an act on the part of the government would be giving the Christians a sort of recognition as part of the legitimate community of India.

Bad as this proceeding in India was, an equally blamable one occurred at home. The Sonthals, a wild tribe of semi-barbarians, rebelled a few years ago, and committed serious depredations. A missionary of the Church Missionary Society had obtained a footing among them. The government commissioner was persuaded that the only means of really civilizing them was by Christian education of the young; he therefore proposed that on the grant-in-aid system, established in 1854, the Church Missionary Society should institute schools amongst them. This measure received the approval of the supreme government of Calcutta. The notification of it arrived in England shortly after the news of the rebellion, and orders were sent out to disallow the Christian schools, and to establish others from which the Scriptures should be excluded. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* says, that when Mr. Yule, the commissioner, received this order, he flatly refused to obey it; expressing a hope that he should see the time when a line of policy would end that made us cowards before men, and traitors before God.

At this moment the government still retains an extensive connexion with idolatry. In the *Bombay Guardian* of November 21st, 1857, it is stated that 'in the Madras Presidency there are now 8,292 idols and temples receiving from government the annual payment of £87,678. In the Bombay Presidency there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of £30,587. 10*s*. For the whole of the Company's territories there is annually expended in the support of idolatry, by the servants of the company, the large sum of £171,558.' We do not pledge ourselves to the accuracy of these statements; but we are perfectly sure that not one member of the Court of Directors knows the real extent of their

connexion with idolatry. One fearful form of Hindu inhumanity has never yet been touched. All along the course of the Ganges the sick are brought down to die, and the mud and water of the river are frequently used to shorten the life of aged or inconvenient relations. This system, called 'Ghaut murders,' could be suppressed just as the other forms of inhumanity have been; but the same class of men who foresaw danger in every humane act we have done in India are terrified at the thought of touching this. The opium trade is still a regular part of the government system in India, and one more iniquitous can scarcely be described. By a system of licensing drinking places, *and making it the interest of low officials to promote them,* the government is doing much to introduce among the natives that one vice in which our own population has specially excelled them,—that of drunkenness.

In general terms it may be said that, contrasted with Hindu or Mohammedan governments, the British power has done honour to Christianity by greater justice, truth, clemency to the conquered, bounty to fallen princes, regard for the sanctity of life and property, upright administration of justice, and in a progressive deference to humanity and a strong tendency to advance civilization and science. Heavy as are the faults that we have to find with it, and freely as we state them, we must say that if those who delight to call it worse than native governments, have never had opportunities of seeing an Asiatic government, they may be excused; but if they know what that really is, they are, to us, unaccountable.

We now proceed to consider the representation of Christianity by the RESIDENT BRITISH COMMUNITY. In the earliest days it was unfavourable to the last degree. Two institutions by which Christianity is distinguished, could hardly be said to be at all observed by the first generation of English,—the Sabbath and the family. When the good chaplain, David Brown, landed in Calcutta, the ordinary way of deciding that the Sunday had arrived, was by looking to see if the flag was flying at the fort. Instead of the Christian family, almost every gentleman was found with what more resembled the eastern harem. We have no wish to dwell on those dark days, or to sketch our countrymen at that time as alone we could honestly do. In truth and courage they strikingly excelled the natives; in one vice they flagrantly surpassed them,—intemperance. When Mr. Thomas, as a ship surgeon, inquired where he could find a man of a religious character, he was told of one who observed private devotions; but on discovering him found that he was

'horribly loose, vain, and intemperate.' He published an advertisement, asking if there were any persons who would be disposed to countenance him in endeavouring to promote Christianity. Two answers from distant places in the provinces reached him. But this state of things did not long continue. The faithful labours of Mr. Brown, of Buchanan, of Henry Martyn, of Thomason, and a number of other devoted chaplains, soon told upon the character of their countrymen. When missionaries were admitted, this good influence rapidly increased. A few began to live lives that would adorn the Christian profession in any age or nation. The many who did not imitate their piety, could not wholly resist the influence of their moral example; by degrees manners came more and more under the restraint of Christian sentiment; and concurrently with this, numbers of the resident Europeans became zealous and useful coadjutors with missionaries in diffusing true religion.

One Sunday morning, in the city of Meerut, where, on a Sunday, the late mutiny made its first outbreak, a Christian English lady might have been seen looking anxiously across a plain. She was expecting some one to read service to a little congregation that had been gathered. The lady was Mrs. Sherwood, the well-known authoress, wife of an officer. Her expected reader did not come, and her heathen servants were simpering with satisfaction at her disappointment, and advising her to dismiss the congregation, when two respectable natives made their appearance. They told the lady that they were Christians who had come from Mr. Chamberlaine, the Baptist missionary, stationed at a distance. One of these gladly read the service for her, and Mrs. Sherwood established Permanund as Christian schoolmaster at Meerut. There he drew together a little flock, and watched over them until the excellent Mr. Fisher came to take the oversight. Could we trace the *origines sacræ* of every mission station in India, in many cases they would be found due to the prayers, the piety, and the zeal of public servants.

A Frenchman named De Warren, who obtained a commission in our army, and served in India, has written a singular book. In it he bears testimony to the strange wickedness of the English officers and soldiers. His own regiment was decimated by the cholera, at its first terrible appearance. He describes the bacchanalian scenes that were enacted while they were daily dying. He even gives a mess-room song, a clever but awful song, in which death, and the dead, and the scourge, are all made matters of revel. The mad chorus sings,—

'Here's a glass to the dead already:
Hurrah, for the next that dies!'

This writer takes evident pleasure in exposing the irreligiousness of Englishmen; yet he bears a sullen and cynical testimony to the fact, that before he left the country, a wonderful change was passing over the community, and that habits of devotion and virtue were taking root. But, to the present day, much real evil exists among the resident English. Dereliction of family morality is not of unfrequent occurrence, and one such case does a thousand times more dishonour to the British name, in the eye of the natives, than outrages upon our women by barbarous mutineers or mobs. Intemperance, however, has almost disappeared, except among the soldiery, where it is still prevalent. And we doubt whether any equal number of Englishmen can be found in the world, comprising so many Christians of eminently devoted life as may be counted among the servants, civil and military, of the East India Company. For the ordinary qualities of public officers, we do not believe such a body of men exists. It is not a little to say, that in India alone more than £33,000 annually are contributed for the purposes of Christian missions. Among the victims of the mutiny have been not a few whose names were familiar to the friends of Christianity in the East.

The third and most direct representation of Christianity in India is by MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CONVERTS. On looking back, the negligence of our country in this respect almost surpasses belief. It now appears that a prophecy floated among the natives, that the British ascendancy would last a hundred years from the battle of Plassey. More than half of that term had elapsed before the residence of missionaries in the British territories was permitted by law. Previous to that time, the Serampore missionaries were living on Danish ground; and by favour of the Rajah of Tanjore, the Germans had retained the hold which they acquired before our conquests began. The name of William Wilberforce is linked with the emancipation of the Negro race in the West Indies, and with that of the Christian religion in the East. Advocates of the East India Company now gladly claim credit for the abolition of Suttee, the spread of Christianity and education in their territories, and other moral improvements. Lord Derby might with as much justice claim credit for the results of Free Trade; for acts which they vaunted in recent debates as honourable to their rule, they deprecated in former ones as certain to bring down destruction upon their heads. They were forced upon them by the power of Christian feeling in this country acting through Parliament.

Immediately after the emancipation of Christianity in 1813,

the various religious bodies began to avail themselves of their newly acquired rights, and to occupy the ground. Among those who hastened to improve the opportunity was the veteran, Dr. Coke. He had already crossed the Atlantic nine times, to found missions in the isles and continent of the New World; but with all the ardour of youth, he led forth a band to the grander sphere of the East. His happy course was ended by a sudden death at sea; but the mission he projected took root, and continues to this day. From that time to the present, the influx of the missionaries has been steady. The Americans soon came to the assistance of their English brethren. A new race of German missionaries appeared in the field, in many respects worthy of the ancient ones to whom we have before referred. The Churches of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, occupy a worthy place beside their English brethren; and no denomination of Christians of much influence is unrepresented, although the missions supported by some are comparatively weak.

It was natural that the Presidency towns should absorb a considerable portion of the missionaries; and it is well that each of these has a strong body of zealous men labouring for the diffusion of light. In the south the old ground occupied by the German missions has been overspread by the agents of the Church of England, and much more added. In Travancore, the country of the ancient native churches, very extensive missions have been established. Turning from this southernmost region, the provision becomes scantier. On the great plateau four or five stations may be found in the Mysore, and as many in the Mahratta country. A few are thinly scattered on the two border strips on the eastern and western coast. In the great territory of the Nizam, with its ten millions of people, is only one; in the great central valley of the Nerbudda, not one; in the great regions of Rajpootana and Malwa, with the noblest race of the Hindus, counting seventeen millions, not one. At Agra and its neighbourhood there were stations, and one at Delhi. None existed in the great province of Rohilcund, until within a few months of the outbreak, when one American missionary settled there. None in the whole of Oude; a very few in the Punjab and Scinde. But along the course of the Ganges, from Agra to Calcutta, several of the chief towns are occupied as stations. Between the river and the mountains on the north, and Central India on the south, lie regions almost untrodden by the foot of the missionary. It is a common thing in India to travel one hundred miles without passing any mission station, and not a difficult one to draw a line on a map from five hundred to eight hundred miles, without touching or going very

near one: and yet such line does not traverse a desert, but countries as thickly peopled as any in the world.

Considering the extent of ground yet unoccupied, it would seem as if Christianity had only begun to make her footing in India; and yet, considering the recency of the opening, and the indifference which prevailed in this country until lately, those who pleaded for missions to the East forty years ago, had no expectation of seeing them so multiplied as they are. Just enough has been done to establish our position. Every new station will serve to show the Christians of England the necessity for tens and hundreds more. For it is a law with regard to missionary as to other operations, that public interest is not proportioned to the real claims of the field, but to the power of its representatives. Fifty missionaries writing on behalf of a little island, with a few people, can produce more effect than ten writing on behalf of a fifth of our race. We therefore warn all who think that by liberal exertions they are likely to supply the demand in India, that every missionary sent forth will add to the cry for more.

As to the SUCCESS of these missions, they have had to contend with great apathy on the part of the natives; seldom with zealous enmity, except when success has awakened it. One by one they have secured converts, some of them from the lowest dregs of the people, some from the highest castes. The history of many of these is as interesting as that of any Christian converts in the world. Few perhaps are aware, that the work called the *Oriental Christian Biography* contains the names of upwards of a hundred distinguished native converts, who lived and died in the Christian faith.

Different missionaries have adopted different modes of labour, some devoting themselves to preaching in the bazaars, the streets, the fairs, the feasts, and in every place where a concourse could be found or attracted. Others, again, have devoted themselves chiefly to schools; and some of the Scotch missionaries have made this their sole method of operation. Some have laid out their principal strength in translating the Scriptures, and preparing books. We are sorry to say that good men have found time in India to conduct long controversies, as to which of all these modes was the best; one contending that those who conducted schools ought to betake themselves only to preaching; another, that preachers would produce far more effect by devoting themselves to schools. To us this has always seemed like a controversy between the infantry, the horse, and the artillery. When asked what mode of missionary operation was best for India, we have always replied, All of them. We do not know

one that is not good and useful. We thank God that good men are moved to devote themselves to various lines of action.

For our own part we would always set missionary preaching above every other kind of labour; and we think, where a man has gifts of powerful utterance and persuasion, nothing can warrant his diverting them from that great work into any other channel. But many who have not these high gifts, have others which may be blessedly useful, and ought to be encouraged to labour in the line which Providence seems to mark out specially for them.

It was no small honour to Christianity, when the first Protestant missionary (Ziegenbalg) printed the Scriptures, translated by himself, on paper of his own manufacture, with type of his own founding. From that day to this the missionaries have zealously plied the press. The labours of Carey and of Marshman take rank among the prodigies of human industry, as well as among the glories of evangelistic zeal. Other labourers in the same line have enriched ten great languages of India with the whole of God's holy word, and five more with the entire New Testament, beside portions of Scripture in some others. No less than twenty-five printing establishments are constantly working for the diffusion of religious and secular knowledge; and the extent of their publications may be judged from the fact, that the Baptist press at Calcutta has in one year printed no less than fourteen millions of pages, and the Wesleyan press of Bangalore eight millions.

In a few cases the ordinary steady and quiet progress of missions has been varied by a considerable religious movement among bodies of people. Whole districts have come under an influence by which numbers have been led at least to renounce idols, and acknowledge the true God. In Tinnivelly alone 52,000 are under Christian instruction, and no less than 17,000 scholars in schools. In Travancore, also, the converts are counted by thousands. Turning from these points of the extreme south, nothing but a few quiet and steady stations, with some converts at each, can be found in the interior on the thousand miles that must be traversed before we reach the banks of the Ganges. There, at Barasol, a remarkable awakening took place; and the result is, 1,085 persons, who steadily profess Christianity, 188 of whom are communicants and recognised members of the Church. At Krishnugur, an awakening which for a time seemed extensive, has issued in a population of 4,400 Christians, the bulk of whom are not represented by the missionaries as more than professors of our religion; but at least half are regular attendants at public worship, and the large proportion of about one-sixth are in boarding schools.

The natives who have much to do with missionaries, do not fear compulsory conversion. In the neighbourhood of every Christian station it must be well known that person after person who sounds the missionary as to the terms on which he will be admitted to baptism, finds that he not only has nothing to gain, and is not hurried, but that he is placed on probation, under instruction, and watched with jealous care, to discover that his motive is sincere, and his state of heart penitent before God. Had the Sepoys known a little of the way in which missionaries deal with promising converts, they would have had a very different view of Christianity from that given them by the temporizing course of the government. At the present moment the native Christians, though upwards of 100,000 on the whole, are so scattered over the country that, except in Tinnivelly and Travancore, they make no impression upon the ordinary observer. Yet, were these converts in a little group of islands, they would be considered a very great achievement. Those of the south are principally of a low caste, drawn from the Shanaars, but in other parts of India even the Brahmins form a fair proportion. The progressive ratio of additions to the Christian Church is well sketched in the invaluable pamphlet of Mr. Mullens, named at the head of this paper. In the ten years ending 1802, 27 native converts were received in Lower Bengal; in the ten ending in 1812, 161 were received; in the next ten years, 403; in the next ten, 675; and in the next, 1,045. When to this increase in the ratio of conversions we add the immense advance of missionaries in public influence, the power exercised by Christian books, the steady growth of the converts themselves in intelligence and character, we may rest assured the work will rapidly grow.

We have the lowest of the low already attached to the Christian Church in the poor Shanaars of Tinnivelly and Travancore. Many Brahmins are faithful and able preachers and Christian writers. Not a few who have enjoyed the benefit of a good education are devoting all their talents to promote the salvation of their fellow-countrymen. The Mohammedans and Parsees have both yielded their quota to the ranks of converts and ministers. Many of the former are among the steadiest and most intelligent native converts. The prince representing the last powerful throne which contended against us in the Punjab, has become a steadfast, and it is believed a very consistent, Christian.

One circumstance which can never be lost sight of is, that although India has a literature more ancient than any country in Europe, it has been left to the missionary to form a style of

popular and standard prose. All books of any importance were written in high dialects, unintelligible to the mass of the people; and thus the very same thing which occurred in England and Germany, has taken place in India.—The Bible becomes the first great work in which the mother tongue of the people, the language of the fireside and family stories, rises into the language of books. The two-fold result will follow,—the Bible must become endeared, and the common dialect hallowed and ennobled.—

The total results of missionary zeal can never be appreciated by mere statistical returns; for as yet the work is chiefly preparatory. Yet we think the following facts, drawn from Mr. Mullens's publication, which are of recognised authority in India, are sufficient to impress both the friends and the enemies of missions with the conviction that, considering the fears of the one, and the predictions of the other, we may wonder that so glorious and promising a beginning has been made.

'Missionary stations		313
Missionaries		395
Native ordained ministers	48	746
Native preachers called catechists	698	
Natives professing the Christian religion		112,191
Communicants		18,410
SCHOOLS.		
Vernacular schools	1,347	
English „	126	
Boarding „	93	
Girls' day „	347	
Girls' boarding „	102	
		2,015
SCHOLARS.		
In vernacular schools	47,504	
In English „	14,562	
In boarding „	2,414	
Girls' day „	11,519	
Girls' boarding „	2,779	
		78,778
Bible Societies		8
Tract and Book Societies		15
Translations of the whole Bible		10
„ New Testament		5
Printing establishments		25
Amount contributed in India for missionary purposes, in 1851		£33,500.'

Some of these items are now greater than at the time Mr. Mullens's returns were taken, but we prefer giving what has been well tested to making any new estimate. This table may,

therefore, be taken to represent the position of Christianity in India, so far as figures can represent it, as it stood before the outbreak of the mutiny.

The hurricane which has just swept over India, has necessarily had a considerable influence on the position and prospects of Missions. When it first began to rage, the tendency of our politicians to look for all their danger in the quarter of Christianity, was strongly shown. They were inclined to lay the mutiny, as they had attempted to do the Vellore one, at the door of the missionaries. Lord Ellenborough saw worlds of mischief in some imagined missionary subscription of Lord Canning. That had done it. But the position was so absurd as to be speedily abandoned, and a reaction set in. Now, with the exception of a class incurably committed to the olden notions, there are few who do not believe,—what has been from the beginning asserted in this journal,—that ignorance of Christianity alone exposed the government to misconception, and the Sepoys to panic. For this the temporizing of the government was entirely to blame. That kept the very representatives of Christianity out of the British territories for half a century.* Up to the last it kept them from the Sepoys. It kept the government in an anxious attitude, repressing its own religion with one hand and patronizing the native one with the other, which could never be ascribed to any other motive than a sense of weakness.

One result of the rebellion is the proved existence of native Christians. Before the late occurrences, it was common to find returned Indian officers, who were prepared with perfect truth to say they had never known a native Christian, and therefore with perfect confidence to affirm that none existed. They all could tell the story of a native in a court of justice, who, when asked by an English magistrate what caste he was of, said that he was of the same caste as master; and when asked what he meant, he said, 'Me eat beef, me drink brandy, me say —— ——, and so me same caste as master.' Many respectable 'Indians' really believed that no native Christians existed but a few of this type.

During the insurrection, however, accounts came that in several places the native Christians were murdered with the Europeans. At Bareilly, at Delhi, native preachers were among the victims of the mutineers. At Umritsur, a native pastor was invited to remove for safety when the Christians were abused,

* The admission of chaplains was unavoidable; and some of them, as Brown, Buchanan, and Martyn, did missionary work.

and told that their days were numbered. But he exhorted his people not to fear them that killed the body, but to fear God; and for his own part said, that he would rather die in his own house than flee. At Allahabad, Gopanath Mundi endured torments with unshaken fidelity, repeating, 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely, for My sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.' This was the man whom Ensign Cheek, himself at the point of death, encouraged to maintain his Christian profession. Two catechists of the Church Missionary Society were located in a village in a district scoured by plunderers and murderers. The missionaries at Benares, twelve miles distant, invited them to come in for protection; but the villagers pledged themselves to defend them, and their labours continued throughout the revolt. At Goruckpoor was a village of two hundred native Christians. All the Europeans removed, but a Hindu rajah guaranteed protection to the Christian village and all the mission property. He signed a list, and gave it to the missionary on his departure, that all might be safely delivered up again when the trouble should be over. The green flag was soon hoisted upon the residency, and the place occupied by the Oude mutineers. But the Christians remained in safety in their village for many weeks, till the Mohammedan officer in charge drove them away. At Agra, when the native Christians presented themselves, five hundred in number, for admission to the fort, such was the dread of treachery from all classes of natives that they were at first refused admission. But when the heathen servants of the European residents deserted them, they were thankful to accept the willing help of the converts. Between two and three thousand native Christians were living in the disturbed districts. Of these, a large number have met their death faithfully as Christians, and a very few were reported to have apostatized, even in the most trying circumstances. One who had declared himself a Mussulman to save his life, came himself to the missionaries to disclose and lament his weakness.

We have already alluded to the fact, that the converts of Krishnugur sent in a loyal address to the government at Calcutta: those at Tinnivelly did the same to that of Madras. One great and successful governor, whom the whole nation recognises as the man to whom, after the army, we are most indebted for the preservation of India, Sir John Lawrence, has adopted the well-known recommendation of Mr. Montgomery, that native Christians should not as heretofore be excluded from

the public service, but stand on equal terms with their fellow-subjects of other creeds.

After all this, it was impossible to deny the existence of native Christians. It is perfectly true that worthy captains and colonels never met with them; and equally true that the same gentlemen, during an equal residence in England, never saw a Sunday School, or a Ragged School, and yet these things exist.

Neither is it longer possible to deny the sincerity of the native Christians, any more than their existence. On this point much has been proved even to the missionaries themselves. While speaking with great satisfaction and confidence of some of the converts, they have always spoken with diffidence of great numbers, not so much from distrust of their sincerity, as from fear of their weakness. Few of them would have predicted that in a trial so terrible the conduct of these disciples would have been so firm. Native Christianity has taken a new position in India. It has asserted its existence, and proved its sincerity by martyrdom. It has won the confidence of Europeans, as the only real bond of union that ever can exist between a Hindu and an Englishman, the only one that will stand the shock of any great political convulsion. It has gained for itself a right of way on the high road of public life.

Providence has conspicuously honoured Christian men during the rebellion. Not to speak of civilians, whose names, though familiar in India, are not so here, we will allude to military men. When Delhi became the seat of a rebel Emperor, three places were as keystones to the country. If anything went wrong at Peshawur, the Punjab would be in a flame, and the Affghans upon us. It was not only preserved, but made a tower of strength, by Cotton and Edwardes. If Lucknow fell, the whole North-West was gone. It was held by Sir Henry Lawrence. If Hydrabad rose, all the South would have been disturbed. General Coffin was enabled to keep it peaceable. Thus men, known as staunch friends of Christianity, served the state in the very positions on which all depended. Then in the field, the two whose names shone brightest were Nicholson and Havelock; the one a young Christian, the other an old saint.

Honour has been put not less markedly on a Christian course of policy, than on personal piety. In the Punjab the height of the conflict was signalized by a manly declaration, that Christians were to be as well treated as other people, and that Caste was to rule no longer. Sir John Lawrence has been rallied round by natives, extolled by his fellow-countrymen, and hailed at home as the governor to whom we owe the most. At Calcutta the Christians were not acknowledged, and even Almighty

God was not named till the government was forced to proclaim a fast. Lord Canning fell into disesteem. A strong government could hardly defend him in the House of Lords; a relative was raised to office to aid them, and his presence in the Cabinet was a chief cause of its destruction. We do not attempt to connect these facts as natural cause and effect; but they bear out the rule, *Them that honour Me I will honour.* Nor do we at all set up a contrast between the private views and character of Lord Canning and Sir John Lawrence. We allude only to public acts.

The great question now comes as to what course is to be taken in future for the promotion of Christianity in India. There are three distinct spheres of operation,—direct evangelistic efforts, education, and influence exerted upon government to secure a policy more accordant with Christian principles. As to the first of these, evangelistic efforts, surely the interest which late events have awakened, will not pass away till we see such an increase of the numbers of missionaries, as shall place them hereafter upon an eminent vantage-ground. Were every society to double the number of its agents at once, the field would not be half occupied. Millions are going down into heathen graves, who were born British subjects, but have never heard the Gospel. Tens of millions are learning the first lessons of religion from heathen sources, near whom is no one to teach them a holier faith. We hear from many sides the urgent cry that labourers should be sent forth into the harvest,—a cry which all Christians ought to carry on bended knees to the throne of heavenly grace.

In the extensions which will take place, we should strongly advise that every society keep its stations within a reasonable distance of one another. We do not so much mean that a number of missionaries are to be settled in one town, although in large places we are far from objecting to that. But we would urge that every new station taken up be, as a rule, within a reasonable distance of existing ones, so that each may be a support to others; that, in cases of itinerating journeys, they may be able to act in concert; and when one station loses a man by failure of health, support may be at hand in another. We would lay it down as a rule, that there should never be a solitary missionary on a station. If an exception be ever made, it should be where there was a resident English community; but even there it is very undesirable. We should also say that no young missionary should ever spend any part of his first two years in an European station. Let those precious moments of fresh energy and zeal be passed entirely among the natives, and

with a colleague who knows them and their tongue. A knowledge of the language will be thus easily acquired, and the mind be formed to sympathize with the people. Again, we should say, let no station ever be given up. No matter how long it may continue barren, how great the discouragements, how many failures of health; when once the missionary has broken ground, it ought to be held with an unfaltering tenacity.

We should add, that a missionary ought never to quit the field, unless Providence removes him from it by loss of health. We do not mean that he should never return to Europe to recruit; for this we believe to be so useful, both in prolonging his days, and in refreshing his spirit, that we should advise it once in every ten years. Our point is that his mission ought to be the business of his life. The late venerable Bishop of Calcutta said, 'Where should a bishop die, but in his diocese?' and in that diocese his dust now reposes. And where should a missionary die but on his field of toil? There his dust will have a value that it would not have elsewhere. We have sometimes felt, in looking on a missionary's grave, among the promiscuous mounds of our own cemeteries, as if ashes which elsewhere would have been precious seed, were lying here fruitless as common clay. And in India did a man toil for his whole life, without seeing one blade springing, he might lay him down at last in sure and certain hope that hereafter such a harvest would grow around his grave, as would make the memory of the first sowers for ever blessed.

In EDUCATION, as in evangelistic labour, we have only to recommend extension and thorough working of the present plans. English schools, and a high range of education in Presidencies and principal towns, have a value that cannot be over-rated; yet it is only the fire-side language that can be made the instrument of a reformation in the very depths of society. Good vernacular and English education are helpful one to the other. Villagers, well educated through the medium of their own tongue, will acquire a taste for the knowledge contained in English books; and, moreover, will have a mental training fitting them to learn a new language twice as easily as they could have done in other circumstances.

We have also a strong impression of the great value of adapting the Roman character to writing and printing the native languages. Until the period of the alphabetical conferences, held at the residence of Chevalier Bünsen, before he left this country, we believed that the strange sounds of Indian languages could not be represented by our own alphabet. We then became satisfied that they could; and the difference in the facility

of learning to read and write, and in the cost of printing, is such as to justify every attempt to substitute this character for the native ones. The Hindus have conferred a great benefit on Europe by supplanting the old system of arithmetical notation in clumsy Roman letters, by their own simple and beautiful invention of what we call the Arabic numerals. To us it would be terrible to think of keeping accounts in the same numbers as we put on the dials of our clocks. And yet that was the only method our forefathers had before the Hindu invention was adopted.* As they have conferred this benefit on us, we may slowly, and in the course of centuries, confer upon them a similar one, in a small manageable alphabet, easily written, and cheaply printed. Among the many debts which education in India will owe to Sir Charles Trevelyan, not one of the least will be due to his efforts in this respect.

A new Society has just been formed of Christians of various denominations, with a view to promote vernacular education in India, by the formation of training colleges for teachers and the preparation of books. It is often said that you need care little who makes the laws of a people, if you can make their ballads. It might be said with still greater truth, that if you can make the schoolmasters and school-books of any people, you have their future history in your own hands. This is the object of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India; an object worthy of the labour of our greatest thinkers, worthy the most princely liberality that Christianity itself can suggest.

A preacher for every town, a school for every village, a Bible for every reader! This is what we demand for India. But of whom? Not of man. Were the resources of all the Societies multiplied ten times, they could not cover India with mission stations for several generations to come. Only here and there can missionaries be placed. The school may be advanced faster than the station. Each missionary may surround his central place with a number which he could occasionally inspect and influence. A ray, however faint, rather than one unbroken body of darkness! Again, the Book may be sent where neither station nor school can be created. There is but one thing which according to any human calculation can be done by the Christians of England for all India, within this generation; that is, to send the word of God to the door of every man who can read. In thirty years this could be done. Many would wait for mission stations before they did any thing. They do not value them more than we; but we would do what we could, and wait

* What a difference between 777 and DCCLXXVII, or between 333 and CCCXXXIII!

for what remained. The good men who would not circulate Bibles, because it is better to send missionaries, seem to us like merchants who would not send samples, because it is better to sell cargoes. What plea for more missionaries so telling as that people from some dark neighbourhood, having read the word of God, were crying, 'How can we understand except some man guide us?' It is now ten years since a proposal to attempt placing a portion of Scripture in the hand of every reader in India was laid before the British and Foreign Bible Society. It has been much talked about, and some would say that much has been done. To us it seems nothing, and is nothing, compared with what might have been. The preacher for every town, the school for every village, are beyond the range of human plan, and, as possibilities, lie hidden under the horizon of the future. The Bible for every reader is within human reach, and would create loud calls for the other two. By the deliberate will of good men, the effort to give it is unattempted.

As to the future influence of government upon Christianity in India, it must be admitted that considerable alarm has been felt at the appointment of Lord Ellenborough as minister for Indian affairs. That nobleman, with great abilities, has failed to establish a character for candour in judging of matters of morality and religion: he has given the public an impression that on such questions he has a decided and very dangerous bias. He has even gone so far as to indicate opinions hostile to education, or at least to education as sanctioned by the dispatch of 1854, establishing the grant-in-aid system. The further probability of Lord Stanley becoming governor-general is broadly intimated; an appointment to which the religious public will look with very serious misgivings. Nothing in his lordship's past acts has shown much respect for Christian institutions at home; nothing in his recent speech at Lynn gives ground to anticipate an impartial course towards Christianity, if placed in power in India.

Leading friends of the East India Company now say that the religious public has destroyed it. Its own irreligiousness destroyed it. Any similar course will assuredly bring a similar end. The governors who will obstruct the natural and free advancement of truth, must expect to be swept out of the way by a power greater than they. They may turn, in their astonishment, and blame those who warned them of their error, as the cause of their downfall.

In every form in which public opinion makes itself heard in

this country, let it be called forth. Even men who mean well, like Mr. Mangles, choose, in the House of Commons, to affect an air of great superiority to the out-door public, and to deprecate the violent and ignorant interference of the platform and the pulpit. We do not expect that men will feel so strongly as they ought to do on this great question, without saying on the platform, and in Parliament, too, both unguarded and incorrect things; but the East India Company claims credit for measures which were forced upon them by the platform and the pulpit. We would deprecate in the strongest manner any unguarded, fanatical, or unreasonable expression on the part of the religious public. On the other hand, we trust that both platform and pulpit, both magazine and newspaper, both tract and volume, will utter, and reiterate again and again, the sentiments of a Christian people, until our rulers at home, and our representatives in India, feel that their path of duty is made plain for them,—that they may not go wrong, if they would. Even men in remote provinces in the East, holding kingly power in their single hand, and apparently taking counsel from nothing but their own strong will, are, as we have good reason to know, influenced to an extent which they would be slow to acknowledge, and the public slow to imagine, by the current of opinion in England.

Suppose that during the May Meetings of last year the directors of the various Missionary Societies had met to consult upon the extension of their efforts in India. What would have been thought of one who said, 'We must find a plan to excite such a public interest in the subject, that before next May the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel shall come forward with a proposal to double the number of its missionaries; the Church Missionary Society originate a special fund, and receive £20,000; the London Society propose to send out twenty men in two years, and the Wesleyan ten in one; the Baptist and the Bible Society contemplate extension; and a new Society be formed for providing schoolmasters and school-books in the native languages?' The interest which could not have been raised by a whole host of human agents running to and fro, has been awakened by the echo of a single footstep in the solemn march of Providence.

ART. II.—*Oriental and Western Siberia: a Narrative of Seven Years' Explorations and Adventures in Siberia, Mongolia, the Kirghis Steppes, Chinese Tartary, and Part of Central Asia.* By THOMAS WILLIAM ATKINSON. London. 1858.

WITH the exception of Dr. Livingstone's recent work, we have found the books of travel issued of late to be of an inferior staple, and by no means sustaining the interest which might naturally be expected from the countries to which they relate. In the handsome volume before us we are glad to recognise another exception to this dreary rule. Its intrinsic value fully corresponds to its external beauty; and that is saying much for a work so sumptuously printed and illustrated. The interest which it excites depends mainly on the novel scenes and adventures it recounts; but much also is due to the simple and unpretending manner in which Mr. Atkinson narrates what he has seen and suffered. There is no attempt at fine writing, no indulgence of sentiment, nor any affectation of style and manner to detract from the reader's cordial admiration.

Our traveller's field of observation was remarkably wide, extending from Kokhan on the west to the eastern end of the Baikal Lake, and as far south as the Chinese town of Tchin-si; including the immense mountain chain Syan-shan, never before seen by any European, (as far as we can learn,) as well as a large portion of the western part of that sandy desert called Gobi, over which Ghenghiz Khan marched his wild hordes towards the west; (scenes on which no pencil has been previously employed;) comprising, in the whole, in carriage, by boats, and on horseback, travels to the extent of 39,500 miles in the course of his seven years' absence.

Having obtained the Russian Emperor's special permission to travel and sketch, Mr. Atkinson quitted St. Petersburg for Moscow. We must not tarry on the road to Kazan, even to depict our author's sudden overturn, and the extrication of his postilion from deep snow, out of which only his two legs protruded, serving as convenient handles for his restoration to a proper posture and his post as charioteer. Nor can we long delay to make the ascent of the Katchkanar, a lofty mountain, many of the crags of which stand up like crystals, some not less than one hundred feet high, composed of regular courses, with pure magnetic iron ore between their beds, varying from one inch to four inches thick. In some places, cubes of iron project from the solid rock, three and four inches square; and again, in

other portions of these rocks, the whole mass seems to be iron, or other mineral. After much labour, our traveller attained and sat upon one of the highest pinnacles, with his feet dangling over, in which position he began writing a note to a friend. Thence the view to the east, looking into Siberia, was uninterrupted, until all was lost in blue vapour. The summit of the Katchkanar is evidently a mountain in ruins, the softer parts being removed by the hand of time, leaving the harder portions, or vertebræ of the mountain, standing like a huge skeleton: seen at a distance, these portions often assumed the most fantastic and picturesque shapes. The descent was not an easy matter, and at first much more difficult than climbing up. No comfortable hotel awaited the adventurous mountaineers after their fatigues; but, contenting themselves with exposed and rocky beds, our author and his companions for the time lay down at night, and slept soundly till near three o'clock in the morning, when the icy blast of a gale of wind awakened them, and impelled them to seek shelter in a forest at the foot of the mountain, where, at six o'clock, they were sitting under some cedars before a huge blazing fire.

As we journey on, the summit of the Great Blagodat comes into view, and is seen from all the vicinity as far as the eye can reach. On this summit there is a small wooden chapel, and a tomb erected to the memory of a Vogul chief, named Tchumpui, who was sacrificed and burned on these metallic rocks by his ferocious countrymen, for the crime of discovering the mines of magnetic iron ore to the Russians. A more appropriate spot could not have been selected for this horrible immolation; and when the smoke of that fearful sacrifice curled up around the mountain top, in black or half-illuminated wreaths, thousands of the wild men made the hills and the rocks resound with shouts of vengeance and execration.

We have arrived with the author at the great district of the Ourals or Urals, a mountainous range from which the Russian treasury has derived immense resources as the result of mineral and metallic excavations. There are found those large masses of 'malachite,' or green carbonate of copper, from which are fashioned the beautiful vases and ornaments which adorn the palaces of Russia. Most visitors to our Great Exhibition of 1851, in Hyde Park, will remember the splendid doors formed from this mineral, and ultimately purchased by our English Crœsus, Mr. Hope, for his mansion in Piccadilly. These, and a magnificent vase in Windsor Castle, are composed of the malachite of the Oural. The most wonderful mass of this mineral ever discovered was seen by Sir R. I.

Murchison before the wedge and hammer had mutilated its form.*

Mr. Atkinson was told that this whole mass was likely, when extracted, to produce about (20,000 poods, or) 720,000 pounds of beautiful solid malachite, worth at least £170,000. Those who inquired, as we did, the prices of some of the small masses of Siberian malachite in our Great Exhibition of 1851, will not be surprised at the extraordinary value of the enormous mass above described.

We are now upon the vast estate of the Demidoffs, a family famous for wealth in Russia; and we read that it contains 3,095,700 acres, which nearly equals our own large county of Yorkshire. Here Nature has been bountiful, at least in the distribution of her minerals; for the iron and copper ores appear to be inexhaustible. Platinum and gold are found in the upper valleys; and, besides malachite, there is an abundance of porphyry and jasper of great beauty when polished, with various coloured marbles. The forests of the Demidoffs extend over more than ten thousand square versts, which are thickly covered with timber. These forests are under the supervision of intelligent officers, whose duty it is to have them cut down in proper succession. It requires a space of eighty years to reproduce timber suitable for the use of the neighbouring towns and works.

Nijne Tagilsk, the principal *zavod,* or manufacturing establishment, of the Demidoff family, has a population of twenty-five thousand souls, and stands in a picturesque situation in the valley of the river Tagil, comprising many elegant buildings of brick and stone, a fine church, and a superior and spacious edifice in which the administration of mines is carried on. There are also smelting furnaces, forges, rolling mills, machine shops, and other works, with their machinery on a magnificent scale. The various machines and tools are of the best description, some being from the first manufactories in England. Others are made in the works, under the superintendence of a very talented young engineer, a native of Tagilsk, who had spent several years in one of the best establishments in Lancashire. Anatole Demidoff spares no expense in educating those young men of Tagilsk, or of any other of his towns, who show any talent for geology, mineralogy, or mechanics. He has sent several to England and France, allowing them ample means, and affording them every opportunity for pursuing their studies. To some he has already given their freedom, and many of his people in

* See Sir Roderick Murchison's *Geology of the Oural.*

Tagilsk have become wealthy. He has also employed some of the most eminent scientific men of Europe to survey and examine the mines and minerals in these regions. Both iron and copper are worked in this town on an extensive scale; and near it there lies an inexhaustible quantity of magnetic iron ore, in an enormous mass about eighty feet thick, and extending about four hundred feet in length. Formerly a great difference of opinion existed among scientific men respecting the origin of this mound of iron ore, but it is now agreed that masses of ore originally flowed into the valley from fissures in the adjacent hill.

We accompany our author to Ekaterineburg, the capital of the Oural district. Some large mansions strike the stranger on entering it, and one in particular, built by a very rich man, who accumulated immense wealth from gold mines, and built this vast edifice, imposingly situated, and commanding views of the Oural far to the north and west, until lost in the haze of distance. But, notwithstanding his enormous wealth and elegant mansion, the owner was punished and banished for flogging some of his people to death: another man, implicated in his crime, shared his punishments. Strange to say, these cruel floggers of the poor and unfortunate peasants had themselves risen to fortune from the condition of peasants. There are many other beautiful mansions of honourable men in the capital of the Oural. The rooms are spacious, lofty, and elegantly finished, their decorations executed with taste, and their furniture luxurious. With many of the fortunate tenants of these mansions, their mode of living equals the splendour of their houses; and attached to most of them are large conservatories, in some of which are very choice collections of tropical plants and flowers, such as few would expect to find in so severe a climate.

Nearly in the centre of the town, a high embankment is carried across the valley of the Issetz; and at this point stand the mechanical works belonging to the government. They are built on an enormous scale, and fitted up with machinery and tools from the best makers in England. Here are found Nasmyth's steam-hammer, large lathes, planing machines, with punching, drilling, grooving, and slotting machines for every purpose. The entire arrangement of this establishment has been carried out, regardless of expense, under the superintendence of a good practical English mechanic, who has served the government for about fifteen years. He executed the whole of the excellent machinery of the mint, in which copper money is coined annually to a large amount, and thence sent into Russia. The furnace for smelting gold is in a building con-

nected with the mint, to which all the precious metals found in the Oural are brought, and, when smelted and cast into bars, are sent to St. Petersburg. Near to these works stands the Grauilnoï Fabric, the building in which the jasper, porphyries, avanturine, and other valuable ornamental stones found in the Oural, are formed into columns, pedestals, vases, and tables, unrivalled in workmanship either in ancient or modern times. The jaspers are found in a great variety of colours; the most beautiful being a deep green, dark purple, dark violet, grey, and cream colour; also a ribbon jasper with stripes of reddish brown and green. The porphyries are equally fine and varied, and some exhibit brilliant colours. There is a beautiful stone named orlite, of a deep pink colour, with veins of yellow and black: when made into vases, it is semi-transparent. The vases are usually of the most classic design, and, being formed out of the choicest stones, they present a remarkably fine appearance, especially as they are seen in the splendid collections at the imperial palaces in St. Petersburg. Magnificent jasper tables are made in the same locality, inlaid with different coloured stones, in imitation of birds, flowers, and foliage. On one of these four or five men had been employed for six years; nor is this an uncommon period, while some inlaid tables have required a still longer time for their completion. In England the cost of the labour alone would have prevented this construction, while in Ekaterineburg the wages are exceedingly small. Mr. Atkinson saw a man engaged in carving foliage on some of the jasper vases in a style not excelled anywhere in Europe, whose wages were just *three shillings and eightpence per month*, with thirty-six pounds of rye flour per month, for making bread, meat being an unknown luxury. Another workman, at the same wages, was cutting a head of Ajax, after the antique, in jasper of two colours, (the ground a dark green, and the head a yellowish cream colour,) in very high relief, for a brooch. It was a fine production of art, and in any other country in Europe would have raised the man to a high position. Men who receive a like paltry payment are employed in cutting the emerald, topaz, amethyst, aquamarine, and other precious stones, with perfect accuracy and with excellent taste; and some of these very specimens of their work adorn the person of Imperial Majesty. The rate of wages paid to the superintendents and workmen in the cutting and polishing works is as follows:—two superintendents, or master workmen, receive about £11 sterling *per annum*, and their 'black flour' (rye). There are also one hundred and sixty workmen, divided into four classes; those of the first class receiving 3*s*. 8*d*. per month,

the second 2*s.* 9*d.*, the third 1*s.* 10*d.*, and the fourth class, consisting chiefly of boys, 11*d.* per month, all of these having also their allowance of black bread.

The general board for the direction of the mines consists of a great number of government officers, who live in Ekaterineburg with their families. At present the chief of the Oural is a general of artillery, nearly all the iron works belonging to the crown having been employed for many years past in casting and boring large guns, casting shot and shells, and preparing other munitions of war. It is not improbable that many of the guns mounted to defend Sebastopol came from this district. A 'berg inspector,' or chief director of the mines, exercises great authority, and was, at the time of our author's visit, one of the most intelligent mining engineers in the empire.

Should a traveller from the most civilized parts of Europe visit these regions to gratify his curiosity, he would find a very remarkable difference between the style of living among the wealthy Siberians and the similar classes of his own country. He would see the ladies handsomely clad in dresses made from the best products of the looms of France and England; and would be welcomed on all occasions, and at the fireside, with a generous hospitality seldom met with in foreign countries. If asked to dinner, he would find placed upon the table a repast that would not disgrace the best European hotels. Fish and game of many kinds are most abundant, nor are luxuries, from far distant regions, wanting. Wines of the finest quality, and in great variety, are commonly found at table; and the only drawback to comfort named by Mr. Atkinson is, the quantity of champagne he was obliged to drink,—a complaint we never before met with in any traveller's note-book.

Their balls and dancing are elegant, and conducted with great propriety; but the vice of card-playing for money is very prevalent. Old and young seem to be much addicted to gambling, and a young officer shot himself on account of his losses at cards while our author was in the Oural. The fair sex pass much of their time at card-playing; and in one family of eleven children, there is not a day in the year on which their mother spends less than five or six hours at cards, unless prevented by sickness; and when once she sits down to the card-table, husband and children are completely neglected and forgotten. Another lady passes her days, and most of her nights, at cards. She has her daily rounds, and repairs with as much punctuality and constancy to her haunts as any merchant to his counting-house. At ten o'clock in the morning her tables are opened, and the cards placed. If no one calls, she proceeds to the house of

friend after friend, successively gaming with each till dinner-time. After dinner she sleeps a couple of hours, and then awakes fresh for her favourite pursuit, which she continues all the evening. This lady, having heard of the arrival of a rich gentleman at Ekaterineburg, who was a famous card-player, requested a particular friend to arrange a meeting with him at dinner. Dinner was no sooner removed than down they sat to cards, and played throughout the evening with varied success, until the lady arose delighted as the winner of a large sum. She, however, invited her opponent to play the next day; after some demur he consented, but she then lost all. Nothing daunted, she urged the winner to defer his intended journey for twenty-four hours, as her half-year's income would arrive by the post on the following morning. But even then some formality prevented her obtaining the cash: this difficulty being surmounted, she returned with the greatest eagerness to the card-table, from which she only arose when every farthing of her half-year's income was lost!

A singular circumstance was narrated to our traveller in connexion with the gems of the Oural. About twenty-five or thirty years since, several fine crystals of emerald were discovered by some children at play, and were tossed about in their parents' cottage for a considerable time before they were recognised to be gems. At length they were sent to Ekaterineburg and were splendidly cut, as they were found to be gems of rare beauty. As all precious stones found in Siberia are the property of the Emperor, they ought to have been sent to the imperial palace, but they never reached it; for, being sent into Germany, they were bought by a prince of one of the first reigning families, whose consort, some years afterwards, visited the court of Russia, and then adorned her person with these rare gems. So surpassing was their lustre and size that the Empress of Russia inquired whence they were obtained. To her great astonishment, she learnt that they came from Siberia. Officers were immediately dispatched to search the works and houses at Ekaterineburg. Several valuable gems were discovered in the house of the director of the Grauilnoï Fabric, which he vainly declared to have been retained there for safe custody. He was sent to prison, and died there after many years' confinement. In the locality it is still believed that the director was innocent, and that parties much nearer his Imperial Majesty were the true thieves. Since this period few emeralds of great value have been discovered; but Eastern Siberia still furnishes very fine aquamarines, and valuable specimens of the topaz, beryl, and chrysoberyl are discovered in different parts, and very skil-

fully cut and worked. The amethysts are generally far superior to those from Brazil. Some of the jasper paper-weights are fashioned with a bunch of grapes in amethyst, with foliage on the top, serving as a handle.

The gold mines in this part of our traveller's route are not at present very important, and did not, therefore, receive much of his attention; although it is probable that he did not examine with the careful eye of a mineralogist; nor did he advance so far north as Beresov, the site of the principal gold mines, and which was visited by Adolph Erman. We have given the produce of gold from the ores of Beresov in a previous article.* From the volume before us we learn that in 1824 the Emperor Alexander I. visited the Oural and the different *zavods* (or works) belonging to the crown and to private persons. The gold mines received his Majesty's attention; and in the valley of Zarevo-Alexandroffsky, where alone large pieces of fifteen pounds' weight had been found, the Emperor began to dig for gold with his own hands. After delving for somewhat more than an hour, his Imperial Majesty's arms, hitherto accustomed to wielding the sceptre only, resigned the spade, having thrown out a quantity of sand from which some gold was washed in small grains. It happened that a workman continued the excavation which the Emperor had begun, and, at a depth of only two feet from that at which his Majesty had left off digging, found a lump, or nugget, weighing more than twenty-four pounds. A small pyramid was erected to commemorate these events. The peasant who discovered the large mass was made free by the late Emperor Nicholas, and enjoyed a pension for life. These mines continued to be worked with great success for many years; and in 1843 another large nugget was discovered at no great depth, under one of the old buildings. Years before they had excavated all around it, little dreaming of the treasure over which the workmen daily trampled. The mines were still successfully conducted in 1853, in the alluvium containing the gold, as it covered small hills, to the depth, in some places, of not more than twelve inches above the rocks. The workmen were there stripping the rocks of this thin alluvial covering, and sending it, together with their gold-bestudded garments, to the washing machines.

Less than half a century previously this quiet little valley was smiling in verdant beauty, covered with a rich green turfy carpet, bespangled with many a blossom, while various flowering and other shrubs grew in knots, amongst which the wild deer wan-

* See *The London Quarterly Review*, No. XV., (April, 1857,) p. 73.

dered with her fawn, cropping the young shoots and sporting fearlessly in every glade. The thirst for gold led man to this scene of quiet and beauty, and he began to root up the earth from every crevice, sweeping the rocks, and finally leaving them bare and unsightly. But even skilful man and his doings have their appointed time, and the mighty sovereign who dug up this golden dust has himself returned to dust; and the small pyramid, built little more than thirty years ago, has fallen into decay, so that scarcely a relic of it now remains. A more lasting monument has been erected in its place,—a granite basement, with an arched recess on one side, closed by a pair of iron doors, wherein is placed a table, on which stands a small box, containing some of the very grains of gold dug up by the hands of Majesty. The shovel and pickaxe used by the Emperor rest beside the box, and above them hangs the picture of a saint. On the top of the granite basement is placed a cast-iron pedestal, and above this rises a Corinthian column, surmounted by an excellent bust of the Emperor Alexander I.

In this country, the fame of a certain Anna Petrovnaia led Mr. Atkinson to desire and form her acquaintance. Never, certainly, was a lady better entitled to the designation of the female Nimrod. Her conquests were not *men*—but *bears!* At this time she was about thirty-two years of age, neither tall nor stout; but her step was firm, and she was strong and active, while her countenance was soft and pleasing. Sprung from a family of famous hunters, she herself early in life displayed a strong love of the chase. Having been taught to use the rifle, many wolves and other animals fell by her hands. Whenever bear-skins were brought home by the different members of her family, her passion for the chase was strengthened. One day a large black bear had been seen by one of her brothers, and was spoken of in her presence, when a plan of campaign against the bear was arranged by the men. The next morning, before any of the household were astir, Anna put on her hunting gear, saddled a horse, slung a rifle over her shoulder, and rode away into the forest spoken of by her brother, secured her horse, and penetrated on foot the thick and tangled wood. Hour after hour did she wander in vain; but, satisfied that she was on the track of the animal, she pursued her way until she arrived at a bed of high plants that included the giant fennel, of the flowers of which bears are very fond. As she was creeping cautiously along the edge of this bed, out rushed the black bear with a loud growl, about twenty yards in front. Instantly she threw forward the prongs of her rifle, dropped on one knee, got a good sight, and, while the

animal stared at her almost motionless, she drew the trigger. Savage was the growl which followed, and severe the struggle for a minute or two, and then the huge beast lay dead at her feet. Stripping the skin from the carcase, she hastened home, and astonished her family by throwing it upon the floor of the cottage. Since this period Anna has killed *sixteen bears!*

Much as the Russians pride themselves upon 'Holy Russia,' they are not insensible to the superior skill of Englishmen, especially in the mechanical arts. Hence English mechanics have from time to time been employed even in this remote country. Some of them have become celebrated for their eccentricity, and their names will be handed down through many generations in connexion with the works. A remarkable and tragical tale appertains to an Englishman named Major, who had been engaged, while a young mechanic, by the Russian government in the reign of the Emperor Paul. He spent a long life in Ekaterineburg, constructing many machines, which, rude as they were, were of great value in the mining districts. His pay was liberal, living was cheap, and Major maintained a good establishment. He was kind and good-natured to the workmen, thus gaining their esteem, while his eccentricity afforded them an unfailing fund of amusement. In language he established a jargon peculiarly his own. In giving his instructions he would begin in Russ, add a few words of German, then put in a scrap of French, and afterwards glide into an English sentence, terminating with a thundering oath.

His habits, like his language, were odd enough. When dressing in the morning, he invariably put on three pairs of stockings, and a pair of wide Russian boots over them. Thus prepared, he would sally forth to inspect machinery; and the first soil or rust-spot he discovered upon any part of it, was the signal for him to call for the engineer, and to rate him in his own impressive polyglot. This rating being exhausted, he would sit down, pull off his boot, and draw off the first stocking; with this he would himself wipe away the soil or stain. Forth he would then sally to another machine, draw off another stocking, and renew his cleaning activity. A third machine might demand the third stocking, and it obtained it; so that sometimes Major returned home with bare legs. But his orders were that all the stockings should be brought to his house by the respective delinquents; and a failure in the restoration of a stocking was always punished by an application of the birch, accompanied with a scolding in polyglot.

When the Emperor Alexander I. visited the Oural, he was greatly pleased with the works which Major had established, and

presented him with a piece of land containing about twenty English acres, with all the minerals it contained, gold being known to be one of them. Major washed the auriferous sands, and usually obtained gold to the amount of £3,500 annually. He thrived in this way for several years, living at his country house with very few people about him, and often with no domestic except an old woman. One Sunday evening, when these two were alone in the house, he being occupied in his cabinet, and she sitting in her own room not far from the entrance-door, her attention was drawn to a noise in the outer lobby, which induced her to leave the room. As soon as she arrived at the entrance, she was seized and thrown down a staircase leading to some lower apartments. Her screams reached Major, who rushed out with a candle in his hand, when a blow from an axe fell upon his head, and he never breathed again. The murderers then possessed themselves of a box of gold, ransacked the place, and departed, closing the doors after them. It was not until the morning of the third day after that the murder became known. A strict investigation was commenced, when it was ascertained that all the gold had been carried off, though the papers and letters he had been busied with remained untouched upon his table. Suspicion fell on the workmen, who were seized and examined, but it was clearly proved that they were innocent. Many years passed away, and, although this murder was the theme of frequent conversation, no clue to the perpetrators had been discovered. It was long after that deed of atrocity had been committed, that the quantity of gold stolen from the mines and sent into Tartary and Bokhara had become so very large, that the Russian government determined to undertake the discovery of the robbers of the precious metal. This was effected by the arrival and residence in Ekaterineburg of an officer disguised as a peasant. He soon ingratiated himself with the working classes, and by living and drinking with them he became acquainted with all the facts of which he stood in need. He discovered that there were persons engaged in the gold robberies who lived far away from Ekaterineburg, and by whose connivance the precious metal was conveyed out of the country. By a series of stratagems he obtained an introduction to the great gold-dealer at a distance, whose influence was so great that the Tartars dared not buy gold unless it had passed through his hands. Bringing to this man gold, which he pretended to have stolen, the disguised officer found that the great gold-dealer wished to cheat him by false weighing. When he modestly objected to the proud dealer's statement of weight, the great man turned upon him

with a scowl, crying out in an angry tone, 'What, thief! thou art not content with robbing thy employers, but thou wishest to cheat me! I shall soon hear of thee in the mines of Siberia:—what is the price?' The seeming peasant named a sum, and was offered half of it. This he declined to take, when the enraged receiver of stolen gold exclaimed, 'I give thee five minutes to consider whether thou wilt take the money I offer, or be handed over to the police.' The peasant professed penitence, received the money, endured a reprimand and a caution, and departed. The following morning, however, beheld a change of characters. The great gold-dealer was, to his astonishment, arrested and imprisoned. The peasant returned to Ekaterineburg and arrested a gold-merchant who had been tried for the murder of Major, at the time of its committal, but was acquitted. When re-examined with two other men, the wife of one of them revealed the place where the gold was concealed, and, on searching there, the axe was found with which the dreadful deed had been perpetrated. This man, who had been long engaged in gold-smuggling, associated with those who stole it from the mines. He required good horses to aid him, and he possessed one of extraordinary speed. Mounted on this horse, he rode ninety versts in about four hours, presenting himself to the director at Kamenskoï. The murder being now proved against all engaged in it, they were sentenced to 'run the gauntlet,' that is, to pass between the lines formed by a regiment of soldiers, consisting of 3,000 men, each of whom struck the criminal with a rod. They died immediately after enduring this punishment.

A story is related of another Englishman, named Patrick. He came from Manchester, and was engaged as mechanical engineer in the iron works of the Generals Levelofsky, on the west side of the Oural. Poor Patrick was murdered when out hunting, but his employers could not succeed in discovering the murderer. Three years afterwards a peasant entered a watchmaker's shop in Ekaterineburg, and offered a watch for sale, which was found to be of English manufacture. An officer who was in the shop examined it, and found Patrick's name upon it in the inside. The man was arrested, examined, and whipped, but nothing could be extracted from him. He was detained in prison, and afterwards sent into Siberia. To this day, however, the murderer has not been discovered. Our author found a couple of volumes on mechanics, in a peasant's cottage where he passed the night, inscribed with Patrick's name by himself. These were carried to the capital, and handed to a friend; but still the mystery remains unsolved.

Mr. Atkinson quitted this district with regret, leaving many friends behind him. But onward he went, over steppe after steppe, until he reached the border lands of Asiatic Russia. He passed through long wooded valleys, and under many pine-clad hills, before reaching the steppes of Asia, which he found quite similar in their features to the scenery all along the south of the Oural. He visited several small working towns, and various directors, with some of whom he passed agreeable hours. One night we find him leaving the residence of an acquaintance in a carriage of the district. It was exceedingly dark when he left. After descending a steep road to a bridge, and ascending a steep hill, his driver, having received orders to drive quickly, fulfilled them to the letter. Forward bounded the horses; but the sensation of being carried at such speed through unbroken gloom was not agreeable. The ringing of the attached bells, however, was both a warning to others, and a consolation to himself. In some of his teams of horses a bell was fastened to each one; in others three bells were fastened to the bow which passed over the shaft horse. These kept up a terrible clangor, and this sound was most melancholy in the dark forests. About midway on their nocturnal journey, men called on the driver to stop, saying they wanted to beg. The driver, however, pursued his rapid course, and prevented their untimely begging—or robbing. At three o'clock the day began to dawn, and they were running along a level plateau, considerably above, though no great distance from, the river Issetz. About half past three the sun rose in all his splendour, and all to the east was one unbounded plain, and that plain SIBERIA.

Rapid driving, and a great speed without the application of the whip, distinguish this part of our traveller's journey. Two meals a day he considers ample for tourists in this region; and both should consist of tea with meat or eggs, spirits being forbidden. Thus he approaches the great Altai range; but he has three stations to traverse, in which robberies are constantly committed. Most exciting is the speed with which they drive through woods supposed to harbour the robbers; they meet no bands of banditti, but they do meet with an attempt at extortion. A Polish Jew keeps a contract station at Kiausk, for the supply of horses to the postal authorities. The said Jew, true to his race and extraction, strove to overreach Mr. Atkinson, by first asserting that he would not supply horses at all, and then offering to provide them at double price. For once, however, the Gentile proves too much for the Jew. Our traveller proceeds to the police-master, states his case, and is desired to remain for a short time. He now sees two mounted Cossacks ride out of the gate,

through which they return, in a few minutes, with the reluctant Polish Jew. Being interrogated by the police-master, he reiterates his first statement and his demand of double price. A signal is given to the Cossacks, who hustle the Jew into an adjoining room, where in one minute he was stretched face downwards upon the floor, and stripped of part of his clothing. A big birch was about to descend upon the unlucky Israelite; but more rapid than the descent of birch was the prostrate culprit's determination to furnish the required horses at ordinary prices. 'Well, give him twenty-five blows, at least, for causing delay,' said the police-master. 'Nay, nay,' said the Englishman, 'set him free.' He was set free; but a Cossack managed to inflict one twanging stroke before he heard the order for liberation. Up sprang the old Jew with a fearful howl, and very shortly after our traveller was on his journey with six horses.

He nears the Altai range of mountains, when a terrific stream of lightning and a tremendous crash of thunder burst over him; at the same moment the clouds divide, and roll off in opposite directions. This was like the opening of the curtains to some fearful scene, as the heavy, dark masses were carried up and away at either side, leaving a thin vapour between them, hanging like a veil. The sun was setting, casting a pale red tinge on the vapoury curtain, and producing a splendid effect. The opening gradually extends into a larger space, which becomes of a deeper and deeper red as the vapoury curtains expand more and more. The hills now dimly seen through it, and much magnified, resemble mountains glowing with fire; not indeed bright, but rather like red-hot metals losing their white heat, and changing into a dark red. At length the vapour rolls off. A dull red tinge spreads over all the under parts of the clouds, extending high up into the heavens. The sun sinks fast, the clouds gradually lose their colours, and soon all passes away, leaving the traveller bewildered with the vanishing scenes of cloudy beauty, and making an impression which, he declares, will never be effaced from his memory.

Through the varied and grand scenery of the Altai, the author proceeds, sketching and briefly describing; passing through a forest of gigantic cedars, hunting-grounds, rocky gorges, by lakes and by waterfalls, by precipices and mountains, and through buffeting storms at their base. He visits the silver mines at Zivianovsky, which are at present the most valuable in the Altai. Some of the ores, which are exceedingly rich, are brought from a depth of two hundred and eighty feet, while in other places they have been followed to the depth of four hundred and ninety feet. Vast quantities of water break into the mines at times, and

pumps worked by water power are used to draw out the floods, the water-wheels being placed at a distance of more than seven hundred yards from the shaft. This distance, and the great consequent friction caused by the long series of wooden rods extending from the water-wheels to the shaft, together with the rudeness of the machinery, render the effects almost valueless. One good steam-engine, of one hundred or one hundred and fifty horse power, would keep these mines perfectly dry. Yet his Imperial Majesty has in Ekaterineburg a machine manufactory, almost equal to any private one in Europe, at which a steam-engine could be cheaply constructed, and from which it could be readily transported by river to within a moderate distance of these mines. Mr. Atkinson observes, that a manufactory conducted as this is would ruin any private firm; for it produces almost nothing. Generals of artillery parade through the works two or three times in a month, display their decorations, receive homage, and this seems to be the chief part of the performance. We can now learn, from actual experiments, the result of government interference, when it supplants the enterprise and skill of the subject. A paternal despotism appears, at the least, to be destructive of manufacturing prosperity.

We cannot tarry with our traveller in his descent of the river Irtisch, nor on the Kirghis Steppe,—excepting, indeed, to notice one incident on the latter. While at dinner on the bank of a large river, he pointed out to his guide a small column of white smoke, evidently at a very great distance, and which he supposed to be ascending from a Kirghis encampment. The guide knew that none existed there. The dinner being finished, they make directly for the smoke, passing sometimes over rich pastures, and at others over gravel and stones with little vegetation. After riding two hours they are near enough to discern that the steppe was on fire. They gain an elevated position, and, while drinking their tea in a hovel, observe on the steppe the reflection of the fire, which was rapidly advancing. From an old tomb on a hill the whole extent of the conflagration was witnessed. The fire, though some distance to the east, was advancing along their track. The flames ran along the ground, licking up the long grass with their forked tongues with great rapidity, and causing a terrible glare. The next morning the traveller again observes the speedy advance of the fire from another commanding point, and sees that it had gained considerably while he had slept.

One description carries us back to patriarchal times. Mr. Atkinson's lodging for a night was at the *yourt* (or dwelling) of a wealthy Kirghis chief. Carpets were spread, tea was

handed round in bowls, with *kishmish* (small dried raisins) and dried apricots. This chief had more than three thousand horses, and nearly three hundred camels, with oxen and sheep in great numbers. He was rather short in stature, but a very gentlemanly little man, dressed in a black velvet *kalat*, with a crimson shawl round his waist, a beautifully embroidered cap upon his head, and a pair of small high-heeled red leather boots on his feet. His wife was dressed in a silk *kalat*, striped with yellow, and red, and green, giving her a very gay appearance. She had a cap formed of white calico hanging over her shoulders, a green shawl round her waist, and red boots on her feet. Her four children were running about naked. There were eighteen dwellings in this encampment, constituting, when all the occupants came out, a large population. During the evening a sheep was killed and cooked, and the whole of the encampment (*aoul*) attended the feast,—men, women, children, and dogs.

Scenes of pastoral and patriarchal life occasionally come within our traveller's view, and are specially interesting to us, as they are now so rarely witnessed. In a further part of his route we obtain a glimpse at a scene of this nature, which we will introduce here. The author passes the night at the encampment of a Kirghis chief, whose dwelling, with its furniture, is described in detail. One of the most peculiar articles of provision is the well-known *koumis*, or mares' milk. The mares are milked at five o'clock in the morning, and at the same hour in the evening. The milk is poured from large leathern pails into the *koumis* bag. For the first fourteen days after they begin making the beverage, very little of it is drunk; but with fermentation and agitation it is by that time considered to be in perfection. It is then drunk in great quantities by the wealthy Kirghis, and almost every one of them has a *koumis* bottle slung to his saddle in summer. In the dwelling (*yourt*) itself, the large leathern *koumis* sack, completely covered up to keep it warm and aid fermentation, is an important piece of furniture. Some are five feet eight inches long, and four and a half feet wide, with a leathern tube at one corner, through which they pour in and draw out the *koumis*.

Having passed a peaceable night in the *yourt* of this chief, the author describes the scene at dawn, at which time all were up and about. On leaving the *yourt* we may see a mass of living animals. The whole of the herds having been brought into the encampment at night, and there most vigilantly guarded by watchmen and dogs placed in every direction, at dawn the animals begin to stir, and to make their appropriate

sounds. At first the noise is almost intolerable; for we hear the sharp cry of the camels, the neighing of the horses, the bellowing of the bulls, the bleating of the sheep and goats, the barking of the dogs, and the shouting of the men. We may, when a little accustomed to this chorus of animal expressions, count, on this one spot, one hundred and six camels,—including their young,—more than two thousand horses, one thousand oxen and cows, and six thousand sheep and goats. Even these, numerous as they are, fall short of the total number of animals belonging to this wealthy patriarch; for he has two other *aouls*, at each of which there are one thousand horses and other cattle. Women are busy milking the cows, and the men are preparing to drive the vast herds to their pastures. The horses and camels are driven to the greatest distance, the oxen next, and the sheep remain nearest to the *aoul*. It is a striking scene when they are all driven out in different directions, spreading themselves out like living streams, as they move slowly along the steppe.

We now return to our traveller upon his route. He proceeds through immense and dense cedar forests, and afterwards he rides through luxuriant vegetation, which rose far above his head. Here he notes the *ferula* more than twelve feet high, with its bunches of yellow-tinted flowers, eighteen inches in diameter, of which bears are very fond. Here also grows the *delphinicum*, with long spikes of dark blue blossoms, and others of a pale blue; as well as *aconitum*, both blue and pale yellow. Not far from these were growing red and pink roses, two sorts of geraniums, and several unknown flowers. The whole constituted a beautiful garden in the midst of wild and rugged scenery, to which succeeds a Kirghis gold-washing. Anon he is riding in the mountains, over ground where bears are numerous: their tracks are followed, but bears are not seen. He passes places where fearful encounters with these animals have taken place. One of these he narrates in detail; and a fierce bear this was; for, when wounded, he charged upon his foe, struck down his assailant, stripped his scalp, turned it over his face, and then, seizing his arm, he began to gnaw and crush it to the bone, gradually ascending to the shoulder. The unfortunate man called to his companion to load and fire; but the poltroon was frightened, ran away, and left his friend to the bear, who dragged the mangled hunter into a dense mass of wood and bushes; and to render the place still more secure and secret, the bear broke off a great quantity of branches, and heaped them over the man's body. His distant friends were in the mean time tracking the bear, and, after tedious wanderings and some mistakes, they came upon this spot. Being skilled in bear-

craft, they suspect the trick, remove the branches, and there discover their ill-fated friend, living and sensible, but fearfully mutilated. They carefully remove him, and bestow attention upon him for two months, when at length he begins to recover, but is—a lunatic! His first question is about the bear; he refers to his own defeat, and demands his rifle. As he gains strength, he raves about the bear, and desires another conflict with his ferocious enemy. The summer passes, autumn arrives, and frost begins to scorch the foliage, changing it into golden and crimson lines; and the lunatic, now less vigilantly watched, escapes from the hospital, regains his cottage, secures his rifle and ammunition, and provides himself with an axe, and a loaf of black bread. He contrives to leave the village unseen, except by children, in the evening, and is soon lost in the forest. Pursuers seek him in vain, and more than a week passes over, during which nothing had been heard of him, when one day he walks into the hospital, carrying the skin of a huge black bear upon his shoulders; and, throwing it down, cries out, 'I told you I would have him!' His reputation for hunting skill being thus re-established, he becomes happy, regains his health gradually, and goes forth again, the hunter and slayer of other bears.

Our author visits the lakes of the Altai, and beholds scenery which in some parts, he considers, surpasses any thing of a like kind in Europe. Then he determines to visit the source of the Katounaia, and travels among the chains of the Altai range, journeying through scenes of a character similar to those already noticed, meeting with many Kalmuck Tartars upon the Yabagan Steppe, where they find pasturage for their extensive herds of horses and cattle. In the spring-time these Kalmucks offer up sacrifices to their deity: the rich give horses, the poor sacrifice sheep or goats. A Kalmuck sacrifice of a ram is described: the ram was flayed, and when this operation was completed, amidst chantings and beatings upon a tambourine, the skin was put upon a pole, and placed with the head towards the east; while the flesh was cooked in a large cauldron, and the tribe held a great festival.

The object in this part of the journey was to ascend the Bielouka, one of the giants of the mountain chain of the Altai. At length the wayfarers reached a bend in a valley, where Bielouka stood before them in all its grandeur. The little company consisted of our author and some Kalmucks, who tended the horses, and oftentimes the rider. The whole of the mountains surrounding the monarch of the range are composed of slate, while the monarch itself is a stupendous mass, the mighty crags of which protrude through the snow and ice of ages. Its

summit is formed by two enormous peaks, shored up with innumerable buttresses, which form ravines or small valleys, now filled up with glaciers descending to the edge of some fearful precipices which overhang the valley of the Katounaia. In the grass at its base were many spring flowers at the time of this visit, such as the red *primula*, sweet-scented violet, and several sorts of anemones. Theirs will be but a short holiday blooming; for in ten or twelve days deep snow will cover them for nine or ten months. Three or four hundred feet higher the herbage has almost ceased, several varieties of mosses only covering the stony ground and clinging to the rocks; but even these disappear a little higher. The ascent is commenced by riding along to the foot of this mountain westward, and thus coming to the bed of a mountain torrent, at that season nearly dry. By the waters running down this side a deep channel has been ploughed through a mass of huge rocks, tossed and piled in immense heaps. Enormous trees have been uprooted, and, falling across upon rocks, they have formed bridges over which bears pass, when the torrent is raging, without even wetting their paws. Other large trunks have been snapped asunder, as if they had been mere sticks. The ascent is made; but the mists and clouds have been descending while the travellers have been ascending, and no view is obtained. The descent is hazardous indeed, and down the mountain side, on which the horses had great difficulty in keeping their feet. Even on foot no man could have walked up and down in a straight course.

Further on the little party had to ride over what the Kalmucks call a 'bomb.' This is a narrow ridge of rocks along which but one horse can pass at a time. Should two persons meet on many parts of these bombs, one of the horses must be thrown over, if the other is to pass safely. On this occasion the Kalmuck guide ordered a halt, and sent one of his companions on foot to the other end of this fearful ridge, hid from view by some high crags. In less than half an hour the man returned, having left his cap as a signal to any hunters who might come up, that a party was then crossing. Now the hunter-guide orders the reins to be dropped upon the necks of the horses. Here it is better to put trust in horse than in man. The first few steps are rather terrifying, but soon confidence is reposed in the safe quadruped. The whole distance is about five hundred paces, and requires about a quarter of an hour to pass. In some places to look down is fearful: the rocks are nearly perpendicular for five or six hundred feet on one side, and on the other so steep that no man could stand upon them. One false step, and horse and rider would be hurled into the valley. Yet the daring

sable-hunters often ride over such passes, and there are men amongst them who would laugh at such feats, and ride their horses along the roof of the highest cathedral in Europe, if a plank eighteen inches wide were secured along the ridge; and this they would do without requiring wager or entreaty.

Not only are the Kalmucks daring riders, but some of them are also bold swimmers. One of Mr. Atkinson's Kalmuck companions was a little adventurous fellow whom our author had profanely named 'Chort,' (we will not interpret the word,) for his daring antics. Short in stature, slightly built, supple in limbs, and active as a panther, he had a high round head, surmounted with a long tuft of jetty hair, hanging from the crown far down his back. A pair of black eyes were set in a face so characteristic that it must have been handed down to him through several generations. He was guardian of cattle, and, stripped and mounted on one of the horses, he would guide them across flood and river. On one occasion the whole sixteen horses were in a stream, and Chort on the last horse, on which he kept to the lower side to drive them up a steep bank. The moment a horse was carried below him, he slipped into the water, swam to him, laid hold of his tail, sprang upon his back like a monkey, and began shouting and driving the rest up the stream. This was repeated a dozen times or more before he got them all across; and he landed them all not more than twenty yards above the desired spot.

It is proper to state that Chort was unparalleled; and though our traveller swam rivers and forded most dangerous streams in the company of Kalmucks, many of them daring spirits, yet he never met Chort's equal, and did not expect to look upon his like again.

With one other specimen of this little Kalmuck's supernatant powers, we must dismiss him. While his master was sketching on the banks of a stream where there was a rapid, he suddenly looked up and saw Chort divested of every rag of clothing, and walking away from the river, while the other Kalmucks were grouped and watching him. Doubts of Chort's sanity crossed the sketcher's mind, when instantly he paused, turned, and ran madly towards the bank, and leapt into the boiling flood. Head-foremost he plunged, and the next moment rose to the surface, and was swept past like an arrow, but with his head well out of the water to see the rocks before him. He might be dashed against some of the huge stones, or be sucked under by the strong eddies. But no; on he swam, darting past like a fish. Two of his friends ran along the bank, but were soon left behind. He was seen floating on for about one hundred yards,

beyond which he was lost to sight:—was he drowned? The next minute he was observed climbing slowly up the bank, and, having reached its brow, he sat down upon a stone for two or three minutes, when, noticing his master, he ran laughing to him, exclaiming, 'It is nothing, Sir, I love it.' Nor was this all; for his admiring companions persuaded him to repeat the feat. Again he took the fearful plunge; but this time a little higher up the river. He shot out of the water like a duck, and the next moment passed our author, as if he were a stone thrown out of a catapult. In three minutes and twenty-eight seconds he had shot down the rapid of the stream, and left the water at its bottom; and again he came running up, dripping and laughing like a schoolboy.

Mr. Atkinson's wanderings soon brought him to the Gobi, where vast steppes, sandy deserts, and high mountain-chains give a peculiar character to the region. He thinks it probable that before his visit these scenes were never looked upon by European eyes, nor sketched by European pencil. Here the traveller's rifle is required for more objects than obtaining his dinner, and his courage will be tested by men who are ever on the alert, and who seldom show fear. Only by a steady hand, a quick eye, and skill in the use of his weapon, can he insure his safety. Plunder is the common trade, murders the common result, slavery the certain alternative. Three brave and honest Cossacks attended our friend, to whom were added seven Kalmucks, eight rifles, and plenty of lead and powder. The traveller's two objects in visiting this region were, to reach the Tangnou mountains, which he had seen from Bielouka; and the large lake that receives so many streams, and has but one outlet. Many of the peaks in the Tangnou chain rise far above the line of eternal snow, and some are more than eleven thousand feet in height. The route was eastward, crossing the heads of several streams which run from these mountains into the Oubsa. After riding twelve days, the party came upon a large and rapid stream flowing from the north-east. By following this river they were led far up into the mountain heights of the Tangnou, and to a great elevation. Views of wild grandeur, a mountain tarn of great depth, surrounded by rugged precipices of granite, snowy peaks, a fine waterfall, large blocks of fine white marble, and some few slopes covered with a thick carpet of short grass, interspersed with a great variety of flowers,—constitute the succession of scenes through which the company passes for many days. In place of robbers, antelopes are met with. When sufficiently near to these beautiful animals, the rifles are unslung, and the travellers close up

to the herd, while they retreat into a curve formed by the reeds. A volley from several rifles is poured into the unoffending creatures; two of them spring high into the air, and then lie quivering on the steppe. The terrified herd strive to rush past; other men fire, and two other antelopes fall, while a third is wounded and captured. In this hunt five animals had been killed, but no one could say which had been the successful shots.

We must proceed by long stretches into the plains of Mongolia, following, in part, the route of Ghenghiz Khan, that mighty desolator, around whose name gather the glories of oriental conquest. Grand must have been the spectacle, when the vast host of that barbarian hero wended their way over these desert steppes and undulating plains. In place, however, of their barbaric splendour, the present travellers met only with wolves, distant howling telling of their approach. Not long after, the men could hear the beat of their feet upon the ground, as the wolves galloped towards them, and in a very few minutes the troop came up, and joined in savage chorus. Bushes are heaped upon the fire, and it is blown into a bright flame, which sends its red glare far around, and discloses the ears and tails erect of the wolves, and their eyes flashing an opposite fire. At a given signal a volley is poured in upon them with deadly effect. The horrible howling which succeeds declares that murderous mischief has been done. Pieces are reloaded, as the wolves may return. But they only snarl and howl, until suspicion itself falls asleep. Shortly, however, a commotion is heard among the horses, when it is discovered that the wolves had divided their pack, and are stealing up to the horses on each side. The little company of travellers is disturbed, Cossack and Kalmuck turn to guard the approaches on each side, our author watches the front, while the others light the fire, and kindle a constant blaze by adding small bushes. Presently glaring eye-balls are clearly discerned pecring to and fro; and nearer, and nearer, and nearer the grisly forms approach, one pushing on another. At this moment rifles crack to the right, the fire blazes brightly, the author sends a rifle-ball into the pack, a terrific howling rises up, others of the men fire, not a shot is thrown away, and several wolves are wounded. In a few minutes the growling and whining ceases, and nothing is heard except the snorting of the horses. But Kalkas and Kalmucks forewarn of another attack,—these wolves being most ferocious and daring. This prediction is sad, as the night grows very dark, and the store of bushes for the fire very small. Soon, sharp and keen eyes are peering out in every direction, but no wolf is seen or heard.

The men watch a long time, the darker clouds roll off, and the stars shine and reflect more light upon a neighbouring lake. Presently howling is heard in the distance, and howling close by: wolves had been keeping silent guard over the travellers, until reinforced by approaching assistance. Bushes for the fire are indispensable: four men creep slowly along the shore of the lake, and return in ten minutes with an armful of bushes. The embers are re-kindled and flame is blown up. The distant sounds had ceased for some minutes, when suddenly there is a great commotion; the other wolves have come up, and the snarling and yelling become furious. No general engagement ensues, though fully expected. Half an hour passes away, when the horses begin pulling and plunging violently. A man blows up the fire, the bushes burst into a blaze, and behold! there is a group of eight or ten wolves within fifteen paces, with others beyond. The foremost of these receive the contents of a couple of gun-barrels, others receive similar compliments, when the pack set up a frightful yell, and scamper away. The ground is examined at daylight; eight wolves are found dead, others have left traces of blood upon the sands, and finally the men carry off the skins of the slain as trophies of the engagement.

We must soon lay down the book that records these deeds of the desert. But, in journeying through Chinese Tartary, we are treated to a description of a Kirghis banquet. When all are seated, two men come into the inner circle, each having a cast-iron pot, in shape something like our coffee-pot. One approaches the sultan, (with whom we are now supposed to be dining,) the other Mr. Atkinson, and pour warm water upon their hands; but each person provides his own towel. (How like the boarding-schools at home!) This ceremony is performed for every man, from the sultan to the herdsman. The females are left to do it for themselves. Ablutions completed, the cooks bring in the smoking vessels,—long wooden trays similar to the butchers' trays of London,—piled and heaped up with boiled mutton. One vessel is placed between the sultan and our friend, filled with mutton and boiled rice. Plates are entirely dispensed with, each man drawing his knife from its sheath. The host, seizing a fine piece of mutton from the reeking mass, places it in the hands of his guest, and then begins upon his own account; this being the signal for all to do the same. Many hands are dipped into many trays. The order of eating is ingeniously selfish. The Kirghis who sits nearest the trays, selects what he likes best, and, after eating a part, hands the remainder to the man behind him. From him, again diminished, it is passed to a third man, and then to the boys. Having run the

gauntlet of all these hands and mouths, the bone reaches the poor women and girls, but divested of nearly all the meat. When gnawed by the fair sex, it is thrown to the dogs. Beyond the women, and surrounded by a group of dogs, there is a child about four years old, sitting with a dry leg-bone of a sheep in his hand. When the women have gnawed the bones and thrown them to the dogs, there is a general rush of the canine race: whereupon the undaunted child uses his bony weapon most heavily upon their noses, and frequently carries off the spoil. After meat, large bowls of the liquid in which it had been boiled were handed round, and drunk with great relish. Dinner ended, two men brought the water vessels, and poured the warm liquid over the hands of all, after which they arose and went to their occupations.

In his further penetrations among the wild hordes of the steppes, Mr. Atkinson has some narrow escapes from robbers, though he manages to avoid severe conflicts with them. In one place his own party were taken for robbers; and a whole encampment was put into wild commotion until things were explained. What with robber chiefs, Mongolian dogs, pelicans, eagles, pheasants, and picturesque rocks, the way is exciting or pleasant by turns. No great peril is encountered, and nothing marvellous occurs, until we come to a terrible conflict with a tiger. One of the Kalmucks was riding about one hundred yards in advance, along the edge of some reeds, when he suddenly called out. On reaching him, he pointed to the soft ground covered with footprints and gore, where a terrible conflict had taken place. A close inspection showed that a wild boar had been measuring his strength with a tiger, whose footprints were stamped around the field of battle. The boar had been slain and carried off into a mass of high reeds by the tiger. A well-trodden path, or reedy tunnel, formed the approach to his lair, which was about two feet six inches wide, and three feet and a half high, thickly matted over into an arch. The tiger had put down his burthen at the entrance of this covered way, the red marks being distinctly visible. The men thought the battle had been fought three or four days before, and concluded that the tigress and her cubs were in their den not far off. Not one of the men would have shrunk from a conflict with robbers, however unequal the contest; yet not one of them had courage to enter this place and seek honour 'at the *tiger's* mouth.'

Among the grand natural scenes further noticed by our traveller, we can only glance at one of the most remarkable,—the crater of an extinct volcano in the Saian mountains, in Oriental Siberia. This was discovered by diligently following

the courses of masses of lava, until at length the party descend into chasms sixty and eighty feet deep, where the volcanic matter had cracked in cooling. After a day of extraordinary toil, they slept a night upon the blocks of lava. On the afternoon of the second day, they beheld the top of a huge cone; and, as the sun was setting, stood upon the summit, looking upon the terrific scene around. Our author began sketching this region, and the result is before us in one of the most striking lithographs in the volume. He gave orders to a Cossack to get a fir, and make preparations for a night's encampment in the crater. The Cossack left to communicate his instructions to others, who fell into a state of great alarm. These men begged our author not to attempt to sleep anywhere on the cone, as, if he did, Shaitan, (? Satan,) with his legions of evil spirits, would certainly pay them a visit, and probably hurl them into the abyss in the crater. But the master was inflexible.

The cone is about eight hundred feet high, exceedingly abrupt, deep in the interior, and formed of lava and red ashes. It stands at the northern end of the crater, which is elliptical in form, but very irregular, extending from north to south nearly two miles, and is in some parts more than three quarters of a mile in width. Towards the southern end of the crater rose another cone of more recent date, and of greater magnitude. Beyond this is an opposite scene: a small stream, which descends from the snowy mountains, dashes over the brink of the crater, and rushes on among masses of lava, until it takes its last leap into a deep abyss. This crater is not on the summit of a mountain, as high peaks and ridges surround it on every side. Its eastern side is bounded by rocks not much less than two thousand feet high, which are not perpendicular, but overhang the base; their faces bearing marks of intense heat. A few are grey, others purple, and some of a deep red. To the north-east these high precipices have been rent asunder into a tremendous chasm, through which the lava has flowed into the valley. 'No scene,' says Mr. Atkinson, 'with which I am acquainted, conveys such an impression of the terrible and the sublime, as the prospect from some parts of this wonderful region, in which I spent many days.'

Our enterprising traveller concludes his volume, as we must conclude this article, with a description of the Lake Baikal, which was nearly the *ultima Thule* of his journeyings in Oriental Siberia; and which, from its remote position and extent, has always been a kind of unknown wonder. The natives call it the Holy Sea; and it is said by them to be unfathomable, and subject to terrific storms. Mr. Atkinson obtained a small boat, and

a crew of seven to row her. It was the last week in August when he embarked: rather a late period for a voyage on these dangerous waters; but the men were hardy and sturdy fellows, well acquainted with the risks they would incur in conveying their employer to the mouth of the river Angara. After rowing about two hours, they passed a rocky headland, which shut out the view of the village where they had embarked. The shore became rugged and extremely wild, but the evening was calm, and the sun went down in a blaze of crimson light which can only be seen in regions oriental or tropical. Entering a deep bay, they landed at the mouth of a small river, and slept on a sandy beach. Re-embarking the next morning with a prospect of a good day, they glided beautifully over the glassy waters, by cliffs high and frowning, with occasional breaks, where a mountain torrent found its way to the lake. They beheld Mount Amardaban, which is rather more than four thousand feet above the sea, and respecting which foolish tales were told. They now encamped on the bank of a small river which runs through a wild glen leading up into the mountains, and a celebrated hunting-ground for bears. The steersman, who was a great Nimrod, related a good story of a bear-capture in that very place a few years before; the point of which was that he was awoke, while sleeping by his log-fire, by something near him; and, turning his head, he observed by the light of his fire a large bear going down the bank to the little stream below. He divined Bruin's object. The animal was going for water to put the fire out first, and afterwards he would devour his victim. It was the work of a moment for the hunter to seize his rifle, which was at hand, and await the bear's return, who was presently heard in the water, was then watched ascending the bank, and, when fairly in the light of the fire, received a bullet that rolled him dead down the bank. It is said to be a well-known fact that a bear will not attack a man when sleeping by a fire, but will first go into the water, saturate his fur, and then return to put out the fire, before he makes a meal of his victim.

In three additional days the voyagers passed the Angara, the only outlet for this great body of water. Again Russian peasants pulled our author along at a short distance from the shore. Although there was a prevailing monotony in the high cliffs, there were a few points of extraordinary beauty. After rowing about one hundred and fifty versts, Bouriat boatmen succeeded the Russian peasants: but these were not the men to navigate the Baikal in a gale; and our author not only encountered bad weather, but was often in great danger. Having spent twenty-eight days on this Alpine sea, he quitted these people

and the risks of the voyage, crossing the country on the north of the Baikal to the great post-road, and reached Irkoutsk on the 3rd of October. There he spent the winter in the capital of Eastern Siberia, where he made a few friends and many acquaintances. By his book, which we must now close, he will make more acquaintances in this country than he made upon his travels.

ART. III.—*Ayres' Financial Register of British and Foreign Funds, Banks, &c., &c., for* 1857, *containing an Account of the principal Matters relating to the Finances of the United Kingdom; with a Sketch of the Revenues, Expenditure, and Commerce of Foreign Nations: also an Account of Foreign Banks and Banking, &c.* By HENRY AYRES, Editor of the Bankers' Circular and Finance Gazette, &c. London: Richardson, Brothers.

THE late Mr. Butler, in his *Reminiscences*, relates, that in a conversation with Charles James Fox, he happened to say, that he had never read Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. 'To tell you the truth,' replied Fox, 'nor I either. There is something in all these subjects which passes my comprehension,—something so wide, that I could never embrace them myself, or find any one who did.'

What Fox here states of the science of political economy, is equally applicable to that branch of it called 'the currency question,' or, in other words, the monetary operations of the Bank of England in connexion with the government. We much question whether one intelligent and well-educated person in a hundred could give any tolerably clear account of those operations, or of their bearing upon the trade and commerce of the kingdom. It may be some consolation to ordinary folks, to hear a great statesman declare his inability to fathom a subject of such national importance; but most assuredly it is precisely these, constituting *the middle classes*, who are the most deeply concerned in those questions, who feel most acutely their effects, and have therefore the most reason to study those operations which at times involve the commerce of the country in a climax of distress and embarrassment, that shakes its prosperity to the very foundation.

But the English are a very forgiving people, and are soon pacified. Possessing a degree of energy that overrides all difficulties, they conquer in the field against all odds, in spite of the imbecility of their leaders, or the blundering mismanage-

ment of their government; and they impart to their commerce a reactionary power and spirit, which enables it, when apparently crushed to the very earth, to rise unscathed and vigorous as ever.

The monetary crisis through which the country has lately passed, is one of a series of financial epidemics which during the last sixty years have, at intervals, caused so much distress in the commercial world, and which have been aggravated, if not originated, by the way in which the currency has been managed between the Bank of England and the government. Any of our readers who wish to understand more of these matters, will do well to read Mr. Ayres's work, which contains a clear and full statement of everything relating to finance, both British and foreign; and in the meantime we propose to draw up from these and other data a short account of the causes that produced the 'panic,' and especially of the Bank Charter of 1844–5, which is considered by many the *primum mobile* of the evil.

It is unnecessary for us to go into the history of the by-gone connexion between the Bank of England and the government. Suffice it to observe, that the Bank was instituted by William III. in 1694, and arose out of a *political necessity;* and that such is the interwoven texture of the interests and monetary operations of the Bank and the government, that they are still as necessary to each other as ever. Yet they may be compared to hounds running in couples, one of which keeps steadily on the scent, whilst the other (a hungry dog) spies or smells a bone near his path, and attempts to start aside to ascertain whether it is worth picking. In other, and perhaps more courteous, words: whilst the government has, or ought to have, only *one* object in view,—the public good,—the Bank has, in addition, not only its own general interest, as a monster commercial establishment, but also the private interests of the proprietors, including, of course, those of the governor and directors, who are all also private merchants or bankers. We give the Bank directors full credit for always consulting the interests of the public, when they do not interfere with those of the proprietary, general or special; but it is contrary to human nature to expect that anything short of an Act of Parliament should prevent them from throwing overboard the public interests, when these would clash with their own, or those of the Bank. We shall see, as we proceed, how far the existing condition of things has been instrumental in producing those financial convulsions or crises that have so frequently occurred of late years, and especially under the Bank Charter of 1844–5.

Previous to the above period, there was no restriction upon the issue of notes by the Bank of England; and when contem-

plating the new arrangement, Sir Robert Peel, as the head of the government, and the concocter of the measure, appears to have had in view the establishment of an office of its own for the issue of promissory notes, and thus to have taken the paper as well as the metallic currency entirely into its own hands. This we learn from Mr. Goulburn's letter to the governor; but before adopting this scheme, which would have been equal to cutting off one of the wings of the Bank, the governor was asked whether the directors would consent to certain conditions, the principal of which were as follow: *—

'1. That the two departments,—the bank of issue, and the bank of deposit,—should be entirely separated, so that in no respect should the one interfere with, or be dependent upon, the other.

'2. That a certain amount of notes should be issued on securities, public and private; and that all other notes issued by them should be only in exchange for bullion or coin.

'3. That the securities should, to a certain extent, be of such a nature as to admit of ready convertibility, and should not be increased beyond the amount originally fixed, excepting under circumstances to be stated by the Bank to the government; and after the consent of certain members of the government, namely, the first lord of the treasury, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the master of the mint, shall have been signified.

'4. That no new banks of issue should be established; the issue of notes of those banks exercising that privilege to be confined to amounts originally fixed, and their issues to be limited to the average amount of a given period preceding: and in the event of a failure or liquidation, a resumption to be prohibited of their own circulation; the deficiency in the circulation thereby created, to be supplied, if necessary, by the substitution of notes of the Bank of England; an increase of the securities to the amount thereof being authorized by the government, as the foundation of the paper; the net profit of the measure to be carried to the account of the government.

'5. A weekly, instead of the usual quarterly, statement of the affairs of the Bank to be published in both departments; and the private joint-stock banks to do the same, if their notes are in circulation. Charter to be granted for ten years, from August 1st, 1845; and at the termination of that period, the Charter to be terminable on twelve months' notice, but continuing in force until such notice be given.'

Such were the conditions on which the government proposed to grant a new Charter to the Bank of England, and which were, with slight alterations, accepted by that establishment. In 1844, the Act of Parliament gave its final sanction; and from that

* See Parliamentary Reports.

period the two departments of the Bank,—that of issue, and that of deposit, or ordinary banking business,—became as separate and distinct as if they belonged to separate firms.

The Bill which enacted this state of things had not passed more than three years, before the inconvenience to the public became manifest. In 1847, in consequence of the railway speculations, the large imports of corn, and the extension of our foreign commerce, all which demanded an extended capital, the pressure on the money market became seriously heavy; and such was the critical situation of the Bank of England, that it was compelled to appeal to the government, to be allowed to extend its issue of notes beyond the legal limit; the bank of deposit being so close run as to be on the eve of stopping payment,* whilst the other department held a large amount of specie, for which it had no use. For any private mercantile house of business, or a private bank, to be placed in such a position, (if it were *possible*,) would render it the laughing-stock of every sensible merchant in the country.

It is here proper to state what are the securities referred to in the second and third clauses of the government proposition.

First, there is the debt due to the Bank from the government, which amounts to the sum of £14,015,100, to which other sums have been added, amounting in all, in round numbers, to £16,500,000. For this, adequate securities are undoubtedly held by the Bank, the whole nation standing pledged, by its representatives in Parliament, for the payment; but so far from the securities being of such a nature as to be convertible, it would be impossible to negotiate them in any market, and the debt itself is strictly in the nature of a book debt for which a simple bond is given.

Secondly, there are private securities, upon which the Bank is allowed to issue notes to the amount of £14,000,000.

Thirdly, the amount of gold and silver coin and bullion held by the Bank.

With regard to the first two items, it is evident that, in case of extreme pressure, these would be of no avail, the very circumstances that occasion such pressure rendering it doubly impossible to realize the securities, except at the most ruinous sacrifices; so that if the pressure continued, the government would have no alternative but to imitate the example of Pitt in 1797, when, upon the Bank of England *stopping payment*, an order in council was issued to suspend cash payments; which order was confirmed by Parliament, and continued until 1819,

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* See page 114, for the evidence of the governor of the Bank.

when by 'Peel's Act,' as it is called, the resumption of cash payments was provided for. And in respect to the amount of coin and bullion held by the Bank in the issue department, and which is the regulator of the issue of notes, it fluctuates day by day, and is in the nature of things the smallest, and consequently contracts most the issue of notes, at the time when an extension of the latter is most needed.

Nor has the Bank the smallest power to check the efflux of the precious metals under the Charter. In five years it has raised its interest from one and a half to ten per cent., for that purpose; but still the amount continued to decrease, until, alarmed at the ruin which stared the whole trading community in the face, the Charter was for the second time suspended, and the Bank allowed to extend its issues.

It is evident, too, that with such large liabilities as those of the Bank of England, the amount of the specie held by it can hardly warrant the assumption that the currency rests upon a metallic basis. It may or may not be true, that there is coin enough in the country to meet the wants of the internal trade under ordinary circumstances; but this alone cannot constitute a metallic basis, when the Bank, which is the representative or fountain of the currency, holds not enough to meet its liabilities by one half, one fourth, or one eighth, as the case may be. Under such circumstances, it would be far more correct to say that the basis of the currency is *public credit*, which alone sustains the solvency of the national Bank.

Perhaps the separation of the two departments of the Bank,—the issue, and the deposit,—is the greatest commercial anomaly this country has ever seen. Let us suppose, by way of illustration, a merchant having a business establishment in one part of his house for selling tea, and another in a separate portion for selling sugar. One of these—say the tea warehouse—finds itself without funds, having made heavy purchases; whilst the sugar department has amply sufficient to meet the requirements of both. What would be thought of the wisdom or prudence of the party, if he had bound himself by an irrevocable deed to keep the two establishments so distinct, that under no circumstances of pressure could he allow the funds of the one to be appropriated to the relief of the other; and he must risk a bankruptcy rather than violate his engagement? Yet such is the actual *legal* position of the Bank of England, by virtue of its Charter, as we shall presently show.

At the time (1844) when the new Charter was granted to the Bank, the amount of bullion and specie in its coffers was about £16,000,000, the price of consols was *at par*, and the interest of money on good bills two and a half per cent. After the passing

of the Act, and towards the beginning of 1847, owing to the large speculations to which we have already referred, the amount of the precious metals gradually declined, until, on the 25th of October in that year, it was reduced to £8,500,000. At the same time consols had fallen to 79¾, and the interest on first-class bills at the Bank of England was eight and a half per cent. But now came the separation of the two departments into the most perplexing operation. For whilst the bank of issue held specie to the amount of £8,500,000, that of deposit possessed only £303,000, against £20,500,000 of paper, and £14,000,000 of deposit, for which £34,500,000 it was liable to be called upon any day or hour. But not one shilling of the £8,500,000 held by its colleague could it touch to relieve itself, without an infraction of the Charter, which the necessity of the case compelled; for on the 25th of October a letter came from the chancellor of the exchequer to the governor and company of the Bank, as in 1797, authorizing them to extend the issue of notes in the banking department, whereby the Act of 1844 was for the time set aside.

But we have seen a more extreme case within the last few months, showing the folly and absurdity of this regulation. Owing to the vast extension of our foreign commerce, and especially the imports, the exchanges have of late been against the United Kingdom: and notwithstanding the enormous quantities of gold continually flowing into the Bank from the American and Australian gold-fields, the quantity held by that establishment has since 1852 been reduced from £22,000,000 (in July of that year) to about £7,000,000 on November 11th, 1857; the interest on first-class bills having, in the same period, risen from one and a half to ten per cent., and consols having fallen from 100½ to 88 per cent.

And now again occurred a specimen of the working of the separation of the two departments. On this same 11th of November the amount of specie and bullion in the issue department was £6,666,065, whilst the banking department absolutely had only £504,443, against £20,188,355 in notes, and £19,103,078 in deposits, all liable to be instantly required to be made good in cash; so that in fact, had not relief been afforded, the banking department must have closed its books the next day, not having more than enough in specie to pay about twopence halfpenny in the pound! Such was the emergency, and so critical the state of affairs in the deposit department, that the principals of three of the leading firms in the monetary circle waited on Lord Palmerston, to represent the urgent necessity of taking immediate steps to afford relief, by a temporary suspension of the

Bank Charter Act. After some little hesitancy on his part, his lordship consented, and a letter was immediately dispatched to the 'governor and company' of the Bank, authorizing them to extend their issue beyond the limits of the Charter, on condition that the *interest on bills should not be reduced below ten per cent.* The argument that determined his lordship to comply, is said to have been the declaration of one of the gentlemen, connected with a house of discount, that 'he had a million of money lying at his bankers, but not one more bill would he cash until relief was granted.'* And thus, a second time within ten years was the Act of Parliament set aside by the first minister of the crown; rendering it necessary to assemble Parliament at an unusual period, in order to obtain a bill of indemnity for this infraction of the Act.

This concession at once relieved the general commerce of the country, and people began to breathe freely; but it is evident that so far as the involvement of the Bank is concerned, it made things worse. Not only were the liabilities increased, but the bullion and specie continued for a time to decrease in spite of the stipulation on which the letter of licence was granted; for we find in the following week (Nov. 18th) that the amount of bullion and coin in the Bank was reduced to £6,484,096; and that the liabilities (notes and deposits) in the banking department had increased to £42,827,125, to meet which it held in specie only £404,501, or little more than twopence farthing in the pound; being of course the only portion of the assets available in case of a 'run,' supposing the Charter Act to have been peremptorily enforced.†

Such is the position of the Bank of England at the present time; notwithstanding which, the credit of that institution cannot sustain any fatal shock, because, as we have already stated, it is so interwoven with the government in all its operations, that the latter stands deeply pledged to support it. This, however, is not the question, but what is the influence the present Charter

* During the panic of November, 1825, a gentleman belonging to a first-rate banking firm in the Eastern Counties applied to the Bank of England for an advance of £50,000. He was told it could not be granted; for that such was the pressure on the Bank, that it would have enough to do to meet it. The party then went to the firm in Lombard Street by whom their town business was transacted, and stated the case; upon which one of the partners returned with him to the Bank of England. 'My friend here tells me,' said the latter to the cashier, 'that you decline to advance him what money he wants, to take home with him.' 'Yes,' replied the cashier, 'we dare not part with any more for the country.' 'Well then,' rejoined the Lombard Street man, 'if you do not let him have £50,000 before I leave this room, *I will go back to Lombard Street, and shut up my shop, and then—you shall shut up yours.*' This urgent argument prevailed, and the money was advanced.

† Pp. 87–117.

of the Bank has upon the prosperity of the country; and how far the two panics which have occurred since its existence have been aggravated by the restriction of the issue of paper to the amount of gold held by the Bank.

We must, in the next place, explain the position of the London joint-stock banks, and the private country banks of issue, whose interests have been materially affected by the Bank Charter.

Previous to 1825, no joint-stock banks could be established in England. But in consequence of the panic in that year, and the numerous and extensive failures of private banks, an Act was passed the following year, (7th Geo. IV., cap. 46,) by virtue of which joint-stock banks and banks of issue were allowed to be established in England, *but not within sixty-five miles of London in all directions;* the Bank of England still maintaining the *noli-me-tangere* principle. But in 1833, when the Bank Charter was again renewed, this limitation was so far relaxed, that country banks, whether joint-stock or private, were allowed to have agents in London for the cashing of their notes, but without power to re-issue notes payable on demand. This commences the history of the London joint-stock banks, most of which, being confined in their operations to the routine of banking business, without the power of issuing notes, have succeeded, and some have had extraordinary success. They were even forbidden to accept bills at less than six months' date; and the Bank of England obtained an injunction to restrain the London and Westminster Joint-Stock Bank from doing so. But the law has been evaded, by the country bankers drawing upon the London banks, '*without acceptance;*' which practice, first instituted by the London and Westminster Bank, has since been adopted extensively by all the banks.* The 'Royal British Bank' forms an unfortunate exception to the picture of prosperity exhibited by most of the other London joint-stock banks, owing, not to the principle on which it professed to set out, which was that of the Scotch banks, but rather to the fraudulent conduct of some of the managers and directors, and the neglect of others; the former having lent the funds of the Bank to each other without adequate security, and the latter either conniving at it, or neglecting to look into the accounts; between both, the creditors and shareholders have been cruelly victimized.

It was, however, under the Joint-Stock Bank Act of 1844, (7 and 8 Vict., cap. 113,) that this latter bank was established;

* Page 132.

and we have now to show the operation of that Act upon the private and joint-stock banks respectively. The sections of the Act having special reference to country banks reach *seriatim* from the tenth to the twenty-second, and comprise the following regulations amongst others, viz.:—

1. That no new bank of issue shall be established in any part of the United Kingdom, nor shall any banker issue notes who was not lawfully doing so on the 6th of May, 1844.

2. That no banking company or partnership, which then consisted of *only six, or less than six, persons,* shall issue bank-notes at any time, after the number of partners shall exceed six.

3. Bankers having ceased to issue their own notes, whether by agreement with the Bank of England or not, cannot resume such issues.

4. Existing banks of issue to be subject to a fixed amount, ascertained by the average amount of notes in circulation during the twelve months preceding the 27th of April, 1844; and at no time, after the 10th of October in that year, to have in circulation a greater amount, on the average of four weeks, than the amount so certified by the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes; and the account to be published in the *London Gazette.*

5. If any banker shall issue notes exceeding in amount the authorized issue, he shall forfeit a sum equal to the excess.

6. The accounts of all banks of issue to be sent to the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes, showing the amount of notes in circulation every day in the week, and the weekly averages to be published in the *London Gazette.* Any banker refusing or neglecting to comply with this regulation, is subject to a penalty of £100 for every such offence.

7. The mode of determining the amount of bank-notes in circulation, for the four weeks after the 10th day of October, 1844, is by dividing the number by that of days of business in such four weeks, and so on for every successive four weeks.

8. All bankers are compelled to take out a licence for every place at which their notes are issued, unless they had four such licences in force on the 6th of May, 1844.

9. The twenty-third section empowers the Bank of England to terminate all its agreements with bankers who had ceased to issue their own notes prior to the passing of this Act on December 31st, 1844; and to allow such banks a composition of one per cent. *per annum* on the average amount of Bank of England notes issued by such banks, and actually remaining in circulation, estimated on the amount of Bank of England notes delivered to such bankers within three months preceding some day in the month of April, 1845.

10. The twenty-fourth section empowers the Bank of England to agree with any banker entitled to issue his own notes under this Act. The same section provides, that in case any increase is made in the securities in the issue department, under an order in council, the amount of composition payable to such bankers shall be deducted from the amount payable by the bank to the public. By the twenty-fifth section, the whole of these compositions were to cease on the first day of August, 1856, or on any earlier day on which Parliament *may prohibit the issue of bank-notes.**

On these regulations, the importance of which to the public generally has induced us to give them in full, Mr. Ayres justly remarks, that 'the main principle involved was the *ultimate extinction of country banks of issue*, or rather of their notes, and the substitution of Bank of England notes in their stead. The consequences of them already are, that up to the year 1855 forty-seven banks of issue have from various causes ceased to issue their own notes, to the extent of £712,623, apportioned as follows :—

			Authorized Issue.
'18	Private Banks	closed	£217,146
11	ditto	become bankrupt	175,778
10	ditto	issue Bank of England notes	157,612
8	Joint Stock Banks	dissolved	162,087
			£712,623.' †

Looking at this result in twelve years after the passing of the Act, we will go further than Mr. Ayres, and say that *it is the interest* of the Bank of England to annihilate every bank of issue but itself in the kingdom, and that *it has the power in its hands to effect it.* Let the House of Commons look to this when the question of the Charter comes before it. We should like to hear an able financier show what would have been the consequences throughout the country, in a crisis like that of the 11th of November last, with no local notes in circulation, and the Bank of England compelled by its Charter to refuse an extension of its issues. We suspect the whole industrial energy of the country would have collapsed,—*died of inanition,* and its progress been thrown back for many years. As it is, houses of the first character for honour and respectability of dealing have been compelled to succumb, for no other cause than the operation of the Bank Charter Act, compelling the Bank to con-

* Page 145. † Page 148.

tract its issues when the circumstances of the country required a judicious extension.

We must next look at the Joint-Stock Banking Law of 1844, the most striking features of which are as follows. After recapitulating the process for obtaining the Charter of incorporation, and the routine of meetings, accounts, appointment of directors, &c., the terms on which a bank may commence business, &c., the Act provides a series of regulations, intended to protect the public as well as the shareholders from frauds, but which, in the sequel, have signally failed of their purpose. One of the most injurious clauses is that which confers upon the Court of Chancery a separate power from the Court of Bankruptcy, in case of a bank failure. The evils of this separate jurisdiction were strikingly exemplified in the case of the Royal British Bank, in which the squabbles between these two Courts for the power to have the handling of the rich legal booty that would accrue from the working of the insolvency, were most unseemly. We should like to know what the contest between these two rival blood-suckers cost the unfortunate creditors of the bank; for, of course, all the expenses were paid out of the estate: a notable illustration of the epigram,—

'We lawyers, though so keen,
Like shears, ne'er cut ourselves, *but what's between.*'

At the time of the passing of the Bank Charter Act in 1844, the amount of bank-notes issued by private and joint-stock banks, as authorized by the Act, was as follows:—

By 203 Private Banks		£5,153,407
„ 72 Joint Stock Banks		3,495,446
Total, England and Wales		£8,648,853
Decrease by Private Banks	£655,598	
Ditto Joint-Stock Banks	192,089	847,687
Present circulation		£7,801,166

The amount of notes of the Bank of England in circulation *against gold*, after the passing of the Act, was £15,400,000. On the 11th of November, 1857, it was only £7,170,508, making a decrease of £8,229,492. Add this to the decrease in the circulation of country bank-notes, and we find the amount to be:—

Country Notes, less	£847,687
Bank of England ditto, ditto	8,229,492
Total decrease	£9,077,179

Thus, whilst the foreign commerce of the country has doubled itself since 1844, and the internal trade has also largely increased, the circulation of paper-money is upwards of nine millions less than it was at that time; * and that of private and joint-stock banks must necessarily continue to decrease under the present system, by which the Bank of England is endowed with the power of destroying any bank of issue, in order to replace its notes by its own,—the only way in which, according to the Charter Act, it can extend its issues beyond the prescribed limits.

We shall next consider the condition of the metallic currency, as having exercised a powerful influence in producing the late panic, both here and in America.

First, with regard to the United States. The discoveries of the gold-fields of California produced great excitement in the States of the Union; and under the impression that this sudden acquisition of wealth was about to cover the whole nation with an unebbing tide of prosperity, speculation was indulged upon the largest scale. In this category railways occupy the most prominent place, as having absorbed the largest amount of capital. It is estimated that the sum expended in these works up to the end of 1856 amounted, in round numbers, to £160,000,000 sterling, of which £16,500,000 have been subscribed by foreigners,† the rest being raised in the States. It being impossible for the ironmasters of that country to furnish the rails and machinery, either *in time*, or at a rate of cost as low as those of England, most of the railway iron, as well as the machinery, was purchased or contracted for here. The United States, not having articles of export to exchange for it, were compelled to pay in specie or bullion. The consequence has been, that in six years from 1851 inclusive, the exports of the precious metals exceeded the imports by 213,115,399 dollars, or £42,623,080 sterling. This drain of specie had reduced the proportion held by the 1,273 banks of the Union to the ratio of 1 specie to $3\frac{1}{3}$ paper on the 1st of January, 1856; and this disproportion has largely increased since that period, and is now, we believe, as 5 of paper to 1 of specie; so that the Californian gold, which was to have enriched the States, and rendered them independent of foreigners, has been sent out of the country to pay for materials of undertakings, many of which are at present nearly useless, being driven into districts where there is no population to support a traffic, either in produce or passengers; whilst they involve the country in heavy expenses for their maintenance and management, without any adequate return.

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* Having decreased £135,059 since 1855. See Ayres, p. 141. † Page 374.

We have no occasion to seek for other causes of the severe crisis under which the United States have been suffering. The whole circulation of the country has consisted of paper, which, whilst the credit of the banks by which it was issued remained unshaken, created no alarm. But the failure of one or two led to an exposure of the inadequacy of the means, to meet their liabilities *in cash*, of all the banks. A general run upon them ensued, in consequence of which the whole monetary system collapsed, producing the convulsion we have seen. Specie was demanded in every quarter, but none was to be had. Securities and property of all kinds fell to half their value; produce in the west could not be moved for want of the means for paying the transit expenses; all were sellers, but none could purchase; and at one period wheat was offered at Chicago at 1*s.* per bushel, but could not be disposed of. At New York, 4,000 failures took place; and it seemed as if the whole commerce of the place would become bankrupt. In this exigency, the whole of the banks came to a resolution to suspend cash payments; from which time, as a letter we received states, 'the solvent merchants and traders began to breathe more freely.' Confidence is gradually being restored, and the cloud which hung over the trading community of the States is passing away. But it will require years for the commerce of the country, notwithstanding its wonderful elasticity, to recover entirely the ground it has lost, and to reinstate it in the same degree of prosperity it previously enjoyed.

The shock of the American panic was necessarily felt severely in the United Kingdom, and was aggravated by the extraordinary drain of gold, to supply the continental nations, especially France. The non-receipt of the usual remittances from the United States led to increased demands on the Bank of England, as well as private banks, for discounts, which were met by the former with a rise in the rate of interest, gradually increased, until it reached the unprecedented charge of 10 per cent.; and many of the first houses in the American trade, having their paper refused by the discount houses, were obliged to succumb. In the meanwhile, the drain of gold and silver—the latter chiefly for the East—from the Bank continued, as we have seen, and reached its maximum on the 18th of November. This extraordinary efflux of the precious metals demands more than this passing notice, connected as it is with the high rate of interest, the extreme caution exercised by the Bank of England, and the consequent embarrassment in the commerce of the country.

The railway panic of 1847 was of short duration. Enormous as were the sums that had been expended in a short space of time, the money had not left the country, being only transferred

from one hand or class to another, and that only *pro tempore.* The openings for trade and commerce with the United States, California, and subsequently Australia, gave an impetus to every industrial interest, particularly that of railways, which in 1850 began to recover from the depression under which the panic had placed them. In the meantime, the gold from California found its way to our shores; the exchanges turned in our favour; and in 1852, as we have seen, the amount of bullion and specie at the Bank of England was £22,000,000, and the rate of interest $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ *per cent.* The gold-fields of Australia also now began to pour forth their stores of the precious metal, and everything looked promising for the financial condition of the country. Trade and commerce flourished to an unprecedented extent; almost every quarter's account from the Board of Trade exhibiting an increase upon the corresponding one of the preceding year.

Events, however, had transpired in France which materially changed the condition of the accounts of the Bank of England, and at last led to the monetary crisis which has just passed over the country. In 1851, the *coup-d'état* of Louis Napoleon placed him ultimately on the imperial throne of his uncle; and that sagacious prince saw at once that his interest and safety were bound up with that of the industrial classes of France. With this conviction, he originated a series of financial operations, which, whatever may be the opinions entertained by men acquainted with the subject, are calculated, so long as they continue, to give impetus and energy to all industrial employments. Amongst these, the most important are the *Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier,* for making advances upon moveable and transferable securities; and the *Crédit Foncier de France,* whose object is to advance money on mortgages of land, &c., repayable by means of annuities, extending over a period of fifty years, and consisting of the common interest, with the addition of an annual payment by way of sinking fund, which shall extinguish the debt in a period according to its amount. To these payments are added the expenses of the investment. We cannot go further into the details of these institutions, which, whilst they exist, are certainly calculated, if properly managed, to promote the interests both of the public and the shareholders. The *Crédit Mobilier* has been extraordinarily successful hitherto, having in 1855 paid the shareholders a dividend of 40 per cent. upon the capital, and in 1856, of 23 per cent. The *Credit Foncier,* the first three years of its existence, paid the more humble dividend of 7 per cent. *per annum.**

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* Pp. 265-275.

The war with Russia, in which Napoleon found himself involved almost at the instant at which he ascended the imperial throne, created, in conjunction with the financial movements we have referred to, and others, heavy calls upon the Bank of France for specie. Fortunately for the government of that country the supplies of gold obtained by the recent discoveries in California and Australia began at the very moment to pour into the United Kingdom and Europe, to minister to its wants. France has been for five years the chief purchaser of gold in the British and American markets. Since 1845 there has been coined in France £124,639,401 sterling, namely, £90,186,835 in gold, and £34,482,346 in silver.* The chief portion of these amounts were purchased in England on account of the Bank of France, at a considerable premium † on the Mint price of £3. 17*s.* 9*d.* per oz. During the same period there has been coined in England only the sum of £65,507,379, namely, £62,117,784 in gold, and £3,389,595 in silver. The aggregate amounts in the two countries make up the sum of £190,146,780 sterling in eleven years, or an average of £17,286,071 per year.

When to these heavy drains upon the precious metals in England are added those for other nations of Europe, and to the East, (the latter chiefly in silver,)‡ we can be at no loss to account for the late decrease in the stock of bullion at the Bank. The amount coined in the United Kingdom was required by the large increase in the internal trade; and a full proportion of it is kept in active circulation, and is therefore lost to the Bank as to any permanent addition to its stock of specie. The Bank has, in fact, no more power to retain or reject the precious metals under the present system, than a sieve has to retain water; for, were it otherwise, the late rate of interest would have enabled it to do so. And when specie continues to be in demand on the Continent, it is evident that no expense will be spared to procure it, and that the Australian and Californian supplies, however large, will still but touch our shores as a resting-place on their way to the continental nations.

* Page 453.

† This was 1½ per cent. In October, 1855, the bullion in the Bank of France having fallen to less than ten millions sterling, that establishment resorted to a singular expedient to increase it artificially. It employed agents to purchase in the continental cities bills of *short date* drawn upon London, to send those bills for collection in London, and to instruct their correspondents to remit the proceeds *in gold coin or bullion* to Paris. It then bought up large parcels of bills of *long date* on London, presented them for discount at the Bank of England, or in Lombard Street, and conveyed the proceeds, *in bullion*, to Paris. This notable expedient to obtain a transient relief cost the Bank of France in fifteen months £410,000 sterling, the gold thus purchased amounting to £27,360,000, for which the premium paid was 1½ per cent.—*Tooke*, vol. vi., p. 85.

‡ The quantity shipped to the East (China and India) in the six years, 1851–56, amounted to £41,500,000 sterling, namely, gold £5,000,000, and silver £36,500,000.

We have thus endeavoured, very imperfectly, but as fully as time and space would admit, to point out what we consider to be the chief causes in producing those monetary convulsions which, since 1844, have produced so much disaster and distress in the commercial and trading communities, by deranging the currency, and reducing its amount at those periods when it most required expansion. Upon a review of all the facts we have stated, and all the collateral ones contained in Mr. Ayres's excellent and instructive work, but which we have been compelled in a great measure to pass by, we have drawn the following conclusions :—

1. That the Bank Charter Act of 1844–5 has signally failed of its intended purpose, namely, that of keeping steady the currency of the country; the government being compelled for that very purpose, on two occasions in ten years, to suspend the Charter Act, at periods, too, when, if ever, it ought to have displayed its utility.

2. That the separation of the two departments of issue and deposit is a commercial absurdity, anomalous in principle, and fatal, if carried out with rigour, to the interests both of the Bank of England and the public.

3. That the late panic, although precipitated by the American crisis, must have occurred at no remote period, owing to the aforesaid separation of the departments; by which all the responsibility of the Bank is thrown upon the deposit, whilst the means of meeting it are accumulated in the issue department, where it is not wanted.

4. That the three-fold interests of the proprietary of the Bank are inimical to the welfare of the community, because their private interests will naturally always be preferred to those of the public, whenever they are opposed to each other.

5. That the power bestowed upon the Bank by the Charter of extinguishing all other banks of issue, and which appears to have been the design of the legislature, or the promoters of the Act, is a monstrous injustice, incompatible with the British constitution, and tending to raise up the greatest and most injurious monopoly to which the country has ever been subjected; calculated to fetter and distress commerce by centralizing the circulating medium at one source of issue; the monopolists having private interests incompatible with those of the public, whilst they possess the power, by contracting their issues, to spread ruin and distress in every department of society.

6. That, taking all the circumstances into account, it becomes a question, now that the commerce of the United Kingdom, and consequently its financial and monetary system, have so vastly increased in magnitude, and are so interwoven, by

the operation of the free-trade principle, with those of the entire civilized world, whether it is consistent with justice or sound policy to intrust the management of the currency any longer to a public company possessing individually separate private interests, frequently interfering with those of the community at large; whether the system has not become too unwieldy by its magnitude for such a company; and whether, finally, a Chartered Bank, *in any* form, be not inconsistent with the new order of things, in which every other department of commerce is thrown open to the public.

We conclude our notice, which we have rendered a running commentary on the facts adduced by Mr. Ayres, with the following quotation from the work:—

'In the facts which have been given of the progress of the Bank of England through a long series of years, there are ample materials for forming a comprehensive view of the monetary system of England, as it once was, and as it remains at present. It cannot be doubted that on the first establishment of the Bank of England, it was almost a necessity of the State, owing to the discredit which then existed, through the conduct of the Stuarts. And such was the position of the government of that day, that it was only by appealing to corporate bodies, holding out to them some peculiar privileges, that public credit could be restored. So far, therefore, the institution of the Bank became of national advantage, and the centre of the system around which all other banks revolved. In the course of the Bank's career, it had to encounter great difficulties, in the midst of which it has stood forward with great courage to defend the State, and maintain public credit. Time and circumstances have forced it to resign many of its privileges, which, however desirable in former days, could not now be permitted to exist. Further improvements still remain to be made; and like other institutions professing to be of public utility, it must submit to the reforms which conduce to the public welfare. The monetary system of this country is upon its trial. In the United Kingdom there is a great mixture of laws and regulations confounding and contradicting each other, all of which demand the most serious consideration of the country and the legislature. It is not intended in this publication to lay down any particular system, but to place before the reader such facts as will enable him to form correct opinions upon the subject; for it must be evident to those who have examined it in all its bearings, that any alteration, to be nationally beneficial, must embrace *the whole system* of the United Kingdom, and have no foundation but the public good.'—Page 117.

We should not be doing justice to our author, if we omitted to state, that his work embraces a review of the financial routine of the whole civilized world, and consequently contains information of the first importance to the merchant as well as the statesman. And it is not the less entitled to the attention of

all parties, that he has adroitly managed to merge his own private sentiments, whatever they may be, in the general question, so as to make it difficult to say, whether he was educated in the school of 'one Tyrannus,' the protectionist, or was brought up at the feet of 'Gamaliel,' the free-trader.

The rapid accumulation of bullion in the coffers of the Bank, and the equally rapid fall in the rate of interest from ten to two and a half per cent. in about three months, is a striking illustration of the working of the Bank Charter Act. In the meanwhile the heavy list of bankruptcies every three days proclaims the deadness of trade and commerce, and the utter exhaustion to which the late panic has reduced the industrial interests of the country. We shall look with interest and curiosity for the Report of the Committee appointed, during the short Session before Christmas, to renew the inquiry into the "Currency Question;" but we do not anticipate any alteration in the system, which is too convenient to the government, and too profitable to the Bank, to be either abandoned, or extensively modified, so as to meet the requirements of commerce.

ART. IV.—1. *The Rifle, Axe, and Saddlebags, and other Lectures.* By WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN. With Introduction by the REV. J. M'CLINTOCK, D.D. New York: Derby and Jackson.

2. *America and American Methodism.* By the REV. FREDERICK J. JOBSON. With a Prefatory Letter by the REV. JOHN HANNAH, D.D. London: J. S. Virtue.

3. *Asbury and his Coadjutors.* By the REV. WILLIAM C. LARRABEE, A.M. In Two Vols. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern.

4. *The Life of the Rev. R. Roberts, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By the REV. CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D. New York: Conference Office.

5. *Life and Times of the Rev. Elijah Hedding, D.D., late Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By the REV. D. W. CLARK, D.D. With an Introduction by the REV. BISHOP E. S. JANES. New York: Carlton and Phillips.

6. *The Life of Henry Bidleman Bascom, D.D., LL.D., late Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.* By the REV. M. M. HENKLE, D.D. Louisville: Morton and Griswold.

7. *Autobiography of the Rev. James B. Finley: or, Pioneer Life in the West.* Edited by W. P. STRICKLAND, D.D. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern.

8. *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher.*

Edited by W. P. STRICKLAND. New York: Carlton and Porter.

9. *Sketches of Western Methodism: Biographical, Historical, and Miscellaneous: Illustrative of Pioneer Life.* By the REV. JAMES B. FINLEY. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern.
10. *The Pioneers of the West: or, Life in the Woods.* By W. P. STRICKLAND. New York: Carlton and Phillips.
11. *Seven Years' Street Preaching in California, embracing Incidents, Triumphant Death-Scenes, &c.* By the REV. WILLIAM TAYLOR. Edited by W. P. STRICKLAND. New York: Carlton and Porter.

IN our third volume we gave a sketch of the rise, progress, and present state of the American Methodist Episcopal Church. Since that sketch was published, a variety of circumstances has concurred to create in England a deeper and more extended interest in all that relates to this, the eldest daughter of British Methodism. The appointment of Dr. Hannah and Mr. Jobson, in 1855, to represent the English Conference in the ensuing quadrennial diet of the American body; the great impression produced by the statements of these ministers upon their return to this country; and, lastly, the appearance of Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock at the late Conference in Liverpool, as the representatives of the kindred church in the United States, together with their associate and friend, Mr. Milburn, have brought home the mere fact of the existence of the transatlantic Connexion to the apprehension of many who were but dimly aware of it; and have excited an eager and laudable curiosity to know as much as possible of one of the most surprising ecclesiastical phenomena in the history of the world.

It has not been unusual for the two churches to exchange courteous and Christian salutations through the medium of their respective Conferences. In addition to official correspondence, more or less regularly conducted, they have frequently been represented in each other's annual assembly by ministers eminent for station and influence. The venerable Richard Reece, accompanied by the then youthful John Hannah, in 1824; Dr. Newton and Mr. Stinson, in 1840; Dr. Dixon, in 1848; and Dr. Hannah and Mr. Jobson, in 1856, successively appeared on behalf of British Methodism in the General Conference: while Mr. Emory, in 1820; Mr. Capers, in 1828; Bishop Soule and Mr. Sargent, in 1842; and last, but by no means least, Bishop Simpson and Dr. M'Clintock, in 1857, were present as the delegates of the General Conference among

their brethren in England. There can be no doubt that these delegations have been mutually agreeable and beneficial in the highest degree; and the hope is very generally indulged, at least on this side of the Atlantic, that they may be maintained with greater regularity.

The visit of the last American deputation, especially, will not soon be forgotten in this country. Three such men have seldom appeared as the representatives of a single church; and they remained long enough to become known, both in their public and private capacity, to a wide circle of friends; and they have won an abiding place in many English hearts. Bishop Simpson is said to have remarkable administrative talents, which have been exercised with great advantage in the American church; but in this country he was recognised at once as a preacher of no ordinary gifts. There is something overwhelming in his abundant and vehement eloquence. His mind is keenly sensitive of the profound and various truths which the subject of his ministry brings before him, and his illustrations have a rude grandeur which remind us of the scenery of his native land; but the characteristic of his preaching is intense moral power. He rushes upon the soul with all the weight of his important message. We have seen a vast audience swayed by his address, like the trees in a forest by a strong north wind; and then we have gained some notion of the effect produced in the camp-meetings of America, when some kindred, if not equal, genius, armed with the mightiest of moral truths, hurls them with irresistible force among the crowd. Dr. M'Clintock is a preacher of a different stamp. With much of the same energy of mind and purpose, he adopts a wider platform of discourse, and presses into the service of the sanctuary all the resources of logic and philosophy. For this feature his literary talents and experience will partially account; but in some degree it is characteristic of the American pulpit. Mr. Milburn, the third and uncommissioned member of this party, found in this country a peculiar welcome, prompted by his unusual store of gifts and graces. It needed not the fact of his almost total blindness to enlist the sympathies of English Christians in his behalf. He was the favourite of nature before he became the child of misfortune; his single privation opened the sources of a thousand pure delights; and while years ripened his faculties, and brought 'the philosophic mind,' the blessings of grace were also added to hallow and consummate the gifts of genius. As a pulpit orator, Mr. Milburn is distinguished for the number of his advantages and the range of his powers. His face indicates the utmost sensibility, and harmonizes well with the sweetness of a voice

which is capable of expressing peculiar tenderness and concern: but his voice is powerful as well as sweet, and passes with astonishing ease from tones of almost feminine pathos to notes of thrilling energy and power. His attitudes of dignity and grace are not less admirable; and all these advantages are well employed to subserve the chief purpose of a ministry which is distinguished by the largest reasoning, the most beautiful illustration, and the most persuasive appeals. To those who have not had the privilege of hearing Mr. Milburn, the little work, whose title we have given, will furnish a faithful but inadequate idea of his genius. We shall borrow from it, as occasion may require, illustrations of some of the points hereafter to be considered.

A natural result of this exchange of visits has been the occasional production of a volume containing the impressions of the writer respecting the country and the church which he had visited. Thus, there are several works in America, giving sketches of English Methodism from the American point of view; and we have more than one in this country expressing the views of English ministers on the people and the Methodism of the United States. The work of Dr. Dixon, published in 1849, is one of real merit, admirable alike for the glowing fancy, discriminating analysis, philosophic breadth, and for the warm and large-hearted sympathies which distinguish this venerable minister. And we have now another, from the graceful and pictorial pen of Mr. Jobson. It is the production of a genuine lover of nature, and an accomplished artist. It abounds with admirable descriptions of scenery; and its sketches of American social life, especially in Methodist circles, are beautifully and admirably drawn. Perhaps its chief value, in the eyes of many of our readers, will lie in the historical and biographical notices, and the pen-and-ink portraits of some of the heroes among the American Methodist ministry; and in the beautiful 'interiors,' whether conferential or congregational, with which the writer supplies us. We shall not say more respecting its general merits, both because we have already mentioned them,* and because the work has received the cordial approval of men of every class and denomination; but one or two extracts will be given, suitable to the design of the present paper.

Since our former article on this subject was written, a class of literature almost entirely new has issued from various publishing houses in America. Nearly all the works at the head of this paper have appeared in that interval. It will be seen that they are devoted chiefly to an account of the labours

* See vol. ix. of this *Review*, pp. 273, 274.

and successes of the PIONEERS OF AMERICAN METHODISM. They are replete with interest. The theme is novel; and the peculiarity of the scenes and social state which they represent; the originality and force of character exhibited in them; the romantic incidents described; and the astounding results recorded; render these volumes more entertaining and enthralling than any work of fiction we ever read. Several of them we have repeatedly perused, and always with increased interest and delight; and though we despair of imparting, within the limits at our disposal, more than a very small share of the pleasure and profit they have afforded to ourselves, we are glad to be able to open up to our readers a novel and delightful branch of social and religious history.

These extraordinary men belong to a class now rapidly passing away in America, as they have long since done in England. The early Methodist preachers, on both sides of the Atlantic, were men of no ordinary stamp. They were taken, for the most part, from a humble walk of life, and were destitute of early educational advantages and acquirements. But, besides possessing vigorous health and great muscular power, they were generally endowed with a more than average share of native intelligence and shrewdness, were distinguished for common sense and knowledge of human nature, and for a frank and hearty cheerfulness which peculiarly fitted them for intercourse with those classes of society among whom they chiefly laboured. Above all there was an emphatic decision, and a most contagious fervour, about their religious sentiments and character. The doctrines of spiritual religion were almost forgotten, and the notion of conscious Divine enjoyment was derided as a madman's dream, at the time of their 'conversion.' No wonder, then, that the renewing and saving process was, in all its stages, sharply defined to their perceptions, and associated with the most intense emotion. Truly in those days 'the light shined in darkness.' These men had, many of them, been wrapped in the deepest gloom of spiritual ignorance; and, for them, in most instances, there was no gentle daybreak, no gradually unfolding morn. Suddenly, 'like the sun at midday,' the full blaze of Divine truth burst upon them, revealing their hidden iniquities, and disclosing the yawning gulf at their feet. 'The sorrows of death compassed' them, 'the pains of hell gat hold upon' them. And the transition into the 'joy and peace in believing' was equally sudden and remarkable. With singular uniformity do these facts appear in the biographies of these memorable men; and they gave uncommon vividness to their

spiritual perceptions, and depth and intensity to their feelings. Fired with an all but unexampled ardour, burning with the love of Christ, they began at once to tell their fellows of the things which they had 'felt and seen.' In homely, nervous Saxon speech they proclaimed 'the terrors of the Lord,' and the consolations of the Gospel. They had been anointed with 'an unction from the Holy One;' and they displayed a pathos and power such as had not been witnessed for ages. The results which followed their preaching are matter of history; and all competent and candid men admit that the only Christian age that will bear a comparison with that which these burning and shining lights illuminated was the age of apostolic triumph. The scenes of their greatest success were the high places of wickedness. Brutal and unruly mobs were subdued, outcasts and reprobates reclaimed in astonishing numbers; and a religious and moral reformation was accomplished in both hemispheres, the extent of which it is impossible accurately to measure, and the value and importance of which it is equally impossible to exaggerate.

Amid the features common to these devoted men and their ministry, there was a wonderful originality and variety of character. It was so in our own country, and yet more remarkably in America. The American type moreover differs, as a whole, very widely from the English one; and under it we have very extraordinary and strongly marked varieties. The first preachers, indeed, were Englishmen. ASBURY, the prince and model of American evangelists, was an Englishman. His labours have, however, been already described in our pages; and we shall now address ourselves to the native variety,—quaint, droll, devoted, earnest,—altogether grotesque,—but one of the most potent agencies for good that the Great Master has ever seen fit to employ. We wish to give as full and faithful a picture of these men as our limits will allow; and if, occasionally, the sense of propriety and good taste may be shocked, our readers must duly remember that they are in the company of children of the wilds and the backwoods, who have nothing conventional about them.

Mr. Jobson shall sketch for us,—in the first instance,—three individual portraits. Two of the venerable men whom he describes have, as will be seen, written the story of their own lives; and we shall make free use of their narratives. But the following description is so vivid and beautiful, that we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of inserting it. The letter in which it appears was written in the General Conference at Indianopolis:—

'Three of these pioneer fathers are especially prominent and active in the Conference. They have all passed the allotted boundary of human life, and yet they are full of vigour. Like a few ancient trees that remain to tell of the grandeur of some primeval forest, these few survivors of a by-gone generation, by their look and behaviour, embody to your imagination the towering strength and unsubduable enterprise which characterized the men who laboured with them in the wilderness. The eldest of them, DR. JACOB YOUNG, is not so hale and vigorous as the other two. He has been of late years the subject of affliction, that seems to have nearly bereft him of eyesight. He is of Scotch Presbyterian descent, and is the son of a Virginian farmer. In early life, by the aid of his father's books, he wrought his way out of Calvinism into Arminianism, and experienced regeneration of heart. Almost ever since, and through a long life, he has been labouring as an itinerant Methodist preacher in the Western States. He is now a tall slender man, with deeply-sunken eyes, that seem filled with thought, and flowing, snow-white hair, that renders him venerable even to the eye, while one's remembrance of his patriarchal age deepens the feeling. He retains undoubted marks of careful self-culture; and though not so strong and vigorous as his two veteran brethren, nor so animated and figurative in his style of speaking, yet, on all great questions, he has something to say which commands the attention of the Conference. He is evidently a man of sound understanding and reliable judgment.

'The next in advance of years is DR. PETER CARTWRIGHT, a large, square-built man, with some native ruggedness, mingled with a good deal of humour, both in his looks, and in his speeches. There is a granite-like texture in his flesh, and a knotted roughness in his features, that stamp him as one who is hardy and enduring. And yet it would be a great omission in the slightest sketch of his appearance to represent him as lacking in geniality and good nature; for both his mouth and eyes, as well as the radiant play of the upper part of his cheeks, tell of a kindly and sociable nature. His head is large, and firmly supported between ample and compact shoulders. His brow is broad, and overhung with a mass of iron-grey hair. His eyes are intensely deep in colour, and shine like dark fires beneath his shaggy eye-brows, while crows'-feet wrinkles mark their corners, and add to the peculiar expression of his countenance. His complexion, never fair, is deeply tanned by the sun. His voice, when he begins to speak, is tremulous, but, as he proceeds, its old power returns, its rich natural organ tones are recovered, and he swells and rolls its deep diapasons most manfully. At times, to give point and wing to his side-shot arrows, he assumes a mock tragic tone and look, and then, after relating some backwood anecdote, which convulses the assembly with irresistible laughter, while he himself is solemnly grave, he falls upon his antagonist with overwhelming power, and leaves the victim prostrate under sarcasms. When roused by combined opposition, he launches in swift succession keen-edged sentences, and thoughts vivid and scathing as lightning; and then, with a voice roaring like a forest

hurricane, he pours out his condemnations and warnings with a force that crushes his foe, and fills others that hear with a sensation approaching to awe. Indeed, to hunt down and put to the cover of shame those whom he regards as dangerous to constitutional Methodism, seems to be regarded by him as his proper vocation. He plainly performs this work with all the zest of a backwoodsman hunter; and, to accomplish it, he spares neither bishops, deputations, presiding elders, ministers, nor people. On some occasions he is absolutely terrible in execution, and seems to stand on the floor of the Conference as fearless and as irresistible as the lion in his domain.'—*America and American Methodism*, pp. 206–208.

'The third of these western veterans is the REV. JAMES B. FINLEY, or 'Father Finley,' as he is usually called. He is a most loveable brave old man. In person he is large and massive; but he is neither so rugged in exterior nor so stormy in matter as 'Uncle Peter,'—the name often familiarly given to Dr. Cartwright. Father Finley's face wears an habitual expression of serenity. Religion has softened down the harder lines of his sun-embrowned countenance, and made it shine; and his long gray hair thrown smoothly back from his forehead, and flowing upon his neck and shoulders, places him also among the patriarchs in appearance. He is dressed in buff-coloured clothing of a primitive fashion, and always bears his staff with him, whether he walks or is seated. This keeps him at all times upright; and wherever you might see him, he would be a noticeable figure, and you would set him down for more than an ordinary character. When he speaks in the Conference, he rests what he says firmly and confidently on his age and experience in the work of God, and he always speaks graphically and well. In addition to his manly, Saxon style of expression, and forest-gathered imagery, there is a pathos in his addresses which is very winning. The deep founts of his nature often find vent in tears; and while speaking in the Assembly, he seems to yearn over his audience with the full affection of a father in Israel.' —*Ibid.*, pp. 209, 210.

This fine old man has lately passed away to his reward.

But let us now revert to the scenes where such men as these were, to use the American word, 'raised,' and where their ministry has been principally exercised. They were, for the most part, born upon the frontier of civilization, or, in very early life, were removed into the wilderness. They consequently partook, in a large degree, of the peculiarities of the frontier population. Familiar from infancy with hunters, trappers, and squatters, and trained themselves in the hardy habits and pursuits of these forerunners of civilization, they acquired a self-reliance, spirit of enterprise, contempt of danger, and readiness of resource, which eminently fitted them for the work to which they devoted their lives. At the same time, they were not unfrequently distinguished—many would say, disfigured—by the eccentricities

incident to such a training. There is a lawlessness, a disregard of conventional propriety, a readiness to use physical force in emergencies, and even, let us confess it, an irrepressible love of fun, in some of these reverend children of nature, that will by no means harmonize with our ideas of a model minister, and would be unspeakably shocking to the sensibilities of 'the religious world' both in London and New York. Readers of some of the volumes before us will need to remember this, and occasionally to use it in mitigating a judgment which might otherwise be too severe. Men like 'Uncle Peter' must not be measured by the standard of our tame and proper civilization. God works by an endless variety of means. He has employed these men successfully in the greatest religious enterprises of modern times. And if, sometimes, we wonder at the oddity and uncouthness of the instrument, let us reflect on the still greater oddity and uncouthness of the material that was to be hewn and shaped by it, for the service of the sanctuary.

In many of these volumes we have elaborate and highly exciting descriptions of the scenes amid which the founders of Western Methodism were brought up. In the autobiography of 'Father Finley,' especially, there are a few chapters rivalling in thrilling interest even the immortal creations of Fenimore Cooper, and verifying the oft-quoted proverb, that 'truth is sometimes stranger than fiction.' He was born in Virginia, and was the son of a Presbyterian minister. His father removed to the then unbroken wilderness of Kentucky, on the remotest verge of the white population. Here a log hut was built, similar to all such structures at that time. It was neither more nor less than a fortified post, built of round logs, 'the first story made of the largest we were able to put up; the second story of smaller ones, which jutted over two or three feet, to prevent any one climbing to the top of the house.' The door, of puncheon-staves, was six inches thick, and strongly barred. The upper story was loopholed, for light, ventilation, and defence. Every one had a gun and ammunition, and 'we were always ready for war.' It was necessary to have sentinels continually posted; or, at any moment, the terrible war-whoop of the Indian might awake the woodland echoes, and the painted and frantic savage might burn the settlement, and scalp and destroy its inmates. The following gives a lively picture of the dangers and alarms to which the hardy pioneers were exposed, and of the wiles of Indian warfare:—

'About the middle of April the Indians paid a visit to our new home. They came in the night, while my father was engaged in

family prayer, and rapped, with a wiping stick, three times on the door. The dogs barked most furiously, and, the time for prayer having ended, the time of watching having come, every one of us seized our guns, and hastened to our posts. The night was so dark, it was impossible for us to discover any one. After some time all things became quiet without, and some laid themselves down for sleep, while others kept watch till welcome day dispelled our fears. With great caution the door was unbarred and opened; and, on examination, the tracks of three Indians were found as they passed over the newly-cleared field. Believing it was the purpose of the Indians to steal horses, and ours being in the woods, my father took his rifle, and went to hunt them. As he proceeded cautiously on his way, he came to a ridge, on ascending which he perceived a smoke rising up from the other side. Stealthily advancing, he saw the camp of the Indians, one of whom was sitting up, and the other two were lying down. He crept back slowly, and, taking another direction, he soon found the horses, and returned home. As soon as he returned, he sent to the station to give the alarm. It was considered best not to go out in quest of the Indians that night, but that all should keep on the look-out, and thus be prepared for them, should they make an attack. That night they took six horses, and started for the Ohio river, which was distant about seventy miles. Captain Cassady immediately started in pursuit, and on the second day overtook them; but, fearful of the consequences, they left the horses, and fled with such celerity that they were not overtaken.

'During the summer they stole several horses and killed a few persons, but made no formidable attack on any house or station. We were visited again by the Indians the following spring. It was the time of sugar-making. It was in the night, and we were boiling sugar-water. The distance of our camp from the house was about forty rods. All at once we were startled by what we supposed to be the hooting of several owls, and shortly after we heard a low whistle from a charger. The obvious design which we gathered from these movements was, that they intended to surround us. My mother, who was with us, being accustomed to Indian strategy and warfare, was not in the least intimidated; beside, she had passed through too many dark and bloody scenes to be faint-hearted. Approaching the coloured man, she said, "Indians! Stand behind that tree; let the fire burn till you think we have reached home; then throw a bucket-ful of water on the fire, slip out in the dark, and run home as soon as you can." The faithful servant obeyed all these directions; and the Indians, being thwarted in all their purposes, reconnoitred the houses. My father being absent from home, mother assumed the command; and, directing all to their posts, told us to stand firm, and not fire a gun till we were sure of our mark. The dogs set up a howl, as if they were frantic, till about midnight, when all became quiet. The Indians passed on to another settlement, where they took a prisoner and several horses, and then started for the river.'—*Finley*, pp. 36, 37.

No wonder the son of this high-mettled lady should be one of the most renowned and courageous of the pioneer band.

The story of frontier-life is, however, darkened by still more awful scenes than these. The red men of the woods found the white man everywhere crossing their own war-path, everywhere encroaching on their paternal hunting-grounds; and even apart from the cruelties and wrongs inflicted on them by individual adventurers, they had, in this fact, a sufficient motive for his extermination. We might fill our pages with the most tragic stories of the atrocities committed on both sides, in this exterminating warfare. Neither novelist nor dramatist has ever imagined anything surpassing the deeds of blood, revenge, and daring, which marked the progress of the intruding race. All the stratagems, disguises, vocal imitations, silent and serpentine approaches, of Indian warfare were incessantly in practice; while midnight burning, murders, scalpings, told in many instances how fatal and appalling was the red man's vengeance. We cannot be surprised that the often lonely settler should have speedily acquired, and even improved upon, the tactics of his remorseless foe, and have equalled, if not surpassed, him in ferocity and cruelty. Melancholy as these narratives are, making the very blood run cold, the state of things they describe was inevitable. The white man and the red man could not live together, and the career of conquest and colonization in America, with all its horrors, can only be accepted as the stern award of Providence.

But there were other enemies, scarcely less to be dreaded than Indians, in the wild beasts which infested the woods. The most formidable of these were wolves, bears, and panthers; and many a thrilling tale of adventures with these 'ugly customers' is told in the volumes before us. Yet the pleasure of hunting and shooting 'the varmint' far outweighed any inconvenience or discomfort arising from the sense of danger; and the wild and fearful life of the backwoods was not without its exquisite pleasures, all unknown to the pale and puny men who are 'in populous cities pent.' Finley dwells with most edifying relish on the stirring scenes of his boyhood, and with pardonable pride contrasts the stalwart and hardy race that grew up under such influences as the above, with the dyspeptic and effeminate generation whom he is addressing. We have a glance, too, at the comic side of the life which these people led:—

'Their children were fat and hearty, not having been fed with plum-pudding, sweetmeats, and pound-cake. A more hardy race of men and women grew up in this wilderness than has ever been produced since; with more common sense and enterprise than is com-

mon to those who sleep on beds of down, and feast on jellies and preserves; and although they had not the same advantages of obtaining learning that the present generation have, yet they had this advantage,—they were sooner thrown upon the world; became acquainted with men and things, and entirely dependent on their own resources for a living. A boy at the age of sixteen was counted a man in labour and hunting, and was ready to go to war; and now one of that age hardly knows the road to mill or market.....Their attire was in perfect keeping with their fare. The men's apparel was mostly made of the deer's skin. This, well dressed, was made into hunting-shirts, pantaloons, coats, waistcoats, leggings, and mocassins. The women sometimes wore petticoats made of this most common and useful article; and it supplied, almost universally, the place of shoes and boots. If a man was blessed with a linsey hunting-shirt, and the ladies with linsey dresses, and the children with the same, it was counted of the first order, even if the linsey was made of the wool of the buffalo. On some occasions, the men could purchase a calico shirt; this was thought to be extra; for which they paid one dollar and fifty cents or two dollars in skins and furs. And if a woman had one calico dress to go abroad in, she was considered a finely-dressed lady. Deer's hair or oak leaves was generally put into the mocassin, and worn in place of stockings or socks. The household furniture consisted of stools, and bedsteads made with forks driven into the ground, and poles laid on these, with the bark of trees, and on this beds made of oak-leaves, or cattail ' [what is this ?] ' stripped off and dried in the sun. They rocked their children in a sugar-trough or pack-saddle. The cooking utensils consisted of a pot, Dutch oven, skillet, frying-pan, wooden trays, and trenchers, and boards made smooth and clean. The table was made of a broad slab. And with these fixtures, there never was a heartier, happier, more hospitable or cheerful people. Their interests were one, and their dependence on each other was indispensable, and all things were common. Thus united, they lived as one family. They generally married early in life; the men from eighteen to twenty-one, and the girls from sixteen to twenty. The difficulties of commencing the world were not so great; and, as both parties were contented to begin with nothing, there was no looking out for fortunes, or the expectation of living without labour. Their affections were personal and sincere, which constituted a chief part of their domestic happiness, and endeared them to home. The sparkling log-fire in the backwoods cabin, the gambols of half-a-dozen cheerful, healthy children, and the smiles of the happy wife and mother, made an earthly paradise. Nothing could excite more hilarity than a backwoods wedding. Most generally, all the neighbourhood, for miles around, were invited; and, if it was in the winter, there would be a log-heap or two somewhere near the cabin. Around these fires the men assembled with their rifles; the women in the cabin; and if there was a fiddler in the neighbourhood, he must be present at an hour stated. The parson, if one could be had,—if not, the justice of the peace,—called the assembly

together, then the couple to be married. After the ceremony was over, and all had wished the happy pair much joy, then, if it could be had, the bottle passed around; the men then went, some to shooting at a mark, some to throwing the tomahawk, others to hopping and jumping, throwing the rail or shoulder-stone, others to running foot-races; the women were employed in cooking. When dinner was ready, the guests all partook of the very best venison, bear-meat, roast turkeys, &c. This being over, the dance commences, and, if there is no room in the cabin, the company repair to, or near, one of the log-fires; there they dance till night, and then they mostly return home; yet many of the young people stay, and perhaps dance all night on a rough puncheon floor, till the mocassins are worn through. The next day is the infair: the same scenes are again enacted, when the newly-married pair single off to a cabin built for themselves, without twenty dollars' worth of property to begin the world with, and live more happily than those who roll in wealth and fortune.'

Nor were refining and softening influences wanting. Nature was gentle and kind, whatever might be the rigour of circumstances, or the hostility of man. The 'forest primeval,' with its 'nodding pines and hemlocks bearded with moss, and with garments green, indistinct in the twilight,' was a wonderful school for these men. How its deep and solemn shadows overawed them; how its mysterious silence, or its voices now whispering among the leaves, and now thundering as the tempest awoke all the forest harmonies, spoke to them of an Omnipresent and Almighty God; how they read, and prayed, and meditated in its verdant oratories; how the imaginative and poetic elements always found in men so situated were kindled and sustained by mountain top, and lowly valley, and waving wood, and rolling prairie, and murmuring water, may be read at a glance in these volumes. We cannot wonder that there were so many splendid orators among them; that 'forest-gathered imagery' should so largely have enamelled their discourses; that they should have exerted so mighty and wide-spread an influence in their proper territory; or that the arrival of 'a backwoods preacher' in one of the tame cities of the East should produce a visible and extraordinary commotion, and call forth thousands to listen to his voice.

From amid such associations, and from the bosom of such society, for the most part, did the pioneer preachers spring, and their ministerial duties were performed chiefly among the scenes and circumstances of their youth. Theirs was no artificial or conventional character. Though often devoted and pious to an extent rarely seen, the odour of the woods was upon them, and they were ever fresh, racy, and original. They had neither been refined nor corrupted by 'the sophistications of cities.' No Pro-

crustes bed of college rule had reduced their dimensions, or destroyed their individuality. He who would sketch an ideal portrait of these men must dismiss all remembrance of the sleek, dignified gentleman, plentiful in starch, and arrayed in superfine black broadcloth, who may have been his image of a 'parson.' Our pioneer is sometimes clad in the leather hunting-dress above described; but more frequently in a suit of 'homespun,' buff, or grey, or 'of that bilious hue which is formed by copperas, alum, and walnut-bark,' and called 'copperas cloth;' in fact, of any colour, or of no colour at all: his coat is of 'shad-belly, or cut-away shape;' on his feet are probably 'brogans of home-tanned red leather, tied with thongs, made for climbing hills;' and his head is surmounted by a skin cap. But God's hand is on that awkward and homely man; his heart is full of zeal, and yearning with pity for his neglected and perishing countrymen; a voice calls him to labour for their salvation; and he is on the threshold of toils, sufferings, and successes, such as have no parallel in modern church history. No thought of danger daunts him. His education would forbid that, if the fire of a holy enthusiasm had not consumed every personal and selfish consideration. Before, however, he can enter on his work, he must be suitably equipped. His 'circuit' will probably include a circumference of from four to eight hundred miles. A horse is indispensable, and a good one too; for it is no holiday or summer tour that he is about to undertake. He must, moreover, have saddlebags, to contain his wardrobe, ('very coarse cotton,') and his library; for the wanderer scarce can hope henceforward to call any place on earth his *home*. In all probability, he is too poor to buy these necessaries of his vocation, and neither his friends nor 'the system' can help him. In that case, he must do as did the eloquent Bascom; (the most renowned orator of the Church in his day;) he must walk 'into the fresh, unculled forest with axe, wedge, and maul, in all the noble pride of confident self-dependence,' and rive the oak and ash; or, in some other way, must earn the means of his equipment. And now let Mr. Milburn show us one of these soldiers of Christ upon the march:—

'Traversing the trackless mazes of the woods, they are not seldom greeted by the crack of a rifle, and a bullet whistling near their ear from an Indian ambuscade. Their journeys take them through boundless reaches of uninhabited country. The cane-brake, the swamp, the moss at the foot of a tree, are their only beds for more than half the year. Their saddle is their pillow, with no tent but the canopy, save as the snow may wind its wintry sheet about them. They live by rule. Four o'clock of the morning finds them stirring. The knee is

bent in simple, fervent prayer. The soul's health thus cared for, and the body's welfare committed to an Almighty Friend, the faithful horse, loved as a companion, hobbled near at hand, claims the next attention; familiarly patted and talked to, he is carefully rubbed and curried, if a comb be at hand. Soon as the light is strong enough to serve, the little Bible is taken from the pocket or saddlebags, and chapter after chapter is studied on the knees, while ofttimes tears course their way down the weatherbeaten cheeks, bedewing the sacred page. I have seen more than one of these volumes, the text-book and solace of many a year, with its print so dimmed as to be illegible to any eyes but those accustomed to read it every day. These men were mighty in the Scriptures. Here they found panoply and arsenal. Then mounting, hymn-book in hand, they start upon their trackless way, guiding themselves by the sun, if he be visible; by the courses of the streams, or by the different shades and textures of the bark upon the trees. The bee's line is not more accurate than their direction. Never was lover more true to his tryst than these men to their appointments.'—*Rifle, Axe, and Saddlebags*, pp. 57, 58.

Of course the preacher is not always indebted to the forest for his night's lodging and entertainment. The log cabin of some Christian brother or friendly settler welcomes him to its rude but hearty hospitalities; or, amid the storms of winter, he has recourse to a shanty on which it is announced, in characters of charcoal traced on a clap-board, that the proprietor is accustomed, for a consideration, to provide 'Akomidation fur man and Beast.' If there be but one apartment, he must pursue his studies, by the light of a blazing pine-knot, after the family have retired to rest. Should there be the luxury of a 'prophet's chamber,' then,—

'You gain access to it by a rickety step-ladder in one corner of the cabin. Toiling up this steep ascent, you reach a loft, formed by laying loose clap-boards on the rafters. With dubious tread and careful steps, you pick your way across the floor. I have said the clap-boards are loose, and if you are not cautious, one end will fly up and the other down, in company with which latter you shall be precipitated upon the sleepers below. Having reached the opposite end of the loft, the prophet's bed is discovered. It is a bear-skin, a buffalo-skin, or a tick filled with shucks. Having laid him on this couch, our prophet, if he be thoughtfully inclined, can study astronomy from his resting-place, through the rifts in the roof; and, when it rains or snows, he has the benefit of the hydropathic treatment, without fee or prescription.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

Extraordinary stories of the dangers which beset the path of the frontier preacher, from Indians, wild beasts, and the numerous white criminals and 'rowdies' who infested these new countries, abound in these books; and also fine examples of the

spirit in which such dangers were met and overcome. Here is a scene which occurred during the journey of an emigrant party :—

'A few weeks before we passed, the Indians attacked three boats, two of which were taken, and all the passengers destroyed. The other barely escaped, having lost all the men on board, except the Rev. Mr. Tucker, a Methodist missionary, who was sent by the bishop to Kentucky. Mr. Tucker was wounded in several places, but he fought manfully. The Indians got into a canoe and paddled for the boat, determined to board it; but the women loaded the rifles of their deceased husbands, and handed them to Mr. Tucker, who took such deadly aim,—every shot making the number in the canoe less,—that they abandoned all hope of reaching the boat, and returned to the shore.....After the conflict this noble man fell from sheer exhaustion, and the women were obliged to take the oars, and manage the boat as best they could. They were enabled to effect a landing at Limestone, now Maysville; and a few days after their protector died of his wounds, and they followed him weeping to his grave.'—*Finley*, p. 25.

Indeed, the perils arising from this source were innumerable and incessant. Even the holy and apostolic Asbury was compelled occasionally to do duty as sentry over an emigrant camp; and it would have been thought, by the best of these devoted men, a most squeamish absurdity to hesitate at shooting any of the prowling savages who lay in wait to slay, burn, and devour.

The following will introduce us to dangers of another kind, encountered with equal coolness and courage :—

'On one of Bascom's periodical visits to this place, the preacher had arrived, most of the congregation had assembled, and many were exchanging salutations about the door, others were still dropping in, and the preacher, with his saddlebags on his arm, was conversing with a brother from another neighbourhood about making an appointment at a new place, when the report of a gun was heard but a short distance from the place. This was too common an occurrence to excite much interest, until a shout, then the yelp of a dog, were heard in the direction from which the report proceeded, and the next minute a bear was seen running by the place of meeting, pursued by a dog. Instantly two or three rifles were discharged after him, but he was too distant for the balls to take effect. Two or three other dogs joined in the pursuit, and directly nearly every male on the ground followed in the chase. The preacher, seeing his congregation gone, dropped his whip and saddlebags where he stood, and, being exceedingly swift on foot, he was soon ahead of all his people, and but little in rear of the dogs. The woods were dense, and, in a very short time, bear, dogs, and preacher were out of sight of the following crowd. The latter pursued by the cry of the dogs, and drippings of

blood of the wounded bear; but every moment the sound became more faint and distant, and old bear-hunters began to fear that the fleetness of the preacher might bring him into serious peril, should the bear make a stand against his pursuers, while at such a distance in advance of the company as to put him beyond the reach of immediate help. This fear came near to being realized; for the bear, unable to climb, by reason of the wound in his *arm*, and alike unable to elude his enemies by flight, planted himself against a tree, and prepared to defend himself to the utmost. The dogs were instantly around him, and at once a furious fight began. Practised dogs will not close with a bear but by compulsion, or when they have a very decided advantage; but while some make a feint in front, the others snap him in the rear, and then fly off before he can turn on them, and so on, alternating the attack as he changes front; but of the three dogs engaged in this conflict, one only had learned the necessity of these cautionary movements. When Bascom came up with the combatants,—which was in a very few moments,—the trained dog was playing around for an opportunity of a rear cut to his enemy, while the others were fiercely baying him in front, apparently debating the expediency of rushing upon his gnashing teeth and threatening claws. Bascom saw the posture of the parties, and, cutting a stout bludgeon, instantly, but rashly, decided on *intervention*, if necessary. Advancing nearer, he encouraged the hesitating dogs to the onset, and they rushed on the foe; the third dog saw his opportunity to attack from behind, and, for a few moments, the fight was furious; but soon the bear gave one of the dogs such a blow as sent him away howling with pain, and deeply gashed; another he seized in his terrible embrace, and appeared as if he would crush every bone in his body in a moment. By this time Bascom had got within a few feet of the enemy, and raised his club to bring it down on the head of the foe with crushing energy. The bear had taken a sort of sitting half-erect posture, with his back against the tree, and, as the club descended, he managed to evade the force of the blow, and, catching the bludgeon in his mouth, he struck his fangs through it, and held it fast, still holding the dog in his agonizing hug. Unwilling to be thus foiled, Bascom, who, having drawn his knife to cut and trim his club, and having no time to return it to his pocket, still held it in his hand, stuck it into the bear's side; it was, however, too small to produce instant death, but greatly exasperated the wounded animal. Either probably regarding this as foul play, or thinking the preacher an enemy more worthy than the dogs to engage his powers,—I am glad to say he did not live to tell which,—Bruin dropped the dog from his embrace, and made a plunge at his new enemy. A few seconds before this, the hunter whose rifle had wounded the bear, having outrun his fellows, emerged from the thicket a few rods from the scene of action. At a glance he saw Bascom's danger, cast down his gun, as he flew towards the spot with the speed that terror imparts, and drew from its sheath his long hunting-knife. As the bear made a plunge that must have brought the preacher fully within his power, two of the dogs seized

him behind, and broke the force of the movement; but yet he caught the leg of Bascom's pantaloons in his teeth, and, in spite of the efforts of the faithful dogs, would have drawn him within the grasp of his killing embrace, but that, at this perilous conjuncture, the hunter plunged his long keen blade to the very hilt into the heart of the furious beast, and, with a groan, he sank down dead, still holding the preacher's pantaloons between his clenched teeth.....The rest of the company came up; the adventure was talked over; comments were pleasantly made on the preacher's fleetness and courage; the bear was dragged back to the meeting-place, skinned, and hung up; the congregation collected in the house; the new-made young bear-fighter preached with uncommon life; an uncommonly interesting class-meeting followed; and a large proportion of the company dined together that day on the "preacher's bear." '—*Bascom*, pp. 73–77.

But these heroic men, and the cause which they sought to promote, had no enemies more inveterate than the numerous white 'rowdies,' who led a lawless life on the outskirts of civilization. The natural ferocity of the brutes, and the deadly hostility of the Indians to the 'pale-faces,' were not more perilous than the hatred of this abandoned class to the servant of God and his testimony. In some places, 'murderers, horse-thieves, highway robbers, and counterfeiters,' congregated in such numbers as to form a majority of the population. These must be encountered and addressed; for the preacher's commission sends him to 'every creature.' And, even in better ordered circles, the unsettled state of society favoured the development of vices which the faithful minister was compelled to denounce, often to his own serious peril. The following is an instance of this kind of danger, and of the amazing moral courage which faith inspired. Bascom is once more the hero:—

'On one occasion it became needful that he should administer a sharp rebuke to some disorderly young men in the congregation. These worthies swore vengeance, declaring that they would thrash him within an inch of his life. It was known that they intended to waylay him, as he crossed the mountain on the morrow, on his way to the next appointment. Some of the church members endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding on his journey, assuring him that the young men who had uttered these threats were desperate characters, and that they would be sure to make good their word; and that the consequences might be fatal to himself. He briefly replied that it was his duty to go, and he would go.

'One of his brethren volunteered to bear him company. On their way, they stopped to cut stout hickory cudgels, with which to defend themselves. Approaching a narrow pass on the mountain side, a wall of rock on one hand, a precipice on the other, the four rowdies were discovered with shirt-sleeves rolled up, their hands clubbing their weapons.

'"Four against two; let's go back," said the church-brother.

'"Come on," said the preacher.

'"They 'll kill us," replied the other.

'"Go home, then," said the preacher; and keeping his horse in a walk, quietly fixing his commanding eye on these four men bent on mischief, he rode up and passed them, while not a man of them seemed able to raise his club. The preacher's companion, who had tarried behind, watching in terror, seeing how rowdyism cowered before manhood, pricked his steed, and now came riding up. "That was pretty well done," said he.

'"Do you wish to ride with me across the mountain?" said the preacher.

'"Yes," answered the other, somewhat abashed.

'"Then fall back and follow; cowards shouldn't ride abreast with men." '—*Rifle, &c.*, pp. 63, 64.

Cartwright, in his autobiography, relates numerous scenes of a most ludicrous kind in which he enacted the champion's part against these 'rowdies.' They are too grotesque for our grave pages, and will shock the sensibilities of all who have a high sense of 'ministerial propriety.' Indeed, we should be sorry to endorse with approval many of the stories in this *bizarre* and eccentric book. And yet it is quite clear that on many occasions, and especially when great multitudes were assembled in the woods, some 'strong man' should be prepared to act, both as constable and magistrate, against these profane and abandoned wretches. Scenes of the most farcical absurdity could not fail to enliven such encounters, especially when the enforcer of the law was so dry a humourist, and so unscrupulous a borderer, as 'Uncle Peter;' but it is only fair to say that he always succeeded in suppressing riot and disorder, and that his contests, pugilistic or otherwise, were generally followed by sermons of astonishing power, and almost incredible spiritual results.

Of course it is as *preachers* that our pioneer heroes are chiefly to be regarded. Preaching was the grand means on which they relied for reclaiming the wild sons of the forest. They had to discharge this duty under an endless variety of circumstances, and to an extraordinary diversity of congregations. In the thinly-scattered settlements, they frequently went to an appointment in a lonely cabin, where their whole congregation consisted of the squatter's family. Sometimes, indeed, they found no congregation awaiting them; at others, mounted on the stump of a tree, they would address a few stragglers in the woods; and yet again, they would be found proclaiming the word of life to listening thousands amid all the excitements of a camp-meeting. But they were not much influenced by these differences. Their business was to seek and to save the lost; and so effectually

was it done, that, whether in units, or in congregated masses, nearly all the wild pioneers of the West heard from their lips 'the wonderful works of God.'

Of the style and character of their preaching we have many graphic and spirited descriptions. The following story is related of Bishop M'Kendree, one of the brightest and earliest lights of the Western Church. The scene is laid in Baltimore, at the time of the General Conference in 1808:—

'Among the appointments for preaching on the first Sabbath of the General Conference, there was announced for the Light Street church the name of William M'Kendree. When the hour of morning service arrived, there appeared an immense multitude of people, of all ranks and conditions of society congregating in a populous city. The members of the General Conference were there, the polished and hospitable citizens were there, and the slaves were there. The house was crowded, positively packed full,—full in the main body, full in the first gallery, full in the second gallery, and full in the pulpit. All eyes were turned to the stranger, as, at the appointed time, he entered the pulpit, and stood before them. He was a man of tall form and commanding appearance; but he was clothed in very coarse and homely garments, and his movements seemed, to the genteel part of his audience, awkward, and his manners rustic.

'He read the hymn without much regard to rhythm or melody. He prayed with indistinct and faltering voice. He read his text without any regard to impressiveness. He introduced the main subject of his discourse with a few commonplace and uninteresting remarks. The spirit of the people died within them. Their expectations of an interesting discourse from the western stranger seemed wholly disappointed. They made up their minds, as Christian people should, to bear as patiently as possible the dull and awkward sermon about to be inflicted on them.....But, when the discourse was about half finished, "a change came o'er the spirit of their dream." Samson arose in his might, and shook himself. The lion of the West made the walls of the Light Street church, as he often had made the forests of Kentucky, ring with his powerful voice. The effect was tremendous. An electric impulse thrilled through every heart. The whole congregation seemed overwhelmed. Tears burst from the eye, and sobs and shrieks from the voice. Multitudes fell helpless from their seats, sudden as if shot with a rifle.....The preacher then changed the tone of his voice, and there followed from the enraptured multitude shouts of joy, and acclamations of triumph and praise. He changed again, and a sweet and holy influence, like the mellow light of Indian summer floating over the autumn landscape, seemed to invest the assembly. .....When he came down from the pulpit, the people gazed at him as they might at some messenger from another world, who had spoken to them in tones such as they had never heard before. The preachers, with one accord, said, "That is the man for a bishop." Accordingly, the same week he was elected, with great unanimity, by the General

Conference, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.'—*Asbury and his Coadjutors*, vol. ii., pp. 219–221.

Bishop Bascom was the most eloquent orator, perhaps, that has ever appeared among our transatlantic co-religionists. All the finest characteristics of the pioneer band seemed to have combined and culminated in this extraordinary man. The effect of his preaching may be judged from one example:—

'Mr. Bascom had occasion to speak of the devices of Satan, and it must be confessed that some features of the Protean portrait were sufficiently startling. Now the arch fiend was detected as the wily serpent hidden in the flowery grass, ready to strike the deadly fang into the foot, and send the killing poison through the veins of the unsuspecting pilgrim; now he appeared an angel of light, offering his tempting suggestions under the guise of messages of mercy fresh from the throne of Heavenly Goodness; or, armed with power, he was seen coming up in his wrath, the furious Libyan lion, whose terrible roar made the hills to tremble, spreading death and desolation in his bloody march. As he was finishing his startling picture, Mr. Snethen, [himself a backwoods preacher of no mean renown,] apparently unconscious of the place and circumstances around him, turned to the other preachers by his side, and audibly exclaimed, "Brethren, he frightens me! he frightens me! I never was afraid of the devil before in all my life!" And, as he spake, tears rolled down his venerable face. Such was the effect of this discourse on the congregation, that scores on scores were cut to the heart, and cried for mercy. Indeed, such was the depth of this work on the hearts of the people, that there was found no more place for preaching until the next day.'—*Asbury and his Coadjutors*, vol. ii., pp. 152, 153.

The following is too extraordinary and too beautiful an incident to be omitted. It occurred in the ministry of the same great preacher, by whom the circumstance was related to Mr. Milburn.

'He was preaching in a large country church on a bright Sabbath morning. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity; the windows were all open, one of which was immediately behind the pulpit, overlooking the rural graveyard. The preacher was indulging in a description of the various typical forms and manifestations of the Holy Spirit. Who that ever heard him in one of his happy moods, does not remember the enchaining power of his oratory? Spell-bound, breathless, the audience hung upon his lips. It was the baptism of Jordan. With John they saw the opening heaven, the Spirit of God in the form of a dove nestling upon the Saviour, when silently, suddenly as an apparition, a milk-white dove flew through the open window at the rear of the pulpit, and nestled on the preacher's shoulder! Astounded, he paused; an instant it sat, then rose, and, describing a circle round his head, away flew the snowy bird

to the vernal pastures and summer woods. The effect of this startling coincidence upon the audience I leave you to imagine.'—*Rifle, &c.*, pp. 68, 69.

Camp-meetings were the true scenes of the backwoods preacher's glory. They have often been described, and our readers are probably pretty familiar with them. Nevertheless, a few words here upon the subject may not be out of place. They undoubtedly originated in the circumstances of the early settlers. Living in solitary cabins, with many miles of unbroken forest between them and their neighbours, these people must have often yearned for society, and the better portion of them have bitterly regretted the want of religious helps and ordinances. The ministers were few, the task of dealing in detail with a people so circumstanced toilsome and very inadequate; and the absence of Christian communion was felt as a great affliction and disadvantage. No wonder, therefore, that attempts should have been made to gather all the settlers from a wide territory into large and united masses, and that 'the exercises' should have been prolonged for many days. The most popular preachers in the neighbourhood were engaged for these occasions, and their fame contributed to swell the multitude. But we need not enter into minute description. From Mrs. Trollope to Mrs. Stowe, writers on America have depicted, sometimes with much profane mirth, at others with more or less of reverent appreciation, these favourite 'institutions' among our transatlantic cousins. We must not accept the grim caricatures of such writers as Mrs. Trollope for authentic description. Mrs. Stowe's picture in *Dred* is no doubt much more faithful. There is a ludicrous side to the subject, inevitably. The practical, cool, business-like way in which the preparations are made, the details of the commissariat, police, &c., show grotesquely enough by the side of the solemn purpose and procedure of these sylvan gatherings, and the astonishing religious excitement which usually attends them. This excitement, indeed, often degenerated into fanaticism. What else could be expected? The sympathy of numbers; the woodland temple, with its 'dim, religious light;' the torchlight muster; the uplifted anthem, 'like the sound of many waters;' the very earnestness and deliberation with which the preliminaries had been arranged, concentrating men's thoughts on the object of the assembly, and on their own souls and eternity; the reiteration many times a day, and for many days together, of appeals on all that affects man most deeply and permanently, by the most powerful pulpit orators of the time; and the comparative absence of secular distractions, would excite extraordinary emotions in

men of the most phlegmatic temperament. In that primitive society, and among the susceptible and poetical denizens of the woods and wilds, such influences must have wrought with the power and rapidity of fire. And, accordingly, scenes which cannot be approved, and which were discouraged and denounced by the chief actors on these occasions, did sometimes occur. It was so in our far more staid and conventional country in the early days of Methodism. We have in these volumes stories of sudden fallings, ecstasies, trances, and an inexplicable spasmodic affection, elegantly denominated the 'jerks,'—phenomena which we could wish had been absent. But, when all deduction has been made for the natural influences enumerated, and all regret at the mad excitement occasionally displayed has been expressed, there remain abundant proofs that, in these much-maligned and in some respects equivocal engagements, the Divine power has been often manifested in a most astonishing degree; and that, upon the whole, they contributed to keep alive and extend the influence of true religion among a people who, if left to the unchecked operation of circumstances, would probably have relapsed, amid the solitudes and dangers of the wilderness, into practical ungodliness and heathenism.

One specimen of these famous religious meetings may be drawn from Mr. Finley's volume. Peter Cartwright is the hero, though his name is not given:—

'He began with a loud and beautifully modulated tone, in a voice that rolled on the serene night air like successive peals of grand thunder. Methodist ministers are celebrated for sonorous voices, but his was matchless in sweetness as well as power. For the first ten minutes his remarks, being preparatory, were commonplace and uninteresting; but then, all of a sudden, his face reddened, his eye brightened, his gestures grew animated as the waftures of a fierce torch, and his whole countenance changed into an expression of inimitable humour; and now his wild, waggish, peculiar eloquence poured forth like a mountain torrent. Glancing arrows, with shafts of ridicule, *bons mots*, puns, and side-splitting anecdotes, sparkled, flashed, and flew like hail, till the vast auditory was convulsed with laughter.....At length the encampment was in a roar, the sternest features relaxed into smiles, and the coldest eyes melted into tears of irrepressible merriment.'

This extraordinary display lasted for thirty minutes, till the critic began to despair of any good result from the engagement:—

'But the shaft of my inference fell short of the mark; and even then he commenced to change, not all at once, but gradually, as the wind of a thunder-cloud. His features lost their comical tinge of pleasantry; his voice grew first earnest, and then solemn, and soon

wailed out in the tones of deepest pathos; his eyes were shorn of their mild light, and yielded streams of tears, as the fountain of the hill yielded water. The effect was indescribable, and the rebound beyond revelation. He descanted on the horrors of hell, till every shuddering face was turned downward, as if expecting to see the solid globe rent asunder, and the fathomless fiery gulf yawn from beneath. Brave men moaned like sick infants, and fashionable women, covered with silken drapery, and bedight with gems, shrieked as if a knife were working among their heart-strings.

'Again he changed the theme; sketched the joys of a righteous death,—its faith, its hope, its winged raptures, and what beautiful angels attended the spirit to its starry home,—with such force, great and evident belief, that all eyes were turned toward heaven, as the entire congregation started to their feet, as if to hail the vision of angels, at which the finger of the preacher seemed to be pointed, elevated as it was on high to the full length of his arm.

'He then made a call for mourners into the altar; and five hundred, many of them till that night infidels, rushed forward, and prostrated themselves on their knees. The meeting was continued for two weeks, and more than a thousand converts added to the Church.'—*Finley*, pp. 323–325.

In this extraordinary scene the attention is irresistibly attracted towards the preacher. He is every way worthy of the reader's notice. As an instance of his uncompromising boldness and fidelity, it may be mentioned that, while preaching on one occasion for a somewhat fastidious and soft-spoken brother in Nashville, General Jackson walked up the aisle, and took his stand by a pillar, as the text was announced. The pastor pulled the preacher's coat, and whispered, 'General Jackson has come in! General Jackson has come in!' Cartwright, indignant at the interruption, and the cowardice which seemed to have prompted it, turned to the congregation, and cried out, 'Who is General Jackson? If he don't get his soul converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea Negro!' The city minister was terribly shocked and alarmed, and went down to General Jackson next day to apologize: but 'Old Hickory' was made of other stuff than he supposed, and, meeting Cartwright in the street, gave him his hand, and said, 'Mr. Cartwright, you are a man after my own heart. If I had a few thousand such independent, fearless officers as you, and a well drilled army, I could take old England.'

The last volume on our list reminds us that we must refer to another means by which Methodism has been wonderfully extended, both in England and America; namely, street preaching. The appearance of Mr. Taylor's work, at a time when so much attention is turned to this subject, when parochial clergymen,

and even bishops, have caught the mantle of Whitefield and the Wesleys, is singularly opportune. And the book itself is so thoroughly good, so deeply interesting, and so replete with wise counsels and examples of what street preaching ought to be, that we cannot but wish for it a wider circulation in this country, than we fear it is likely to obtain. The writer tells his story with the simplicity and directness of a child; and the incidents related are of a most unusual and romantic kind. We must pass over these, however, almost entirely; but some of the hints and suggestions expressed or implied in this narrative deserve consideration at a time like this. After justifying street preaching by the injunctions and example of Christ, the evident sanction of God, and the necessity for it in the state of society; and answering, wittily and summarily, several objections to it; the author advises the street preacher to read over the terms of his Divine commission, and to act under its authority upon his own convictions of duty. He then gives the following counsel as to 'preparation for a sermon in the streets:'—

'You should have clear perceptions of the leading principles and facts you wish to announce. Let your propositions be briefly stated, in simple appropriate language, and your principles be clearly defined. If you wish to employ arguments, let them be short, practical, and to the point. Illustrate the truth amply, and apply it promptly and pointedly as you proceed. Draw your illustrations from the every-day transactions of life, as did the Saviour and His apostles. Make it a point, at all times, to gather up and store away suitable illustrations of Bible truth, from the streets, from the newspapers, hospitals, prisons, and from your pastoral visitations in domestic circles. Fresh facts, from personal observation, are much better in their effect than borrowed ones, or second-hand stories.....Do not confine yourselves so closely to any system or arrangement of your sermon, as to prevent your seizing and laying under contribution all the incidents of the occasion which may serve to illustrate your subject. These spontaneous illustrations, seized *impromptu*, and skilfully applied, can hardly fail of a good effect upon the audience.....If you will bear with me, I will give you just here a few illustrations of this point. One Sunday afternoon in 1853, preaching on the "Long Wharf," and wishing to illustrate the distinction between a decent well-behaved sinner, outwardly, and a violent, outbreaking sinner, I remarked, after stating the point, "Gentlemen, I stand on what I suppose to be a cask of brandy. Keep it tightly bunged and spiled, and it is entirely harmless, and answers some very good purposes. It even makes a very good pulpit. But draw that spile, and fifty men will lie down here, and drink up its spirit, and then wallow in the gutter; and, before ten o'clock to-night, will carry sorrow and desolation into the hearts of fifty families. So that man there, trying to urge his horse through

the audience,"—all eyes turned from the cask to the man,—"if he had kept his mouth shut, we might have supposed him a very decent fellow; but, finding the street blocked up with this living mass of humanity, he drew the spile, and out gurgled the most profane oaths and curses." '—*Seven Years' Street Preaching*, pp. 34, 35.

Presently we have hints as to 'the management of an out-door audience.' A specimen of these is all that our space will admit.

'If, by a cry of fire or otherwise, your congregation is scattered, do not be discouraged, but watch your opportunity to take advantage of the disturbing excitement, and set your sails to take the breeze; and you will probably double or quadruple your congregation in five minutes: and then, under the excitement of the occasion, thunder home the truth into the wakeful, curious minds of the crowd..... When preaching in Georgetown market, in 1846, on one occasion, a sudden noise was heard up the canal, near where we stood, and it was rumoured that a boy was drowning. As the congregation ran, I sang; and in one minute they were all back, and quietly waiting for the remaining part of the sermon. Once in Belair market, Baltimore City, in 1848, I was about half through my discourse, when a large funeral procession passed by, accompanied by a band of music. The melody of the "band" took the ears of my audience; and, as I saw them beginning to break away to join the procession, I said, "Brethren, we can make better music than that;" and struck up the best song at command, in which the "congregation" heartily joined. O the melody of that song! We heard no more of the band of music. The result was, that I held the audience; and a friend, standing out where he had a good view, said, "At least one hundred of the procession broke rank, and came to the preaching." '—*Seven Years' Street Preaching*, pp. 42, 43.

Mr. Taylor seems to have adopted a very respectful and polite method of addressing the rough and miscellaneous crowds of San Francisco. He usually appeals to them as, 'Gentlemen, Sirs, My dear Sirs.' Is this an indication of that republican passion for titles, which is said to be rampant in America, and to have peopled the land with a crowd of captains, majors, colonels, judges, honourables, and so forth? Or, is it not rather an evidence of the preacher's knowledge of human nature, and tact in dealing with it? At first sight it may seem very ridiculous for a street preacher in England, with such a congregation as will probably surround him, to imitate this Californian fashion. But is he not more likely to conciliate them, and gain attention to his message, by treating them thus, than by assuming an appearance of condescension? We honestly believe that one reason why costermongers and their fellows so much dislike 'parsons,' is to be found in the unconscious, but not the less

offensive, airs of superiority which ministers are apt to assume in dealing with the 'lower classes.' These classes, as everybody knows, are specially sensitive and tenacious on this point, and resent any manifestation of the kind. It is said that the late Dr. Newton once quelled what threatened to be a formidable 'row' in Ireland, by exclaiming, 'Gentlemen!—for it is well known that an Irishman is a gentleman all the world over.' And it may be worth experiment, in our out-door services, whether a style of address, sufficiently respectful and polite, may not be so associated with plainness and fidelity as not to be open to the suspicion of either flattery or irony, and yet be calculated to create a readier sympathy and attachment between the preacher and his audience, and to increase his influence over them.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the nervous, plain, vigorous style of Mr. Taylor's preaching. For clearness, directness, and force, the specimens given in this book have never been surpassed. We are not sure, however, that he does not sometimes degenerate into slang. The occasional use of a word that is specially popular and expressive is doubtless of great service to the out-door preacher. But surely he need not indulge in vulgarity. And here let us express our regret at the recent development and rapid growth of this barbarous and unsightly habit among certain ministers in our own land, who very laudably aspire to be 'people's preachers.' We believe that they mean well; but we cannot think, either that themselves will acquire much salutary influence, or their preaching accomplish great good, while their discourses are plentifully interlarded with words and phrases hitherto supposed to be the patent and peculiar property of the generation of 'fast young men.' We fear 'the fun of the thing' is the attraction to this class of ministers for many, and laughing at the preacher's eccentricities more common than weeping at their own sins. On the other hand, the street preacher must not be enslaved to propriety and routine; let him lay aside starch and buckram as much as possible; and, above all, let him avoid a stilted, technical, or scholastic style. Let him speak 'in a tongue understanded of the people,' or let him not venture to mount the open-air rostrum.

It is impossible not to envy Mr. Taylor his power of song. He owed much of his influence, in attracting and managing the large crowds that listened to him, to his fine voice, and to the great and picturesque variety of his hymns and tunes. We dare say no recognised hymn-book will be found, at least in England, containing some of the former; and we strongly suspect that a goodly number of the latter have been appropriated from the

stock of that personage who, according to the late Rowland Hill, had no right to a monopoly of pretty tunes. A hint may be borrowed, nevertheless, from our author's practice. Other things being equal, a good singer has a great advantage as an out-door preacher. At all events, arrangements can, and should, always be made for attractive singing, in connexion with street services. Nor is it well to be too fastidious about the tunes. While we would avoid airs that are popularly associated with profane, licentious, or ridiculous words, there are many favourites in all denominations, especially in Sunday schools, which are known and admired by those who are ignorant of our graver and more orthodox psalmody; and by the judicious use of these many a passing wanderer might be attracted to the preacher's stand, and enticed—with what probable advantage it is needless to suggest—to join in this part of the devotional exercises.

But we must not be detained longer by this very suggestive and entertaining book. We have to remark that, besides preaching in all the above-named styles and circumstances, the pioneers of American Methodism, like their predecessors and contemporaries in England, were driven to the free and plentiful use of *theological controversy*. By this means, the cause which they advocated became far more widely known and extended, than if its opponents had been wise enough to maintain a discreet silence. In New England the stern Calvinism which had descended as an inheritance from the pilgrim-fathers, and had long maintained almost a religious and ecclesiastical monopoly, was very intolerant of Methodism. To them, as to the older denominations in England, this system appeared like an impertinent and unwarrantable intrusion; and Jesse Lee and his brave coadjutors had to contend in frequent public disputations for their Arminian faith. The western pioneers, on the other hand, were chiefly assailed by various sects of Anabaptists, and by those absurd and ridiculous fanatics who rejoice in the dignified names of Shakers, Dunkers, &c. Generally speaking, controversy with these people does not seem to have been intentionally provoked; but much less was there any thought of declining it. Great theological field-days were repeatedly witnessed in the woods; and fearless and doughty were the champions on both sides. Of course, we have, in the works before us, only one side of the agitated questions; but certainly Methodism was greatly benefitted by this frequent collision with opposing principles. These volumes abound with amusing proofs and illustrations of this statement; and Cartwright's *outré* character is nowhere more conspicuous than in the *rencontres* of this kind which are plentifully described in his autobiography.

Among the means on which the frontier preachers relied for the permanent success of their labours, a foremost place is due to *education*. This is the more remarkable, as they were generally illiterate themselves, at least at the commencement of their career. Many of them, however, made progress in self-culture with a rapidity truly astonishing, considering the numerous difficulties and disadvantages of their position. The following description, though the name is omitted, evidently refers to Cartwright, and is substantially appropriated by him:—

'Mr. —— became an itinerant at eighteen, with no learning from books, save what he derived from the pages of his Bible and collection of hymns. Year after year he continued to travel the wide circuit of the frontier, earning annually but a hundred dollars for labours painful as a slave at the oar. But his vocation afforded him an excellent opportunity for meditation, and even reading. In his long journeys from one appointment to another, he was alone, with nothing around him but woods and waters, birds, mountains, sun, moon, and stars. Furthermore, he bought him books of literature and science, and pored over them, as he rode along, with an ardour and perseverance such as perhaps never was witnessed within the stone walls of a college. Thus he mastered mathematics, logic, physic, law, and several languages, ancient and modern. O, believe me, there is no teacher like the student's own hard-working intellect, urged on to action and guided in its efforts by the omnipotence of an unconquerable will.'—*Finley*, pp. 325, 326.

Indeed, although this redoubtable gentleman is continually running a tilt against colleges, 'downy professors,' and men of *letters*, he is himself a D.D., and as worthy of the title as nine 'regular graduates' out of ten. But, even where this passion for learning, and successful pursuit of it, were not displayed; when these great and far-seeing men remained themselves comparatively illiterate, they were, as Mr. Milburn testifies, 'the first patrons of literature and science, founding academies and colleges.' The old Methodist practice of making the circuit preacher a purveyor of religious publications, and his saddle-bags his shop, was, and, in many places, still is, more characteristic of American than even of English Methodism. Cartwright very naturally exults in his own performances in this way, and has some excellent remarks on the practice, though his severe denunciations of his junior brethren betray an inattention to the altered circumstances of our day, especially in regard to access to books. He says, that it has often been a question that he shall never be able to answer on earth, whether he has done the most good by preaching or by distributing religious books; and adds,—

'For more than fifty years I have firmly believed that it was a part and parcel of a Methodist preacher's most sacred duty to circulate good books wherever he goes among the people. And I claim to have come as nigh my duty in this as any other, and perhaps more so. I have spread thousands of dollars' worth among the people; sometimes a thousand dollars' worth a year. But I fear a change for the worse has come over our Methodist preachers on this subject. Many of them, since the country has grown up into improved life, and wealth abounds, feel themselves degraded in peddling books, as they call it, and want to roll this whole duty on to the *colporteurs*. But I believe, with our most excellent Discipline, that we should "be ashamed of nothing but sin." The religious press is destined, in the order of Providence, to give moral freedom to the perishing millions of earth. *My people, saith the Lord, perish for lack of knowledge.* Think of this, ye ministers of Jesus Christ; lay aside your pride, and call to your aid, in disseminating religious knowledge from the pulpit, religious books; and God will own the effort, and prosper the work of your hands everywhere.'—*Cartwright*, p. 280.

We confess that our sympathies do not fully go with the writer in this attack. Ministers of Christ should undoubtedly be patrons of learning, and do their best to stimulate a love of good books; but we hold that 'peddling,' whether books or any other ware, can only be justified, in their case, upon the plea of necessity.

Schools were moreover everywhere erected, through the influence of these patriotic and self-denying men. Their own resources were heavily taxed for the education of the young. The log cabin, too, in which, as population advanced, the settlers met for worship, was used also as an academy. With the increase of wealth, and the erection of commodious 'churches,' care was taken that school-houses should also be provided. With the still further progress of population and resources, institutions for higher education, colleges and universities, were multiplied; and Western Methodism took a considerable and honourable part in this great work. Even the churches in the older States have not surpassed their brethren in the West; and British Methodism has not disdained to accept literary honours for her sons from some of the colleges founded by the pioneers whose labours we are now reviewing.

The educational needs of the early settlers appear to have been the occasion of the growth of a peculiarity in the preaching of American Methodist ministers, which deserves a passing notice. We have often heard it remarked how large an amount of what may be called secular matter is introduced into their discourses, as compared with those of their English brethren. To many this appears to be a great defect; and undoubtedly it is so, if, as is sometimes alleged, the great truths of the Gospel

are at the same time less clearly and prominently exhibited than they should be. Let it be stated, however, that the American Methodists have always regarded the pulpit as the chief among the educating agencies in the land; and that it answered a most important purpose of this kind, when books and schools were few, and the people were too poor to avail themselves of such as existed. This fact goes far to account for the peculiarity in question. And, moreover, in the hands of a preacher, for example, so full of spiritual unction and tenderness as Bishop Simpson, and possessing the faculty of subordinating all to the great work of preaching Christ, it seems to us to be anything but a blemish. It should be added, in all fairness, that American visitors to this country are quite as much struck and disappointed with what they consider the narrow range of topics deemed admissible into a sermon in England. Perhaps a careful fusion of the two styles might be adopted with advantage on both sides of the Atlantic.

Our picture of the pioneer preachers would be incomplete without a prominent reference to the *poverty and severe privations* endured by them in the fulfilment of their great work. The utmost sum allowed for a single man was one hundred dollars a year; and it was seldom indeed that his actual receipts reached anything approaching that sum. Whatever presents, large or small, might be given him, must be reckoned as part of his salary, and faithfully accounted for to the Annual Conference with which he was connected. Thus we are told of one, who reported 'a pair of socks given to him by an old lady, in lieu of quarterage, when travelling French Grant Circuit in 1835; the whole amount of salary received during the year by the presiding elder, R. O. Spencer, and two preachers, not amounting to one hundred dollars.'* And here is Cartwright's account of the matter:—

'I think I received about forty dollars this year; but many of our preachers did not receive half that amount. These were hard times in those western wilds; *many*, very *many*, pious and useful preachers were literally starved into a location. I do not mean that they were starved for want of food; for although it was rough, yet the preachers generally got enough to eat. But they did not generally receive in a whole year money enough to get them a suit of clothes; and if people, and preachers too, had not dressed in home-spun clothing, and the good sisters had not made and presented their preachers with clothing, they generally must retire from itinerant life, and go to work and clothe themselves. Money was very scarce in the coun-

* *Pioneers of the West*, p. 142.

try at this early day; but some of the best men God ever made, breasted the storms, endured poverty, and triumphantly planted Methodism in this western world.'—*Cartwright*, pp. 96, 97.

This reminds us of the deep poverty of the fathers of English Methodism. It was common to all who engaged in the foundation-work of this Society to suffer 'hardship, grief, and loss,' for Christ's sake. Dr. Smith, in his recent *History of Wesleyan Methodism*, speaks of an entry still extant in an account-book, of '7*s.* 6*d.*, for turning the assistant preacher's coat, and making it fit the second preacher.' William Burke, whose name is precious throughout the Western Conferences of America, as one of the most laborious, pious, and devoted of the band of pioneers, says, on one occasion,—

'Nothing worthy of record occurred, except hard times. I was reduced to the last pinch. My clothes were nearly all gone. I had patch upon patch, and patch by patch; and I received only money sufficient to buy a waistcoat, and not enough of that to pay for the making, during the two quarters I remained on the Circuit.'—*Sketches of Western Methodism*, p. 41.

There was, in those early days, a strong prejudice in the American Church against married ministers, and a great unwillingness to receive them into the itinerancy. This did not originate, apparently, in a sordid and avaricious spirit, but in the real and deep poverty of the body, which rendered it impossible to provide, even on the wretched scale just indicated, for any but single men. Bishops Asbury and M'Kendree were never married, and recommended celibacy by precept as well as example, 'for the present necessity.' But the doctrine could not be enforced; and, though many continued to lead a lonely life, a large number married. Generally, in such cases, the itinerancy was abandoned, and the minister became *located*, in order that he might provide for his wife and family. As a settler, or a storekeeper, a medical man, or a lawyer, many a reverend gentleman has risen into competence, nay, even to wealth and political renown. The curious feature of the case, to an Englishman, is, that location, even under such circumstances, does not involve the loss of ministerial *status*. The man remains a 'reverend' in spite of the change. We have often been amused to hear of tailors, shoemakers, grocers, drapers, doctors, lawyers, and even judges and governors, bearing this ministerial title. We suppose the transatlantic Methodists do not hold the semi-Popish doctrine of the indelibility of orders; but there is a confusion about this retaining of a spiritual title by a man who has passed into a secular sphere that does not suit our notions, and is quite at

variance with the English practice. But it originated partly in necessity. These located ministers were, in many cases, the only parties at whose hands the secluded and scattered inhabitants of the wilds could receive the ordinances of our religion. The laborious and self-denying brother whose painful honour it was to belong to 'the travelling connexion,' could, for the most part, visit such persons only at very distant and uncertain intervals; and it was a great advantage to have in the person of some neighbouring farmer, or chapman, a 'located' brother who was equally authorized to baptize their children, and administer to themselves the Supper of the Lord. But, now that the Church has grown into a great and wealthy corporation, and especially in the larger cities, where Methodism is represented by many unsecularized clergy, would it not be more in harmony with propriety to confine the title 'reverend,' and the authority to perform ministerial acts, to those who have permanently laid aside pursuits of worldly traffic, and wholly devoted themselves to the service of the sanctuary? In the presence of poverty, and under the pressure of trials only less severe than those of the American pioneers, the early English preachers resolved that no one recognised as a minister by them should, on any account, 'follow trade.' And it is the rule still, that, if a man compelled to desist from ministerial work gives himself up to secular business, he sacrifices his ministerial *status*, and is thenceforth regarded and treated as a layman.

But let nothing in all this divert attention, or deduct admiration, from the noble, the Divine heroism, which led these men to court and welcome poverty and every form of trial, so that the servants of Christ might 'fulfil the ministry which' they had 'received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God.' Earth has witnessed no nobler sacrifices for the sake of great and disinterested aims than were made by the 'circuit-riders' of early Methodism, especially in the United States. Many of the pioneer preachers who did marry, continued in 'the travelling connexion,' and laboured almost as unceasingly as their bachelor brethren. And as to the rest, it would have been sheer folly to expect that clerical celibacy could be generally adopted, and utterly wicked and ruinous to have attempted its enforcement. President Harrison once said of the majority of them, 'The vow of poverty is not taken by these men, but their conduct is precisely the same as it would have been had they taken one.' This witness is true.

Here we must close our task; but not for want of material, whether for narrative or for reflection. Ample as have been our extracts, and long as we have presumed upon the patience

of our readers, not a fiftieth part of the interest and worth of these volumes can be represented in our pages. Hundreds of incidents, fully equal to any that this paper contains, are recorded in the books before us. We earnestly commend the subject to all who are interested in the advancement of religion. Especially would we exhort young ministers to read and ponder these extraordinary works. Amid the comforts and refinements of modern English society, there is some danger lest effeminacy should enervate Christ's ambassadors, and their power to do and dare great things for their Master be enfeebled. Let them watch and listen to these veterans; and it will be strange, indeed, if they catch no inspiration from the spectacle; if no generous and holy emulation fires their hearts.

One word upon the substantial moral of our story. It was impossible that the works of such a band of pioneers should perish with them. The results of their varied and surprising labours are embodied in a Church unequalled for its magnitude and unity and power,—a Church which both in its history and character, in its form and spirit, more nearly approaches the apostolic model than any found on record. Of this the readers of an article already more than once referred to will be competent to judge. Since that time, however, (1854,) we have further and equally remarkable information. The Methodist Episcopal Church has now 47 Annual Conferences, in place of 31; its Church-members have increased from 666,310 to little, if any, short of 850,000; (upwards of 20,000 in the past year;) its ministers of all kinds, from 9,216 to 12,178. There are 3,041 more Sunday schools, 34,319 more teachers, and 175,473 more scholars, than were reported in 1854. The universities and colleges have increased from 8 to 16, and the higher class of seminaries from 35 to 70. The missionaries employed in domestic and foreign labour are now 912 against 484 four years ago. We do not pretend that these statistics adequately represent the present strength of the Church and its various agencies; for some of them are taken from the report of the bishops presented to the General Conference in 1855. But they are sufficient to show a rate of progress which we believe to be without a parallel in the history of Christianity; and, if our knowledge of the condition of the Southern Church were equally full, the results would be still more astonishing. We are only able to say, that, in 1855, there was an increase in that body of 1,238 ministers, and 116,605 members, above the number which we formerly reported. The present number of its members is, in all probability, not less than 660,000. Taking the total number of the two Churches, and adding that of smaller communities bear-

ing the Methodist name, there cannot be fewer than about 1,700,000 communicants now in America, the spiritual descendants of that hardy and devoted band whose career we have imperfectly sketched. In that prodigious western valley, especially, to which our remarks have been principally directed, where, less than half a century ago, the lonely pioneer preacher wended his desolate and perilous way, as we have seen, in search of the lost sheep in the wilderness, 'continuous towns and cities now dot the margin' of its glorious rivers, and beautiful and smiling homesteads are plentiful throughout its whole domain. 'Town is added to town, and state to state, until, stretching from mountain to plain, and from plain to prairie, and from prairie to mountain again, and from the mountain to the western ocean, the vast tide of human population' sweeps onward in its western course. And wherever, in all that mighty region, men are found, Methodism lifts its head; the bulwark of public order, the purifier of domestic and social life, pre-eminent among the Churches of the land for the number and efficiency of its educational agencies, and its institutions of general benevolence. One fifth of the whole population of the States, and considerably more than one fifth of the western population, are directly under its influence. And here and there may be found a few survivors of the men by whose hands, under God, the foundations of this great edifice were laid. The companions of their youthful toil fell fast around them, and were buried in the green glades of the forest, where now perchance the din of cities, and the multitudinous hum of men, roars above their unheeding dust; but these survive to dwell awhile in the Canaan which they helped to conquer, to glad their eyes with the golden harvest which they helped to sow. And, if the reward on earth of *these* is beyond all price, how great must be the reward of *those! And he that reapeth receiveth wages, and gathereth fruit unto life eternal; that both he that soweth and he that reapeth may rejoice together.*

ART. V.—1. *Fables de Gay: traduites en Vers Français.* Par LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN. Troisième Edition, revue, corrigée, complétée, et précédée d'une Préface nouvelle; et suivie de Beautés de la Poésie Anglaise. London: Whittaker.

2. *Contes de Cantorbery traduits en Français.* Par LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN. Tome II. London: Pickering.

3. *Fables nouvelles.* Par LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELAIN. London: Whittaker.

In the muster-roll of English poets there are few names which represent a more thoroughly English genius than those of Chaucer and Gay. Yet a worse choice might easily be made by a translator purposing to introduce the muse of this country into the language and literature of France; for both these authors are distinguished by a vivacity of spirit, by a good-humoured and indulgent satire, and by a ready skill and invention in the art of story-telling, which brings their writings quite within the sympathies of our pleasant neighbours. Of Chaucer it may be said, that he needs but little more to prepare him for the French public than is now requisite for his appreciation by English readers. This great poet may be said to have been born out of due time. For his own fame, at least, his appearance in the world was premature by the space of two hundred years. If his advent had been delayed from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, he might have shared the popularity, and even disputed the supremacy, of Shakspeare. As it is, the first and greatest of English humourists has long been abandoned to the literary antiquaries, and a few choice spirits whose fine taste in poetry is not to be defrauded or repressed by the intervention of obsolete terms and foreign idioms. The verse of Gay is, for other reasons, perhaps equally unfamiliar to our modern reading public. His English style is very pure; but the subjects of his pieces are, for the most part, either trivial or objectionable. These features will not, however, discommend him to the countrymen of La Fontaine; his wit and *esprit* will no doubt find him instant favour; and, on the whole, considering our poetic riches, we can afford to make over honest Gay into the hands of our gay allies. He will form no unimportant addition to the *Musée Français*.

But our business is neither with Chaucer nor with Gay, on this occasion, except as their characters and fortunes are mixed up with those of their interpreter. This gentleman is a far more serious personage; and it is with a feeling akin to awe that we venture to pass judgment upon the works, both original and translated, of M. le Chevalier de Châtelain. Not that there is in these elegant duodecimos aught too deep for human ken; not that we are called upon to discuss the mysteries of *Abracadabra* or the squaring of the circle; but how is it possible to deal with a writer who is certainly the most irritable of the *irritabile genus*, and who, if you are not prepared to sing his praises, will tell the critic in plain English that he (the critic) 'writes himself down an ass?' This tenderness of skin is really too much; and even if we were to excite by this our declaration all the wrath of M. de Châtelain, we

must still maintain our undoubted right to 'call a spade, a spade.'

'Comme traducteur, et comme auteur, nous respectons la critique et les critiques; si la Presse ne s'occupait pas des ouvrages des auteurs, les ouvrages resteraient non lus; aussi avons nous toujours cherché à nous éclairer des avis honnêtement offerts par des critiques honnêtes, et le résultat de cette étude nous a toujours été profitable. Jamais que nous sachions notre amour-propre d'auteur ne s'est révolté à l'expression d'une critique vraie, en ce sens, qu'elle paraissait être la conviction de l'écrivain, cette critique eût-elle été même peu obligeante, eût-elle été même hargneuse.'

Such is the statement of M. de Châtelain; and, unfortunately for his cause, he has appended to it, by way of *pièces justificatives,* extracts from the critiques which he objects to as *hargneuses,* unfair, uncharitable, prejudiced, &c. Thus, although the *Educational Times* speaks of his translation as *good* and giving an *inexhaustible fund of amusement,* because the hapless Aristarchus merely questions the propriety of selecting as subjects for study the works of such unknown worthies as Currer, Sloman, Walneerg, and Chidick Tychborn, he must forsooth be designated as 'honest Iago,' a man '*de mauvaise foi,*' and so on. This is merely ridiculous. Very luckily we are not living in the days when gentlemen drew their rapiers to maintain the authenticity of a line of Corneille, or else we might fare ill at the hands of M. de Châtelain.

'Toujours nombre de duels.....
.....Le neuf, Nogent avec La Châtre,
Pour avoir mal écrit trois vers de Colletet.'

But we hope better things; and, accordingly, we shall endeavour to discharge our duty conscientiously, though M. de Châtelain must not anticipate from us that optimism which he evidently considers the *beau idéal* of reviewing.

The first remarks we purpose offering in this short summary refer to our author's estimate of the French fabulist La Fontaine. In the *Préface nouvelle* to his version of Gay, we find the following bill of indictment against the fabulist:—

'"La peste aurait des flatteurs, si la peste donnait des pensions," a dit un illustre écrivain: au siècle de Louis XIV., de ce roi surnommé *le grand* parceque tout était grand autour de la petitesse du monarque, c'est le roi qui remplaçait la peste. On ne doit donc pas s'étonner que La Fontaine ait sacrifié à l'idole du jour, au veau d'or. Lisez en effet ses nombreuses dédicaces à Monseigneur le Dauphin,—

"*Illustre rejeton d'un prince aimé des Dieux!*"

au Duc du Maine bâtard du Grand Roi, à la mère dudit bâtard, à la Montespan, au Duc de Bourgogne, &c., &c., &c., et vous rougirez des sentiments exprimés, car là vous verrez la platitude s'étendant, s'étalant et se vautrant au point d'enfanter la nausée.....

'Est-ce au sentiment de profond dégoût que nous inspirent tant de platitudes et de bassesses que nous obéissons en proclamant Gay sinon supérieur, au moins égal à La Fontaine, nous ne saurions le dire.....

'Dans notre pensée Gay s'est moins trainé que La Fontaine sur les traces d'Esope et de Phèdre. Pour le fond il nous parait plus original que La Fontaine; pour la forme moins original; son vers a souvent plus de correction que celui de La Fontaine, mais il n'a pas cette harmonie imitative qui distingue si éminemment la diction du fabuliste Français. Toutefois comparaison n'est pas raison, chacun des deux poètes a son mérite à part, et tous deux sont de grands génies.'—*Fables de Gay, Préface nouvelle,* pp. vii., viii.

Without attempting for the present to institute a parallel between Gay and La Fontaine, we would just remonstrate with M. de Châtelain, both on his view of Louis XIV., and also on the opinion he has formed of the French fabulist. No one is less likely than we are to exalt unduly him who is still called *le Grand Monarque,* or to set up for the apologists of a system of despotism which, after having manifested itself by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the persecution of the Port-Royal Jansenists, prepared at last the dissolution of French society: but still, when a writer boldly essays to deny the great points of Louis Quatorze's character, he thereby exposes either his ignorance or his prejudice. Of course, the French monarch was a tyrant,—we all know that; he allowed his passions too often and too much to overrule his better judgment; he trusted unduly to the courtiers and the statesmen about him. Yet the prince who could, out of the elements which the wars of religion and the commotions of La Fronde had placed under his hand, form a *tout ensemble* like the France of the seventeenth century, was certainly a remarkable man,—ay, a great man, whatever M. de Châtelain may assert to the contrary. And it is not only *toadies* like Dangeau, or the Duke d'Antin, who agree in their description of Louis XIV. as *non pluribus impar;* writers otherwise most disposed to find fault with the workings of a government, the leading mottoes of which were *L'état c'est moi,* and *Le Roi gouverne par lui-même,* are ready to admit that the influence of Louis XIV. was real, and the *prestige* which he exercised derived from his own talent in the art of ruling. If Saint-Simon, for instance, says in one place that Louis XIV. was born with a mind '*audessous du médiocre,*' he will be obliged elsewhere to acknowledge that when on two or three occasions he was honoured with an audience by the King, he carried away

from the interview the impression which *bonâ fide* majesty only produces. It was the misfortune of Louis XIV. to trust too much to the persons who surrounded him. Thus errors were committed, which he certainly would have prevented had he known the truth; and we are quite inclined to believe that the responsibility of all the odious acts of arbitrary power which disgraced the latter half of that memorable reign, should be thrown upon Louvois, Madame de Maintenon, Le Tellier, Father La Chaise, and all the other personages whose private interest led them to raise up a barrier between the King and his subjects.

And this leads us in the next place to discuss M. de Châtelain's strange assertion respecting the *flunkeyism*, the *platitude* of La Fontaine. We may boldly affirm, that if ever there existed a man completely destitute of the characteristics which mark the *flunkey*, the courtier, the toady, that man was La Fontaine. None, at all events, possessed these characteristics in a smaller degree.

An author composes by request a volume of fables for the education of a young prince; what fault can be found with him for prefixing to the work a dedication? Would it not have been the height of impropriety, if he had not done so? and is it not the mark of a very captious and cross-grained mind, to object to the preliminary epistle, because it contains passages like the following?—

'Au retour de cette expédition où il (Louis XIV.) a vaincu comme Alexandre, vous le voyez gouverner ses peuples comme un Auguste: avouez le vrai, Monseigneur, vous soupirez pour la gloire aussi bien que lui, malgré l'impuissance de vos années; vous attendez avec impatience le temps où vous pouvrez vous déclarer son rival dans l'amour de cette divine maîtresse.'

For our part we acknowledge, that we do not see very well how La Fontaine, being asked to contribute towards the instruction and amusement of the Dauphin, could decline so handsome a compliment; and how, when he had to present the volume to the prince, he could avoid styling himself, 'His Royal Highness's most humble, most obedient, and most faithful servant:'—unless, perhaps, in anticipation of modern republicans, he had inscribed his fables to 'the citizen Louis Capet,' with the author's best wishes of 'health and fraternity.' If La Fontaine was a *plat courtisan*, it must be confessed that he did not get much by his *courtisanerie*; but, would it not, perhaps, be more correct to say, that the true reason why Louis XIV. never took any notice of the fabulist was the very *esprit frondeur* which is so conspicuous in his most celebrated apologues?

'Eh bien, manger moutons, canaille, sotte espèce,
Est-ce un péché? Non, non, vous leur fites, Seigneur,
En les croquant, beaucoup d'honneur.'
Les Animaux malades de la Peste.

'Patience et longueur de temps
Font plus que force ni que rage.'—*Le Lion et le Rat.*

'On en use ainsi chez les grands:
La raison les offense; ils se mettent en tête
Que tout est né pour eux, quadrupèdes et gens,
Et serpents.'—*L'Homme et la Couleuvre.*

When Louis XIV., on taking up at random a volume of La Fontaine's poetry, met with passages similar to these, or when his attention was directed to the celebrated fable, *Le Paysan du Danube,* it was quite natural that he should not feel very strongly prepossessed in favour of him whom a modern critic calls so justly *l'écrivain le plus démocrate du XVII^e^. siècle.*

But we must come at last to M. de Châtelain's productions. The volume which heads the list at the beginning of the present article, and which has suggested the above remarks, contains a translation from Gay's *Fables,* and also versions from a variety of other English writers. The former part of the work —the translations from Gay—is generally done with much spirit, and reproduces faithfully the ideas and the *verve* of the original. We have, however, noticed a few irregularities, which should be removed whenever a second edition is called for. The lines,—

'Que la langue avec vous est un caméléon,
Changeant à chaque instant de couleur et de nom,'

can hardly be said to rhyme. Thus also *immortel* and *casuel,* (ii. 16,) *Paris* and *poursuis.* (i. 18.) Similes should be consistent; and, if it is appropriately said of a hedge-hog or porcupine, *Qui s'y frotte s'y pique,* no amount of poetical licence can justify the following incongruous metaphor:—

'Chacun a son miroir, *qui trop s'y voit s'y pique.*'

In fables and other productions of the same kind, familiar expressions are allowable, and may even add much to the beauty of the piece; but there is a vast difference between familiarity and vulgarity, and trivial allusions or slang phrases will often spoil the effect of an otherwise faultless composition. M. de Châtelain seems to us to be too fond of those idiomatic sayings which he may think colloquial, whilst they are simply coarse and offensive:—

'Que nous importe à nous? Pour moi *je m'en bats l'œil.*' (i. 2.)
'*Je me fiche pas mal* du clinquant des écoles.' (ii. 6.)

'Mais de l'homme privé *je me fiche pas mal.*' (ii. 4.)
'Qui lui produirait à la fin
La vente de son saint-frusquin.' (i. 37.)

Generally speaking, persons who read attentively M. de Châtelain's translations from Gay, cannot but notice the frequent recurrence of ideas suggested by the most bitter feelings, not merely outbursts of humour and of quiet satire, but vehement explosions of anger, of hatred, and of contempt. Instead of writing or translating fables, our author lashes about him like a Juvenal, and the notes which accompany a great many of the passages carefully point out in the clearest manner the allusions which the author has purposely introduced to the characters and events of his own times. Indeed, we are inclined to think that the satirical character of Gay's work is precisely that which attracted the Chevalier de Châtelain, and induced him to bring out in a French dress the productions of the English fabulist.

Every compiler is, of course, at liberty to make up, from whatever sources he pleases, an anthology of poetry: but when, in a selection professing to give us *les beautés de la poésie Anglaise*, we find that the veriest rhymesters take up three-fourths of the space allotted to the whole, whilst the most illustrious are not honoured with a notice, we must say that the title is a perfect misnomer.

The following pieces will give our readers some idea of M. de Châtelain's powers as a translator:—

CHANT DU HOUX. (*Song of Amiens in* 'AS YOU LIKE IT.')

'Souffle, souffle, vent d'hiver,
Moins blessant et moins amer
Que l'ingratitude humaine;
Tu hurles comme les loups,
Mais même en ton fier courroux,
Ta dent n'est pas si malsaine
Que n'est la dent de la haine:
Flon, flon, laridera, chantons, chantons le houx.
L'amitié n'est qu'un mot! l'amour, vanité pure!
Vive le houx et sa verdure!
Vive la verdure du houx!

'Gèle, gèle, vent du nord;
Tu nous fais bien moins de tort
Qu'un cœur sans reconnaissance;
Et quoique dans ton courroux
Tu crispes l'eau vertuchoux!
La piqûre de ta lance
Blesse moins qu'ingrate offense:
Flon, flon,' etc.

The epithet *ingrate* has no meaning in connexion with *offense;* the exclamation *vertuchoux* is merely introduced as a make-up, and is exceedingly trivial, though M. de Châtelain appears to have a predilection for it; but with these exceptions the two stanzas just quoted seem to us one of the best pieces in the volume.

The translation of Robert Burns's famous 'John Anderson my Jo' was, perhaps, still more difficult; and therefore it is no slight merit in M. de Châtelain that he has even attempted it, although we miss the touching *refrain* which, in the original, finishes so appropriately each stanza.

'John Anderson, notre homme, oh! quand nous nous connumes,
Tes cheveux étaient noirs et ton front fait au tour;
Mais maintenant ton front tout entouré de brumes
Est chauve.....et cependant béni soit notre amour!

'John Anderson, notre homme, ensemble nous gravimes
La colline escarpée, et gaillards et dispos;
Maintenant il nous faut en descendre les cimes
L'un sur l'autre appuyés vers le champ du repos!'

But we have now to discuss a matter of far mightier import than the polishing of a few songs, or even than the attempt to put into French the fables of Gay. M. de Châtelain has directed his attention to Chaucer, and undertaken to make his countrymen acquainted with one of the poets who certainly represents most accurately the influence of the *esprit Français* in English literature. It would be hard to say whether the amusing author of the *Canterbury Tales* is more identified with the atmosphere of Paris or of London. His language is thickly studded with Gallicisms; the subject of most of his narratives was borrowed by him from the metrical romances and tales of the *Langue d'oil;* whilst the humour, the *esprit gausseur,* (as our neighbours call it,) which sparkles throughout every page, assigns him a conspicuous place amongst the predecessors of Rabelais and Bonaventure des Periers. Chaucer is a delightful author, and we cannot think of any book which would look so well in a French dress as the *Canterbury Tales.* It remains for us now to examine how the present translator has performed his task.

There is a happy medium between paraphrases such as d'Ablancourt's, and versions in which, for the sake of strictly adhering to the sense, the author has sacrificed all the beauties of style, and even those necessary graces which make such productions readable; but in interpreting a genius like Chaucer, more especially in adopting poetry as the medium of translation, there were for M. de Châtelain difficulties of no ordinary degree. He had to reproduce as much as possible the *naïveté* of the

original, besides avoiding those expletives and unnecessary words which sometimes are evidently brought in for the sake of the rhyme. It is the misfortune of idioms in which blank verse is unknown, that often the second half of a couplet has been forced upon the unlucky poet merely for the sake of justifying the final sound produced in the first. Thus, in the *Squiere's Tale*, Chaucer begins:—

'At Sarra, in the land of Tartarie,
Ther dwelt a King that worried Russie,
Thurgh which ther died many a doughty man:
This noble King was cleped Cambuscan,
Which in his time was of so great renoun'.....

M. de Châtelain gives the following translation:—

'Des Tartares dans le pays
Dont vaste est la superficie,
Dans la noble Sarra vivait un Roi jadis
Qui faisait crânement la guerre à la Russie.
Alors *dans ces combats géants*
Mouraient de valeureux et de fiers combattants.
Ce noble Roi *dont grande était la renommée*
Avait nom Cambynskan.....'

The reader will easily see, by comparing the two fragments, to what extent the French writer has expanded Chaucer's text; nor can he fail to notice words which involve positive anachronisms when applied to the mediæval author. If a critic might justly blame a translator for speaking of 'Monsieur Zoïle' and of 'Mademoiselle Lycoris,' surely we may with equal propriety object to the adverb *crânement* in the mouth of a contemporary of Chaucer, and to the *combats géants*, which is an expression of the nineteenth century.

Let us now take a passage from the *Doctoure's Tale*:—

'For he that is the former principal,
Hath maked me his vicaire general
To forme and peinten erthly creatures,
Right as me list, and all thing in my care is
Under the mone, that may wane and waxe.
And for my werk right nothing wol I axe;
My lord and I ben full of on accord.
I made hire to the worship of my lord;
So do I all min other creatures,
What colour that they han, or what figures.
Thus semeth me that nature wolde say.'

In the version which we are now about to quote, it seems to us that M. de Châtelain has positively mistaken the sense of the passage.

'Ce n'est point étonnant, le moteur général
De la Nature fit un agent principal,
Pour peindre et pour former selon sa fantaisie
Créatures d'Europe aussi bien que d'Asie;
Et pour un aussi grand labeur,
Non plus pour sa mise en couleur,
Pour les soins apportés à la manufacture
Ne réclame rien la Nature.'

We may call this a hint from Chaucer, a study of Chaucer, an attempt to translate Chaucer; but as for styling it a translation, that, we believe, is quite out of the question. There is no doubt that the undertaking was hard enough; and as the meaning of some of the expressions used by the old poet is still a subject of discussion amongst commentators, we are not disposed to quarrel with M. de Châtelain about the force of doubtful words, which are of frequent occurrence; but this is an objection which cannot be applied to the forerunning quotation from the *Doctor's Tale.* In short, we may sum up our estimate of the *Contes de Cantorbéry traduits en Vers Français,* by saying that the performance is not exact enough for a translation, whilst it follows the text too closely to be considered as a mere imitation.

The third volume we have to notice is one which, on the whole, will give the reader a fairer idea of M. de Châtelain's talent than those previously reviewed; for it contains exclusively original poems; and accordingly, in composing them, the author has been free from the restrictions which may have to some extent justified our critique of his other works. This duodecimo comprises fifty fables, besides effusions of a miscellaneous character, a close examination of which has convinced us that M. de Châtelain's *forte* is decidedly satirical writing. He has in the highest degree the keen perception of moral deformity,—that first desideratum in a Juvenal or a Gilbert; and also that pointed style, that terseness, which gives to the chastisement its vigour, to the whip its lash. The subjoined stanzas, from a piece inscribed to Molière, are excellent:—

'Tu veux savoir, ami Molière,
Ce qu'on pense de tes écrits,
Et dans cet age de lumière,
Que de gens par eux sont guéris?
Ce soir même à l'apothéose,
Nous verrons proclamer tes droits.....
Et Tartuffe?.....c'est autre chose,
Je suis discret et je le dois.
* * * * * *
'A la coquette *Célimène*
Les amants ont donné congé;

Si parfois on souffre sa chaine,
Ce n'est qu'un caprice obligé :
D'Arsinoé le ciel dispose,
C'est un ange.....un peu médisant.....
ET TARTUFFE !.....c'est autre chose,
Mais pardon, je suis bien pensant.

' Le *marquis* pour payer ses dettes
S'abaisse aux financiers emplois ;
Les gambades et les sornettes
Ne sont plus de l'argent bourgeois.
Dans la tombe *Jourdain* repose,
C'était un homme précieux !
ET TARTUFFE !.....C'est autre chose,
Jamais il ne se porta mieux ! '

Gilles Boileau, father of the celebrated Despréaux, used to say of his three sons: ' Gilot is proud, Jaco is a rake ; as for Colin, (the satirist,) he is *un bon garçon qui ne dira jamais du mal de personne.*' What a *bon garçon* M. de Châtelain must have been, before he became an author !

ART. VI.—1. *Cyclopædia Bibliographica. A Library Manual of Theological and General Literature, and Guide to Books, for Authors, Preachers, Students, and Literary Men: Analytical, Bibliographical, and Biographical.—Authors.* By JAMES DARLING. One Vol. London. 1854.
2. *Cyclopædia Bibliographica, &c.—Subjects.* By JAMES DARLING. Parts I.–V. 1857.

THE object proposed by the compiler of these books is briefly told. 'The want of an extensive and well-digested bibliographical work on theology and kindred subjects has long been felt as a great inconvenience both by authors and readers.' To supply that want, Mr. Darling has most unweariedly applied himself, and the result is the volumes which we proceed to bring before the notice of our readers.

At the outset, we must fairly confess that we approach the subject with some reluctance. Works of reference, although of obvious utility, are not amusing themes for consideration. No student can afford to dispense with the use of dictionaries, but very few consult them save under the constraint of necessity, and fewer still feel a genuine pleasure in curious inquiry into their merits and defects. When any new Lexicon obtains a preference in this country, it is generally little more than a

translation of some German work, whose pronounced superiority in the Fatherland has been the cause of its publication in an English dress; or, if home-born, its success is rather due to some authority which is deemed competent to decide, than to any wide-spread inquiry on the part of the many. Nor do the class of Cyclopædias afford a more tempting field for criticism. The best of them are written by the combined forces of those who are most eminent in the line which they severally undertake; and it would be a pleasing task to indicate their excellencies, and to note the power which can condense with accuracy a large and important branch of knowledge. But whilst this requires talent of a high order, the want of unity which such aggregates present forms a serious hinderance to their successful treatment in a Review. To these objections, however, the works before us are not liable, or not, at any rate, in the same degree; and we desire, at the same time, both to render justice to a most praiseworthy undertaking, and to direct those of our readers who are unacquainted with these volumes to some of the advantages that may be derived from their use.

Mr. Darling has entered upon a field which has been, in this country, comparatively little trodden, although Namur has given a catalogue of 1,861 works under general and restricted bibliography. Amongst all the giants of learning in ancient history, Aristotle might have seemed the fittest person to be the Father of Bibliography; but the whole range of ante-Christian literature possesses not a single work which can fairly be described as belonging to this category. Indeed, it was not till the sixteenth century of our era, that the first works on this subject, the *Bibliotheca Universalis* and the *Pandectæ Universales*, appeared. Their author, Conrad Gesner, was a native of Zurich, and was one of that class of poor scholars whose avidity for learning was only equalled by their poverty. Medicine was the profession which he pursued; and there is a catalogue of some fifty works upon its various branches which he either edited or composed. As might be expected, the first attempt at Bibliography was disfigured by many defects that have been supplied in more recent productions; but no one of his time was better fitted to plan and carry out such an undertaking. 'Endowed,' such is the description given of him by Mr. Hallam, 'with unwearied diligence, and with a mind capacious of omnifarious erudition, he was probably the most comprehensive scholar of his age,'—an age, be it remarked, of almost excessive devotion to learning. In the first of his volumes, Gesner gives an alphabetical list of his authors and their writings; whilst the second is a 'digested and minute index to all departments of know-

ledge, in twenty-one books, each divided into titles, with short references to the texts of works on every head in his comprehensive classification.' It is not a little curious to note that this arrangement of the first work of Bibliography, the advantages of which we shall presently describe, is the same as that followed in these its latest productions.

The publication of Morhof's *Polyhistor* was an era in the history of literature. Of this work the edition by Fabricius is the most valued: but that of Moller, now lying before us, gives a truer testimony to the learning and ability of its author. We learn many circumstances of Morhof's life from the Prolegomena to his book:—How, his mother dying, if not of the gift she gave, at any rate soon after his birth, his father's second wife did not play a stepmother's part to the child, but treated him with all affection:—How, after learning the rudiments of Latin at home, the boy was sent to school, to one who knew, like the tutor of Horace, how to wield the rod;* and who used the youngster so cruelly, that his head swelled fearfully from the blows; and his proud concealment of the pain brought on a fever that had like to have cost him his life:—How, when again recovered, and under kinder auspices, he took so heartily to learning, that, not content with languages and history, and the arts of speaking and discussing, he even studied mathematics, arithmetic especially, and plane and spherical geometry:—How he went to the king's school at Stettin, when only sixteen years of age, and there under one master studied Hebrew; under another, jurisprudence; pursued philosophy with a third, and more especially under the famous doctor, Henry Schævius, until he had completed a curriculum of universal learning, had entered upon physics, and exercised himself with diligence in poetry, although in the first ardour of his youthful labours he disregarded the advice to make the poet Statius his model; until, at last, crammed with polymathy and poesy, he carried off the highest philosophic and poetic honours at Rostock, with the high approval of his old tutor Schævius.

Apart, however, from the inflated and scarcely discriminating praise of his biographer, the *Polyhistor* proves that its author would have been remarkable in any age and country. Its aim is 'to direct, on the most ample plan, the studies of a single scholar. Several chapters, that seem digressive in an historical light, are to be defended by this consideration.' The book, accordingly, is not a mere catalogue of authors: it devotes one chapter to an exhortation to a wide-spread course of study, and

* *Per Orbilium quendam.—Cf.* Hor. *Epist.* ii., 1, 70.

to its defence against the charges brought against such a plan; another to the consideration of the mode in which literary history may be best pursued, in which the author quotes that comprehensive passage of Bacon on the Advancement of Learning, wherein the great philosopher of Verulam so ably sketches out the scheme of such a history. A further division of the work describes the cause and origin of libraries, advises how they may be formed, and treats of the composing of catalogues, and of the lives of celebrated authors. Manuscripts, suppressed works, anonymous and pseudonymous writings, books on recondite and mystic sciences, all are passed in review; and then, under different headings, one subject is treated after another, its authors detailed and criticized in chronological order, until the whole scope he proposed to himself is very fairly exhausted. When we consider the age in which the *Polyhistor* was written, the very scanty materials which were at hand for its compilation, the wide sweep of learning included in its scheme, and the generally judicious character of its decisions, we are disposed—under all circumstances—to accord to its author the palm of Bibliography. His work is a mine which succeeding writers have most freely worked, and too often without acknowledgment; and we cannot help expressing our surprise that Mr. Darling has not given a fuller description of it in his *Cyclopædia.*

Space will not permit us to give even a rapid sketch of many that have followed in the same track. Fabricius edited and improved the *Polyhistor,* and published a collection of ecclesiastical bibliographers, which has attained considerable celebrity. It is said, indeed, that the perusal of the first volume of Morhof's great work induced him to abandon the study of theology, for which he had deserted the medical profession, in order that he might devote himself entirely to a literary life. To advance his acquaintance with the literature of other lands, he had planned a tour to some foreign countries; but poverty, the usual lot of bibliographers, arrested his steps. His education had not only absorbed all his patrimony, but even left him a debtor to his guardian, so that he was fain to accept the charge of Mayer's library at Hamburg. The office was most congenial to his tastes; and though he afterwards occupied the chair of philosophy and eloquence in the Hamburg Academy, we doubt not that his first employment was of essential service to his future undertakings. From that town many advantageous offers tempted him to depart: the Universities of Griefswald and Wittenberg and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel would have gladly welcomed the learned Fabricius; but they

essayed in vain. So indefatigable was he in research, so vast were the stores in almost every branch of knowledge which he amassed, that his works are still regarded as master-pieces of erudition and criticism. The number of his printed books is no less than 128, of which the principal were on the different departments of Bibliography. His *Bibliotheca Latina, Bibliotheca Græca, B. Ecclesiastica, B. Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis,* with other works, included a range of literary history, which extended from the earliest times down to the writings of Martin Luther.

Fifty years after the death of Fabricius a comprehensive literary history, in a more regular form than had as yet appeared, was published by the Jesuit Andrés, whose *Origine, Progresso, e Stato attuale d'ogni Litteratura,* was printed at Parma in 1782. The same writer we have before quoted says that 'his learning is very extensive in surface, and sometimes minute and curious, but not, generally speaking, profound; his style is flowing, but diffuse and indefinite; his characters of books have a vagueness unpleasant to those who seek for precise notions; his taste is correct but frigid.' The work is, however, an extraordinary performance, embracing both ancient and modern literature in its full extent, and in many parts with little assistance from any former publication of the kind.

We had purposed to give some account of other labourers in the same field, to speak of the Bibliographic Instruction of Debure, a most valuable and important catalogue, in the formation of which its author joined the practical knowledge of a bookseller to the learning of a *savant.* But we must pass by both this and the *Manuel du Libraire* of Brunet, who forsook his own profession to become a bookseller, and acquired in that calling the knowledge of the various editions and value of rare books, for which his work, though in other respects of high utility, is especially remarkable. Nor have we time to dwell on the works of Maittaire, Heinsius, Kayser, Quérard, Lambach, Ersch, Namur, and a host of others. Of these the most valuable are to be found in the magnificent reading-room of the British Museum, where the reader who is curious in such lore will find abundant food to satisfy his most ardent inquiries.

The history of the science in our own country is very quickly told. The earliest work by an English author of any note in Bibliography was the *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia literaria* of Cave, the improved edition of which appeared shortly after the death of its compiler in 1740–43. The results of Cave's researches are contained in two tall folios, written in Latin, after the approved manner of the age. The chronological

order is followed, and thus the stream of history is pursued, from the birth of Christ, for fifteen centuries. With the accounts of orthodox writers are mingled notices of the opponents of Christianity, and of the various councils that were held. It is not to be denied that there is a great display of learning, and much that is of use even at the present time; but to say nothing of the immense accessions which have since been made to Christian literature, the form and contents of Cave's *Historia* are not calculated to satisfy modern requirements.

A far more successful performance was the *Bibliotheca Britannica*—a general index of British and foreign literature—of Watt. The life of its author, in the circumstances of his early poverty, in the difficulties with which he had to grapple, and in the learning which he, in despite of all, acquired, might be compared with that of Conrad Gesner, to which we have already adverted, or to that interesting account which Hugh Miller gives of his own early history, and which is probably more familiar to the majority of our readers. Watt's father was a small farmer near Stewarton in Dumfriesshire, and Robert, his youngest son, was employed at an early age as ploughboy to a neighbouring farmer. No education could have seemed less likely to produce our greatest bibliographer. Nor did his prospects soon brighten. When the ambitious youth determined to leave his father's roof, and seek for independent labour, it was only to accompany a body of men who worked under a small contractor; and up to the age of eighteen, Robert Watt might be seen driving a cart-load of stones or bricks, to build bridges, or repair sewers. In this occupation, however, he happened to be engaged on Burns's farm, and borrowed a few volumes from the poet's library for perusal in his evening rest from toil. Thus was his thirst for knowledge kindled; and with the money saved from his carter's wages, he bought Bailey's *Dictionary* and Burn's *English Grammar*, and began to instruct himself in his native tongue. He next joined an elder brother in business as a cabinet-maker, but soon after threw aside his bag of tools, and, having entered as a student at the University of Glasgow, was in due course admitted to the faculty of medicine, like so many of his fellow-labourers in the same division of literature. The project of writing the *Bibliotheca* arose from the formation of his own medical library, which had been formed to aid him in his lectures; and he at first intended it should be confined to that branch of science. Gradually he decided to insert a catalogue of books on law, then of theology, and at last—for hitherto he had noticed only books published in this country—the plan was extended so as to embrace foreign literature.

Watt had attained to great eminence in his profession at Glasgow; but he gave up his practice, and retired to a country residence, that he might devote himself more unreservedly to the completion of his vast undertaking. That undertaking required enormous application, for which his declining years and physical sufferings were totally unequal, and he sank beneath its burden. We would that we were able to add, that the work on which he had bestowed so much toil, and from which he has derived such extensive fame, had obtained, for his family at least, a fair pecuniary reward. But one misfortune after another crowded upon the steps of his ill-fated volumes. His two sons betook themselves with such eagerness to complete their father's unfinished labours, that the life of one fell a sacrifice to his excessive application, whilst the other did not long survive the publication of the book. Ere the work was sent to the press, the house in which Watt's family was residing was broken into, and the robbers thrust a part of the unpublished manuscript into the fire, in mere wantonness, to light the apartment, and thus committed damage which it required nearly a year's labour to replace. And when at last all was complete, and the volumes had been sold to Messrs. Constable for £2,000, the publishers failed, their bills were dishonoured, and the author's family lost all the benefit of his protracted researches.

Watt's *Bibliotheca* was published in 1824, in four quarto volumes. Two of these contain a catalogue of upwards of fourteen thousand authors, their names being alphabetically arranged, whilst under each is placed a list of his productions in chronological order as they were published. The other two are indexed under different subjects, and form a complete system of cross references to the volumes of authors. The partial biographer of Watt calls this plan entirely new, and grounds his claim of novelty on the arrangement of these latter volumes. We readily allow the great utility and convenience of the plan; but with the *Pandectæ* of Gesner, however imperfectly performed, and still more with subsequent works before us, we think that Watt's fame must rest upon some other, as it certainly does upon a surer, ground.

We will not dwell upon Dibdin's various works. Though not without their value, they are of a stamp, and for the most part written in a spirit, with which we confess that we have little sympathy. It was this author's misfortune to live at a period when literature was taken up rather as a hobby than a serious pursuit, when the acquisition of property in rare books was more eagerly desired than increasing knowledge, and when sumptuous bindings and curious editions were valued irre-

spective of their intrinsic merits. The sole criterion, in such a state of things, was the money value of the articles: the literary treasure held its place amongst the curiosities of cracked old china or other so-called specimens of vertu, or might have ranked with Majolica at the present day. The possession of the most precious library, whilst a like taste prevailed, required not extensive reading and discrimination, but the heaviest purse and the lightest head. We hope that phase of literature is passed, and passed away for ever.

Mr. Darling's works, like most of those that have preceded them, sprung into existence from an actual collection. They are 'the result of a careful inspection, often leaf by leaf, of the books contained in the Metropolitan Library. It is therefore claimed as a peculiar advantage, that they are founded on an existing library, and thus possess every security for correctness.' The plan on which they were compiled is as follows:—the volume of authors is arranged alphabetically; each name of any importance is followed by a brief biographical notice, with an account of the most important editions, and then a list of books and an analysis of their contents. The volume of subjects, of which five monthly parts have appeared, is divided under different headings, such as, Universal Knowledge, General Bibliography of Theology, The Holy Scriptures, Versions, Commentaries, &c. But we proceed to treat them more in detail.

In favour of the alphabetical arrangement, every argument may be pleaded: it is at once simple, natural, and convenient; so that, with the exception of a few early works in which a strange alphabetical arrangement by Christian instead of family names was adopted, it has been very generally employed. The biographies are very brief, but to the point; in most instances admirably conveying exactly what we want to know about a writer, and often in a single word, such as 'Jansenist' or 'Jesuit,' 'Calvinist' or 'Arminian.' The principal anonymous works are given under the leading word in their titles; *Acta* and *Concilia* under the names of those by whom they were compiled; whilst editors have either a description of their labours under their own names, or a reference to the authors on which they have been occupied.

The distinctive and most valuable feature of this book, however, is the copious analysis which is given of the writings of each author. Instead of a mere transcript of the title-page, or only a part of it, Mr. Darling supplies us with a full analytical view of the subjects on which each author has written. Thus, for instance, under the head of *Critici Sacri*, we are not only informed that the Amsterdam edition of 1698–1732 is the best,

but we have also a list of the contents of all the thirteen volumes, detailing every tract in the four volumes of *Thesauri*, and extending over nearly twelve closely printed columns. If we pass to Muratori, we have eight columns of contents, so that we may tell to which volume to turn for the particular treatise which we require. We might instance, as like specimens of the author's mode of treatment, the ample synopses of the works of St. Augustine, and of the writings of Patrick, and Richard Baxter. It would be difficult to exaggerate the advantages which are thus received: we have at once the authors and the subjects, and are saved the labour of turning to many writers for subjects which they have not discussed. Nor would it be just to pass from this feature of the work without recording our testimony that the analyses are for the most part very carefully and judiciously compiled.

We are not, we confess, so well satisfied as to the principle on which the distribution of this attention is based. Why John Puckle, M.A., of Brazennose College, Oxford, Rural Dean, &c., and Pyle, M.A., father and son, none of whom are of much celebrity, should have their works enumerated at length, whilst Henry Raikes, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Chester, is not so favoured, and whilst the Bloomsbury Lectures and Edward Blencowe's Plain Sermons are again fully detailed, we cannot tell. We merely cite these as instances of a principle, not because we assign any importance to the omission in the one case, or the detail in the other; but because we are at a loss to divine the reason on which the distinction is grounded. We must admit that the instances of such omission are very rare.

Mr. Darling claims it in his preface as no unimportant feature of his work,—

'That the books contained in the *collected publications* of early and middle-age writers and others are enumerated at length; such as the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of De la Bigne, of Despont and Gallandius, the Bollandine *Acta Sanctorum*, the collections of Combesis, Routh, Cotelerius, Martene and Durand, D'Achery, Mabillon, Muratori, Sartini, Canisius, Assemani, Ugolini, Bishop Gibson, Wharton, Gale and Fell, Twysden, the Boyle, Moyer, Bampton, Hulsean, and Warburtonian Lectures, with numerous others. In the enumeration of the edition of the Councils of the Church, edited by Coletus, not only the dates of all the councils may be ascertained, but a complete list of the popes will be found, with the dates of their ascent to the papal chair. In that of Le Quien's *Oriens Christianus* will be found the names of the eastern dioceses; and many incidental advantages will be derived from the full development now given to the contents of books.'

In assenting to this, we cannot but express our surprise at

the omission of Migne, whose elaborate and costly collections are so well known. An equally remarkable oversight is the absence of any notice of Eichhorn or his works, from whom so much valuable information might have been derived on several of the most important subjects of this work. This silence is the more astonishing, as Eichhorn's name is mentioned in terms of commendation in Mr. Hallam's preface to his *Literary History*. Indeed, from his vocation as professor of theology at Gottingen, and from his extensive acquaintance with Hebrew and Oriental literature, Eichhorn had peculiar claims for admission to these pages. He wrote introductions to the Old and New Testaments and to the Apocrypha, a Repertorium for Biblical and Oriental literature, a *Bibliothèque Générale* of biblical literature; and planned a most extensive Bibliography, to be executed by some most eminent scholars whom he associated with himself, and over the completion of which he was to exercise surveillance.

We do not think the abstracts of the contents of the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* additions of much value to the Cyclopædia: they are long enough to occupy a considerable amount of space, without being full enough to exhaust the subject-matter of the Reviews. They jumble together a mass of most incongruous subjects, whilst the exclusion of some is quite as arbitrary as the introduction of others, and the list of authors given is of the most meagre kind, such as could be obtained without any inquiry or research; and which might have been, and, if necessary at all, ought to have been, very considerably extended. Besides, the presence of these abstracts challenges attention to the absence of other lists equally worthy. Mr. Darling's book is intended for English readers, and especially for students (we use the word in its broadest sense) in theology: for the former a carefully compiled analysis of the contents of the *Revue de Deux Mondes* and the *Bibliothèque Universelle*—and we know no one who would have been more fitted than M. Masson to undertake such a task—would have been far more valuable than any account of these two series, which are accessible in every tenth-rate library; whilst for the latter there are critiques in the *Eclectic*, in the *Christian Remembrancer*, the *Monthly*, the *British Critic*, and the *Biblical Reviews*, whose speciality would be more accordant with their peculiar pursuits.

We cannot help thinking that Mr. Darling would have judged more wisely, had he confined his first volume more exclusively to theological literature. We are quite aware that in such an undertaking no very arbitrary line can well be drawn; that other branches of human learning, such as philosophy, history, and poetry, are so inseparably wedded with divinity, that they

cannot without great violence be torn asunder. No one, we imagine, will regret the lengthened notices of Muratori, of Bacon, Locke, Newton, and others; but we think a discriminating judgment would have excluded many of the names we find inserted. The Cyclopædia, we fancy, in these instances was made to subserve the interests of Mr. Darling's library; but in a work of more than 3,000 pages of closely printed matter,—a work, be it remembered, which must under the most favourable circumstances necessarily be a compromise, and cannot hope to exhaust even its restricted subject,—a very considerable saving of space might have been effected by the omission of many titles which now appear. Admitting the principle on which Mr. Darling defends his practice, that 'theology, properly considered, extends over all departments of human pursuits, and receives illustration and confirmation from all sources of information;' we ask what advantage the student in theology can possibly derive from learning that on the shelves of the Metropolitan Library there is to be found a copy of Gordon Cumming's *Hunting Adventures in the Interior of Africa; with Notices of native Tribes, and various Zoological Anecdotes, in two vols., 8vo.;* —from being told that Caius Valerius Catullus was a Latin poet, born at Verona, B.C. 86, who lived for nearly 46 years; whose *Poëmata* are contained in Maittaire's *Opera*, part i., p. 342, and are to be found in small octavo, united with Tibullus, Propertius, and Gallus, in the Basil edition of 1530;—or even from a table of contents to Sir Walter Scott's works, which occupies two entire columns? These objections would be trifling, if they were applicable only to the examples quoted; but in the gross, similar cases amount to no inconsiderable number, and have seriously increased the bulk and consequent expense of the Cyclopædia. Nor can we think that greater discrimination has been shown in the frequent crowding into a small space and inferior type, under the general heading of 'other works,' such productions of the authors quoted as had not a place in Mr. Darling's own collection of books. Their absence was in many instances due to their excessive rarity; but this was only a reason why they should have been most fully described. We would press this desirability of restricting the work to the literature of theology with greater urgency, because the field of learning is now so greatly increased, that it is very hard to find any one who is competent satisfactorily to undertake even a single branch of Bibliography. We are not afraid that Mr. Darling should fall into the error of the learned Lambecius, who designed a scheme of literary history so magnificent, that he only lived to carry it down to the days of Moses and Cadmus. But we know that this desire to embrace too wide a sphere

within their pages is the rock on which many bibliographers have split. We are sure that the pecuniary success of the undertaking will be furthered by the adoption of our suggestion in a future edition. We can believe that very few purchasers of the Cyclopædias would object to the insertion of the class of notices under consideration; but they will be received with the amount of appreciation which is proverbially accorded to a gift-horse, and their absence would be equally disregarded.

We have noticed a few faults of excess; we find a greater difficulty in finding those of defect. The omission of the names of Migne and Eichhorn has been already adverted to; we mark that, under the name of Aaron Pick, a literal translation from the Hebrew of the twelve minor prophets is noticed; whereas no account is given of the Bible Student's Concordance by the same author, a work of some celebrity, and of great use in enabling the reader to ascertain the literal meaning of the Hebrew of every word in the Old Testament. There is no mention of the modern edition of Keach's *Tropologia,* nor of any edition of Green's *Grammar of the New Testament.* Amongst the list of modern tract-writers we look in vain for the name of Mr. Ryle, whose writings have exceeded in popularity any of the same class in the present day. Nor has the wide acceptance obtained by the *Mission to the Mysore* secured a place for the name of William Arthur; whilst W. B. Mackenzie's books have also been left out. We question, too, whether recent French authors have received due consideration. There is but a meagre notice of two only of the numerous works of Vinet; and one of these seems to owe its admission to its English dress; whilst the works of the holy and renowned Adolphe Monod, the *Histoire des Réfugiés Protestants de France* of M. Ch. Weiss, and the writings of Gasparin, which have exercised so wide an influence in Switzerland, are, amongst others, passed over in silence.

So rapidly, moreover, do our stores accumulate, and so quickly is the knowledge of certain books communicated, that we find a whole series of theological contests has been fought out, from first to last, since the *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* was published, and whose dates of publication preclude the possibility of their appearance. We shall doubtless find inserted in due order, under the head of Commentaries, the two famous volumes of Jowett, and the works of his defenders; while Stanley and Patterson, and a host of others that have since sprung into existence, will be duly chronicled and catalogued. No controversy of so deep importance as those which Mr. Jowett's books, and those of Drs. Donaldson and Davidson, respectively occasioned, was ever crowded into so short a space of time, so much occupied men's minds, and then so quickly died away. The

fields of sacred criticism, too, and grammar, are being tilled with an increasing energy, and we hope to see a copious and full account of what has been accomplished in the way of exegesis as Mr. Darling's work progresses. All these afford material for immense research; and we hope that those whose studies make them most familiar with such works, will give their voluntary aid to render this Cyclopædia as full and accurate as can be wished.

By far the least satisfactory portion of Mr. Darling's second volume is the account given under the heading of General Bibliography. The list of authors is very incomplete, the names are arranged on no system, that we can discover, either chronological or alphabetical, whilst the books are not definitely described, nor their special merits recorded. We search the list in vain for Giorgi, Ersch, Heinsius, Peignot, Quérard, Lambinet, Namur, or Reiffenberg: an omission the more unaccountable, when we recollect that Namur has published a classified list of such authorities, with an elaborate division into the different departments in which they have been severally employed. Of course, there must be a limit to the admission of names; but some of these are eminent in their respective spheres to a degree far beyond a few of the authors mentioned, to say nothing of the fact, that the value of any such a catalogue is mainly dependent on its fulness. Nor are we better satisfied when we turn from the quantity to the quality of the performance. There is nothing to indicate the comparative value of even the authors deemed worthy of mention. Far from the full and copious analysis which is given of works that are much more accessible, Mr. Darling is generally content with a bare transcription of the title. With the exception of a very short note after the names of Gesner and Lipenius,—of which that to the latter is to inform us that the *Bibliotheca* is called *realis*, because arranged under subjects, and not under authors,—there is but a single line of explanation to the whole division. We are not acquainted with the work of Lipenius, but we believe that it is not very highly esteemed, and are surprised that it should be so singularly favoured. Surely, too, the other works required some explanation: at least, for readers who did not know the meaning of *realis*, it might have been useful to note that few treatises are more generally reliable than the *Bibliographie Instructive* of Debure; to warn that the *Manuel du Libraire* of Brunet, though extremely valuable to the bookseller, especially in the Paris edition of 1842, has yet been described by Ebert as a work whose highest principle is the actual or possible value of a work in the Paris market; and to point out that Ebert, whose conscientious labour and accuracy have caused him to be rendered into English, and printed at the Oxford University

press, had at least placed before himself a higher aim, and endeavoured to make his work subordinate to a scientific object. The labours, however, of the learned German are passed over in two short lines, whilst three times that space is in immediate succession assigned to Kett's *Elements of General Knowledge*. We would not have grudged the space, which from a fellow-labourer would have been heartily and gracefully given, for notices of Watt and Kayser, of Dibdin and Lowndes, their lives and works.

We have been the more surprised at the meagre character of this part of Mr. Darling's second work, because it would be impossible to speak too highly of the extensive fulness and amplitude with which the succeeding portions of the same work are being treated. There are some most valuable sections, in which Introductions to the Study of the Scriptures, works on Inspiration and Biblical Criticism, on the Authenticity, Authority, and Truth of the Scriptures, are catalogued, and which contain a great amount of very useful information. Under these different titles, of which we have only quoted a few, all the apparatus amassed by the learning of so many divines is gathered into a space which admits of a speedy reference. Nor can we pass over without high commendation the admirably condensed account of the different editions of the Bible, of the various versions, ancient and modern, and of the manuscripts on which the most noted of Biblical editors have relied. The description of the contents and history of the larger Polyglots is at once comprehensive and clear, whilst occupying the smallest space consistent with those qualities. The editions of the Hebrew text are traced in chronological order from the *Psalterium Hebraicum*, the first printed book of the Hebrew Scriptures, which was published in 1477, down to those which have appeared in the last few years. Then follows, shortly afterwards, an equally valuable account of the editions of the Greek New Testament, in which the principal exemplars are traced up to the four standard text editions on which they were based; whilst hardly one of any note is passed over without a succinct, but judicious, notice of its special merits; and with this is often combined some of that gossip about prices, in which certain collectors curiously revel. Indeed, all this part of Mr. Darling's work is worthy of our hearty approval. We speak from practical experience. We have subjected it to careful inquiry, not only in the accounts of those more noted editions which would naturally command the attention of the compiler, but in smaller and less known instances; and we have very rarely been disappointed.

All this part of his undertaking Mr. Darling has accom-

plished, we believe, far more satisfactorily—we are certain, far more succinctly, and at a less cost to the reader both of time and money—than any of his predecessors. But this portion of the *Cyclopædia*, useful though it is, is not by any means the most original or striking. All this has been already essayed, and, to some extent, successfully, by others; but, in passing from these introductory subjects to direct Commentaries on the Bible, Mr. Darling has adopted a plan which has never previously been attempted, or, if at all, not on any scale that is commensurate with that which is here employed. After giving a chronological list of commentators on the whole or the larger portions of any one of the books of holy writ, we have each chapter considered verse by verse, with references to the various tracts or sermons in which they have been elucidated. We select any book as an example, say the Proverbs of Solomon. Here we have first a catalogue of fifty-three authors who have written on the entire book. This is followed by a second catalogue, indicating what authors have treated of the separate verses of the first chapter, in which fifty writers on that single portion are quoted, and so on for the remaining chapters to the end of the book.

It is needless to enlarge upon the advantages of this plan. Who does not know what it is to turn to some general Commentary for light upon a difficult passage, and find that whilst abundance of words are expended on the clearer portions, the difficulty itself has been carefully avoided? Or who, again, is ignorant that a vast mass of most valuable information on such subjects, tending to clear up what is ambiguous, to explain what seems contradictory, and to unfold what is incomprehensible, is indeed somewhere to be found in the multifarious writings that have issued from the press, but without some such index is utterly inaccessible? What the well-digested and comprehensive table of contents is to the writings of a single author, this second part of the *Cyclopædia Bibliographica* will be to the whole range of theological literature. Our readers may form some conception of the extent to which this undertaking has been fulfilled, when they learn that the references to different works on the whole or parts of the Book of Psalms alone amount to upwards of six thousand, which are at the same time so arranged that the information given on any single verse may be at once discovered.

There is only one other point on which we will touch before concluding our remarks, viz., as to the general tone of these volumes. It is essential to the value of such a *Cyclopædia*, that it should be entirely free from any suspicion of party spirit. A suppression of the evidence on either or any side would be fatal

to its general utility. We can add our emphatic testimony, that this condition is fulfilled. The author does not obtrude his opinions or judgments on the works cited, nor does he exclude any branch of theology, however heterodox, from his pages. If we were to estimate the compiler's sentiments from the fulness of the notices which his work contains, we should conclude by turns that he belonged to every known section of the Christian Church. The accounts of the Fathers are enough to gratify the strongest advocate for patristic theology: the description of the writings of the Reformers, the minute classification of even the minor works of our Puritan divines, and of the great Church writers of the seventeenth century, are all executed with admirable impartiality. Calvinist and Arminian, Churchman and Dissenter, Romanist and Protestant, Millenarian, Montanist, and all the other thousand phases of Christianity, find their places in the wide embrace of this *Cyclopædia*.

But it is time to bring our paper to a close. We are fully conscious that works such as these, on which such an amount of labour has been expended, cannot be exhausted, or have justice done them, in the space to which we have confined ourselves. But our object in these remarks has been not to criticize minutely the smaller items of a work which is already extended to upwards of four thousand pages, but to bring it before the notice of that large class of our readers to whom it would be almost invaluable. We are not, it is true, slavishly subject to authority in questions of theology; and we claim the right of deciding, each one for himself, on subjects which have a most sacred and individual interest to each one of us; but that does not lessen our estimation of the value to be assigned to those learned divines who may have laboured in any quarter to which we are ourselves attracted.

We cannot but feel the justice of the remark in Mr. Darling's preface, that 'the advantages of bibliographical science are not yet to any great extent either understood or appreciated in this country.' But this understanding and appreciation could hardly be expected to exist in the absence of any modern work on the subject, which should be at once trustworthy and accessible. The expensiveness of the works of former bibliographers put them out of the reach of the many; and Mr. Darling has taken the most effectual measure for the removal of his own complaint by the publication of his volumes. We congratulate him on the successful termination of his long labours on the first part of his undertaking. We are sure that his work only requires to be more widely known, and a copy of it will find a place in every good library. In succeeding editions, when all reference to his own Metropolitan Institution will be no longer of import-

ance, we trust to see the volume of Authors confined more strictly to works in some degree connected with theology; whilst the space now occupied by other books will be filled in by works now omitted or new productions. In the second portion, we hope the author will carry out the plan he has adopted in treating of works on the Holy Scriptures. Striving rather to tell us all that has been written on one point, than a part of what has been said on many,—completeness, rather than diffuseness, will make this a work that will not soon be forgotten. And if the learned reader shall find inaccuracies which we have failed to notice, let him remember the plea of one who was most illustrious in this branch of literature: '*Il faudrait savoir bien des choses, et certainement bien plus que ne vaut cette science, pour ne pas se tromper souvent en Bibliographie.*'

ART. VII.—1. *Unprotected Females in Norway: or, The pleasantest Way of travelling there, passing through Denmark and Sweden. With Scandinavian Sketches from Nature.* London: G. Routledge and Co. 1857.

2. *Voyage d'une Femme au Spitzberg.* Par MADAME LÉONIE D'AUNET. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et C^ie^. Deuxième Edition. 1855.

LADY travellers are enterprising and expert,—sometimes ambitious too. Unlike her sister of the East, 'so tender and delicate,' that she will 'not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness;' our Western woman is trained to tread in man's footsteps the world over. Making up by spirit and elasticity what she lacks in hardihood and strength, she braves peril and endures fatigue. She has even ventured among the floating ice-islands of the Arctic Ocean, and found foothold on the hard, slippery, glistening side of Mont Blanc. It is man's business to pioneer, and his glory; *c'est le premier pas qui coûte;* but, the first step taken, with aspiring aim and ready imitative faculty, woman enters the open door, and pursues the newly-tracked path. So has she been man's follower and rival in the various branches of literature, science, and art; with what occasional success is attested by such names, among many others, as those of Elizabeth Smith and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mary Somerville and Rosa Bonheur. Even where she has failed, her very efforts seem to hint that there may be a good time coming,—a time that neither skill nor strife of hers can hasten—when enfranchised woman, with larger powers and larger scope for their development, shall be the more

equal associate of him whom she has been schooled to regard as her ruler and guide ever since in Eden she pressed before him into sin. Be that as it may, while on this earth, and in the body, she must fill a secondary place, and do a different kind of work. It is her interest and happiness to be content with this position. Woman loses something in dignity and grace when she breaks down the guards thrown around her delicacy by the general opinion of an age of ripe civilization. We may be called old-fashioned, yet we will venture to say, that it would not give us unmixed pleasure to meet one of our fair countrywomen sitting *à la Zouave* on a mountain pony, with her 'tresses unconfined, wooed by each' Norwegian 'wind.'

Doubtless there are occasions when, for a great object, a great sacrifice should be made. Conventional proprieties must not be a bar to a work of mercy which woman only can do. Florence Nightingale did well when, undeterred by thoughtless laugh, or witty word, or the whispered doubt of her sympathizing yet timid fellow-countrywomen, she crossed the threshold of a lady-like retirement, and bore the gaze of the world. And so with that other who, (if old story tells truly,) in a ruder and less scrupulous age, conquered her shrinking woman's modesty by her strong woman's compassion, and bowed to a cruel and shameless behest.

> 'Then she rode forth, clothed on with chastity:
> .....She took the tax away,
> And built herself an everlasting name.'

And the principle which we apply to great occasions, may serve us also in the lesser concerns of daily occurrence. When a woman's motive in breaking through ordinary restraint is the good of others, we either approve or excuse; but where it is clear that there is no self-sacrifice in the case, where we believe her to be prompted by a love of pleasure, or a desire for notoriety, we neither praise nor pardon: we condemn. Thus, on taking up the books at the head of this article, we confess to more immediate sympathy with the Frenchwoman who travelled under her husband's escort, than with the Englishwoman who, voting men useless on a journey, set forth unattended by father, husband, brother, or servant. And our feeling gathers strength as we proceed. The 'Unprotected'—she, we mean, who writes the book, for the other lady appears only in a passive character—seems never to lose sight of herself; her personal adventures form her chief topic of discourse; and how she strikes the country is a question with her of deeper interest than 'how it strikes a stranger.' The protected lady, on the contrary, saved from the consciousness of doing an extraordinary thing, has an

eye for all that is beautiful and grand in nature, for all that is new and interesting in the habits of those with whom she mingles. Madame D'Aunet merely crossed Norway, *en route* to Spitzbergen; but her cursory notes of travel are full of life and picturesque detail. Before, however, trusting ourselves to her guidance, or that of the other ladies, we will give a passing glance at the general aspect of the country through which they travelled.

The Norway of our childhood, as represented on ordinary maps, is remarkable chiefly for a long, continuous range of hills, dividing it from Sweden, and extending from the Naes in the south to the North Cape. But a truer notion would be given by omitting this backbone, and substituting for it something resembling the shagreen covering of certain kinds of fish. The mountains of Norway are neither one connected chain running through an otherwise flat country, nor are they distinct elevations. The whole country is mountainous, and the south especially is distinguished by a series of *plateaux*, or table-lands, called there 'fjelds,' more or less connected together, though frequently separated by narrow and deep valleys. The general elevation of these fjelds is fully three thousand feet above the sea; but, rising higher than they, are mountain summits, *aiguilles*, of which the highest yet measured is said to attain an elevation of eight thousand five hundred feet. Some of the fjelds have well-known names, and are often traversed, as the Sogne-fjeld, the Dovre-fjeld, the Fille-fjeld, and the Hardanger-fjeld; but others have been as yet only imperfectly explored, and among them are glaciers whose peculiarities have still to be described.

It is not for the sake of its fjelds, storm-swept and wild, trackless, or at least difficult of passage, that tourists are usually drawn to Norway. It has a strong attraction in its rivers and waterfalls. The abundance of its running water may be accounted for by the flat surface of the highlands which receive and retain, in lakes or tarns, the more than ordinary supply of rain that falls in the country; and by the quantity of snow, accumulated during the greater part of the year, that the sun of summer melts. Countless streams thus formed work their way seaward; but they cannot find a smooth passage in this land of rocks. Sometimes, as with the Rjukan-foss, a heavy volume of water forces itself through a narrow chasm, falling several hundred feet into a rocky basin, with a loud, hissing sound; sometimes there is a series of falls, one broad surface of rock after another being covered with a white, changeful drapery, and the sound heard being a murmur rather than a roar; often a single thread, bright as silver, falls down a steep cliff, connecting the valley below with the fjeld two thousand feet above

it, and surprising the observer by its continuity, till, on reaching the spot, he finds how much his eye has been deceived as to its volume and weight.

Another peculiar feature of Norwegian scenery is to be found in its fjords, inlets from the jagged coast to the very heart of the country, that carry there the blue sea, with its tides, and surf, and salt. The Sogne-fjord is a hundred and ten miles in length. Many of these fjords are pent in on either side by perpendicular cliffs, no footway being left at their base. Such is the case with the Näroe-fjord, one of the many ramifications of the Sogne-fjord, of which Professor Forbes speaks as 'most desolate, and even terrific.' He says, 'My companion had fallen into a deep sleep; the air was still, damp, and calm; the oars plashed, with a slow measure, into the deep, black, fathomless abyss of water below, which was bounded on either side by absolute walls of rock, without, in general, the smallest slope of *débris* at the foot, or space enough anywhere for a goat to stand; and whose tops, high as they indeed are, seemed higher by being lost in clouds which formed, as it were, a level roof over us, corresponding to the watery floor beneath.'

Then there are the forests of Norway; not those only to which her children have been largely indebted for the materials of commerce, but those standing on wilder tracts of country, untroubled as yet by the hand of the feller, where the giants of former generations have fallen and gone to decay, and where many a noble shaft more than a hundred feet in height still rears its stately form above a thick undergrowth of lesser trees. None of us doubts of the abundance of pine to be seen in Norway, especially those kinds commonly known as Scotch and spruce firs, that furnish the red and white deals and timber of our builders: but it is pleasant to know that the woods of Norway are not altogether monotonous; but that, fringing many a ravine and watercourse, may be seen the varied foliage of the birch, alder, and ash. On the shore of the Skaggerack, even oaks are not uncommon; and farther north, the graceful branches of the wych-elm, and the full, rich, rounded form of the sycamore, add to the beauty of the landscape. The aspen is common, enlivening the woods with its smooth white bark and delicate leaves, which, in rocky declivities, change early to a bright yellow. The limit of the pine growth is about 2,900 feet; but the birch climbs higher up, clothing the grey cliffs with verdure to the height of 3,300 feet. Still higher, a stunted willow and the juniper are found; and when these plants cease to grow, a creeping dwarf birch, about six inches high, with reindeer moss, succeeds, and, clinging to the cold mountain side, more than pays back in cheerful beauty what it gathers of scanty

nourishment. Nor must we think of Norway as nearly destitute of flowers. Not only are roses, lilacs, and other flowering shrubs grown in gardens in the neighbourhood of Christiania, but, passing through the tangled thickets of the south, one lights on sunny glades made beautiful by patches of delicate blue pansies, or yellow violets. Beds of lily of the valley nestling in some shady copse are not infrequent, and the forget-me-not is still more common; while the edges of cornfields are often decked with a profusion of wild flowers,—conspicuous among them the showy foxglove and monkshood.

The däls or valleys of Norway form a striking contrast to its highlands. They are cultivated and fruitful. In a country where the general surface consists of elevated and barren table land, (the proportion of arable land to the whole extent of Norway is not, according to Professor Munch, more than one to ten,) it will be readily believed that industrious and intelligent landowners turn to account every available spot of earth. In some places banks have been formed consisting of a deposit of gravel and earth, brought down by water currents; and it is curious to observe how, as soon as the *débris* has become firm, such banks have been chosen as the sites of little farms. Crops of barley and oats, potatoes and hops, are grown; and among the fruit-trees we find the apple and the cherry. The farms, each belonging to a separate proprietor, are generally so small, that the question occurs how the farmer contrives to get a living. His chief wealth consists in his cattle. Of these he keeps a stock quite disproportioned to the size of his homestead. They are very small, delicate-looking, and dun-coloured. When Midsummer comes, they are driven from the valleys to the fjelds, where they remain till winter, thriving on the abundant and sweet herbage to be found on these heights during the brief weeks of warm weather. Meantime, every rood at home is closely shorn, and hay is made on each open patch, or sunny nook, or earth-covered ledge of rock.

The people of Norway, a country twice as large as England and Wales, are so sparsely scattered over its surface, that, in all, their number is only half that of London; yet even that population is redundant, and annually seeks relief by emigration. Few settlers from other countries are allured to its shores. Even its sunniest valleys offer little temptation to the generality of emigrants,—men whose characteristic it is to prefer the bare chance of wealth to the certainty of competence.

Norway was an almost untravelled country previous to the present century; and it is only within the last few years that it has been visited by the ordinary tourist. Being the highway to nothing but the North Pole, it was long before many cared to

cross its stony, ice-cold heights. Men of science to study its geology, and examine its glaciers; artists to sketch its wonderful scenery, and to catch the glow of its matchless summer evenings; anglers to seek its trout as large as salmon, and its salmon larger than belief; these were its occasional visitors; but now long-vacation barristers, Oxford and Cambridge students, and even Unprotected Females, consider it open ground. Generally speaking, their travels are confined to south Norway, few venturing upon that long and narrow slip of country that lies above the Throndjhems-fjord, and mostly within the Arctic Circle.

South Norway contains the three cities of the kingdom, situated relatively to each other like the feet and the pivot of a partially opened pair of compasses. Bergen and Christiania are nearly in the same latitude, on opposite sides of the country. Throndjhem (pronounced Tronyem) and Christiania differ little as to longitude; but the former is more than three degrees farther north than the other cities. The roads which lie between—for they can scarcely be said to *connect* these three cities—are so difficult of passage, that a few years ago it was a rare thing to meet with an inhabitant of Bergen who had even visited the modern capital; and an Englishman who had crossed the intervening fjelds and fjords was thought to have performed a marvellous feat. Although a railway now conveys the traveller from Christiania to the Miösen-vand, and a steamer plies on that lake, yet, to proceed further, he must commit himself to the native carriole, occasionally forsaking that for the saddle, and often putting himself, his carriage, and his horse, on board small flat-bottomed skiffs. The roadmakers of Norway have no idea of getting round a difficulty; they always face it. When a mountain is in the way, they go straight on up the hill, however high, and down the other side, however sharp the descent. The present post-roads were originally footpaths, and then, in their transition-state, bridle-roads. They are kept in order by the compulsory labours of the small landowners, who, sometimes, have the care of only a few yards of road, every portion specially allotted and ticketed; and, if we take into account this arrangement, with the opposing agency of severe winter frosts, and violent spring torrents, we may rather wonder that the roads are so good, than prolong the complaint of their being the worst in Europe. The busy hand of modern improvement is now at work on the high roads of Norway; but still the chief requirements of the traveller are said to be a good horse, and good nerves. The cream-coloured, thick-maned ponies of Norway, little, sturdy, and sure-footed, may well be trusted. They climb the mountain side without shirking their duty; and when the driver gives

them their head at the summit, away they go, at a pace rapid enough to startle the veriest Jehu, yet with perfect self-confidence and success.

It must be remembered that the Norway carriole is adapted for one traveller only, and that it gives no protection in case of rain. There is a kind of gig that will seat two persons, but this is not to be procured except at the larger towns. It is customary for travellers to purchase their own conveyance, and to sell it again when its work is done. Those who decline this arrangement, and prefer trusting to chance of travel, must expect to be treated sometimes to light carts instead of carrioles: these are simply square deal boxes, roughly put together. As they are placed on low wheels, and are not furnished with springs, it may well be imagined that the jolting is all but insufferable.

About four years ago an experienced Norwegian traveller asked the question, and asked it in print, 'How far is it practicable for ladies to travel in Norway?' He dwells on the difficulties of an extensive trip,—say of four or five hundred miles,—especially naming the open vehicle, no larger than a park-chaise, the uncertainty of the climate, the scarcity of good accommodation on unfrequented roads; and, after weighing these and the like hinderances against the spirit, energy, and courage of the English ladies, answers his own question, and decides against their attempting such a tour at present; then, with kind misgiving, he suggests that a well-chosen and brief excursion in the companionship of some gentleman to whom Norway is familiar ground, and the Danish language not altogether unknown, might be practicable. Did the 'Unprotected Females' take offence at this limitation of woman's roving and managing power, and determine to prove to Mr. Forester and the world, that 'when she will, she will, you may depend on't?' They have given their answer to his question, and have gone out and returned home safely, and alone; but after reading the story of their adventures, it is not impossible that some who doubted before, may vote him in the right after all.

The ladies have been waiting for us too long; let us hear their invitation to any who, on reading their book, may wish to follow their example.

'If, reader, you like an unsophisticated country, inhabited by a fine race of upright peasantry, who will receive you as a guest, not cheat you as a traveller, prepare to follow us bodily, sharing our hardships and our pleasures, first laying in an immense stock of health, spirits, and good temper.....Very few have any idea what a country Norway is to attack, and the consequences of going off the high road at all. Christiania is 990 miles from London, and that is only the beginning of the real journey; new modes of conveyance, a new language, and

scanty living, are all to come. And when a traveller has been sleeping on hay, ironing his own clothes, and had nothing but porridge three times a day for a week, if his spirits, health, and temper hold out, he has a real good supply of them, and is a *bonâ fide* traveller.....We two ladies, having gone before, show how practicable the journey must be, though we have found out, and will maintain, that ladies *alone* get on in travelling much better than with gentlemen: they set about things in a quieter manner, and always have their own way; while men are sure to get into passions, and make rows, if things are not right immediately. Should ladies have no escort with them, then every one is so civil, and trying of what use they can be; while, when there is a gentleman of the party, no one thinks of interfering, but all take it for granted they are well provided for.

'The only use of a gentleman in travelling is to look after the luggage, and we take care to have no luggage. "The Unprotected" should never go beyond one portable carpet-bag. This, if properly managed, will contain a complete change of everything; and what is the use of more in a country where dress and finery would be in the worst taste? Two waterproof bags, with straps, and no key, (a thing always missing,) straw hats which will not blow up, thin musquito veils, solid plaid skirts with light polkas, woollen stockings, and hob-nail shoes, are the proper Norwegian accoutrements, with a light hooded waterproof cloak to go over all, much the same as would be taken for a Highland tour; with the addition of two other things,—a driving-whip and fishing-rod: the former is generally represented by a switch at the Norwegian posting-houses; and it is the greatest resource in the world to have the latter to throw into the nearest stream, without the fear of a loud 'Holloa!' if kept waiting for, or in want of, a meal.'—Page 2.

Thus equipped, the ladies started, and, after visiting Aix-la-Chapelle, Hanover, Hamburg, and Copenhagen, we find them nearing Christiania, and feeling their first difficulties.

'We now entered the Cattegat, which made the vessel dance rather too briskly. Not wishing to go down to a dull cabin, yet not being able to stand, we lay down on deck, the only English person on board being a gentlemanly man fortunately, (a well-bred Englishman *is* a nice thing,) who gave us all his wraps, and kept a look-out for any thing interesting, that we might pop up our heads to see it.'—Page 16.

This *naïve* confession somewhat surprises us. The eschewed gentleman is early welcomed. We wonder whether he spoke afterwards of the nice, well-bred ladies that he met on board the *Hallande*. Miss Edgeworth, in one of her inimitable *Early Lessons*, tells a story of a little boy who saw in a milliner's shop a lady acquaintance of his mamma's, and who, encouraged by her smiles and praises, recited poetry, and told many a nursery story of which he was the hero; whereupon she called him 'the finest boy she had ever seen in her life,' and 'a very clever little

fellow indeed.' The next day Frank happened to go with his mother into the cottage of a neighbouring washerwoman, and there he met with the maid-servant of the same lady, who was talking loudly, and holding up to view a muslin gown on which were the marks of dirty shoes, and the trace also of a large hole that had been mended. She said that her mistress had told her it was 'all done by a little mischievous, conceited brat of a boy, that she met with in the milliner's shop where she was yesterday.' Ah, if ladies only knew what is said of them by some of the civillest of their acquaintance! They might then learn that a considerate refusal is sometimes as well liked as the most cordial acceptance. Many a nice well-bred Englishman is glad to show his gallantry, and to keep his wraps.

Modern Christiania, if we except its Storthing or Parliament House, its vice-regal residence for the crown prince of Sweden, and its new brick buildings, superseding the time-honoured and artist-loved wooden houses of the old town, has few distinctive features. But, piled high in its quays, ready for embarcation, are the products of the magnificent forests of the interior. Our travellers went to see the Falls of the Glommen, and to admire the way in which trees felled far up the country, and marked with the names of their owners, are brought, by the force of running water, to their destined place. Mr. Forester gives the following description of a similar scene at the Falls of the Nid:—

'The enormous logs, first whirled, fearfully booming, against the rocks that narrowed the channel, were then hurled over, and plunged in the boiling foam below. At the foot of each fall, a perfect barrier of pines was formed, to which many were added while we stood witnessing the struggle. Some, eddying in the whirlpools, seemed destined never to get free; one almost wondered how any escaped: numbers were broken up, and some never recovered. The whole shore below the falls was strewed with the giant bulk *disjectaque membra* of these spoils of the forest, thus arrested in their progress to the sea.

'Felled and sledged to the nearest stream during the winter, no sooner is its frozen channel set free by the returning spring, and swelled by the influx from the dissolving snow, than the timber, thus left to its fate, begins its long journey. Borne down by the foaming torrents which lash the base of its native hills, far in the interior; hurried over rapids; taking its onward course along the shores of winding lakes, or slowly dropping down in the quiet current of broad rivers; the accumulated mass is brought up at last by a strong boom placed across the stream where it discharges itself into navigable waters.....During their passage down the lakes, the pine-logs are collected into immense rafts, curiously framed and pinned together; but so unwieldy and unmanageable are the masses, that but little can

be done in the way of navigation, beyond fending them off the shores and rocks, and keeping them in the current. Some of the timber is said to be two years in finding its way to the coast.'

But we must follow our lady guides into the interior, and see how they get on when—the railway journey to the Miösen-vand made, and the lake crossed by steamer—they find themselves on the high road to Throndhjem, either whisked along by a trotting pony, or stopping for rest at the country stations.

'Our public supper over, a ladder led to the very comfortable beds, from which we were roused next morning by the water for washing arriving in a slop bowl. After sending the good-natured moon-faced maiden to refill it twenty times, breakfasting very tolerably, and shaking an unlimited number of hands, a succession of little cream-coloured cobs, changed at every station, bore us through the valley, whose character became wilder and more Tyrolese each moment. The constant cascades formed the most charming road-side variety; any one of them would have made the fortune of an English watering-place; and there they were tumbling refreshingly down, quite grateful for being sketched. Halting for lunch at Laurgaard, a plateful of rice-porridge was brought, which, with cream and wild strawberries, made a delicious summer meal.....Enjoying the driving, and laughing at the ludicrous harness of the ponies, which consisted chiefly of an article on each side of the neck like a flat iron, which jogged up and down in the most fidgety manner, I dropped the whip, and, looking behind to tell the boy to pick it up, found the urchin had disappeared completely, having slily run back, finding his horse in good hands. So, nervous ladies, keep an eye on your coachman.

'At Toftemoen, a landlord (great rarity) was visible; and, seeing me cast longing looks upon a flock of geese running about on the green, said gallantly, "You may have one, if you can catch it," which process was great fun, and good exercise for the feet, as driving had been for the arms all day. I decidedly approve of people catching their own goose before eating it. The fat farmer stood laughing at the chase, and, pronouncing the caught animal the finest of the flock, was entrapped into offering to pluck it.'—Pp. 69–71.

After staying a few pleasant days at Jerkind, our travellers resolved not to go forward to Throndhjem, but to diverge from the high road, that they might try their fortune in desolate places, where English ladies, as yet, were unknown. Here they are, on their way to the Sogne-Fjeld.

'The Vaage-vand, a lovely, deep-green lake, lay at the foot of a long hill, which the pony, perhaps stimulated by the sight of so much refreshing water, insisted on rushing down. Arrived at the margin, a messenger was dispatched immediately for a boat: he was three hours away, and returned without one. A saddle-horse must be taken, and the steep, narrow ledge along the face of the rocks followed, instead of the watery way. This was not difficult in full daylight; the

novelty of the position carried off the sense of its eccentricities; riding and tying was merry work, until fatigue and twilight came on at the same time; then, when the firs overhung the path, it was perfectly dark; and stumbling over rocks into pools, with the fear of slipping into the lake beneath, and a prospect of seven miles more of the same kind, was such dreary work, that for once we forcibly felt as if the Providence of the "Unprotected" were failing, when, through an opening in the wood, a boat was seen to shoot suddenly from the shore; our guide hallooed, struck a bargain, carried us down the steep cliff in his arms, and put us on board in the twinkling of an eye, waving farewell with a look of satisfaction, which showed he had been more nervous than he acknowledged. Traveller, never start on a bye-road late in the afternoon in Norway; the peasants have no precise idea of distances, and are so hardy as to think very little whether the road be rough or smooth beneath their feet.'—Page 91.

This is bad enough: but worse is to come. They are crossing the Sogne-Fjeld.

'The mist had now turned to rain, and a howling wind rushed through the chasm, making it impossible to hold up an umbrella. Three hours' patient march were gradually nearing the sentinel, but also benumbing us through and through, when the sight of the skeleton of a horse picked remarkably clean by the wolves was rather benumbing to our spirits. We were quite surprised at our guides now proposing to halt and have dinner, without the slightest shelter from the pouring rain; and of all the dreary things I can possibly imagine, it was our alighting in a bog, without a spot to sit down on; undoing our packages with frozen fingers, drenched to the skin, and in company with a skeleton.....For hours, first in, then out of water, sharp frozen snow drifting in our faces, our curdled blood merely kept uncongealed by hard exercise, vista after vista of peak, peak, peak, before, behind, around,—no seeming end; we felt at last as if placed outside the world, the rolling clouds closing in upon us; and when nought but a field of snow lay visible beneath, all track effaced, our hearts turned pale within us. The horses trembled violently; the only sound was a low distant howl; to remain still was death. Seizing each the arm of a guide, we pushed forward in the direction that our path should lie.....Ten hours in reality, but a lifetime in emotion, had passed from the last little mound of turf we had left till we alighted before a similar one, and were received by a woman. The crackle of the fire was almost too friendly in the sudden transition, and like a friend's kindness brought tears to our eyes, in which the pent-up feelings found vent. Porridge was soon steaming on the fire, plenty of cream, and a *bonne-bouche* of coffee. Unfortunately it was impossible to pass the night in the cabin, a long table being the only available bed; so, mounting again before darkness came on, we wound down the valley to Optuen. It was hard work putting on half-dried clothes, and facing the rain again. Having now no impulse to keep us up, these last two hours of jogging down the stony hill with stiffened limbs were very painful. Next came one of the real hard-

ships of Norwegian travel: arriving, after twelve such hours, at a halting-place, not only divested of every comfort, but containing such an accumulation of filth that there was not one spot left to throw one's weary body down to rest. Such a house was the farm at Optuen; a gaunt peasant in rags, the most slovenly of women, with elf-locked children rolling in sheepskins on the floor, were its tenants; and on remonstrating with the guides for not selecting a better halting-place, they exclaimed that this was the very best of the district, and as such had been chosen for the crown prince to pass the night at, in his passage over the Fjeld.'—Pp. 115–121.

The ladies took a peep at life among the sœters, or mountain farms. This life, as we learn from many travellers, has a forbidding, as well as an attractive and picturesque aspect. It must be a pretty sight each evening when the flocks, scattered during the day, return, announcing their coming by the tinkling bells fastened to their necks. Sheep, goats, and cows, are all met with kind words and caresses by the girls who have the charge of them; a spoonful of salt is given, as a treat, to each, and then the business of milking commences, after which the mixed herd dispose themselves in groups on the ground around the sœter. But within the house itself there is seldom any comfort. The chief apartment often has a moist, muddy floor; and when a tolerably dry corner is found, and a soft, fragrant bed of fresh juniper boughs is prepared, the hospitable people insist on adding sheepskins and woollen rugs, which those who have once slept under seldom wish to try again. Then, supposing rest secured, there comes the question of food. Dairy produce in abundance,—milk, cream, butter, cheese,—is at the traveller's service; also plenty of flad-brödd, a thin cake of rye-meal;- but no kind of animal food, often not an egg, nor the all but universal dried salmon. Oatmeal porridge, or stir-about, is the unfailing resource of the Norwegian traveller: but, alas! he may grow tired with 'the prodigal excess of too familiar happiness.' It must be a very different thing to see it brought for the twenty-first time in one week, and to eat it, as George Stephenson loved to eat it, once a year,—a dainty dish, prepared by his own hand, in the elegant home of his old age. But let us accompany the ladies on their visits to one or two happy circles in the more civilized parts of Norway:—

'The interior of the house' (they are visiting a pastor) 'had an air of unpretending comfort, and the pictures on the walls, of subjects from Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*, had a refined effect; though almost any room that was furnished would have appeared luxuriously Eastern in our eyes. On the table was an illustrated edition of Longfellow's Poems. A piano graced the room, which, on its first arrival, had been the wonder of the peasant neighbourhood.....Farm-

buildings stretched out at the back of the house, and there was a dependent sœter high up in the mountains. In another building the whole process of clothes-making was going on, the nearest town being 180 miles off, too far for shopping. The wool of the priest's own sheep was spun by a buxom maiden, dressed herself in good broad-cloth of her own make; on the loom was a comfortable linsey-woolsey, striped with red, preparing against winter wear; while a tasteful chocolate and white gown, of a much finer make, was just finished for the priestinn's best dress, who was at the moment clad in a lilac homespun of the strongest linen,—a capital material, which was at one time the fashion at Paris, under the name of *coutil*. In the next room two tailors were busy working at the priest's and household's coats, of substantial cloth, also spun by the maiden. The voyage of discovery was completed by making the entire tour of the premises in a pretty little plaything of their son Christopher's, a miniature sledge, pushed by himself, to make him hardy and strong in the arms. A choice Norwegian supper had been prepared by his mother's fair fingers,—preserved fruits and fresh rusks. Intellectual conversation, with a feeling of confidence, as if we were old friends, yet knowing we should never meet again, made it difficult to part, and shorten that strange, sweet sensation of being so received without a question asked.'—Pp. 134–6.

The other interior is that of a gentleman's family living near Bergen.

'Seeking for a spot to rest on, we peeped in at the open gates of a garden surrounding a pretty house, whose rustic chairs were invitingly placed on a grassy hillock. A lady in a straw hat was watering her flowers, and, looking up, instantly advanced, extending her hand with the most winning smile, saying, "*Wilkommen til Bergen.*" After such a reception it was easy enough to explain what we wished; and, seated in an arbour, I drew the distant town amid roses and shrubs, my willing fingers marking the intricacies almost of their own accord; such a facilitator is kindness to every action in life! The lady said she would not look over me, but go in and prepare a cup of tea. All the rich merchants have their country houses near the town, standing in gardens just like English ones, only the turf is not so fine: there is no turf kept like that of England on the whole Continent. When the sun had sunk into the distant fjord, the lady re-appeared, dressed elegantly, yet plainly, in the modern style, without exaggeration; a pretty fawn-coloured silk dress, and a cap with pink ribands, for she was a young matron. She said all was ready. Chatting round the tea-table, we found that our fair hostess was the wife of the principal merchant and banker of Bergen, loved the English, and spoke their language well, besides German and French, which her three children were beginning to pronounce also. The pretty daughter, Sidonia, just fifteen, had made her *début* at the ball given by the prince a few days before; her two sons, Oscar and Halburt, were younger, and, though full of spirits, behaved like gentlemen's sons, and were quite under her control. We noticed the deep respect of all children in

presence of their parents throughout Norway.....The house was of wood, painted white, and surrounded by a verandah twined with creeping plants, partly enclosed by glass. Inside, the rooms were moderately spacious, with polished floors, not carpeted in summer or winter; only rugs were laid for the feet of the sofas and tables. The furniture in the drawing-rooms was of dark, carved wood, very pretty against the white walls, with plain gold mouldings and inserted mirrors. Real ivy trained between the folding-doors, by its refreshing green made a beautiful relief to the eyes: some statues, pictures, and a profusion of lady's embroidery, were the ornaments. The tea-service was silver, and of modern style; the china of fine Staffordshire. Some time after tea, which was of the best kind, the daughter handed round a tray of different preserved fruits, with a great many spoons in a tumbler of water; each guest was to take a spoon and a mouthful of the nearest preserve, then a fresh spoon for the next kind, putting the used spoon in water, and so on till all the fruits were tasted, and a handful of sugar-plums finished the course.....The lady was intensely curious about the various parts of Norway and the ways of the people, knowing far less of them than of the rest of the world. .....Our kind hostess used every persuasion to induce us to stay to see her husband, not yet returned from his counting-house, who would delight in speaking English, offering us beds to stop all night, and only permitting us to go on the promise of another visit. Nothing but a very pressing engagement took us away that evening, we felt so happy and at home amidst all the quiet hospitality with its easy simplicity; and on seeing the lady's husband afterwards, we found him quite equal to his wife. I never met with so much real good breeding as in Norway.'—Pp. 159–164.

While in Tellemarken, the ladies visited the church of Hitterdal, the delight of the inhabitants of that district, and the largest of the remaining curious old wooden churches of Norway.

'In the style somewhat of its sister of Borgund, but still more thickly covered with scales, it rises, beehive upon beehive, till a primmer, quainter, little edifice cannot be imagined. It took me seven hours, in a hot sun, to sketch it slightly; and, like everything else in Tellemarken, is like nothing else in the world. The interior was left unaltered till it began to crumble down, and now has been restored very prettily with different coloured woods, in character with the edifice.'—Page 241.

The lady's estimate of the value of the restoring hand differs from that of certain gentlemen-tourists who visited Hitterdal during the same season. They complain of the blocking up of the beautiful external gallery, of the removal of what was antique, and the entire failure of every attempt to imitate the original plan. The church of Borgund, in the wild valley of the Leir, surpasses that of Hitterdal in interest; but the only one of these ancient churches that has any claim to beauty, as well

as to quaintness, is the little church of Urnes. Much of its rich woodwork has been replaced by plain timbers; but on roof, door, and panel are still to be seen the remains of Runic carving; that tracery of entwined dragons, foliage, and figures, characteristic of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which, in crosses and tombstones, is still to be found in Scotland and Ireland, as well as Scandinavia. The capitals of its pillars, and the general character of its mouldings, correspond, too, with the details of our own Norman architecture, allowance being made for the difference of the materials employed. Of our contemporary wooden churches, the little one of East Greenstead, in Essex, is the only remaining specimen, decay or fire having destroyed the rest. The church at Urnes stands on a headland, three or four hundred feet above the blue waters of the Sognefjord, beyond which stretches a fertile valley, dotted with pleasant homesteads.

Before parting with our unprotected friends, we would pray the younger lady, whose clever pencil has illustrated her volume so nicely, and whose fluent pen has so pleasant a dash and sparkle of its own, to leave slang to schoolboys, and to spare a little time for the study of syntax. A 'jolly dinner,' a 'smashing pace,' and a 'splendid fellow,' are phrases that do not become a lady's lips any more than 'scarlet indispensables' grace her person; and, through neglect of the commonest rules of grammar, such a passage as the following, respecting the habits of bears, is not very easily understood:—

'Before leaving their snow-holes, where they bury themselves for the winter, going in fat and coming out thin, and on first waking from their long sleep, they are so weak as to be no sport at all, letting themselves be drowsily killed; but after having been out a little, stretched, breakfasted, and on the look-out for lunch, are most savage and dangerous.'—Page 219.

Such literary slop-work would scarcely be pardonable in a lion-hunter, and is quite unworthy of a lady's neater hand.

We now turn to the pleasant pages of Madame D'Aunet. She writes like a woman of intelligence and cultivation, and with a charming vivacity; so that those who wish to gain a picturesque acquaintance with Norway cannot do better than follow her guidance; while any who may desire more accurate and scientific information should read Professor Forbes's work on *Norway, and its Glaciers*. It is full of interest, and exhibits the characteristic caution of the philosopher and the Scotchman.

To make a selection is difficult where much is inviting. We feel as we have felt sometimes when walking in a garden where many flowers of varied forms and tints appeal to our sense of

the beautiful: we wish to gather two or three, types of the rest, to give to a friend; but when our choice is made and the flowers are in our hand, we look again to the bed where they grew, and fear that, after all, we have left the best unplucked.

Passing through Denmark, Madame D'Aunet pays this warm tribute to the memory of Christian IV.:—

'He was one of those Kings whom history shows to have been truly great, yet whose fame has scarcely spread beyond the narrow limits of their own kingdom. It was his lot to reign during the busy and brilliant seventeenth century, when men were too much occupied to regard what was going on amid the mists of the North. Had they looked, they would have seen a noble and thoughtful hero, a courageous, enlightened prince, sparing of his subjects' blood, and, what is still more rare, careful in the use of the public revenues. During his long reign Christian maintained his ground against the Imperialists, and against Sweden; at one time he threatened Vienna; at another, he took Calmar, though it was defended by Gustavus Adolphus. Gifted with indefatigable mental activity, he was ceaselessly occupied in a variety of projects. He founded three cities,—Christiansand, Christianople, and Christianstad; one colony,—Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel: he rebuilt the capital of Norway, giving to it its modern name of Christiania. At Copenhagen he appointed professorships for the instruction of the people, and founded a navigation-school, rendered necessary by the jagged and dangerous coast of Jutland; he set up the first cannon foundery in Denmark, and he improved the condition of silk and cloth manufactures throughout his kingdom. He expelled the Jesuits from Denmark, and afforded protection to men of science. Unfortunately for Christian IV., at the time when he was thus showing how a King ought to reign, the eyes of Europe were fixed upon Richelieu, and after his death they were dazzled by the brilliancy of Louis XIV.; for all this occurred between the years 1613 and 1648.'—Page 41.

It might have been added that, as a youth, Christian IV. was an ardent lover and diligent student of the sacred Scriptures; and that, in mature years, he lent his aid towards the diffusion of the Divine word throughout his dominions.

Of the appearance of the people Madame D'Aunet says,—

'The Norwegians are particularly healthy and robust; the faces of the peasantry are square and fresh-coloured; their noses full and somewhat turned-up; their eyes of a pale blue; their hair fine, flaxen, and curling. The little children's heads are covered with that soft, almost white, hair, that recalls to mind those little wax figures of the infant Jesus, accompanied by a lamb in cotton-wool, that one sees so often, under a glass case, in the parlours of our French inns. The women are relatively larger than the men, and have so brilliant a complexion, that they often appear to be pretty, without having hand-

some features.....The ladies of Christiania struck me, at first sight, as pretty, and, what is better, agreeable-looking, notwithstanding two defects which connoisseurs in beauty would not pass by lightly,—poor teeth, and very large ears: but they have a dazzling complexion, fine hair, and elegant figures,—elegant for the North.'—Pp. 70, 64.

Madame D'Aunet, while staying at Throndhjem, was persuaded to pay a visit to one of the famous sights of Norway, the Leerfoss, on the river Nid. She says,—

'I set out early in the morning, in spite of a small, fine, cold rain, of evil augury. Around Throndhjem the roads are made after the Russian fashion, of fir-tree trunks, laid side by side, forming an uneven, rugged carriage-way. As the trees are not even squared, one has to put up with the roughest jolting; and in places where they have become rotten, the road resembles a quagmire, and what was before fatiguing, now becomes positively dangerous. When we reach Leerfoss, the sight of the fall repays us for our preliminary joltings. Figure to yourself a whole river falling in a single sheet, eighty feet in depth; and then breaking over black, basaltic rocks, among which its waters boil and foam in mighty wrath. The passionless rocks lift up their rounded, shining backs, and look like large fishes sleeping on the sand. Under this peaceful seeming they offer so strong a resistance to the falling river that it must needs divide its waters into many little streams that pursue their tossed and troubled way for some hundreds of paces: then all becomes calm, the river finds a new bed, and resumes its tranquil flow.

'At the edge of the river, and just below the falls, a copper foundery has been established. The great wheels of the machinery are turned by the rushing water, man having employed its force, and made its fury serviceable. I visited the foundery. I saw all those frightful moving machines, creatures of man's making as powerful and formidable as the most terrible living monsters. I cannot describe the various kinds of saws, wheels, cogs, and hammers, that were there. What terrified me most was a dreadful machine whose head, furnished with a strong, sharp blade, cut in pieces, by an even, quiet movement, bars of copper as large as trunks of trees. Moving about among all these things was a crowd of black, half-dressed men, who, lighted by the red flames of the furnaces, looked like the demons of this pandemonium. The ceaseless stroke of hammers, the grinding of saws, the moaning of wheels, the crackling of braziers, the bubbling of melted metal, united to form an indescribable crashing sound; yet, above all rose the deafening noise of the falling water!'—Pp. 98–100.

Between Throndhjem and Hammerfest, the northernmost town in the world, stretches a narrow, mountainous country, seven hundred miles in length, so intersected by fjords and short rivers, that some of the hills are insulated from the mainland, and are almost inaccessible. Indeed, the chasms are so many, the sloping valleys so few, and the encroaching waters so

obstructive, that people gladly avail themselves of the good government steamers, and travel by sea. The coast is full of picturesque interest, especially after reaching Torghattan. In its jutting headlands, deep inlets, and irregular breakwater of islands, it much resembles the scenery of Inverness and Argyleshire. But Norway can boast of more verdure; her woods touch the water's edge; the faithful birch especially fringing mountain foot and feathering its height. For Highland heather, Norway has its mosses,—green, brown, and red. During the brief summer, grass grows luxuriantly, and is of the freshest, brightest green, and ample, quick-springing crops repay the cultivating hand. But the peasantry make little provision for the long and rigorous winter; and so the unhappy horses and cattle are fed then 'partly on dried birch-leaves, but chiefly on seaweed and the boiled heads of fish!'

There are but three provinces in Northern Norway, and only a scanty population. All its congregated life is to be found on the sea-coast, or on the sides of its fjords. To the little villages that with their red-tiled roofs and cheery smoke enliven the bases of the grey cliffs, the passing of the steamer that tells of welcome summer, and friendly greetings, and pleasant strangers, is a most delightful event. Out come old and young, dressed in their best, and many a long projected visit is made to the neighbouring station, ten or twelve leagues away.

The sailors of Norway are skilful and trustworthy, as men should be who undertake to guide their fellows through such a labyrinth of obvious and hidden dangers. Madame D'Aunet's voyage was made safely. She thus sketches her temporary home in the little inn at Hammerfest:—

'The apartment of honour, reserved for me, had two divisions, each of eight feet square; the ceiling was so low that I could touch it with my hand. It was clear that the architect had only made provision for Laplanders. The furniture was limited to the smallest possible quantity,—a table, two wooden arm-chairs, and a bed in which plain boards formed a strange contrast with the softest eider-down. The traveller is at liberty to drive nails into the wall; and it is his only way of making up for the absence of wardrobes. The windows and door were very small,—the windows about three feet high, and the door about five; so that I could not look out without taking off my bonnet, nor leave the room without stooping. Then the inhabitants are so fond of light that they will not hang up curtains to shut it out. Thus, during the summer, one must either submit to a perpetual glare, or produce a factitious shade by the help of your own shawls and cloaks, hung up before the windows. Although I had recourse to this expedient, yet I could not reconcile myself to these unending days. They made me restless and uneasy. The

common order of things seemed to be upset. I rose at midday; I dined at eleven o'clock at night; I went out to walk at two in the morning. I never knew when to get up, or when to go to bed, and sleep became almost impossible. (The inhabitants of these high latitudes often work by night to avoid the sultry heat of noon. They say that there will be time enough to sleep next winter.) If there were neither calendar nor watch at Hammerfest, it would be easy to lose a sense of time, and one might soon be a fortnight before or after the rest of the world, without having perceived the gradual change. The diet here did not border on luxury. Where you are badly lodged, you are likely to be worse fed; and the monotony of our bill of fare was not its worst fault. Veal and salmon formed the staple supply. Soups alternated between barley *à la* sliced lemon, and rye *à la* dried cherries. On gala days we had potatoes, roasted rein-deer, and milk.'

We shall not follow Madame D'Aunet to Spitzbergen, as the work of a more recent traveller, Lord Dufferin, has been lately noticed by us: but we must make room for one more extract, regarding the farm life of Norway.

'The women spin linen and hemp, weave them into cloth, and manufacture the strong and coarse *wadmel* worn by the men. The men are, by turns, labourers, smiths, masons and carpenters; and, at need, shoemakers and tailors. Besides good clothes and a fair supply of furniture, the young women often have a few valuables, as lace, neckerchiefs, and trinkets, brought for them, from the nearest town, by their fathers; and then in every house we see, reverentially laid on a scrap of carpet, that large volume,—the poor man's library,—the book that surpasses all others, and makes up for their absence,—the book of books,—the Bible; and every little child, when asked by its mother, is able to read a verse. Sweet and peaceful life! calm, pure, and equable, like the blue sky of the North! how might wearied hearts envy so stormless a repose! As Luther says, "*Invideo quia quiescunt.*"'—Page 70.

It is a pity that this pleasing picture of a family Bible in every house is not quite true to life. To a traveller from Roman Catholic France, doubtless its frequency would be a subject of remark; but till lately the supply of Bibles was grievously inadequate to the wants of the population; and though, thanks to the Christiania press, and to the British and Foreign Bible Society, there is now a change for the better, yet those who love the Bible, and who love mankind, have still a great work to do in Norway. Dr. Paterson, who visited that country in 1832, under the direction of the British and Foreign Bible Society, met with a warm welcome, and an open field for exertion. He was the means of stimulating the energies of the Norwegian Bible Society, and of setting on foot several new agencies in connexion

with the Society for which he travelled. At Throndhjem, Bergen, Stavanger, and Christiansand, he was aided by warm-hearted and intelligent Christian friends; and at every place the demand for Bibles was larger than could be met by help from Christiania and from London. Busy, commercial Bergen, especially, he found to possess facilities for a very wide distribution of the sacred Scriptures, as it commands the whole coast from Stavanger to the North Cape, and is visited thrice a year by the boats that are engaged in the cod fisheries of the Loffoden Isles.

In the year 1854, a similar visit was made by Mr. Knolleke, the assistant foreign secretary of the Bible Society, and with still more favourable results; so that while, during the twenty-five years preceding Mr. Knolleke's visit, the Bible Society supplied Norway with 100,000 copies of the Scriptures, in one year since that time 25,000 have been distributed.

There is no dearth of readers in Norway; for education is widely spread. Every sea-side town has its resident schoolmaster, and each mountain farm is visited by some itinerant teacher; so that a young person unable to read and write at least, is rarely met with. Then the long labours of that zealous revivalist, Hange, sometimes called the John Wesley of Norway, have not been without result in an awakening to religious inquiry and hope; although that result is not so positive and marked as it might have been, had circumstances favoured the suitable embodiment and expression of a reviving spirituality.

In a country of few villages, but of many scattered homesteads; where the churches stand in lonely symbolism, apart from the people's working-day life,—often not to be reached for several weeks together, on account of distance and weather,—often shut up for successive Sundays; (as where one pastor serves four churches, divided by distances of thirty or forty miles from each other;) and where throughout large districts no dissenting chapel offers a resource to worshippers who would fain go to church, but cannot, nor serves as a focus for the collection and radiation of Gospel light in any of the Church's dark days;—how doubly urgent is the need of a Bible for every man, and how ceaseless should be the efforts of a Protestant clergy to secure this boon to a prepared and reading people!

ART. VIII.—1. *Ueber den Berg Galiläa.* (Matt. xxviii. 16.) *Ein Beitrag zur Harmonie der Evangelischen Berichte von den Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen.* (The Mountain in Galilee. A Contribution to the Harmony of the Evangelical Narratives

of the Lord's Appearances after His Resurrection.) Von Prof. Rudolph Hofmann. Leipzig: Voigt. 1856.

2. *The Sayings of the great Forty Days, between the Resurrection and Ascension, regarded as the Outlines of the Kingdom of God.* By George Moberly, D.C.L. Rivington. 1846.
3. *The Words of the Lord Jesus.* By Rudolf Stier. Volume VIII.—*The Words of the Risen Lord.* Clark. 1858.
4. *Das Leben des verklärten Erlösers in Himmel.* (The Life of the glorified Redeemer in Heaven.) Von H. G. Hasse. Leipzig. 1854.

Saint Luke, the appointed continuator of the Gospel narrative, who may be regarded therefore as, in a sense peculiar to himself, the chronological historian of redemption, assigns to the space intervening between the resurrection and ascension of Christ a character of precise and definite historical interest. In the Preface to his second record, which is also a postscript to the first, he specifies the term of Forty Days, during which the risen Lord communed with His disciples, under new conditions of intercourse, speaking to them of the things pertaining to His kingdom. This note, as it points back to the foregoing narratives, rescues that intermediate period from the shadowy indistinctness in which it might seem to have been left, stamps it with a pervading unity of design, and marks it out as an integral section of the Redeemer's history. Introduced as it is at the threshold of the new record, which transfers the centre of the Saviour's influence to heaven, it is an emphatic intimation that we should pause before we proceed further, and rightly estimate the significance of this mysterious interval.

It is not, however, to the mystery which surrounds this period that the evangelist directs our attention; his object is solely to show its practical importance. He refers to the series of infallible proofs which the Lord gave of His being alive, but abstains from any allusion to the incomprehensible nature of that life,—a life the same, and yet so wonderfully different. He uses the simplest of all words to point out the new character of His revelation—*He shewed Himself;* but says nothing about the unfathomable mystery of His dawning glorification. He specifies the term of Forty Days; but by his silence represses our curiosity as to the relation of His presence and His absence, the whence of the one, and the whither of the other. He gives us the sum and tenor of the Redeemer's discourses, but hints not at any one of a thousand questions of speculation, which irresistibly force themselves upon the mind when pondering the meaning of these words. While, therefore, his brief note defines

this isolated section of the Redeemer's history, and marks it out to our investigation as a period distinct from the previous and the subsequent history of the Gospel, an appendage to the incarnate life upon earth, and a prologue to the incarnate life in heaven, it nevertheless forbids all presumptuous speculation, and restricts our inquiries to its practical relations and lessons.

No department of revelation more absolutely requires the imposition of such a restraint. This will be obvious, if we merely glance at the questions of mysterious and shadowy interest which pass over the field of speculation, when directed to that side of the subject, and which receive more or less attention in the works which stand at the head of this paper. Whence had the risen Lord come, when He informed His already incorruptible body with a new and glorifying life? Was there another travail of His soul after that of the passion, in which His body had no part? Was His descent into the kingdom of the dead an act of submission simply, or moreover and pre-eminently the advent of a deliverer? What effect had the entrance of His redeeming spirit among the innumerable hosts of disembodied mankind? What superadded glory did He leave behind Him in the paradise into which He entered on the night which closed His eyes to the upper world? What was that second miracle of His birth, known only to the Trinity; the hidden mystery of His being begotten again to life in the lower parts of the earth? What was the change which passed upon His flesh, and what the relation which it bore to the visible world, the food of which it might partake, and to the invisible world, from the depths of which it was made manifest at will? Besides such questions of speculative interest, others arise more akin to pious meditation, though equally past the reach of answer. What was the fulness of His new joy in the contemplation of the scene of sufferings which had accomplished their object, and should never return! With what Divine-human triumph would He take possession of the world, and lay the foundation of His kingdom in it! What was the character of those many words—of prophecy, warning, or encouragement—concerning the future destinies of His kingdom, which are not recorded? or, must we suppose that all His words are before us, and therefore that all else which was projected to His mind upon the ground of the unbounded future was concealed in the depths of His own spirit?

Such questions, self-multiplying to an unlimited extent, must necessarily occur to the thoughtful mind. It is not possible entirely to evade them, nor is their suppression an absolute duty. The history of this wonderful period cannot be studied to any good purpose, without giving them more or less entertainment. There is no law—there is no necessity—to restrain our

contemplation within the barest limits of what is plainly revealed and surely known concerning the mystery of Christ; and much of the current and vague outcry against the indulgence of what is vaguely called 'the imagination' on such subjects, springs from indolence of spirit, and narrowness of thought. The almost unbroken silence of the sacred narrative on the questions to which we have referred, is no proof that they did not occupy the minds of the apostles, and that they never formed the subject of conversation between them and their risen Master. It was not possible that they could exist in an atmosphere of such awful mystery, that they should be conscious of that wonderful Presence in their midst, yet only sometimes visible, without the irrepressible yearnings of a spirit of speculation too deep and too high for words. But that silence does teach us that such inquiries of curiosity or speculation should find no utterance, or at least an utterance most cautiously restrained.

Here is the ground of our dissatisfaction with most of the German expositors who have entered upon this section of the history of our Lord. Those who stand at the head of our paper are comparatively, but only comparatively, free from the imputation we have hinted at. It is needless to do more than point to their unshrinking treatment of most of the questions alluded to above; and, in addition, to their needless and unsatisfactory attempts to construct a theory from the sparing hints given in Scripture concerning the descent into Hades; to explain the risen Saviour's eating with His disciples; to adjust the degrees of our Lord's gradual elevation to perfect self-consciousness as the God-man in a state of humiliation; to determine the character of His intermediate corporeal glorification; and many other such-like things, which to leave unspeculated upon were perhaps impossible, but to interpret which is not the province of mortal man.

But if this intermediate period in the Redeemer's history furnishes the germ, or rather the occasion, of unlimited speculation, it is still more fruitful in the substantial and practical materials of Christian theology. However shadowy and undefined the person of the great Teacher may be during that period, His teaching is for the most part plain, and always of the utmost possible significance to the interests of His future Church. The words which He spoke were not many, but they have immeasurable importance, as summing up and sealing all His former words. In fact, dogmatic theology counts no chapter of the Bible of more fundamental importance than the last of St. Matthew. And it scarcely needs to be mentioned, that apologetic theology not only claims this territory as its own, but erects there its stronghold; the burden and stress of the conflict of the evidences

fall upon this section of the New Testament; and it is here, especially in St. Luke's narratives, that the fundamental principles of those evidences are set forth. Expository theology rejoices with peculiar delight over these chapters; they furnish some most stimulating and attractive questions for its solution; and not only so, but they present some of the most effectual tests of exegesis which are found in the New Testament. Its practical lessons, moreover, are amongst the most impressive: nowhere are the relations of Christ to His people more touchingly and penetratingly exhibited, as He is the object of their love, their faith, and their zealous devotion. Lastly, its teaching, both direct and symbolical, gives us most important views with respect to the future—future *then*, and still future—of the Christian Church, as the great diffuser of the Gospel of a kingdom to be prepared through all the ages of the present dispensation. This period, therefore, is a fruitful field for the cultivation of theology, whether dogmatic, apologetic, expository, practical, or eschatological.

A very profitable essay might be written upon the theology of the Forty Days, expanding the hints of this fivefold arrangement. Dr. Moberly's work by no means does justice to the subject as a whole. He deals only with the first of these departments, and enters upon that in a spirit which is generally fatal to success,—that of a polemic expositor. The sayings of the Forty Days are, in this exposition of them, too exclusively words of prerogative to an ecclesiastical body. They are interpreted on a principle which would wrest them from the Romanist on the one hand, and from the Rationalist on the other; but with more success, it seems to us, in the latter case than in the former. The author defends—in this volume at least, written some years ago—the highest Anglican theory; and to the rigour of that purpose the usefulness of a book written with the mastery of every accomplishment has been unhappily sacrificed. Dr. Stier's final volume is occupied entirely with the same subject; and, when we call to mind how few were the words actually spoken after His resurrection by the Redeemer, we may suppose that the expositor who devotes four hundred pages to those few words must have exhaustively done his work. There is no imaginable matter of interest connected with this period, which is not directly or indirectly, fully or incidentally, discussed; though it is only fair to say, that the relations of importance are rigidly observed, and everything else is made subordinate to the words of the great Teacher. The four or five precious texts which make this period so dear to the practical expositor, are treated in a way which scarcely leaves anything to be desired: at least, this would be the case, if the results were summed up

more lucidly as the writer goes on. The same cannot be said of the bulky treatise on the baptism and the baptismal commission which is incorporated with the volume. The author's theory is assumed everywhere to be known, as well as its relation to other theories. It might appear, at the first glance, to be too much akin to Dr. Moberly's for general toleration in England: that may be so in one or two respects, but there are deep and essential differences underlying the whole. A sacramental theory will be found, though not so rigid and transcendent as many think; but there is a subtle though consistent evasion of anything like an absolute clerical prerogative. Among the very great merits of this most learned and profound volume may be mentioned its noble defence of the contested portions of St. Mark and St. John, and its steady and successful vindication of the *consistency* with each other of all the several accounts.

But our purpose on the present occasion is not to discuss the theological teaching of the Forty Days, or to review the expository results which these writers derive from them. We propose to make some general remarks upon the significance of this intermediate period, viewed under its two aspects, as concluding the Lord's life and ministry upon earth, and as introductory to His spiritual reign in heaven. As a foundation, however, for these remarks, we shall occupy a few pages with the consecutive history of the period itself.

Its records lie before us in the form of contributions from four independent narrators, whose accounts are supplemented by an incidental notice of St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. Independent narrators we term them, not in the sense of witnesses who were unacquainted with each other's accounts, or who were rival candidates for acceptance in the Church, but in the sense of narrators who each had an independent plan of his own, and, in accordance with that plan, made his own selection, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, from the common treasury of things surely believed in the Church, or from the stock of personal remembrances retained and recalled under Divine influence.

It is of great importance to bear this in mind. The record of the post-resurrection days of the Son of Man is preserved for the Church under the same conditions which regulate the record of His incarnate life generally. The design of the Holy Spirit is not to give us in the four Gospels a consecutive *life of Christ*, either in the individual narratives of the four evangelists, or in the harmonized combination of them all. St. Luke tells us that the design of the sacred records is to set forth the things which Jesus *began to do and to teach*; that is, in effect, to bring into prominence, and transmit to the keeping of the Church and the

interpretation of the Spirit, the fundamental teachings, actions, and sufferings of the historical Christ. The personal individual life of Christ—however precious that would be, supposing it possible—has not been preserved in the world. Neither of the evangelists was permitted to aim at this; nor does the combination of the four, with all appliances of harmony, make any real approximation to such an object. The labours of the harmonists, so far at least as this is their design, are wasted upon the evangelical narratives. Their industrious devotion to the task of establishing the negative conclusion that these four independent witnesses are not on the whole, and never in particulars, discordant, is worthy of all praise, even as it has been crowned with entire success. But, after all, the history of the Redeemer, passing through the several processes of His redeeming work, is contemplated in perfection only when we behold it under the fourfold aspect in which it has pleased the Holy Spirit to show us the things of Christ.

To apply this to the history before us: The record of the Forty Days is given neither by any one narrator, nor by the whole combined, as an integral history of the risen life of Jesus upon earth. Each witness was instructed to give his own separate contribution according to his own plan; none of them purposing, however, to supply the deficiencies of the rest. In this light let us glance at the four consecutive narratives.

St. Matthew's history of this period is evidently governed by a design peculiar to himself,—that of bringing into prominence the crowning manifestation of the risen Saviour upon the mountain of Galilee. His final chapter seems to be entirely dedicated to that event. Jesus had promised His disciples, before they were scattered from Him, that He would go before them into Galilee; by no means purposing in Himself that that should be the only meeting, but only assigning to that reunion a character of specific and pre-eminent importance. The first evangelist leaves it to no successor to record the fulfilment of that last promise of Christ to His assembled disciples. He makes it his subject; keeps it and it alone steadily in view from the beginning to the end of his account. The glories of the resurrection morning are rapidly passed over; two women are first mentioned by name, as witnesses of the empty sepulchre; and then suddenly *the women* (an indefinite expression which the subsequent evangelists explain) are bidden by the *angels*, (for he thinks less of the angels, one or more, than of their message,) and then by the Lord Himself, to remind the disciples of the last promise which they had heard from His lips. Before proceeding, however, to the great meeting itself, he inserts the

important parenthesis concerning the lying precaution of the chief priests. This being dispatched, and every other incident of greater or less moment being passed over in silence, he assembles the apostles, surrounded probably by the entire living body of the disciples of Jesus, on the appointed mountain. Then he for the first time formally introduces the risen Lord; whose appearance on this occasion accomplished at once every object contemplated in His lingering upon earth:—the exhibition of His risen Self, the repression of every remaining doubt, the assumption of His mediatorial authority, the utterance of His last commands, the acceptance of His appropriate worship, and the promise of His faithful presence in His Church to the end of time. The glory of Christ upon this second mountain of transfiguration throws into shadow every other occurrence. If his unique narrative must be interwoven with those of the remaining three, its few remaining incidents will be found unimpeachable in their fidelity; but those who delight in this torturing system of harmony should remember that of everything but the central manifestation on the mountain in Galilee St. Matthew takes but a passing and subordinate side-glance.*

Passing to St. Mark's still more fragmentary narrative, we find similar indication of a predominant object ruling his account. That object seems to be the exhibition of the gradual victory of the resurrection over the utter unbelief of the disciples. His final chapter presents them to us—both the women and the men—as, at first, in a state of unrelieved dejection. All is amazement and incredulity. The glory of the resurrection morning seems scarcely to brighten the scene; nor till the close of the whole story does there enter into it any of those more cheerful tints which are discernible in all the others. But when St. Mark has drawn his picture of the deep prostration of utter unbelief, which the evidence of the Redeemer's resurrection encountered and overcame, he suddenly adopts another strain, and as much surpasses his fellow evangelists in the glow of his description of the triumph of faith, as he had exceeded them in the dark colouring of his picture of unbelief. In fact, this last chapter, as viewed in the light of this contrast of feeling, suggests to us the hand of Simon Peter, doing stern justice to himself and his fellows, and to the utmost glorifying his Lord.

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* How prominent are the three unnamed Galilean mountains in St. Matthew's history of the Lawgiver of Christianity,—the Mount of Beatitudes, the Mount of Transfiguration, and the Mountain of Investiture and final Commission! Touching the succession and relations of these very much might be said.

But let us trace the narrative by this light. The women came with no higher purpose than to anoint the body; whatever other thoughts occupied their minds, St. Mark mentions only their anxiety about the rolling away of the stone. The shining one created only affright. Receiving their message touching Galilee, joyful as that message was, they run with precipitation from the sepulchre; nay, they fly trembling and in amazement; and their amazement is the amazement of stupefaction,—they could say nothing to any man on the way. For, adds St. Mark, in his cumulative emphasis, *they were afraid.*

Now, at this point, our hint might be turned to very good account in the solution of some other questions. So far the evangelist had painted the negative terror which oppressed the company of the women,—of whom the three mentioned in this most fragmentary narrative are only the representatives. He does not follow the women on the delivery of their message; he does not deny that they delivered it; he merely describes that which it was his sole object to describe, their confusion and stupefaction. They told no man by the way what they would find words to tell to the right ears. But now he turns to the disciples, the chosen witnesses of the resurrection; and designs to exhibit the depth of unbelief out of which the Redeemer's words and infallible proofs raised them. For this purpose, he abruptly returns to Mary Magdalene, the first bearer of the intelligence to the company of the disciples. He introduces these latter to us with the new and affecting particular that they were 'mourning and weeping;' and tells us plainly that they were unable to believe her positive assurance that Jesus was alive, and had been seen by herself. He then alludes to the Emmaus journey, and asserts that the two disciples, whose rapture he suppresses, found no credence when they returned to the residue,—that is, to the Eleven and a miscellaneous company around them. The key to all this is then given to us in the Lord's rebuke, on His first appearance to the future preachers of faith: it was their refusal to believe those who had seen Him after He was risen, which the Lord so emphatically condemned. That *not believing* St. Mark has had in view throughout the chapter,—the general want of such preparation of heart as would have embraced the first and faintest intelligence with joy, the lack of that susceptibility to faith which would have brought them all to His presence, with their joyful greetings, on the first spreading of the report that the sepulchre was empty. After the Saviour's rebuke of their unbelief, come the commission to the apostles, and the wonderful promises to faith. The evangelist's purpose being then accomplished, he closes with a final

sentence, which carries onward the history of the Gospel into its future and glorified stage.*

It might be expected that the Holy Ghost would impress upon St. Luke's narrative of the Forty Days a transitional character appropriate to the continuator of the Gospel history. This, more than anything else, distinguishes his account, which, like that of each of the others taken separately, is exceedingly fragmentary. Like all the rest, he pays his tribute to the wonders of the resurrection morning, but limits himself strictly to the apostles, whose utter unbelief in the report of the women closes his statement of the case, and is the foundation of his subsequent record. The gradual process by which the Redeemer produced perfect conviction of the fact and of the necessity of His resurrection is evidently the ruling subject of his account. This is illustrated in two opposite ways: in the case of the two disciples going sadly to Emmaus, the Lord is shown to have first convinced them out of the Scriptures that they ought to have expected His rising again, and then to have manifested Himself to their unsealed eyes in confirmation of the faith which was re-awakened through the word. In the case of the apostles, conversely, He first gives them the plainest and most affecting tokens that He had risen from the dead, and was among them in the reality of His bodily presence, and then proceeded to open their understandings, and confirm the faith which had been begotten of sensible evidence, by the rare testimony of the Scriptures spiritually understood. Both methods assign the highest honour to the word of God, to that testimony of Jesus which the Holy Spirit, after the day of Pentecost, should use as the great instrument for the diffusion of the faith and the conversion of the world. To give the Scriptures, applied by the Pentecostal Spirit, their appropriate place, as the beginning and the end of all Christian evidences, external and internal, is the main design of St. Luke's intermediate chapter.

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* The terse and graphic epitome of the post-resurrection period, which St. Mark gives us, has met with treatment peculiarly unfair. Let the reader turn, with the paragraph in the text fresh in his mind, to most of the current expositions, and he will feel how unwarrantable are the liberties which are taken both by the adherents and the opponents of a strict harmonistic system with the inspiration of this evangelist. On the last clause of Mark xvi. 13, 'Neither believed they them,' Alford's note says: 'Not consistent with Luke xxiv. 33, 34. Here again the harmonists have used every kind of distortion of the plain meaning of words to reconcile the two accounts, assuming that some believed and some doubted, that they first doubted and then believed; or, according to Bengel, "first believed and then doubted."' But St. Luke says not a word which necessarily implies the contrary of St. Mark's declaration. The company assembled in Jerusalem were generally under the ruling influence of vague wonder and unbelief. Not all of them cried that Jesus had appeared to Simon. And when the Lord Himself entered into their midst, did He find faith among them?

Having accomplished that by two specific examples, and having further, in common with all the rest, recorded the commission, he leaves his narrative unencumbered by particulars which are recorded elsewhere, and proceeds to the historical ascension, the true Jacob's ladder by which the earthly mounts to the heavenly Gospel.*

St. John, writing long afterwards, and perfectly familiar with the records which had already been long precious to the churches, adds his own contribution to the history of this period in a manner most strikingly characteristic. His purpose, guided by the Holy Ghost, was to make prominent certain words, events, and symbolical actions which would illustrate the great principle of his writings,—the spiritual revelation of Jesus to the soul. He therefore begins his account of the resurrection with the ever-memorable interview between Mary Magdalene and her Lord; not so much because it was the first intercourse of the risen Jesus with any mortal,—for that he does not expressly mention,—as because the words spoken to her were His first risen words, and intended to bear a meaning applicable to all His future manifestations, both before and after His ascension. Hence he says nothing of the effect of Mary's words upon the disciples generally: this object was already accomplished; and the same reason which made him keep silence as to Peter's failure to share his own faith, in verse 8, dictated his reason as to the hopeless incredulity of the remaining disciples, in verse 18. So also in his account of the first interview of Jesus with His disciples on the evening of the first Christian Sabbath, he gives the bright side of the scene which St. Mark especially had designedly omitted, recalls the word *peace* lost in the other accounts, and introduces the anticipatory breathing of the Holy Ghost, which the purpose of the other evangelists had required them to omit. Quite in keeping with this view of his design is his narrative of the victory gained over Thomas's lingering doubt; in which, according to St. John's representation, all unbelief is finally lost in the Divine intuition and the

* The rigid harmonists might learn a profitable lesson from a comparison of the accounts of the ascension, with its accompanying words and acts, given by the same writer in the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. St. Luke writes the later record with the former lying before him; in it he resumes the account of the ascension from an altogether different point of view, and places it in quite a different setting as a historical event. Had the writer been a fifth evangelist, and his account quite independent of that in St. Luke's Gospel, the reconciliation of the two would have been deemed matter of difficulty. The two records are perfectly consistent; but the entire indifference to any mechanical harmony, which rules all the inspired narratives, is strikingly illustrated in the fact, that so careful and exact a narrator as St. Luke should deliberately leave on record two such independent accounts. The solution is to be found in his *plan*.

ecstatic feeling of a perfect confession; and the final benediction of the Gospel is pronounced upon all who should hereafter utter this confession without beholding its Object with other than the spiritual eye. Obviously, this was in the evangelist's intention the sublime close of his record; but the Holy Spirit prompted him to add a postscript, enshrining for perpetuity in the pages of Scripture one more appearance of the risen Saviour, the design of which was to exhibit in words and symbols too plain to be misunderstood the everlasting presence and providence of Jesus among His servants, directing their labours, supplying their wants, challenging, confirming, and employing their love, assigning their lot, and taking care of their interests for ever.

Now, we maintain that each of these narratives shines best in its own light; and, further, that each loses something of its distinctive lustre and point, when forced into a mechanical harmony with the rest. St. Matthew's holy mount is irradiated by a higher glory, as it lifts its awful head, the central object around which whatsoever else he records revolves, and in the glory of which many lesser incidents, to the vexation of the harmonists, become indistinct. And the sublime antithesis of abject unbelief and triumphant faith would be utterly lost,—a loss how great!—if the pithy sentences in which St. Mark traces the incredulity of the disciples, step by step, down to its abyss, were interspersed in a general narrative, and his majestic exhibition of the promises to faith were interspersed among the other records of the great Commission. So also St. Luke's most graphic description of the process by which the great Teacher convicted, condemned, and translated that unbelief into faith, would be nowhere so impressive as in the chapter which connects this intermediate stage of the Redeemer's life with the ascension, and the ascension again with the descent of the Holy Spirit, the source and inspiration of faith. And, finally, no one who is capable of estimating the essential differences which distinguish St. John's portraiture of the common Redeemer from that of all the others, and who has the three great Comforter-chapters lingering in his ears, could tolerate the displacement of one sentence in *his* most characteristic narrative of the Forty Days.

The harmonists of this period have doubtless done good service to the cause of Christianity by demonstrating—to the satisfaction, at least, of all who do not bring wilful disbelief to the examination—that there are no absolute inconsistencies in the several accounts. The amazing amount of learning which has been brought to bear upon the subject, and the collateral, critical, and expository results which have been achieved, give their books a permanent value. Townson's *Discourses* irresistibly

commend themselves by a peculiar charm. West's ponderous essay, likewise, though it perhaps will never be read through again, has an indestructible value. But these benefits, as we have said, are no more than negative; and those merits must be very great to cover the enormous folly of such a *positive* development of their principle as now lies before us in the form of *a Harmony of the four Gospels arranged as a continuous History.*

It would not be difficult to prove that an unsound principle of the necessity of a mechanical harmony—or, in other words, the forgetfulness of the sound principle which we have laid down—lies at the root of many of the wildest errors of the German expositors of this portion of the New Testament. The ascension being omitted in the first and the last evangelists, the historical fact has been assailed by some with most unreasoning pertinacity, on that ground alone. Others, such as Kinkel, find themselves driven to the assumption of an ascension having taken place on the day of the resurrection; on which theory the appearances were so many descents from heaven, and the final translation the last of a series of ascensions. And this last vagary of the critical faculty, strange as it is, is venial in comparison of other theories—too many and too grotesque to be here named—which have been invented by minds ignorant of any restraint, and defended by arguments careless of consequences, to explain the assumed contrarieties of the four historians of the resurrection. There is one scheme, however, which, as propounded by an honest man with a serious intention, we have purposely selected to bring before our readers.

Professor Hofmann has written a laborious monograph upon the Mountain in Galilee,—a contribution to the harmony of the history of the resurrection. He confesses himself to be utterly unable to resist the overwhelming arguments of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist, and of Strauss after him, if the common interpretation of a mountain in the northern division of the land is adhered to. Those arguments may be thus summed up and condensed:—The Lord, on the way to the Mount of Olives, on the eve of His death, assured the disciples, *I will go before you into Galilee;* the angel standing by the empty sepulchre refers to that promise, changing the future into the present, and translating it into a command which required an instant obedience; the Lord Himself reinforces the angel's injunction, with the renewed promise that He would see them *there.* St. Matthew then proceeds at once, without hinting at any intervening appearance, to the meeting at the appointed mountain in Galilee, specifying, moreover, that some of them doubted,—an unimaginable circumstance, if this were *not* the first meeting. St. Mark

also says nothing of any other fulfilment of the command which he records, than a meeting with the disciples on the same day in Jerusalem; St. Luke knows nothing of any such meeting in Galilee, but, on the contrary, lays stress upon the disciples not leaving Jerusalem; and, finally, St. John plainly declares the Lord to have appeared during the first two weeks of the Forty Days in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem alone. The point and sting of the argument is felt in a sentence of Strauss: 'Modern criticism does right to insist that no man in his senses would promise his friends, through the medium of a third person, the gratification of a meeting at a distant time, and a place far off, when he was all the while certain of seeing them on the same day, and repeatedly afterwards, in the same place.'

Many methods of evading this difficulty have been adopted. Professor Hofmann's solution is this,—that the more northerly peak of the Mount of Olives, which was traversed by the road to Galilee, bore itself the name of 'Galilee;' and that this was the mountain mysteriously referred to by the Saviour (a mountain *appointed;* which it would be if the word 'Galilee' itself indicated the mountain, and thus supply a gap in the evangelical narrative). On that supposition, all the evangelists record this central and most important meeting; for it was no other than that which took place at an unmentioned spot in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem on the evening of the great day of the resurrection.

Now, if this view can be substantiated, it cuts off at a stroke a vast number of theories which have been adopted for the solution of this difficult question. It would at once send drifting to forgetfulness some of the most ingenious products of the critical faculty in all ages. The difficulties which surround the question are confessedly great. They have always been felt: that is, from the fourth century downwards; for it is a very striking fact that these and many other embarrassments of modern criticism were utterly unknown to the first centuries which read the New Testament. Even Augustine appears so troubled by these seeming discrepancies, that he resorts to a mystical interpretation of the original promise, based upon the Gentile allusion in 'Galilee,' in which he was followed by many of the fathers. At least, such is our author's representation of his view: to ourselves, as we read his explanations, the right principle of interpretation seems to be laid down, though its application is suffused by a rich and not very objectionable mystical colouring. Cyril of Alexandria certainly went all lengths with the tropical interpretation both of the promise and the fulfilment. Ambrose and Jerome divide the several appear-

ances into two great sections: the earlier portion of them, in Jerusalem, being designed especially for the excitement of the disciples' faith and the elevation of their courage; the later and more important portion being designed for confidential communications concerning the kingdom. This, it may be observed, reappears in a very objectionable form in Olshausen's supposition that our Lord, finding on His way to Galilee the Emmaus disciples so utterly prostrate and bereft of hope, turned back and changed His plan for the sake of the disciples. Some of the modern critics have invented a triple tradition: one purely Galilean, followed by St. Matthew; a second purely Judaic, followed by St. Luke, and by the genuine St. John; and a third of a mixed character, followed by the Appendix to St. John's Gospel. Others leave the difficulties hopelessly unreconciled, and we are sorry to number some English and orthodox names among them. Others, finally, betake themselves to the convenient mythical theory, or assign the manifestations of Jesus to magical operations of the disembodied spirit of Jesus; but when criticism reaches this enchanted ground, we must decline to follow it.

But we find it impossible to accept Dr. Hofmann's theory, to wit, that the Galilee referred to by our Lord was the mountain which, as looking northwards towards the distant province, and the place which the Galileans frequented in their festal journeys to Jerusalem, subsequently obtained the vague denomination of *the Galilee*. This last assumption itself is far from being an established fact. There does indeed appear to be some glimmering of such a belief in some of the multitude of testimonies which the learned author brings forward; but the passages which he quotes in support of it from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, from Tertullian, Lactantius, and Chrysostom, are all of them fairly capable of a very different interpretation. The essay is a beautiful specimen of ingenious, learned, and sometimes most plausible special pleading, but it produces no conviction; it fails to reduce the mountain in Galilee to a hill near Bethany; and the solution of the difficulties must be sought elsewhere.

Firmly convinced as we are of the substantial correctness of the principle already laid down, those difficulties do not appear to us very great. Unquestionably, the emphatic promise on the night of betrayal, followed by so emphatic a remembrancer of it on the morning of the resurrection, would lead to the expectation of a general meeting in Galilee between Christ and His apostles within a very brief interval; and, moreover, of a meeting so pre-eminently important as to give a character to

the whole period. But when we examine the promise before the crucifixion and the command after it, we are obliged to confess that neither is so worded as to render the assumption of a speedy meeting absolutely necessary. Certainly, the Lord had in His thoughts, amid the sorrows of that night, a joyful reunion with His scattered disciples in Galilee, and a period of renewed fellowship with them there. But that was not all: He also contemplated a time and a place which should be rendered memorable for ever as the scene of the proclamation by Himself of His mediatorial authority over the world. As the sufferings of death would separate Him from them, so His restoration to them was to be the commencement of His glory. When He promised to see them in Galilee, He thought only of the next stage in the process of His redeeming work; and His sole purpose was to distinguish a certain mountain in the more tranquil north as the place where He would declare in the midst of His brethren the accomplishment of His redeeming work, where He would assume His universal authority, and utter His first and His last commands as the King in Zion. With this intention the entire account of St. Matthew is in perfect harmony. For those other passing interviews with the women and the disciples, though they were not promised and beforehand provided for, were certainly not excluded by that one great assignation. St. Matthew hurries over them, because it is plain that when he has recorded the circumstances of that great meeting, and the commission which was given there, his task is done. He begins the chapter as one who has reached the end. Not a sentence is written which does not prepare for it in the earlier chapters; and not even the ascension, of which God forbid we should think him ignorant, is permitted to break the unity of his plan. St. Mark refers to the angel's commandment to keep Galilee in the minds of the disciples; but their obedience to the Lord's command does not enter into his narrative, for this plain reason, that he only refers to it at all to show how rooted was their unbelief when even that remembrancer could not rouse them from the torpor of their dejection. St. Luke has another object throughout, and writes studiously as to those who perfectly well knew what St. Matthew had written. For the same reason St. John does not allude to it; it was a thoroughly well-known event, which it was not necessary for him to describe, though he might illustrate its fulness of meaning by some peculiar additions of his own.

Were it not for the hint given by St. John, that the Lord on His first coming gave a preliminary authorization and charge to the apostles, all the first appearances of the Lord to the disci-

ples would appear to have had solely for their object the confirmation of their faith, and the preparation of their hearts for the more august revelation which awaited them in Galilee. St. John's supplementary account shows that this was not absolutely the case; but he at the same time gives evidence that the corporate body of the Eleven were not prepared to follow the Lord to Galilee at once. One of them was absent: whether designedly or not does not affect the question. The Lord would not go before any other than the willing and complete company of His chosen ones. The only one whom He submitted to lose was lost already; and Thomas must not be left behind. But why was not Thomas summoned to the sacred presence, and required on his allegiance to follow with the rest? A question this to which the Lord saw fit to give its main answer not until eight days afterwards. Another, perhaps subordinate answer, we may venture ourselves to suggest. May we not suppose that the secret design of the Redeemer was indirectly to publish an invitation which whosoever would might regard as intended for himself? Is it not consistent with the whole tenor of His dealings with His disciples, as the record of them lies before us in the Gospels, to regard Him as reserving in the depths of His own heart a gracious intention to accomplish, by one general assemblage of His followers, many purposes at once:—to give assurance, to all who sought or needed it, of His veritable resurrection; to afford, to all whose affection yearned for it, an opportunity of beholding Him and hearing His voice once more; to commit the evidence of His having risen from the dead to a large and miscellaneous body of witnesses, many of whom would survive through the next generation; (1 Cor. xv. 4;) to assume, in the presence of the largest possible company of His people, gathered together in the undisturbed quietness of Galilee, His regal functions; and, in their hearing at least, to invest His chosen witnesses and apostles with their supreme prerogative and commission?

Granting this as not inconsistent, at least, with the benevolence and wisdom of the Redeemer, we can be at no loss to understand why the meeting was delayed. When the Saviour of the human race came back to the upper world from the kingdom of the dead, a space of fifty days was, humanly speaking, at His disposal. For it was the will of the Father, that the first great demonstration of the world's redemption, or, in other words, the outpouring of the Spirit of a new life for humanity, should be coincident with the second feast of the ancient religion, as the atonement had been coincident with the first. Thus, we know now, what was then not fully revealed, that the

foundation of the new and better covenant should abolish by glorifying in a final celebration—if, indeed, a final celebration—the feasts of the ancient covenant. Of these days, given into the hands of the Son of Man, it pleased Him to make a distribution which assigned the far greater part to these lower regions and to the children of men. He postponed His ascension until six out of the seven weeks—to speak generally—had passed: the heavens must receive Him, but thus long did He protract the suspenseful expectation of heaven. Had it been possible to gather around Himself the whole rudimentary Church, the five hundred brethren at once, with the inner circle of the apostles as their centre, He might not have tarried so long. But the lapse of many days seems to have been necessary for the universal diffusion of the tidings, and the preparation of all hearts to embrace them: even when the high day came, there were some who still doubted. The message, therefore, which was intrusted to the women was, not indeed expressly, yet tacitly, designed for the entire of this pre-Christian Christendom. It was sent to the *brethren*, generally; the women, though they were not commanded, were not forbidden to follow their affectionate instinct, and communicate it to all. It would soon be noised abroad; the mysterious, joyful intelligence would fly along the banks of the Jordan, pervade the valleys of Judea, and, unhindered by the great gulf of Samaria, soon spread through Galilee to the distant confines of Tyre and Sidon. Many of the bearers and vouchers of this glad summons were women of Galilee; and during the first week's intermission of the Lord's appearances would return to the district which was to be honoured by a far more glorious manifestation than any which they might lose in Judea. When, therefore, the set time came, we may assume that every corner of the land would furnish its contribution of grateful, eager, rejoicing, or doubting, lovers of the name of Jesus.

But we have been detained too long, by Dr. Hofmann's essay, from the main object with which we set out. The harmony of the history of the post-resurrection life of Christ upon earth has been shown to be matter of comparatively slight importance; all the literature to which it has given rise being mainly negative in its results, though sometimes fruitful of positive mischief. It is not, however, intended to assert that the five or six separate accounts must necessarily be kept apart to be rightly understood: there is a principle of harmony, quite distinct from the verbal and the mechanical, the judicious application of which tends to shed a flood of light upon this comparatively obscure portion of the Redeemer's life and work. It is that which

makes the several accounts concurrently illustrate the great design of this intermediate revelation of the Saviour, viewed, 1. As supplementary to His life in the flesh; and, 2. As introductory to His glorified reign in heaven. To attempt to view it under a third aspect, that of its own unique characteristics, would carry us beyond our depths; nor does any single intimation in the history absolutely require it. Every incident and every word of the record either points backward or forward, scarcely allowing the attention to rest for a moment upon the unsearchable mystery of the present.

Viewing, then, these Forty Days as a continuation, or rather a supplement, of His former life,—in which the Redeemer prolongs His days under different conditions,—the narratives illustrate the strict identity of Him who had died, was buried, and now lived again; they exhibit a strict and affecting continuation of His personal relations to the persons and character of His disciples; and, finally, they continue His teaching as that of the Son of Man not yet glorified,—in contradistinction, namely, to His teaching by the Spirit after the day of Pentecost.

St. Luke undoubtedly intends himself to be understood that the Lord remained upon earth after His resurrection, in order to convince the disciples that He had risen from the dead; and the most obvious and correct interpretation of the 'infallible proofs' requires us to believe that His first object was to give to His disciples every demonstration which could be exacted or given, that He was really and absolutely alive from the dead. But this postulates, of course, their full assurance that He had been all which is meant by *dead*, in its most literal sense.

It pleased God to give the disciples, and the world through them, every demonstration of both the death and the life. The peculiar mystery of His death, and of His resurrection, admitted of no explanation to man's limited capacity; but the facts themselves are established and attested in these records in such a manner as to challenge the most exacting demands of the laws of evidence. All the evangelists unite in the clearest possible testimonies of the death, on the one hand, and the life, on the other. On the dark side of the resurrection morning, they unite in giving their witness to the Redeemer's veritable death and burial; on the bright side of it, they all unite their witness to His resurrection and life. And in both cases they only represent a large body of living witnesses to whom the Holy Ghost might appeal before that and every subsequent generation.

By many infallible proofs was the death of Christ attested. The first of them is recorded by two evangelists: viz., the rending of the veil of the temple, the symbol upon earth of an effect

produced in heaven, which the death of Christ alone could effect. For we are taught, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that the sacrificial death of Jesus was the rending of the veil which kept mankind not only from the sight but from the hope of heaven. A sign therefore was seen in the temple which declared, though the interpretation was reserved for a later time, that all the objects of the redeeming sacrifice were accomplished; that the separation of the spirit from the body of Jesus had secured the reconciliation and re-union of God and man. But this sign was only *for those who believe.*

So, also, was that other sign from below, in which hell, or the kingdom of the dead, responded to heaven. The earthquake was likewise the earthly symbol of the rending of another veil, that which the hand of death had woven over the entrance of the world of spirits. It was the instant token that the spirit of the stronger man armed had entered the house of the strong man; the vibration under the cross of that infinite shock, which was the result of the entrance of the Deliverer, who, *by dying*, destroyed him that had the power of death. The graves opened, as the fruit of His immediate victory over death, and as the earnest of His subsequent opening of the sepulchre. When He had Himself returned, and re-appeared in the flesh, that which had been dust in those graves was revivified by the spirits which had waited for that signal; and thus a new stream of life from the kingdom of death was poured for a while into the general tide of life.

The centurion, and all the men and women who beheld this death, and witnessed what was visible and audible of these signs, felt also within themselves the Divine attestation. The Spirit of God bore witness with their spirits that *this was the Son of God.* This *was*—for He had manifestly undergone death: *the Son of God*—for death had encountered one who could not die as every other man dieth.

But all those signs are for those who believe; for the appreciation of those who have that higher sense of truth, without which he that liveth is dead while he liveth. There were not wanting, however, evidences such as none ever could, or ever can, honestly gainsay or resist. The entire history of the entombment of the body of Jesus is based upon the perfect assurance of all parties concerned in it,—the Jews, in their genuine anxiety to avoid the desecration of their Sabbath, and in their equally genuine precaution against the removal of the body; Pilate and the soldiers; Joseph of Arimathea, and the friends of Jesus,—that the pains of crucifixion had been shortened, and that the Crucified had died on the same day. St. John, writing long afterwards, adds his own characteristic demonstration, one which

appeals in a very remarkable way both to sense and to faith. The spear-wound which the evangelist himself beheld,—and for the accuracy of his report of which, and the mystery which followed, he appeals to One who knew his truth,—was at the time a perfect demonstration of the death of Christ. The Gentile spear, in Gentile hands but in Jewish service, was intended to reach the secret haunt of life, if it had not yet left the body. It was the world's avowal, 'We will finish the work which we have begun.' But no power, out of Himself, could take from the Redeemer His life. The water and the blood proved, and still proves, to all who ask for testimony, that He had already departed; but to the eye of St. John, on whose heart it was imprinted for ever, the drops of water, and of blood, were expanded into a most affecting and impressive symbol of the benefits of the atoning death. The virtue of the water and blood in sprinkling the conscience, and washing away sin, was to him, when he wrote his Epistle, the best evidence that Christ had died. St. Matthew's and St. John's symbols after the death agree in one; the rending of the veil, and the outpouring of the water and blood, have the same profound and everlasting meaning. The one shows us the heaven which was opened to us by the opening of the fleshly veil for the dismissal of the Saviour's spirit; the other points to the means which sanctify and prepare us to follow our Forerunner.

Having laid this foundation, the evangelists resume their narrative with the Lord's proofs of His resurrection. To the mystery of the resurrection itself none of them—not even St. John—ventures to allude, even in the most distant manner. As in the first mystery of His union with human nature—to call either that or this a miracle, is a style of speaking which betrays too clearly its unhappy parentage—the Holy Ghost simply declares the fact, without permitting to the curiosity of man a single question as to its manner, mode, or nature, so also in this mystery of Christ's second birth into life. The Lord Himself said nothing concerning that which none but the Divine mind could understand; and the angels on this point were silent, because they were baffled by it. God, quickened in the Spirit, was seen of angels, but not the quickening itself: the disciples, who had feared to ask Him, 'Whither goest thou?' before His departure, fear still more to ask Him, 'Whence and how comest Thou here?'

But much of the history of this period is a continuous vanquishing of the disciples' doubts; with proofs infallible that it was He Himself who stood before them, talked to them, and ate with them: Himself, that is, and not another Comforter

assuming His form and accents; Himself, the same Jesus whose death had conquered death, and whose life was the pledge and the source of a new and higher life to all who should become one with Him by the indwelling of His Spirit. Let us briefly examine the record in this light, and mark by what successive steps that evidence is given.

At the outset we mark that the empty sepulchre is left to bear its silent witness. It was not the will of Christ to forestall the faith which might exist, or which was latent and ready for the slightest encouragement, in His disciples: He therefore gave them some hours' opportunity to obtain the blessedness of believing without seeing Him. The most exalted exercise of faith on that glorious morning would have been the tranquil trust of a full assurance that on this third day the sepulchre must necessarily be forsaken of its blessed tenant: that faith might either have sent its possessor to behold the deserted tomb, or induced its possessor to wait for whatever revelation the Redeemer might make of His risen person. Whether there were any of the Lord's company whose well-instructed faith thus anticipated and paid homage to the morning of the resurrection, we know not with certainty; for the records keep silence on this subject. Certainly we see nothing—we hear nothing—of the mother of our Lord among the excited bands of women who go to anoint the body. Nor was Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who had anointed Him already to His burying, among them, or consenting to their act. And there is absolutely no declaration of Scripture which makes it an article of faith that *none* of His people anticipated His resurrection on the third day.

Keeping His own person out of view, the Saviour's next test of the disciples' faith was the silent witness of the empty sepulchre itself: not altogether silent, however, but having its mute language interpreted by the voices of the angels. Those who brought the spices, and thus came to the sepulchre with the signs of their unbelief in their hands, were reproved for seeking the living among the dead. What was the conviction wrought in their minds by the angels' word, we know not; for in the midst of the tumult of their bewilderment Jesus Himself appeared, and silenced all their doubts. But as it regards the body of the disciples, the testimony of the empty sepulchre—borne to them by another company of women—failed altogether to quicken their faith: all that they heard seemed as idle tales. From these must be excepted, however, one. When Peter and John ran to the place, the latter records concerning himself that he saw the void in the sepulchre, *and believed:* that is, he was the one sole instance in which the negative testimony that the body

was *not* in the tomb sufficed to work the full assurance of faith. His faith fell short of the blessedness of those, if any, who needed no evidence at all, but surely expected and waited for the rising of the Lord; but it stands alone as an exhibition and example of that faith of the second degree which required not to see the Lord Himself, being satisfied with seeing the place where *He had lain.* When long afterwards he recalls this circumstance, he expressly records that neither he nor his companion had been prepared by an independent and previous insight into the Scripture to believe the resurrection of their Master; but still he does not suppress the fact that he, in contradistinction to Peter, believed on the negative evidence of what he saw, or saw *not,* in the sepulchre.

The immediate manifestation of Himself was the next test of the disciples' faith. It might be supposed that after so many preparations,—after His own predictions, while yet with them, after the announcements of the angels, and the assurances of the women,—any one to whom the Lord showed Himself alive would have been ready to receive Him at once, without any lingering trace of hesitation. But it was far otherwise. We observe a wide gradation in the sentiments and feelings of those to whom He appeared. The first was Mary Magdalene. When John went home in the fulness of faith, he left Mary without the sepulchre, weeping; her deep affection suffered her not to leave the place, and she was singled out as the first among the children of men who beheld the risen Redeemer. Her full faith and love greeted Him immediately with that word of loyal devotion which placed Him before her as the Lord of the past, —*Rabboni.* But that earthly title the Saviour had laid aside for ever. He therefore diverted her affection from the channel into which it was beginning to flow, and uttered that ever memorable saying, which must be interpreted according to the spirit of St. John's Gospel, and stands as the symbolical watchword of the whole intermediate manifestation of Christ. The other women received Him with an equal faith, but with a different feeling; they are encouraged by the word *Hail* to perform that very act of reverent devotion which was forbidden to Mary; and their excess of astounded awe is checked by the command to *fear not.* Hence, while Mary's message to the disciples points to the spiritual future of a new and different manifestation after the ascension, the message of these women points back to the past of His fellowship with His *brethren,* and speaks of the promise concerning Galilee, the home of His human affections. The unrecorded interview with Cephas we pass over at present, with the single remark, that he would probably be the third and last

example on that day of faith being produced by the direct manifestation of Christ.

But now begin the *infallible proofs*. The Lord foresaw that His little Christendom would need them. And He remained to give them. He left no argument unused; availed Himself of every method of demonstration. His condescension to the infirmities of His disciples did not work signs and wonders to aid their faith; the last and crowning sign—His resurrection—closed and finally sealed His own appeals to the works which He wrought. But everything was done that could be done to give absolute and universal evidence of His identity; and fully to confirm their faith in His resurrection as the foundation of the religion which He would establish in the world by their instrumentality. These infallible proofs, let it be carefully observed, were, 1. Demonstrations from Scripture, the words of the prophets as well as His own words, that He ought to die, and rise from the dead; and, 2. Direct evidence of every available kind that He had thus died and risen again. The latter demonstration was subordinate to the former, and, as it were, superadded in illustration. The first to whom the Lord proved His resurrection were the two disciples who were chanting on the way to Emmaus the dirge of all their buried hopes. The Saviour opened their understandings to see in the Scriptures, which they firmly believed, notwithstanding their present despondency, the doctrine of the resurrection of the Messiah. Had He left them then, their burning hearts would have returned to Jerusalem in certain expectation of His being seen alive from that day; but He added the supernumerary evidence, when He revealed Himself in breaking the bread. Conversely, but to the same effect, the disciples assembled on the evening of the resurrection received every palpable encouraging token that it was His veritable body which stood before them; but only as the basis of that higher demonstration which the Scriptures afforded to their enlightened minds. In the peculiar case of Thomas, who had most passionately desired the lower evidence, the Lord illustrated its subordinate character in another way. He offered, indeed, the sensible demonstration; but the offer was accompanied by such a direct appeal of His omniscient Spirit to the faithful though unbelieving spirit of Thomas, that all other evidence was needless. He at once responded to that appeal by the supreme confession of the New Testament; the vanishing point, indeed, of all individual confessions: *My Lord, and my God!*

This leads us to that third and highest kind of infallible proof which the Lord gave, still gives, and will ever give, to His disciples upon earth. The demonstration given during these

days to faith in the Scripture sinks down into sensible evidences, and then rises again into intuitive certainty, resulting from the influence of His own Divine presence. Having convinced His witnesses out of the Scriptures that He ought to rise from the dead; and having removed every doubt, by exhibiting His body to their touch, and by eating with them, of His having veritably risen again; He continued by the Divine influence of His words, and by every demonstration of Divine attributes, to confirm and glorify their faith. Some there were who never had the opportunity of receiving evidence until the meeting in Galilee: His presence, and the Divine majesty of His authoritative words, sufficed to enkindle their languid faith. Thus, before the final cessation of His appearances, the Lord had prepared His chosen witnesses, and a large body of disciples confirming their words, to go forth bearing throughout the world that lower evidence of His resurrection, which the Holy Ghost would confirm, to all who resisted Him not, with His higher spiritual demonstration.

For the Holy Ghost is the Representative in the Church of the Christ of this intermediate period. As the Lord went about confirming the faith of His disciples, so the Holy Spirit is still the Lord of the evidences of religion. *We are witnesses of these things, and so is also the Holy Ghost, given to all who obey Him:* this is the fundamental principle of all sound faith in the Christian revelation. Christ showed not Himself to those who had wilfully resisted to the last the evidences of His works, and words, and life; and the Holy Spirit has no demonstration for those whose minds are blinded by the God of this world. The testimonies of those whom Jesus made His witnesses of these things demand to be heard with reverent and intelligent respect. Let the inquirer—alas, that in Christian communities there should be any inquirer!—concede to them no more than this, and the Holy Ghost, like Jesus after the resurrection, will do the rest. He in whose secret soul there is even the honest desire to believe these accounts if they are true, is in the way to all enlightenment. He may be on the Emmaus journey to the utter darkness of a world without Christ in it; but if the Christian Scriptures are in his hand, and he is willing to accept them, if they be proved true, the great Master of the evidences will guide him back to Jerusalem and faith. No man rejects the evangelical history of the world's Redeemer who is not deaf to the voice of the Spirit of God. All who do not wilfully reject those who bear witness upon earth receive sooner or later the testimony of the heavenly Witness.

But while we read the records of the intercourse between Christ and His people during these intermediate days, we feel

convinced that the Lord had in view something besides the mere demonstration of His veritable resurrection. He evidently prolonged those days of the Son of Man in which He had been the centre of a human fellowship, and proposed to show those who had been with Him in all His temptations, that the glorious change which had passed upon Him had in no respect changed His relations of sympathy and love. Hence, while in every one of His appearances He was careful to show, by some word or circumstance of wonder, that a great change had now begun in their relations, He was careful to show that that change did not affect that perfectly human fellow-feeling which had governed all His former intercourse with them.

Let the entire narratives be read on this principle, and it will be found to be a continuous though subordinate key to the interpretation. The first human ears which hear His voice again are saluted by an address emphatically personal, and by a question of sympathy, or sympathy blended with tender rebuke: *Woman, why weepest thou?*—a question of the compassionate Redeemer, which is still His resurrection-question to all the children of men who still seek Him sorrowing, or still needlessly mourn His absence. *I am not yet ascended.* 'Let My brethren come to Me as of old, with all their sorrows, and confessions, and doubts; for there are a few more days of the Son of Man during which I will be seen of them, before I go hence to be no more seen!' From this first intimation of His purpose in lingering a while below, down to the question and reply of the hour of His departure, and the final human benediction, we find a perfect reproduction of the *same Jesus* (*αὐτὸς ἐγώ*): the same mingling of severity and gentleness in His reproofs; the same patient solicitude to overcome their unbelief; the same joy in their strength and sorrow in their weakness; the same, nay, more than the same, individuality of appeal and direct dealing with the peculiarities of each; the same anxiety—if such a word may be used—to prepare them by His forewarnings for the future; the same dependence upon their personal love, and delight in it. In fact, save in the altered manner of His appearances,—the new method of coming and going,—not one circumstance is mentioned which could suggest any difference between the former and the present Jesus: nay, some of the events which transpired, such as the morning scene on the shore of the Lake, seem to have been purposely ordered with reference to the preservation of this perfect identity.

Here, likewise, we discern another and an affecting reason for the delay of the august meeting in Galilee. Before that assumption of supreme authority, it was the Redeemer's design to pre-

pare the hearts of His disciples by divesting them of every doubt and every fear, of every such consciousness of infidelity, and of every such apprehension of their Master's displeasure, as would have prevented them from entering into the sacred festivity of the scene. How would the declaration of His absolute authority have fallen upon the ears of Simon Peter unforgiven, or of Thomas morbidly doubting, or of the other apostles labouring under the self-condemnation of having deserted their Master in His hour of sorrow? The Lord, with a perfect foreknowledge of all things, spoke and acted as if waiting upon contingency. Peradventure, He would have gone before them at once to Galilee, had they all been prepared in mind and heart. But they were not prepared; and we may be permitted to interpret His delay as intended gradually to fit their minds by a perfect faith and devotion for the perfect acceptance of His words of majesty, and the commission founded upon them. Thus Peter's defection was thrice forgiven: a first time, we may suppose, in that unrecorded interview when a second look from the Master would heal the wound of the first; a second time, when he heard in common with all the rest the reassuring *Peace;* a third time, by the waters of Galilee. So Thomas was healed of his infirmity; and all were prepared for that great sight by their condescending and pardoning Lord. Who can help thinking of the same St. Matthew's eleventh chapter, at the close of which the Lord anticipates the Mountain in Galilee, exults in His universal authority, and yet invites all to submit to it as the *meek and lowly in heart?*

But, referring this principle to the whole term of the Saviour's sojourn among His disciples after the resurrection, we cannot but regard it as designed to supplement, consummate, and, as it were, wind up, His earthly relations and dealings with the disciples as such. His return to them, His abiding with them, and His indwelling in them, by the Holy Ghost, was to commence an altogether new order of relations; but before these should begin, it was the dictate of His perfect love to spend yet a few days in their society, in order to efface from their minds the remembrance of their former faults, to pardon in His own person the sins which had been committed against His person, and to leave in their hearts no sting which might embitter their recollections of His incarnate presence among them. We might suppose that the descent of the Holy Ghost into their hearts would effectually accomplish this purpose; but the Redeemer's thoughts were not as our thoughts. Much, infinitely much, He left to the agency of the Teacher and Comforter; but there were some lessons and some consolations which He reserved to

Himself. It would have been grievous to Simon Peter if the last look of his dishonoured Lord had not been cancelled by another: then, indeed, a 'tear would have stood in his eye for ever.' This is an aspect of the Forty Days which must only be glanced at. It would be easy to pursue the reflections to which it gives rise; but not so easy to avoid a quasi-sentimental strain, less profitable than attractive. Suffice it to say, that before the Saviour's form was lost in the heavens, He had given to His disciples, universally, more than one of those days of the Son of Man which He had predicted that they would have desired to see; He had gathered up all the broken threads of their past relations to Him; He had pardoned every offence that had been committed against His incarnate, human Self; He had given to every disciple in Judea, Galilee, and even Samaria, the opportunity of beholding His risen person, and receiving the assurance of His peace. Inverting the order of His life, He first showed Himself in Judea, and was seen of many there; He then went to the scenes which had been sanctified by His earthly ministry, and Galilee of the nations once more rejoiced in the great light. But, as earthly relations were now to give place to heavenly, He removed the highest honour from Galilee again, and ascended to glory from the Mount of Olives.

All this, however, connects Jesus rather with the disciples personally; and only touches His general relations as the Redeemer, so far as it gives us new illustrations of His kindness and love to all who are His. But these supernumerary days of the Son of Man have another very important relation to the past, as they exhibit a strict continuation of the Redeemer's former method of imparting instruction touching His kingdom and work.

When the Lord promised to His disciples, and the Church of all ages, the teaching of a Divine Spirit who should guide them into all truth, He added, epexegetically, that He should bring to their remembrance all the words which He, the Son of God and Revealer of the Father, had spoken to them. It was His own office and prerogative in the work of redemption to be the Voice of God to man. As the Holy Spirit saves and sanctifies by revealing and applying the atoning work of Jesus, so He teaches all truth by glorifying, expanding, writing upon the heart, and transcribing in the experience, all the words of Jesus. There is nothing in the New Testament added to the words of Christ. There is no doctrine, argument, definition, or exhibition of privilege in the Epistles which the Holy Spirit did not suggest to the writers as the meaning of some of the words of the Son of God.

All that part of His teaching which necessarily presupposed he fact of His crucifixion and resurrection, He reserved for hese post-resurrection days. He continued to speak to them s the Prophet, the Priest, and the King; but now especially as he King. And although, as spoken on the brighter side of the omb, His words partook of a higher and more joyful tone, they ere still words of the letter which waited for the Spirit to ecome life. The range of His teaching was ampler; but its anner was the same. The words spoken after the resurrection nust be added to those spoken before; they complete the entire nass of that oral instruction which required the glorifying nterpretation of the Holy Spirit in order to become words of ife to the world.

Thus we perceive that His exposition of the Old-Testament criptures was the same in character with that which had been ne great element in His ministry before the Passion. It went o further than the development of that all-pervading *must be* hich ruled the Scriptures concerning Him. He did no more han demonstrate to them that the historical facts of His death, esurrection, and ascension into glory were contained in the aw and the Prophets, and that these facts were the key to a ight understanding of the word of God. But the internal xplanation of these great events in the minds, hearts, and living xperience of the disciples, He still left to the coming Spirit:— f their hearts burned within them, it was not yet by the fire of he Holy Ghost.

So likewise the series of symbolical words and actions which ccurred during this period,—from the first withholding of the ouch, the breathing of the Spirit, the eating with them, the *Peace*, down to the miraculous draught, the unbroken net, the ealed number of fish, the words of destiny to Peter and John,— ere all reserved for the solution of the Holy Ghost. The ymbolical character of all these occurrences would not be denied s it is, if the principle which we have assumed were admitted nd remembered.

The same holds good of the scene at the Mountain in Galilee, he great commission, and the promises given to faith. Glorious s was the mount where the Redeemer invested Himself with he prerogative of His mediatorial kingdom, it excelled in glory hen the Holy Spirit shed *His* light upon it. What was the acred baptismal name, and the baptism into it, before the hird Person perfected by His coming the Triune revelation? nd how can we understand St. Mark's account of the privileges romised to faith otherwise than as symbolical words, based pon a foundation of strict reality, which a spiritual interpreta-

tion after the Day of Pentecost would resolve into their highest meaning? This principle easily will allow us to regard the Lord's return on the recurring eighth day,—even though but once,—as a symbolical act which, whether or not explained in words, the Spirit would afterwards invest with its full significance.

It follows, moreover, by analogy, that as in our Lord's former life much was said and much was done of which there is no record, save as it was by the Holy Spirit recalled and wrought into the body of apostolical testimony, so also during the Forty Days many hints, suggestions, and explanations might have been given, of which the brief final chapters of the Gospels contain no report. St. John gives us this tacit hint when he retrieves from oblivion the events of his postscript; and so also does St. Luke in the preface to the Acts.

Turning now to the prospective character of this period, it only remains to point out some few aspects of it which are necessary for the completion of this sketch; and here our remarks must be more general, from the nature of the case. It is comparatively easy to trace the continuation of a life with which we have been made abundantly familiar; but it is not so easy to characterize the beginnings of a life of infinite mystery. As it regards Himself, the Lord exhibits during these shadowy days something like a type or prophecy of His future ascended condition; as it respects His disciples, He gradually prepares them for the final withdrawal of His earthly presence; and as it respects His Church universal, He foreshadows by words, actions, and symbols the final future of His communion with His people. In other words, this intermediate period points forward to three several horizons in the future: the first, Christ's ascension and consummate glorification; the second, His communion with His people through the Holy Spirit; the third, His final visible return, and visible fellowship with them for ever. Concerning the first and last of them, the highest wisdom lies in the fewest words; the second finds its illustration in every record of this period.

Doubtless, the ascension of the Redeemer may be said in a very important sense to have begun on the morning of the resurrection. It was an event which had no specific relation to the termination of the Forty Days. From the open sepulchre to the open heavens there was but one step; and if the Lord long paused midway, it was in voluntary love to His disciples, and from lingering delight in the scenes of His earthly ministry and sorrow,—not from any defect in His risen body which the lapse of time should supply. It is pitiable to read some of the speculation on this subject which is presented by the history of

the exegesis of the memorable *Touch Me not.* That a further change took place when the everlasting doors finally opened, there can be no doubt. But neither can there be any doubt, on the other hand, that a glorification had taken place in the resurrection itself. The glory of the exalted Son of Man could not be beheld by men upon earth; therefore it was repressed and disguised in His several manifestations, both by His own veiling of His glory, and by the holding of the disciples' eyes. That glory was thrice successively beheld by man after the ascension,—by Stephen, Paul, and John: to each, however, it was a glory tempered and obscured, in comparison with that which shall be revealed and man shall finally be able to bear. Between the resurrection and the ascension the glory of the risen Son of Man was laid aside, even as before the crucifixion was the Divine glory of the incarnate Son of God.

No characteristic of this intermediate period is more obvious, and more generally acknowledged, than the Lord's gracious design to wean the disciples gradually from dependence upon His personal presence, and to prepare them for a communion which should no longer be conditioned by sight. Before He departed, He had fully explained to them the necessity of His departure, in order that the Holy Spirit might come and reveal Himself within their hearts. But he had then given them the obscure consolation of a promise that in a little while they should see Him again, though only for a little while, before His final departure to the Father. This promise He now enabled them to understand by fulfilling it. They saw Him again, and heard His words, and received every blessing which His presence could afford, save that one of its continuance. He did not abide with them. His visits were few, and every one of them brief. He granted them every needful lesson and benediction; but, when this was done, suddenly withdrew. Mary, and the companies of women, were dismissed at once on their errands, before they could fully realize their fulness of joy. The disciples at Emmaus lose Him out of their sight at the very moment when they would most gladly have retained Him. The disciples in the evening behold Him, receive His benediction and His richest gift; and then—how different from that former evening in the guest-chamber!—He vanishes out of their sight. And so throughout. The manifestations are few,—not more than the number of the weeks during which they took place. The first day was the richest, numbering more than half of them; after that one Sabbath of Christianity, so fruitful in blessing, there is the pause of a whole week; and the second Sabbath brings Him back again. But more than a week then

elapses, during which they might meditate on the certainty of His final departure. By the time, however, that they had so far renounced their fondest hopes, and submitted to this new necessity, as to go quietly to their fishing in Galilee, He returns once more. And then the end rapidly came; but not before He had so effectually taught them the expediency of His long withdrawal, that they took leave of Him with perfect content, surrendered Him to the heavens without reluctance, and returned without Him with joy to Jerusalem. They had learned the deep meaning of the first resurrection-word, *Touch Me not,* and now they are fully prepared to believe in the last, *I am with you always.*

It is very observable that the disciples, after the Lord's departure from them, and before the great descent of the Spirit, act as if they had perfectly learned their lesson. They appeal to the Lord as still present in their midst; their first act is to test the truth of the promise which the Lord left with them. They are well assured that there could be no intermission of His presence, even for the little while of those not many days which must elapse before the gift of the Holy Ghost. They ask Him to show whom He had chosen to supply the place of Judas Iscariot: to *show,* but not to appear to them; for they have renounced the expectation and even the desire of His reappearance, although for so important a purpose as the choice of one of the Twelve. They do not, however, ask Him to declare to them by His Spirit upon whom His election had fallen; for the day of Pentecost had not explained to them how the Holy Ghost should become the voice of the Oracle among them and within them. This much they had learned, that the day had begun when they should *ask Him nothing,*—that is, when the direct question of men to a human, visible oracle should cease; but they had not yet learned in what way Jesus would speak by His Spirit to the churches. Their application to the mind of the invisible Lord stands midway between their former *questioning* of the visible Jesus, and their future *prayer* to the Divine Mediator. They regard Him as perfectly acquainted with the intents and thoughts of all hearts; and so far they show themselves to have understood His Divine omnipresence and omniscience in His Church; but in their casting lots they show that they are still in an intermediate position, and that though their little upper room was already brightening to the dawn of the Pentecost, the day was not fully come.*

* This may point the way, at least, to a better solution than that of Stier, (*Reden der Apostel,*) who supposes the whole transaction to have been premature, unsanctioned, and therefore unconfirmed.

Finally, these intermediate revelations of the risen but not yet fully glorified Son of Man give hints and foreshadowings of a future, to which this entire dispensation is but preparatory. The visible manifestations were to be succeeded by a long period of invisible presence and influence; but this invisible presence and influence, again, will introduce a final manifestation of the same Jesus, as the visible object of His saints' admiration, homage, and love. The blessedness of those who see not, and yet believe, is but relative and prospective. They are blessed in comparison of those who once saw Him; for the revelations made by the Spirit to faith far transcend the revelations which the visible Jesus made to the souls of His disciples at His first appearing. Still more blessed are they in this, that their faith without sight, their working, enduring, waiting faith, will be rewarded by the final vision of the King in His beauty.

As surely as the Redeemer in His farewell discourse rejoiced in the prospect of an ultimate passover in the kingdom of God, when all the feasts of earth, all the festivals of Judaism and Christianity, should be consummated in one great final fellowship of bliss at the latter day, so surely did He bear this in mind after His resurrection, and leave among His disciples symbols and prefigurations which the Holy Spirit would in due time illustrate to their understandings.

His return from the kingdom of the dead was the public declaration that He had conquered death, and released all believers from his power for ever. Whatever disputes there may be as to His preaching to the spirits below, there can be none as to the glad tidings which He proclaimed to the spirits above. He had spoiled death, and left no terrors in the other world for those who trust in Him: nay, He had obtained a resurrection for the entire race of mankind. He was the great example of the resurrection, as well as the resurrection itself,—the first fruits of them that slept. Individuals had come back from the prison-house of the grave before Him; but not, like Him, with an eternal immunity from any fear of their return. They came back from the mysterious region, but retraced their steps; He came back from His momentary subjection to death, to die no more. Death, which had for one short moment dominion over Him, gave Him up for ever, and with Him the whole race of man. They saw corruption again; and, as destined to such ultimate corruption, resumed their earthly condition, with all its attributes. He, on the contrary, rose with a body independent of place and circumstance,—free among the dead. And His few brief visitations were the first actual demonstration to the children of men of their immortal destiny in body and

soul. This demonstration was not given to the world at large; for that resurrection and immortality which Christ has assured to His people as their ultimate and highest blessedness, is the fruit, not of His free gift, but of faith in Him. *Because I live, ye shall live also:* this He had said to His disciples; and during these Forty Days He gave them in His own living person an illustration of His words. As certainly as His risen body was again seen upon earth, so certainly will the risen bodies of His saints revisit this scene of their probation: amid what mysteries, and for how long a time, speculation is not warranted to ask. Suffice, that Christ's return to the earth was brief and shadowy, and soon followed by an actual ascension to the glory of God.

It is observable that the Redeemer's earliest visits—probably all but the last—were made on the recurring Christian Sabbaths. The first of them, the day of the resurrection, was not only the day on which the risen Christ rested from the labours of redemption, and therefore hallowed for ever: it was more than that, it was the first of those Lord's Days which pre-typify the great and final Day of the Lord. In fact, the entire period between the resurrection and Pentecost may be regarded as a week of Sabbaths, or a Sabbath of weeks, or as one continued Christian Sabbath or Lord's Day. As such it may be viewed under two aspects: it is the rest of the Lord after His labour, the long-drawn, seven times multiplied Sabbath of redemption, before the working-day of Pentecost begins the labours of the Spirit and the word; or it is the long Lord's Day, distant though appropriate type of the still longer Day of the Lord, when, the waters of this world having furnished the one hundred and fifty and three of the elect, the net shall be drawn to the shore, and the Master and His servants shall rejoice together over the fruit of their common labours in time.

It is perhaps well that our limits forbid the slightest further enlargement on this most fruitful subject.

ART. IX.—*Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England.* Vols. I.–XVIII. London. 1837–55.

BLUE-BOOKS do not afford a refreshing sort of reading to ordinary mortals. A course of Johnson's Dictionary, or of King's Interest Tables, would generally be preferred, and with reason; for the former, garnished with literary quotations,

is light and palatable in comparison; and even the latter —not tempting in the first instance to a romantic disposition —comes home to the business, if not to the bosoms, of mankind. But these Reports are sullen and forbidding in their aspect, dull and inscrutable in their contents. They offer nothing to stimulate the appetite of a dainty and luxurious public, nor do they promise much to the more sober lover of good books. They seem, indeed, to make as little appeal to the imagination as to the senses. They have long 'tables,' but not such as are richly spread; tall 'columns,' uncrowned by capital or cornice; and 'figures,' that have no charms for the eye of fancy, or the mind of taste. For these reasons they are by no means popular. They darken not the shelves of the fashionable librarian; they are not eagerly cheapened and secured at the railway stall; they are seldom carried off to the sea-side, even in the triumph of holiday spirits. No schoolboy secretes them in a corner of his desk. No young lady retires to shed over them delicious tears. They pass at once from the shelves of our senators into the hands of our pastry-cooks; and the depth of their degradation is unnoticed in the oblivion of their fate.

But the Reports before us are, at first sight, the most forbidding of this melancholy class. Reports on education, on crime, on pauperism, on local claims or individual grievances, have generally something to relieve the sterile waste of figures. Some paragraphs of political speculation give play to the reader's memory or judgment; some pages devoted to the examination of witnesses may prompt even a little homely dramatic interest. But the Registrar-General is a pure statist, and one of the severest order. He marshals his figures with the monotony of drill. His innumerable columns press upon the reader's mind with something like hydraulic pressure. He deals with human elements in a cold, remorseless spirit; puts the dearest fortunes of men and women into a calculating machine of hideous proportions; stamps out all individuality of life and feature; and gives in a cruel average as the result of his experiment.

But the Registrar-General is not so great a monster as he seems. Withstanding the first shock to our susceptibilities, we are gradually led to appreciate the labours of this gentleman, and finally to profit by them. In fact, both instruction and entertainment may be largely derived from these unpromising reports. Utility is the first and most obvious result of a statistical record of this kind; for by such aid we are advancing in the knowledge of social laws, and preparing to counteract the tendency of existing evils. It is true, that the science based

upon a large induction of the facts here collected and classified is liable to abuse; and we perceive already, in some of our secular philosophers, a disposition to deploy the columns and array the results of the social science in a threatening aspect against sacred and important truths, such as the individual freedom and responsibility of man. But false conclusions will not be allowed to go unchallenged; and in the meantime we gratefully welcome any addition to our knowledge of the laws of life, and the incidents which modify their operation in society. It is something to be able to promote, in any degree, the physical health and comfort of the busy populations in this and other countries. For other and higher advantages we are content to wait. We are not concerned—we are not at least impatient—to see Divine Providence and human freedom fully harmonized; and the obligation of religious truth, though assailed on many sides, is too well established in the consciences of men to suffer while the Christian moralist is marshalling all his proofs.

So much for the practical instruction conveyed by these reports. But our readers will readily believe that something of a more curious and more popular description may be derived from statistics of life and death,—from tables exhibiting in general features the course and issues of human history. The subject is of deep and universal interest. It embraces the three great incidents and epochs of every career; and in two, at least, out of these three we are all necessarily and personally concerned. We cannot profess to criticize the topics of curious entertainment suggested by this record of births, deaths, and marriages; but the reader is invited to accept a few of the more general results attained in each department.

Births.—The first and most obvious application of the Registrar-General's tables of births is, that they enable us, in conjunction with the records of deaths, to ascertain the actual population of the country at any given time. When a merchant wishes to know the amount of goods in his possession, he has first to take a careful estimate of the extent and value of his stock. But as this is a laborious matter, and can only be done at distant intervals, the careful trader keeps an accurate account of all additions to stock, and all deductions by sales; so that he is able, by striking a balance, at any period to ascertain his exact position. This is precisely the course adopted by the Registrar-General. Starting from the ascertained result of a census, he is enabled, by adding all the births and deducting the deaths, making necessary allowance for emigration, to tell at any moment what is the population, either of a given district or of the country at large.

The census of March 31st, 1851, gave a total of 17,922,768 inhabitants in England and Wales, and showed an increase of rather more than two millions during the preceding ten years. The population therefore increased, on an average, 204,700 annually; 51,175, quarterly; 3,923, weekly; and 560 daily. The annual rate of increase from 1841 to 1851 was found to have been 1·212 per cent.; whereas it was 1·332 per cent. in the ten years 1831–41. During the years preceding the last census, the rate of the previous decennial period was assumed, in making the allowances to correct the averages, which, as will be seen, was a slight error; but how trifling this was may be judged of by the fact that in the year 1850, when of course it was greatest, the results are only affected in the second decimal place.

If we take the abstracts of birth for the year 1855, which are given in the report presented to the Secretary of State in June, 1857, being the last published containing the facts for a whole year, we may select the following points:—The births of 635,043 children were registered, being 3·380 to 100 of the population, or one birth to every thirty inhabitants; this was a slight increase upon the ratio of former years, in some measure due, no doubt, to improved registration. The ratio of births to population is found to differ according to locality, being greatest in Durham and Staffordshire, among the collieries. It is least in Westmoreland, Hereford, and Devon; and it is singular that the ratio has decreased in these and some other counties since 1850, at the same time that they have increased in Durham and Staffordshire. Of the numbers above given more boys than girls were born, in the proportion of 104 to 100; and here also we find curious differences in different localities, the proportion being 101·5 boys in Derby, and 109·8 in Oxford, to 100 girls. We gather, likewise, that in London the proportion of boys born is generally under the average of England and Wales. The births were most numerous in the first, and least in the last quarter of the year.

No less than 40,783 children were born out of wedlock during the year, giving the proportion of 6·4 such children to every 100 born alive, or nearly one in fifteen. The proportion, happily, is lower than it was in the three years 1850–1–2. The counties in which the greatest proportion of these births occur are Norfolk, Cumberland, and Westmoreland; while Kent, Hants, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cornwall, and Monmouth are the counties in which the proportion is lowest, if we except London, where all the illegitimate births are probably not registered, and the parts of Middlesex and Surrey out of London.

MARRIAGES.—Many interesting particulars, besides the mere numbers recorded, are to be found under this heading, scattered through these volumes. Before alluding to these, we may give the main facts with reference to the last year (1855) which has been abstracted. In this year 127,751 marriages were celebrated according to the rites of the Established Church, and 24,362 according to other forms. Of 100 marriages, about 84 take place in the churches and chapels of the Establishment. Only 14 marriages were by special licence; more than 20,386 by licence, 99,546 after banns, and 3,804 by superintendent registrar's certificate. If we take the proportion in 100 on the 123,750 cases, 16·5 were by licence, 80·4 by banns, and 3·1 by superintendent registrar's certificate. There was a considerable decrease in the number of marriages by banns and by licence: the poorer classes evidently felt the pressure of the times more severely than the rich, and they abstained from marriage to a greater extent.

In the Seventeenth Annual Report a Table is given, in which the facts for fourteen years are arranged in the order of the prices of wheat; and it is clear that the marriages among the higher classes were relatively rather more frequent in the five years when the prices were highest than in the five years when the prices were lowest; while the marriages were most frequent among the classes who marry by banns, when the prices of wheat were low; and as these classes are the most numerous, they regulate the general result. There is less fluctuation in the marriages of the rich than in those of the poor, and the rise has hitherto not been simultaneous in the two classes; so that the difference in the proportion of marriages by banns and by licence is a very sensitive test of the condition of the lower classes.

Applying this principle to the facts of 1855, we find it fully confirmed. The high prices of wheat *did* depress marriage among the classes (five out of six) who marry by banns, to a greater extent than they depressed marriage among the remaining sixth of the people marrying by licence. Consequently, as the annual average price of wheat was higher (74*s.* 8*d.*) in 1855 than it was in any of the fifteen years since 1841, the proportion of marriages by *banns* to the marriages by *licence* should be lower than it was in any of those years: this is found to be the case, and the proportion was only 4·888 marriages by banns to 1 by licence in 1855, being nearly one-fifth less than the average of the preceding fourteen years.

If we inquire into the actual and comparative numbers of *marriages of minors,* we find that 8,386 young men and 27,207

young women married under 21 years of age; of 100 men who married nearly 6 were minors, of 100 women 18 were minors; or taking 100 persons, (50 men and 50 women,) 12 married under 21 years of age. The number of young women marrying under age has increased rapidly within the last seven years, rising from 14 in 1848 to a fraction below 18 in 1855. The proportion of young men to young women who marry under the age of 21 is as 1 to 3; but the early marriages of men increased nearly to the same extent as the early marriages of women. The proportion of the latter was greatest in Stafford, Durham, and the West Riding of Yorkshire. London, Middlesex, Devon, and North Wales, have remarkably few marriages of minors.

With respect to *re-marriages*, we find that 21,940 widowers and 14,435 widows ventured again. Of these 14,280 widowers married spinsters, 7,660 consoled an equal number of widows, and 6,775 widows triumphed over the scruples and precautions of as many bachelors.

We have intimated that the state of education among the people may be judged of from these reports, and we now come to the evidence. Under the heading, *Signatures of Persons married*, the Registrar-General makes the following statement:—

'44,846 husbands and 62,672 wives made their marks; while 107,267 husbands and 89,441 wives wrote their names in the marriage registers. A certain number of the women who make their marks are deterred by timidity from writing their names; upon the other hand, many thousands of those who write their names, write very badly, and are evidently little practised in the art of writing. The means of education must still be deplorably defective in England and Wales, when we find 41 in 100 women, and 29 in 100 men, making crosses instead of writing their names in the registers of their marriages. It is consolatory to find that within the fifteen years, 1841 to 1855, the proportion of men who write their names has increased from 67·3 to 70·5; and the proportion of women has increased to a still greater extent, namely, from 51·2 to 58·8 in 100.

'Each marriage constitutes a family; and to the family the fact that one of its members can read and write is of more importance than the fact that both can read and write. Now as 107,267 men and 89,441 women wrote their names, it is evident that the 196,708 may have been so distributed in pairs, as to leave no pairs in which neither the husband nor the wife could write. Such a combination, however, does not take place... ...As the poor intermarry, and the wealthy intermarry, so naturally the classes who cannot write intermarry; and thus, instead of having the greatest number possible of cases in which at least *one* writes, there is not the due mathematical proportion of such cases, but in 32,139 of the new families neither the father nor the mother will be able to write.'

After some further remarks, we are told that in 1855 there must have been nearly 1,488,000 families in England in which the husband and wife could both write their names; 905,912 families in which one only could write; and 756,558 families in which neither the husband nor wife, the father nor mother, could write their names. How defective the rest of their elementary education must have been is self-evident.

Disease and Death.—In commencing some account of facts and principles connected with disease and death, so far as we are taught by the Registrar-General's reports, it will be needful to indicate the system of classification adopted, particularly as many of the terms employed are likely to become 'household words' to every newspaper reader and to all who are friendly to sanitary improvement; and, moreover, the nosological arrangement has just been considerably altered. Records of fatal diseases and injuries of the population have been published in London since the commencement of the seventeenth century; in the Department of the Seine since 1809. From the year 1837 the causes of death throughout England have been classified and published in accordance with a statistical nosology, copies of which were placed in the hands of members of the medical profession; and since 1851 the same plan has been adopted in Ireland. In the first statistical congress, however, the utility of a uniform nomenclature in the registration of the causes of death was strongly felt, and a resolution was passed appointing Drs. Farr and Marc d'Espine to prepare a report on the subject, they having had the practical direction of statistical inquiries on this subject in Geneva and in England. The mode of tabulation employed has in view the adoption of the same nomenclature in all countries; and as there is now a general agreement all over Europe in the designation of diseases, the idea has been realized (of course approximately and subject to changes from the growth of medical science) with apparently little difficulty. All diseases are divided into five great classes, which are subdivided into orders, under each of which are ranged its own particular diseases, or other causes of death. The following table will explain the plan at a glance, so far as the classes and orders are concerned:—

Class I. Zymotic Diseases.	Class II. Constitutional Diseases.
Order 1. Miasmatic diseases.	Order 1. Diathetic diseases.
„ 2. Enthetic „	„ 2. Tubercular „
„ 3. Dietic „	
„ 4. Parasitic „	

CLASS III. Local Diseases.
Order 1. Diseases of nervous system.
„ 2. „ organs of circulation.
„ 3. „ respiratory organs.
„ 4. „ digestive „
„ 5. „ urinary „
„ 6. „ organs of reproduction.
„ 7. „ organs of locomotion.
„ 8. „ integumentary system.

CLASS IV. Developmental Diseases.
Order 1. Diseases of children.
„ 2. „ adults.
„ 3. „ old people.
„ 4. „ nutrition.

CLASS V. Violent Deaths.
Order 1. Accident or negligence.
„ 2. Deaths in battle.
„ 3. Homicide.
„ 4. Suicide.
„ 5. Execution.

By referring to tabulated statements thus arranged we can gratify our curiosity, not only respecting great general comparisons and averages, but upon minute details, as to how many have fallen victims to any particular complaint, &c. For example, say we wish to know something of the deaths and their causes, which happened in London in the first week of the present year, from January 2nd to January 9th, 1858. By referring to the proper places we shall find that the total number of deaths in London in that week was 1,327. In the ten years 1848-57, the average number of deaths in the weeks corresponding with that week was 1,230; and if this is raised by a tenth part, as a correction for increased population, it will become 1,353. Hence it appears that the number returned that week is not much less than that which the average rate of mortality for the first week of the year would have produced. Extending our inquiries to particular complaints and ages, we find that bronchitis reached the high number of 181, the corrected average being 142. Nine deaths arose from influenza; measles were on the increase, and carried off 60 children. Of eight nonagenarians included in the return, one was 90 years of age, one 91, one 93, two 94, one 95, one 97, one 98. Besides these, a silk-weaver died in the Bethnal Green workhouse, who is reported to have reached the age of 101 years. Of the class of zymotic diseases 263 persons died; of local diseases, including inflammations, 618 persons died; of developmental diseases, including the diseases peculiar to the young, the puerperal and critical periods of life, and the aged, 156 persons died; and of violent deaths 20 cases were registered. The last class, namely, the violent deaths, is subdivided so as to show separately the deaths (1.) by accident or negligence, 17; (2.) by homicide, 1; (3.) by suicide, 2; (4.) by public execution, *none*. The deaths in battle form a fifth order, which is fortunately not required in the London Tables. We have just indicated the kind and variety of information that may

be obtained respecting the sanitary condition of that week; there is much more of the same sort awaiting the inspection of the interested inquirer.

Let us take another illustration; for we feel that by such means alone can we convey any adequate impression of the wealth of valuable information contained in these doleful-looking books. We will take the three summer months of last year. Our readers will remember that it was an unusually hot summer, and perhaps they may like to know what was its effect upon the public health, and what lessons it taught as it passed along its fervid course. It may be premised that a summer of unusual warmth in our European climates not only promotes the growth of corn and wine, but is probably salutary to the human frame, where the land is drained, decaying refuse is buried in the earth, and cleanliness is observed. But in England these conditions are not yet complied with: hence fever, ague, and diarrhœa prevailed extensively during the hot summer. We find sad evidence of this in some of the reports. The registrar of Strood (Kent) registered within one as many deaths as births. He remarks,—

'This district being marshy in a great part, the poor have suffered during the last winter from agues in a greater degree than has been experienced during a great number of years. Ague leads to debility, and the consequent inability to earn a sufficient livelihood. An unusually hot summer has operated still more to make the marshes and adjacent district intensely unhealthy. Many deaths have been registered from intermittent fever, directly or indirectly. The disease is rarely fatal (under favourable circumstances). The chief mortality is amongst indigent and debilitated persons and their families, who have fallen an easy prey to diseases of a general character in consequence of their reduced condition.'

The other districts of Kent on the marshy banks of the Thames and the Medway also experienced a mortality above their average, as did the district of Romney Marsh. Other districts of Kent, such as Elham and Bridge, lost few inhabitants, the mortality of these healthy places having been below the average. The registrar of Bradwell (eastern counties) says,—

'There was a terrible epidemic of typhus in Tillingham parish, also of malignant sore-throat. The drainage in the part most visited by the fever is very bad. Nearly every house had from one to three persons sick in it.'

The west midland counties suffered more than any of the other divisions; the deaths amounted to 12,379. The great coal and iron districts, Wolverhampton, Walsall, West Bromwich,

Dudley, and Stourbridge, were in a very unhealthy state, the mortality being raised greatly above the average by small-pox, diarrhœa, scarlatina, typhus. One death from cholera happened in Wolverhampton, one in Wednesbury, five in Tipton, one in Sedgeley. The Registrar-General properly remarks, that 'if the authorities, who are intelligent and active in many things, do not bestir themselves, the population may again be decimated by epidemic cholera. North Staffordshire is already supplied with good water; the supply of water in South Staffordshire was recently, and is probably still, execrable: the results are legible in the registers of death.' Passing from these local peculiarities, we will glance at the general results of the quarter which ended September 30th (1857).

The total deaths registered amounted to 100,590, and the death rate was 2·064 per cent. The deaths in the summer quarter of the previous year were 91,330; and in the summer of 1855 the deaths were 87,646. The excess of deaths in the last summer quarter over this number was 12,944. The annual rate of mortality per 1,000 during the summer was twenty-five in the town districts and sub-districts, where 8,247,017 people dwelt in 1851 upon 2,149,800 acres; and seventeen in the other districts and sub-districts of England and Wales, where 9,680,592 people dwelt on 35,175,115 acres. If the mortality in the towns had been at the same rate as the mortality in the other districts, the deaths, instead of amounting to 55,733, would have only amounted to 38,080.

Thus in ninety-two days 17,653 persons perished untimely in England! What was the cause of this great destruction of life? Evidently the violation of the plain, natural laws of life. And the strict observance of these laws, as the Registrar-General remarks, must be of the utmost importance to the welfare of the human race; otherwise their violation would not be so terribly punished by the Almighty. Indeed, if the English race could lose strength, beauty, health, and life in the impurities of its dwelling-places with impunity, the imagination of Swift alone could conceive, his pencil alone depict, the depth of degradation to which the nation might fall. The intelligent classes of this country will, however, never acquiesce in the continuance of its present imperfect sanitary condition, and of the resulting diseases which it brings down upon the heads of the population, who often, when they violate the laws of nature, know not what they do.

Dependence of the mortality upon preventable causes.—As might be expected, the proofs of the dependence of mortality upon preventable causes, and the happy results of the removal of such causes, abound in these Reports, affording at the same time both impressive warning and cheering encouragement. Of West

Derby, an important parish in the town and suburbs of Liverpool, it is said,—

'The district has been, during all the quarter, in a very healthy state, which may in a great degree be owing to the extent of street and house draining, street cleansing, and other excellent sanitary improvements that have been adopted by the corporation of Liverpool in the municipal part of the district.'

At Wigan, sanitary improvements are progressing; such as street sewerage, drainage of private property, and the removal of nuisances; with the usual result of diminished mortality. The registrar of North Bury writes,—

'The deaths in this quarter are considerably under the average, and amount to just a half the number of births. No small-pox, measles, scarlatina, whooping-cough, or cholera. The sewering, water supply, paving, scavenging, &c., of the town are in a very satisfactory state. Large sums have been judiciously expended by the town commissioners during the last seven years, to the comfort and advantage of the inhabitants; and the appearance of the town now offers an agreeable contrast to other manufacturing towns in this district.'

In Bideford we learn that—

'Fever has prevailed in the district, and still does to a considerable extent; and in the majority of cases it has been attributed to bad drainage. The subject has been brought before the authorities of the town.'

Numerous other instances might be adduced, all proving the sad results of ignorance, carelessness, and neglect, and fully justifying the pertinacity of sanitary reformers. The neglect of vaccination has occasioned numerous deaths from small-pox: the registrar in Birmingham, for instance, states that in fifteen deaths which he reported from that fearful disease, 'in not more than one or two cases had vaccination been performed, many of the parents still being negligent in this matter, notwithstanding the Act.' We cannot dwell upon this topic, and can only afford space for one terrible illustration of the disastrous effects of the neglect of one of the primary conditions of health,—an ample supply of pure water. It refers to the subject of cholera, of which we shall presently speak; but it may well be placed in this part of our narrative, since it so emphatically demonstrates the point we have endeavoured to impress upon our readers.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne suffered in the epidemic cholera of 1849 to a moderate extent. At that time its supply of water was tolerably pure. Now, both in the East and in Europe, observation has shown that the cholera poison, be it what it may, is conveyed by water as well as air; hence the following precaution was cited in the Cholera Report:—

'The precautions to take against cholera, in regard to *water*,

are well stated by Dr. Snow; and they are of so simple a nature that, considering all the facts, no person can prudently neglect them. *Water into which sewers flow, or which is navigated by persons living in boats, or which is in any other way contaminated by the contents of drains or cesspools, should be entirely disused.*' Unfortunately, in defiance of this warning, from the 5th of July preceding the epidemic, Newcastle, which had been supplied before with salubrious water, was supplied largely 'from the impure source of the Tyne, in the vicinity of the sewerage of the town.'

The Registrar-General may well be severe in his remarks upon so monstrous a proceeding. No one, to test the value of such a rule as the above, would ever have proposed that a large town which was supplied with good water, and escaped with no considerable loss in a previous epidemic, should, on the eve of another epidemic, do all that is here forbidden. What no sceptical philosopher would have dared to propose as an experiment; what no haughty conqueror ever condemned the inhabitants of a subjugated city to endure; this fine English town on the Tyne, the centre of the coal trade, of intelligence of every kind, and of engineering knowledge, has done and suffered. All the excreta, which are thrown into the streets or water-closets, are washed down the acclivities of the streets, into the river; the fermenting mass is driven up and down by the tides, and has thence, since July, been pumped by the engine at Elswick all over the town through the water-pipes for domestic uses; it has been used for ablution, it has been washed over the floors, it has been drunk as a beverage by many of the children and the wives of large numbers of the higher and middle classes, as well as the working men of the town. This sad fact in the history of Newcastle will be remembered when the loss of 1,500 lives, by which it was followed, is forgotten. No water was drawn from the Tyne after September 15th; the cholera then raged with less intensity, and the epidemic speedily subsided.

We cannot pretend to illustrate adequately the sad results of the gloomy list of preventable causes of disease and death. Impure supplies of water; close confinement to ill-ventilated rooms; low situation of habitations; want of proper nutrition; absence of drainage; neglected diarrhœa; free administration of laudanum to children, all leave their marks upon these inexorable lists and digested abstracts. If there are any who have thought that theory has entered largely into recent sanitary movements, they will find enough here to disabuse them of the impression.

In towns, as well as in the country, many diseases are unquestionably caused by a bad, insufficient diet, by cold, by

intemperance, idleness, and vice, which all predispose to cholera; but the great excess of mortality is from the atmosphere of decomposing organic matter given off by the undrained ground, and vegetable and animal bodies, dead or living. The insalubrity of undrained land is seen now in England on comparing the mortality (2·45) of Ely, North Witchford, Whittlesey, and Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, at the mouth of the Nene, with the mortality (1·80 to 1·40 per cent.) of the high parts of Surrey, Sussex, North Devon, and Northumberland. And the fatal effect of effluvia, generated by bodies of men on sound land, has long been well known: it was known to the Romans; and it is laid down by their writers on military affairs, that the camp should be frequently changed, to get rid of these incommodities.* In modern times men under canvas cannot be kept in health long on the same spot, as our recollections of the Dobrudscha and Balaclava testify. But an undrained town, insufficiently supplied with water and sewers, has the inconveniences of a perpetual camp, with its attendant diseases, fevers and dysenteries, besides being exposed to the fatal inroads of influenza, cholera, and other epidemics. To such causes, in great part, we may attribute the fact, that in ordinary times the chance of dying in London is constantly 40 per cent. greater than in the neighbouring counties: from these causes mainly it arises that, quite independently of cholera, we have an excess of 15,227 deaths yearly in London from known and not irremovable causes, that prevail to a certain but less extent in the south-eastern counties. The comparison between the chances of death which the Londoner runs as compared with those suffered by his fellow-countrymen in other districts of England has been put familiarly in this way. If a man's acquaintances were fixed at fifty-two in number, and they lived in scattered places over England, he would annually lose one by death in forty-five. If they lived in the south-eastern counties, the loss would be at the lower rate of one in fifty-two. If they all lived in London, he would lose one out of thirty-nine.

The two great cholera epidemics.—Since the Registrar-General commenced his labours, there have been in this country two fearful epidemics of cholera,—those of 1849 and of 1854.† The authentic statements thus afforded enable us to review the circumstances attending the access and progress of the disease, as

* 'Si autumnali æstivoque tempore diutius in iisdem locis militum multitudo consistat, ex contagione aquarum, et odoris ipsius fœditate vitiatis haustibus, et aëre corrupto perniciosissimus nascitur morbus, qui prohiberi non potest aliter, nisi frequenti mutatione castrorum.'—*Vegetii Institutorum Rei Militaris* lib. iii., cap. 2.

† It would be more correct to say,—1848-9 and 1853-4, since the disease appeared during the latter part of the earlier years: its chief stress, however, was felt during the years mentioned above.

well as to institute comparisons between the two attacks, not only interesting in themselves, but fruitful of practical suggestions. Cholera itself has probably always existed in England, and it was well described by Sydenham in the seventeenth century; but the epidemic form presents some differences in the symptoms, as well as in the duration of its ravages. The chief characteristic is found in the duration of the fatal cases, half of which terminate within one day of the first appearance of decisive symptoms, while half of the cases of common cholera terminate in three days, and half the cases of diarrhœa extend over six days. But diarrhœa is always found to accompany cholera, and is, in all probability, a variety of the disease; so that, to arrive at proper conclusions, the deaths under both names must be taken,—deductions being made for those who had other fatal diseases at the time of death. When this is done, we shall find that in 1849 there died of cholera 53,273 persons, and of diarrhœa 17,831. Adopting the same mode of calculation, we find that the deaths by cholera and diarrhœa in 1854 were 40,149. If the deaths from cholera and diarrhœa for the four years 1848–9 and 1853–4 be added together, they will amount to 84,079 and 58,760 respectively, which, after subtracting 4,000 from each number for the ordinary deaths from these complaints in non-epidemic years, will leave about 80,000 and 55,000, or 135,000 deaths by the two epidemics which occurred in the brief period of seven years! This was in England and Wales; and it is probable that the epidemic attacked, in the two forms, little less than *five millions*, and killed *a quarter of a million of the people of the United Kingdom!*

When we come to institute a comparison between the two epidemics, we find that the mortality from the two diseases above named was, in 1849, at the rate of 41 in 10,000, while the mortality in 1854 was at the rate of 22 in 10,000 of the population. If the 22 is made 23, on account of the earlier attack on Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1853, still the rate of mortality, taking the increase of population into account, will be in the last epidemic little more than half (23) the rate (41) in the former. The rates of mortality by diarrhœa in the two epidemics were equal, 11 and 11 in 10,000 of the population; and in 1854 the rate of mortality by cholera was also 11; while in 1849 the rate of mortality by cholera, that is, by the severe form of the disease, was 30 in 10,000, or nearly three times as high as the rate of mortality by diarrhœa, and three times as high as the rate of mortality by cholera, in 1854.* We con-

* The greater mildness of the attack of 1854 is further shown from the fact that in 1849 the deaths of 46,592 persons by cholera occurred in 136 districts, on an area of

clude, from facts which we cannot stay to detail, that the greater mildness of the latter epidemic is directly due to the sanitary measures taken in the intervals of the two attacks,—an inference which is supported negatively by many localities which had previously suffered severely, and positively by the awful condition of Newcastle, to which we have already alluded. Nothing can be more certain than that, even when the cause of epidemic disease is generally diffused, its more severe and fatal form is locally circumscribed in its action, and capable of mitigation by human foresight.

Mortality at different ages.—In his thirteenth Annual Report, the Registrar-General gives a table, extending over the thirteen years, 1838–50 inclusive, from which accurate conclusions can be drawn as to the mortality at different ages. Long experience has shown that men die at every age, from the moment of birth to the hundredth year, and the uncertainty of the tenure of life according to the popular notion is the greatest in infancy and in old age, but is nearly equal at the several intermediate stages. The returns of the ages of the whole population of this country in 1841 and 1851, and the registration of the ages at death during every year since 1837, afford an opportunity of determining by exact calculation the law which regulates human mortality; and by that law, as shown in the table above referred to, it will be observed, that while the rate of mortality is as high in the first five years of life as it is at the advanced age of 65–75, in both males and females, the uncertainty of life increases from the age of puberty through the whole of the intermediate stages of age, at determined and increasing rates. Thus of every 1,000 boys of the age of 10 and under 15 in the population, 5 die annually; of 1,000 young men of the ages 15–25, 8 die annually; and so the deaths out of the same number living increase every successive ten years of age to 10 at 15–25; 13 at 35–45; 18 at 45–55; 32 at 55–65; 67 at 65–75; 147 at 75–85; 304 at 85–95; 465 at 95 and upwards. The rate of mortality after the age of 55 is doubled, and something more, every ten years; for the chance of dying in a given time is more than twice as great at the age of 70 as it is at the age of 60.

The mortality of males in the first five years of life exceeds the mortality of females in the proportion of 7 to 6; for 72 of every 1,000 boys, and 61 of every 1,000 girls, in the population,

8,303 square miles, having, in 1851, a population of 7,448,615; while 6,701 died in the rest of the country on an area of 50,017 square miles, inhabited by 10,478,994 people. The chief mortality in like manner in 1853–4 took place within the same regions; 16,295 died there of cholera, while 3,802 died in the rest of England and Wales. Thus the mortality by cholera was at the rate of 65 in 10,000 in the year 1849, and 21 in the year 1854, in the districts of the cholera fields; in the other districts the rates in the two years were 6 and 4.

nder *five* years of age, die annually; and again, at the age of –10, boys die in rather larger proportions than girls: from the ge of ten to the age of thirty-five the mortality is greater among omen than it is among men; but after the age of forty-five the ortality of men greatly exceeds the mortality of women.

This table also informs us that the number of deaths of males xceeds the number of deaths of females in the proportion of 103 o 100 on the average of thirteen years; but while in the first wo years (1838–9) the females were as 105 and 104 to 100, in he last two years (1849–50) the proportion of females fell o 101 and 102 to 100. But the number of females in England s greater than the number of males; and if the numbers living f the two sexes were *equal,* the proportions dying would be 108 emales to 100 males, over the average of the thirteen years; nd 107 to 100 in the year 1850.

Abstracts for 1855.—The latest volume published by the Registrar-General, under date 10th of June, 1857, contains the bstracts prepared from the tables of births, deaths, and marriages luring the year 1855. The following condensed summary will how the form in which the facts are presented to the public, nd is a good instance of the *multum in parvo*:—

'304,226 persons were married; the births of 635,043 children, not ncluding the still-born, were registered; and 425,703 deaths were ecorded during the year. Thus 1,364,972 new names were inscribed n the national registers. Respecting each of these persons, certain mportant facts are registered, which, when carefully collated, throw ight upon many subjects of great public interest.

'The natural increase of the population by the excess of births over leaths in the year, was 209,340; or it was at the rate of 1·121 per ent. on the population. The increase is greater than the annual ncrease of the two previous years by several thousands.

'The number of marriages decreased; and the persons married were ,5,228 less in number in 1855 than in the previous year. The number f births exceeded by 638 the 634,405 births in the previous year. The deaths were 12,202 less numerous than the deaths in 1854.

'176,807 emigrants embarked from the ports of the United Kingdom luring the year 1855. About 62,906 of the number were of English r Welsh origin, of whom 27,883 sailed to the United States, 4,991 to he North American colonies, 29,868 to the Australian colonies, and 14 to all other places. Of the 62,906 persons, about 24,997 were dult males, and 22,545 adult females; 6,769 were males aged 1 to 14 ears, and 6,470 were females aged 1 to 14; and 2,125 were infants.

'The annual rates of the year 1855 were such, that to 100 persons iving * there were marriages ·810, persons married 1·620, births 3·380, leaths 2·266. The rate of marriage was below the average; the rates

* By taking the numbers living to be 100,000, the numbers may be read without he decimal points,

of birth and of death were slightly above the average of the eighteen years 1838–55. *One* marriage took place to 123 persons living, and consequently *one* person was married to 62 living; *one* child was born alive to every 30 persons living; *one* person died to every 44 living.

'The observations now extend over eighteen years, and the resulting average rates for England and Wales are to 100 persons living, 1·631 persons married annually, 3·276 births, 2·246 deaths; or 1 in 61 of the population is married, 1 in 31 is born, 1 in 45 dies annually.'

To these facts we may add that 850 infants died from want of their natural nourishment, and 1 mother died for every 213 children born. The deaths from poison were 380; in 1848 they were 467. This decrease is partly attributable to the fact of arsenic being now much less easily obtained. Upwards of 800 deaths are ascribed to 'alcoholism;' 1,300 to hanging and suffocation; and 2,500 to drowning. The most fatal of all causes of death was consumption. To bronchitis and pneumonia a fourth of the deaths is assigned, and the same number is attributed to old age, convulsions, premature birth, debility, scarlatina, and typhus. Thus half the mortality was owing to eight causes. Finally, we learn from Dr. Farr, that 'the cessation of the epidemic of cholera, and the diseases induced by the cold winter, are the great facts of the year....The cold led to an increase in the consumption of coal; people approached nearer to the fire than in ordinary years, and the cold was thus the indirect cause of probably more than 400 deaths by burns alone.'

We now leave these interesting but somewhat gloomy topics, in the narration of which we have been compelled to inflict so many figures upon the reader, and proceed to something of a lighter kind.

Family nomenclature in England and Wales.—In his Sixteenth Report, the Registrar-General has given some very curious results respecting the family names of the population at large, some of which we shall now present. Far ampler materials have accumulated in his office than ever before existed, either in this or any other country. The indexes during the 17½ years between July 1st, 1837, and the end of 1853, contained, under their threefold headings, the names of 21,000,000 persons, thus forming a nominal list of no inconsiderable number of the people of England, living or deceased. The probable number of surnames in England and Wales has been the subject of conjectural estimates based on a small collection of facts. By the careful collation of all the registration indexes it could be approximately ascertained; for during a period of more than seventeen years it is probable that almost every resident family contributed to the registers an entry of birth, death, or marriage.

The task of collating upwards of two hundred immense quarterly indexes would, however, involve a vast amount of labour without any commensurate result; moreover, the number of names is constantly varying, owing, on the one hand, to immigration, or to the extinction of families by death, and, on the other, to the introduction of fresh names by foreigners and immigrants, to the corruption of existing names always going on amongst the illiterate, and to various other circumstances. The number of different surnames was therefore taken from one quarterly index of births, and one of deaths. From these it was ascertained that there were for every 100 of the births registered about 16 different surnames, and for every 100 of the deaths about 18, reckoning every surname with a distinctive spelling, however slightly it may differ from others, as a separate surname. Taking the two indexes together, and by a careful collation eliminating all duplicates, the numbers stand thus:—

Persons Registered.	Different Surnames.	Different Surnames to every 100 persons.	Persons to one Surname.
275,405	32·818	11·9	8·4

An alphabetical list of 32,818 surnames, the largest collection yet made, is thus obtained; and as this result is furnished by two quarterly indexes only, it may be assumed as a rough estimate that the whole number in England and Wales is between *thirty-five and forty thousand.*

The contribution of Wales to the number of surnames, as may be supposed, is very small in proportion to its population. The Registrar thinks, that nine-tenths of our countrymen in the principality could be mustered under less than 100 different surnames; and he states that the name of John Jones is a perpetual incognito in Wales, and, being proclaimed at the cross of a market town, would indicate no one in particular. At the same time he suggests that a partial remedy for this state of things would perhaps be found in the adoption of a more extended range of Christian names, if the Welsh people could be induced to overcome their unwillingness to depart from ancient customs, so far as to forego the use of the scriptural and other common names usually given to their children at baptism.

From the circumstance of their common British origin it might be supposed that the Welsh people, and the inhabitants of Cornwall, would exhibit some analogous principles in the construction of their surnames; such, however, is not the case. The Cornish surnames are mostly local, derived from words of British root, and they are often strikingly peculiar. A large number have the prefix *tre*, 'a town;' the words *pol*, 'a pool,' *pen*, 'a head,' *ros*, 'a heath,' and *lan*, 'a church,' are also of frequent occurrence in surnames.

We subjoin a list (Table XVI.) of fifty of the most common surnames in England and Wales. These fifty names embrace nearly 18 in 100 of the persons registered. The three names at the head of the list, Smith, Jones, and Williams, are, it will be observed, greatly in advance of the others; and if the numbers may be taken as an index of the whole population, it would appear that on an average one person in every twenty-eight would answer to one or other of these three names. A large number of our readers will learn from this list the relative numerical importance of the families to which they belong.

TABLE XVI.—FIFTY OF THE MOST COMMON SURNAMES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, WITH THE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF EACH ENTERED IN THE INDEXES OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES IN THE YEAR ENDING 30TH JUNE, 1838, OF BIRTHS IN THE QUARTER ENDING 31ST OF MARCH, 1851, AND OF BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND MARRIAGES IN THE YEAR 1853.

	Surnames.	Number of Entries of each Surname.		Surnames.	Number of Entries of each Surname.
1	Smith	33,557	26	Harris	7,042
2	Jones	33,341	27	Clark	6,920
3	Williams	21,936	28	Cooper	6,742
4	Taylor	16,775	29	Harrison	6,399
5	Davies	14,983	30	Davis	6,205
6	Brown	14,346	31	Ward	6,084
7	Thomas	13,017	32	Baker	6,013
8	Evans	12,555	33	Martin	5,898
9	Roberts	10,617	34	Morris	5,888
10	Johnson	9,468	35	James	5,755
11	Robinson	9,045	36	Morgan	5,691
12	Wilson	8,917	37	King	5,661
13	Wright	8,476	38	Allen	5,468
14	Wood	8,238	39	Clarke	5,309
15	Hall	8,188	40	Cook	5,300
16	Walker	8,088	41	Moore	5,269
17	Hughes	8,010	42	Parker	5,230
18	Green	7,996	43	Price	5,219
19	Lewis	7,959	44	Phillips	5,124
20	Edwards	7,916	45	Watson	4,771
21	Thompson	7,839	46	Shaw	4,759
22	White	7,808	47	Lee	4,731
23	Jackson	7,659	48	Bennett	4,671
24	Turner	7,549	49	Carter	4,648
25	Hill	7,192	50	Griffiths	4,639
				Total	440,911

Regarded with reference to their origin, it seems that of the fifty most common names more than half are derived from the Christian or fore-name of the father, and are thus literally *sire*-names or *sirnames*. This is the most primitive form of a second name, and it was extensively used amongst the Anglo-Saxons, as by other European nations. Names derived from occupations are next in number, and contribute thirteen to the list. After the Smiths, come the Taylors, who are about half as numerous as the Smiths; next the Wrights, amounting to about half the numbers of the Taylors; then the Walkers, Turners, Clarks, Coopers, Wards, Bakers, and Clarkes. The Clarks and the Clarkes, if taken collectively, would occupy the third place in the list of names derived from employments; a fact which points significantly to the importance attached to the clerkly office, and to the possession of a moderate amount of learning, in rude and unlettered times, when a Monarch received his characteristic epithet (Beau-clerc) from his scholarship.

Let us hear what the Registrar-General says upon the national importance of the Smiths and the Joneses.

'The surname of Smith is pre-eminently the most common in England, as that of Jones is in Wales; and so great is the multitude of the Joneses, that the latter name not only enters into competition for priority in point of numbers with the Smiths, but in several years shows a majority over its rival. With a view to determine the relative frequency of these two widely-spread surnames, I have ascertained the numbers of each entered in the indexes during the years 1838–54. The result is, that the births, deaths, and marriages of the Smiths registered in this period were 286,037, and those of the Joneses, 282,900, the excess in favour of the former being 3,137 in the seventeen years. Smith is, therefore, unquestionably the most common surname amongst us, although the Joneses are little less numerous, and in six of the years actually contributed to the registers larger numbers than the Smiths. Together the bearers of these two common names amounted to 568,937, or 1 in 36 of the whole number registered, during the period referred to.'

Assuming that the persons of the surnames of Smith and Jones are born, marry, and die in the same proportions as persons of *all surnames*, it will follow that in England and Wales there are not less than *half a million* of persons bearing one or other of these two surnames. The Smiths amount to rather more than a quarter of a million, and the Joneses to little less; together forming no inconsiderable portion of the British population. These numbers represent—on the assumption that the average number of persons in a family is the same as in the whole population at the census, *viz.*, 4·8 persons—about 53,000 families of Smiths, and 51,000 families of Joneses; and to give

an illustration of their numerical power, it may be stated that these two great tribes are probably sufficiently numerous to people the four towns of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, and Hull, without any addition of persons of other surnames.

Mortality of persons in different occupations.—A curious department of the inquiry into the causes of death has relation to the occupation of individuals; and as the investigation brings to light the peculiar dangers to which many trades are exposed, it necessarily leads to the practical application of defensive measures. It is a department, however, surrounded by difficulties, since the nomenclature of employment is not in all cases settled. For instance, on the present system of registration it is impossible to determine the relative mortality of the classes that are respectively engaged in the silk, cotton, linen, and woollen manufactures, as great numbers of men are registered as *weavers* simply, without any further distinction; so all the persons that are engaged in the textile manufactures are thrown together. *Miners* in iron, lead, copper, coal, and those engaged in their manufacture, have for the same reason been thrown into one group. Again, as the large class of agricultural labourers has in the registers often been confounded, under the indefinite term 'labourer,' with labourers on roads, on railways, in quarries,—labourers have been dealt with in the aggregate. By selecting a few of the well-defined occupations in which large numbers of men are employed, and by grouping together in one line classes easily confounded in the returns, certain striking and interesting results have been obtained. In some instances these results confirm preconceived opinions; in others, they bring to light important facts of which we had before no idea. We take our illustration from the registry returns of 1851.

Of the twelve classes tabulated, the *farmers* are the oldest and the longest livers; out of 225,747, there are 31,720 of the age 25 and under 35; 48,378 of the age 35–45; and 53,608 of the age 45–55. Their numbers then decline, and there are 45,585 of the age 55–65; 28,660 of the age 65–75; 11,363 of 75–85; and 1,711 of the age 85 and upwards. Their numbers, depending on the number of farms, have been probably stationary for some years in England; and it is evident that men enter the class at all the ages up to 45–55, when the number living is greater than the number at any other period of life. The deaths to 1,000 living at each of the decennial ages, commencing at 35–45, were nearly 9, 12, 25, 55, 148, 324. The corresponding figures for the labourers are, 13, 17, 29, 68, 174, and 418, showing a very serious difference between master and man.

The four classes which on the whole experience the heaviest

rates of mortality are, *miners, bakers, butchers,* and *inn and beershop-keepers.* Thus, at the age 45–55, out of every 1,000 farmers, 12 died; of 1,000 shoemakers, 15 died; of 1,000 weavers and others employed in the manufacture of cotton, silk, and wool, 15 died; out of an equal number of grocers, 16 died; of blacksmiths, 17; of carpenters, 17; of tailors, 17; of labourers, 17; of miners, 20; of bakers, 21; of butchers, 23; of inn and beershop-keepers, 28 died;—the mortality at that age among the whole population of England being at the rate of 18 in 1,000.

At every period of life the mortality of the inn and beershop-keepers is in excess of the mortality of all the other classes, except the *butchers,* at the age of 55–65, who died at the rate of 41 in 1,000; while the rate among the inn and beershop-keepers of the same age was 39 in 1,000; the rate among the whole population being 30.

The useful body of *butchers* die prematurely. At the age of thirty-five to forty twice as many are found to perish as among the farmers, and a third more than among the blacksmiths: if it be his good fortune, however, to reach the age of sixty-five, when he may be supposed to have retired from the steel and the cleaver, the butcher's chances of living appear to be as good as his neighbour's. Much has been written about the diseases of shoemakers, weavers, tailors, miners and bakers, while the extraordinary mortality of the class just mentioned appears to have escaped observation. Calculation alone has taught us that the red, injected face of the butcher is an indication of a frail habit of body. 'On what does the great mortality of the butcher depend? On his diet, into which too much animal food and too little fruit and vegetables enter?—on his drinking to excess?—on his exposure to heat and cold?—or, which is probably the most powerful cause, on the elements of decaying matter by which he is surrounded in his slaughter-house and its vicinity?'

Tailors die in considerable numbers at the younger ages (twenty-five to forty-five); the mortality of *bakers* in middle life is much above the average, while that of *blacksmiths* is excessive after fifty-five.

Basis for life insurance calculations.—Not the least important use of the information derived from this national institution is, that it will render the calculations upon which all life insurance business is based more reliable, if indeed we do not, by its means, attain absolute accuracy as to the law of mortality. The materials hitherto accessible are admitted to have been too limited for framing satisfactorily tables to regulate the amount of contribution at various ages, by which members of life annuity, life insurance, and friendly societies may become en-

titled to allowances in old age, or to sums payable at death. To do this accurately, it is needful to ascertain the proportion of deaths at every successive year of age. The greater part of the insurance business of this country had, till recently, been transacted by means of the Northampton Table constructed by Dr. Price about the year 1782, or the Carlisle Table which first appeared in Mr. Milne's valuable work; and latterly a few offices have employed a table, which was deduced from the returns of the mortality in a certain number of life offices, generally called the 'Experience Table.' Two tables (called I. and II.) have been constructed from the registry returns,—one based on the deaths in 1841, the other on the deaths in the seven years 1838–44, the population of 1841 serving as the foundation of both: their general accuracy is confirmed by their remarkable agreement. The following statement will show the discrepancies between the various tables:—

PREMIUMS WHICH INSURE £100 IN THE EVENT OF A LIFE FALLING IN THE FOLLOWING YEAR (INTEREST THREE PER CENT.) BY FIVE LIFE TABLES.

AGE.	10.			20.			30.			40.			50.			60.			70.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
1. English Table, II. ...	0	10	6	0	15	9	0	18	11	1	4	6	1	14	10	3	2	4	6	9	0
2. Experience Table.....	0	13	2	0	14	2	0	16	4	1	0	1	1	10	11	2	18	11	6	6	1
3. Carlisle Table	0	8	9	0	13	9	0	19	7	1	5	3	1	6	1	3	5	0	5	0	3
4. Northampton Table (Dr. Price)	0	17	9	1	7	3	1	13	3	2	0	7	2	15	1	3	18	2	6	6	1
5. True Northampton Table	0	8	9	0	12	6	0	16	6	1	3	7	1	16	3	2	15	8	6	11	0

It will be seen that the variation in the above tables is not so much in amount as in discrimination; but accuracy here lies at the foundation of all equity in these transactions. It is not enough that the sums claimed from members of all ages are fair in the aggregate; they must be fairly distributed according to the age of insurers. But it will be seen above that the sums demanded at different ages vary amazingly. A person insuring at twenty would pay twice as much by Dr. Price's Table as by the Carlisle one; by the latter table it will be seen that a member would pay too little at 20 and 50 years of age, and too much at 30, 40, and 60. The inaccuracy of the old Northampton Table is most obvious, and it must be remembered that much of the early insurance business of the country was guided by it. The injustice thus done has been great, in some mutual offices members being made to pay 40, 30, 25, 20, 10 per cent. more

than the premium which is required to secure a policy of the same value; and the surplus thus acquired was distributed unequally. Enormous profits were thus derived from those who had no means of testing the accuracy of the elements upon which their contract with the office was based. It should be mentioned that Dr. Price was deceived as to the data upon which he constructed his Northampton Table, and that, when he did procure proper data, as in his Swedish Table, he was nearly correct. A great many curious questions connected with this subject have been investigated by Dr. Farr, to which we cannot further allude, all bearing upon the social and commercial interests of the country, and of which we could not have become possessed except for the establishment and efficient working of this great system of national registration.

Military force of England.—In the 16th Report of the Registrar-General there are given some curious statements and calculations, drawn up during the Russian war, as to the great powers of Europe, and the military position of Great Britain. To the former we can only thus refer, but we may condense some of the statements relating to the latter subject, as not only interesting in themselves, but as further illustrations of the variety and curious character of the information which may be picked out of these records.

The population of England has increased threefold since 1751, and at such a rate, that to every million men in 1751, there were a million and a half in 1801, and three millions in 1851. In mere numbers the nation of 1851 was equivalent to *three* of the England of 1751. But it may be useful to show what the forces of England would now be if they bore the same proportion to the men of the military age (twenty to forty) as the forces in the Peninsular war bore to the men of the corresponding age in 1811. The power of England, it may be assumed, was taxed to the utmost in the war of 1803-15; and the force in the field and the expenditure attained their maximum in 1814. The census was taken in 1811, and the force in that year may be assumed to represent the military power which England wielded in that war. The number of men in the army, navy, and merchant service was 640,500; and it is found from other returns that the military force was 501,488 men, leaving of the above 139,012 men in the merchant service. In the military returns to Parliament, the officers of the foreign force in the army are separately returned, but the foreign and colonial force in the navy has been estimated at 17,382; and the officers of the army have been distributed proportionably over the several corps.

The volunteers of infantry, artillery, and cavalry in 1803 amounted to 474,627, but the volunteers of 1811 (yeomanry, &c.) are not included in the forces of 1811, as given above. The army in India also included 30,253 Europeans, which, added to 471,235, make the regular English force 501,488, besides the native troops in the service of the East India Company, amounting to 182,838 regular and 24,579 irregular troops, exclusive of invalids and pensioners. Thus the military forces of England, including the Indian armies, amounted to 709,067. At the same time that England maintained these men on the seas and in the field, she subsidized the Continental armies, which in certain cases could only be moved by English gold.

A table is given, showing the numbers and the composition of the English forces in 1811. The 'native' forces were 17·2 per cent. of the men of the age 20–40; the foreign and colonial forces raised the proportion to 19·5, or nearly one to every five men of that age; one to every 36·5 of the population. One column in this table shows the forces voted during the Russian war, in the aggregate amounting to 451,893, or to a number *absolutely* only *one-tenth part less* than the military force of 1811; while another column shows how much, as *compared with her power*, the levy would require to be greater than it was in 1811, before it bore the same proportion to the population and military power of the country; leaving a yet further column to show what an enormous force England would still have in reserve after the levies above referred to were raised. Finally, calculations are given respecting the expense of our military and naval armaments, from which we gather that we cannot indulge in the luxury of keeping up a large armed force at a less expense than ten millions sterling for every 100,000 men, or a hundred pounds annually for each soldier.

We are conscious of having very imperfectly reaped in the rich field which the Registrar-General has spread before us. There is much to be gleaned by those who may follow in our track. We cannot even indicate all the topics which here receive more or less elucidation, but they will find full statistics of the state of the weather, down to the minutest details, prepared by the able hand of James Glaisher, Esq., F.R.S.; ample particulars as to the sources and comparative purity of the water supply of London; the occupations of the population, with their actual and comparative mortality; the populations and public debts of the seven great powers of Europe; and if they will, they may learn how the price of mutton and of potatoes affects the number of marriages, and how the lowering of the thermometer a few degrees affects the rate of death.

ART. X.—1. *Roumania, since the Treaty of Paris.* (*La Roumanie, depuis le Traité de Paris.*) By B. BOERESEO. With an Introduction by ROYER-COLLARD. Paris. 1856.
2. *The Roumans.* (*Les Roumains.*) By EDGAR GUINET. Works, Vol. VI. Paris: Pagnerre. 1857.
3. *Abridged History of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia.* (*Abrégé Historique sur l'Eglise Metropole de Moldavie.*) By the REV. ARCHIMANDRITE N. SCRIBAU. Paris. 1857.
4. *The Star of the Danube* (*L'Etoile du Danube*) *Newspaper.* Brussels, December, 1856, to February, 1858.
5. *Question of the Danubian Principalities.* Jersey. 1857.
6. *Of the Union of the Principalities.* (*De l'Union des Principautés.*) By EUGENE POUJADE. A Paper in the *Revue Contemporaine,* December 5th, 1857.
7. *The Question of the Principalities before Europe.* (*La Question des Principautés devant l'Europe.*) By M. A. UBICINI. Paris. 1858.

IT is one sad evidence of the fallen state of mankind that only the smaller part of the world's surface can be said to have a history; the great mass of uncivilized races having nothing interesting or instructive to contribute to the common stock of human remembrances. But the domain of known history is narrowed by our apathy as well as by the degradation of our fellow men; for there are disinherited brethren, members even of civilized Christendom, who have a story to tell that would be worth the hearing, were we not too busy and too selfish to listen to them. Of those neglected members of the family, the Rouman is probably the one that has most reason to complain of its happier relatives.

When Trajan took up arms against the warlike Dacians, he determined to wage against them a war of extermination, and to people the whole region between the Dniester and the Theiss with an Italian colony. So bent was he upon executing this purpose thoroughly, that the famous bridge over the Danube, the massive fragments of which still encumber the bed of the river at Orsova, was built as a preliminary to all other operations. After a struggle of five years, the fierce barbarians were altogether crushed: multitudes perished, or were carried into slavery, or butchered as gladiators 'to grace a Roman holiday;' the remnant were driven out of the country, or concealed themselves in the recesses of the forest. Then the Emperor collected great numbers of his subjects from various districts of Italy, and even from remoter provinces, to re-people the land that the

sword had turned into a wilderness. '*Ex toto orbe Romano,*' says Eutropius, '*infinitas copias hominum transtulerat ad agros et urbes colendas.*' The Trajan column at Rome, still erect amid so many ruins, celebrates at once the triumph of the imperial arms, and the stately march of the colonists, as they went to take possession of their new homes. Guided by sure strategic tact, they first occupied the great semicircle of mountains that now separate Hungary and Transylvania from the Principalities, and then descended into the plains on either side.

The Roman settlement of Dacia took place about A.D. 105. It was contrary to the advice given by Augustus in his celebrated will to carry the northern frontier of the empire beyond the Danube; and the new province was indeed found to be so particularly liable to the attacks of various barbarous nations, that it was given up by Aurelian as early as A.D. 274, leaving the inhabitants in the circumstances in which those of Britain were to find themselves a century and a half later. If we are to credit Rouman tradition, the colonists, on being left to their own resources, assembled on the site of Trajan's camp, where the city of Jassy now stands, and there, constituting themselves a republic, pledged their faith to help each other against all barbarian invaders. That they should have political wisdom enough to attempt to form an organized community is very probable; but the same circumstances that took them from under the Roman sceptre must soon have made anything like a regular government and political existence impossible. The extensive level from the Don to the Danube became, and remained for a thousand years, the great highway of the wild races of the North, and of Asia, as they journeyed southward and westward. Goths, Huns, Chazars, Bulgarians, Kumans, Petchenegs, Tartars, successively flooded and desolated the rich plains of Dacia; the last of those terrible invasions being that of Ghenghiz Khan in the thirteenth century.

It seemed as if the descendants of the old Roman colonists must inevitably be absorbed by strangers of all sorts, losing their language and original nationality; yet such has been by no means the case. As a venerable Rouman MS., lately recovered in the library of a Polish nobleman, says, 'Notwithstanding the multitude of dwellers in tents, who have crossed and recrossed our country, our fathers have remained attached to it and to their old customs.' The term *dwellers in tents* is the explanation of the mystery: the invaders were without exception at first of nomadic habits, though many of them have since settled in other regions; they pillaged the inhabitants, drove them before them, and roamed over the plain with their cattle for a few

years, while the Rouman, taking refuge in the mountains, waited for the departure of the resistless foe, and then issued from his retreat to resume possession of the lands his fathers had tilled. One of the national proverbs, 'The torrent passes away, but the stone remains behind,' is an allusion to this repeated exercise of patience until the evil day should have gone by.

The language of a people is the surest test of descent, unless it can be shown to have been imposed by some conquering race; but modern Rouman is as near to Latin as modern Italian is, and nearer than either French or Spanish. This does not prove a strictly classical ancestry: doubtless many of the colonists were strangers to Italy Proper, and a number of surviving Dacians may have associated with their conquerors. But it does prove two facts: in the first place, that the Italian element among Trajan's emigrants was strong enough to exercise lasting influence on all the rest; and, in the second place, that there has been comparatively little mixture with the nomadic barbarians of later ages. To this day the language is purest in that mountain region which so often served as the great national fortress. Philologists suppose that it is closely connected with a rustic *patois* of ancient Italy, which the people continued to speak, while classical Latin was the literary language, and was spoken by the more refined classes. Thus certain peculiarities of the dialects of the Osci and of the Sabines, mentioned by Varro, are to be found in Rouman: it exhibits, moreover, words that appear in the Salian Hymn, and in examples of old Italic furnished by Ennius and Nævius. Strange accident among the revolutions of language! here are forms that were deemed superannuated by classical writers, still existing in this obscure and isolated branch of the Latin stock.

The zealous Rouman patriot persuades himself that the very features and profile of his race are to be recognised in those sculptured upon Trajan's column: it is somewhat easier to show, that many of the agricultural and household implements which may be distinguished in the procession of the colonists on that celebrated monument, are still in use unchanged among their descendants, —a fact more interesting to archæologists than conducive to good farming or domestic comfort. Customs, too, that are known to us through Latin literature, but long since disused in Italy, are retained in Roumania. Such are the honey and the cake presented to the bridegroom by his friends, the walnuts spread before the steps of a newly wedded pair, reminding one of the classic '*Da nuces*,' the habit of women in mourning offering their hair upon the tomb, &c. It is observed, that the female members of the family are not sequestered among the Roumans,

as they are to a certain extent among the more Oriental-minded Bulgarians and Illyrians. Ill-natured neighbours, however, in Transylvania at least, assert that their chief resemblance to the oldest Romans consists in the inveterate habit of thieving.

What precise form was assumed by the wreck of society in Latinized Dacia during the gloomy interval between the third and the twelfth century,—what the degree and kind of its anarchy, no one will probably ever be able to tell. The only ray of light athwart the darkness was the general conversion of the nation to Christianity, which probably took place at a late period: and this greatest of blessings assumed a fatal shape; for it connected the Roumans with the Greek Church, separated them from their kinsmen in the West, was the principal reason of their being so long forgotten, and, by making them hated of the Poles and the Hungarians, brought about all their misfortunes. Roumania, like Russia, differs from the West, in having the few literary mediæval remains that she can boast of in the vulgar tongue; while with us Latin was the symbol of clerical tutorship, until we emerged from barbarism and cultivated our mother tongues.

If the Szecklers of the Carpathians, the remarkable and spirited Magyar tribe called *Siculi* by the writers of the Middle Ages, be really, as is probable, part of the followers of Attila, then the first permanent usurpation of any part of the Rouman territory by another race took place in the beginning of the fifth century; and, though not very extensive,—for the Szecklers at this day number but 170,000 souls; and the great body of the early Huns settled in Pannonia, on the west of the Theiss,—still in a military point of view it was very disastrous; a hostile wedge being thereby interposed between two Rouman populations, and that in the very strongest position. The second great irruption of these same Huns, from the wilds of Asia, took place at the close of the ninth century. After associating with itself the Chazars, and overrunning great part of Europe, the fierce invading tide finally settled down in the modern kingdoms of Hungary and Transylvania, forcing the Moravians northward, and imposing their yoke upon the Croatians, part of the Servians, and part of the Roumans, in the west, south, and east.

From this time forward, Transylvania was lost to the Roumans. The race, indeed, remained numerous in that country, amounting at this moment to 1,300,000, as many as all its other singularly mingled people put together; but they remained as serfs, a condition from which few have emerged. Among those few, however, are two of the greatest names in Hungarian history,—John Huniades, the saviour of Europe, and Matthias Corvinus. It strengthens a country to have the blood of

various races flowing mingled in the veins of the people, as in England; but it is weakening and ruining when the various elements refuse to mingle, and co-exist beside each other, jealously retaining their diversities, as is the case in Transylvania. It is in that comparatively small Alp-encircled land alone, that the four great sections into which the nations of Europe are divided ethnologically, dwell in immediate contact with each other. The *Neo-Latins* are represented by the Roumans; the *Germans* by 300,000 Saxons, whose towns retain the institutions of mediæval Germany; the *Sclavonians* by 100,000 Moravians, Russians, Poles, and Bulgarians; the *Finnish branch* by 700,000 Magyars and Szecklers, with a few Turks: to all these must be added tens of thousands that do not enter into any regular classification,—Grecks, Gypsies, Jews, and Armenians. Every town is called by a dozen names; and it is said jestingly, that a stranger was led in this way to visit Hermannstadt three times, expecting on each occasion to find a place he had not seen before.

Our limits will not allow us to follow at length the fortunes of the Transylvanian Roumans. We will only remind the reader that from 1526 to 1699 that country enjoyed a precarious, partial, and unhappy independence, under elective princes, generally Magyars, and under circumstances very similar to those of the Roumans in the Principalities. In one respect they were worse; for there was habitually some competitor for power in the Austrian interest, and of course almost incessant civil war. The reigning prince received his firman of investiture from Constantinople: the pasha of Adrianople or Buda escorted him into Carlsburg or Hermannstadt with a body of Janizaries, and levied for himself and his master a tribute greater than the whole budget of home expenses. When the peasants were unable to feed the rapacity of their task-masters, home and foreign, the nobles were obliged to forego their privilege of exemption; and 1666 witnessed a fiscal enormity that has never been surpassed,—a tax upon ruins! The owner of every house with a roof upon it had to pay five golden crowns, the owner of a burned house two crowns and a half. Michael Apafy was the last of those princes: he had been a captive in the Crimea; the daughter of his Tartar master gave him his liberty and her hand; and he closed his romantic career as the governor of his people, under the protection of Austria. Turkey resigned all claims to the sovereignty at the Treaty of Carlowitz, and the house of Austria has since remained in possession. Volumes might be filled with the exploits and dramatic lives of the Zekelys, the Rákóczys, and other characters of the

wild, troublous, and sometimes heroic times, during which Transylvania tried to be a nation.

Let us return to Moldo-Wallachia. The Crusades found the Roumans divided into many independent and imperfectly civilized states, who defended themselves fiercely against the Hungarians and Bulgarians, and were not unfrequently at war with each other. The first contact with the western world, after the retreat of the hordes of Ghenghiz Khan, acted as a summons to political life and unity. In 1290, the republics of Romano, Bislad, and Lapusna, melted into one state, under a chieftain called Dragors, who thus became the first *vayvod* of Moldavia. The dignity was hereditary, too: but, unfortunately, on the extinction of his family, it was made elective, on pretence that the worthiest should reign,—a principle suited to the hero-worship of the Sclavonians in Poland and elsewhere, but which in practice fails as sadly as the principle of determining nobility by merit does in China. The fusion of Turnu, Crayova, Câmpulungu, and other smaller communities, gradually constituted the Principality of Wallachia, the process being longer than in the sister province, and not completed until 1343. A fact which speaks volumes as to the depressed state to which centuries of invasion and insecurity had reduced the nation, is that the use of the Roman character had been forgotten during the interval between Aurelian and the Crusades. The oldest known chronicles are written with the alphabet which Cyril invented in the ninth century for the use of the Sclavonians, and which is very unsuited for Rouman articulations. It can also be gathered from such a circumstance, how great was the influence exercised upon them by their immediate neighbours, and how total their isolation from the West.

Alas! it was in an unpropitious moment that the Principalities emerged out of chaos. The first Turkish army crossed the Hellespont in or about the very year that Wallachia was finally constituted in its present extent. That army, indeed, was brought by Amir, prince of Ionia, to help his friend John Cantacuzene against domestic enemies; but it was soon to be followed by more numerous hosts with a different mission. Amurath I. subdued the territory of the Greek Empire from the Hellespont to the Balkan, leaving to Constantinople little more than its suburbs. He made Adrianople the seat of his government in Europe, and, successively crushing the whole line of Sclavonic or Illyrian nations, from the Black Sea to the Adriatic,—Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, and Albania,—he took the flower of their sons to form the new bands called Janizaries. His son was that Bajazet Ildirim, who moved incessantly from

the Danube to the Euphrates, and boasted that he would feed his horse on the altar of St. Peter's at Rome. This terrible Sultan imposed a regular form of servitude on the nations that his father had humbled, and then crossed the Danube, 'to seek new enemies and new subjects.' The Principalities, then for the first time united, were in the hands of a man who had made Bucharest his capital, and who, but for the Turkish invasion, might have founded a powerful and durable empire on both sides of the Danube. Mircea I., vayvod of Moldavia and Wallachia, was also kral of Bosnia, duke of Zagaras and Omlas, lord of Silistria and countless other places in Bulgaria: in short, he reigned with powers more or less shackled over territories large enough to form an empire; but the shock of the Turkish scymetar broke to pieces this as yet unsettled and incoherent dominion. Mircea was vanquished, deprived of his possessions south of the Danube, and obliged to treat for Wallachia. He obtained better terms than he had perhaps dared to hope for. The Sultan left the prince of Wallachia the right of making peace and war, and the most uncontrolled liberty of internal administration: the prince was to be elected, as heretofore, by the metropolitan, boyards, and nation; and all Christians who, after having embraced the religion of Mahomet, should settle in Wallachia, and profess Christianity again, were to remain unmolested. An annual tribute of 3,000 red piastres was the only practical token of subjection required. This capitulation, which was signed in 1393, is a most remarkable exception to the general policy of the Ottoman Porte, at this its most brilliant and most intolerant period: it may have been partly dictated by a haughty generosity; but it is evident that Bajazet must have respected the valour of the Roumans, and did not wish to leave an enemy behind him, in his campaigns against the chivalry of central Europe, which was then preparing to check his progress westward. To the same motive must be attributed the silence observed respecting Moldavia, over which he did not try to establish any sovereignty. Three years from this time took place that great battle of Nicopolis, in which Sigismund of Hungary was totally defeated, and along with him the proud squadrons that had boasted, if the sky should fall, they could uphold it with their lances.

In 1460, that is, seven years after the fall of Constantinople, we find Mahomet II. at Adrianople, drawing up a new capitulation, to be executed by himself and Vlad V., prince of Wallachia. It is very similar to the former one; the Porte engaging not to interfere in matters of local administration, and not to hold the vayvod responsible for the way in which he may exer-

cise his right of making peace or war. These are the important additional stipulations,—that *no mosque is to be built on Wallachian soil, and no Turk to enter the Principality without some sufficient motive.* The Sultan promises to protect it against all enemies: on the other hand it recognises his supremacy, and the tribute is raised to 10,000 ducats. There must have been a wish to show favour to a people who had so early and so readily submitted; for why should the armed apostle of the Koran give up his mission in the case of the Wallachians, when that age witnessed the minaret and crescent reared on high over every conquered city?

However slight the yoke, the Wallachians were uneasy under it, and, headed by their prince, attempted to throw it off. Vlad V., a great tyrant to his own subjects, was equally cruel to his enemies: he is said to have impaled at once no fewer than 25,000 Turkish prisoners; and at other times put in practice the atrocious pleasantry of nailing their turbans to their heads. An army of 250,000 Moslems, who marched on Bucharest in 1462, put all resistance out of the question, and a new vayvod was for the first time chosen by the Porte,—fatal precedent, that was one day to become the rule.

Moldavia had taken advantage of its more remote position to retain its independence; but, towards the close of the fifteenth century, it was threatened on every side by Christian, as well as Moslem, foes. And nobly was it defended by Stephen the Great, the national hero of this branch of the Rouman family. This really great soldier and patriot beat an invading army of Magyars at Baia in 1467. Then he took possession of part of Transylvania and Wallachia. At Racova, on the 17th of January, 1475, with 40,000 men he beat the all-conquering Mahomet II., who had an army of 120,000 soldiers hitherto deemed invincible. The very Pope, when he heard the news, forgot that Stephen was a Greek, and had *Te Deum* chaunted in St. Peter's. But why was there less enthusiasm among his own brethren? Why was our hero's next labour the suppression of a Wallachian insurrection? The feeling of Rouman nationality was wanting; but what other people has a right to sit in judgment on the short-sighted Wallachians? England and Scotland were shedding each other's best blood at the same period; and no man then would have believed that sound of Highland bagpipe should ever prove such music to English ears as it did the other day at Lucknow.

Invaded by a great host of Tartars and Cossacks, Stephen swept them into the Dniester. Shortly afterwards he sustained a bloody defeat from the Turks at Vale Alba, July 26th, 1476.

That did not hinder him from re-conquering Wallachia five years later, after a victory at Rimnik. Then he beat Bajazet II. in three great battles. John Albert, King of Poland, marched against his rear with 80,000 men, but was signally defeated at Kotnar. Stephen planted a forest of oaks on the field of battle, —singular but enduring monument; then invaded Poland, took Lemberg, occupied Gallicia, menaced Cracow, and, carrying 100,000 prisoners from Red Russia, sold them as slaves, some of them even to the Turks. This is the greatest blot on our hero's memory; for, considering the temper of the times, his cutting off the ears and noses of sundry Turkish ambassadors was almost a moderate way of expressing displeasure. The King of Poland was forced to make peace in 1499; and that same year there was another victorious campaign against the Turks upon the Pruth; and Wallachia, which had been overrun, was recovered for the third time, to be soon lost again. This great man's sun soon went down in clouds. When, on his death-bed in 1504, abandoned or menaced by all the neighbouring Christian powers, he felt that any further struggle with Turkey was useless, and recommended to his son Bogdan, and to the Moldavian chiefs who were gathered around him, to imitate the example of Wallachia, and capitulate. 'Be not afraid,' continued the dying prince; 'be not afraid but that the God of our fathers, only source of all wonders, will one day be softened, and have compassion on the tears of His worshippers, and, shedding His abounding grace upon Moldavia, will send a saviour who shall deliver you, or else your descendants, and restore the land to its former estate.'

M. Guinet observes that the recovery of Stephen's history is like the discovery of the planet Neptune; it explains perturbations in the movements of the neighbouring powers, for which historians had not been able to account. In this heroic age, Sucziava, a strong military position on the Sereth, and not Jassy, was the capital of Moldavia. Stephen's crown was buried with him at Putna in the Bukovina, the burial-place of the Moldavian princes, where it was found some fifteen months ago; and the relic must be genuine, for it was taken out of the tomb in the presence of Austrian authorities, who cannot be over-disposed to create enthusiasm for the remembrancer of Rouman greatness.

Bogdan followed his father's advice, and treated with Selim I. in 1513. As the submission of Moldavia was more voluntary than that of Wallachia, it obtained even better terms. Here are the more important clauses, as they were repeated in a confirmation of the capitulation signed in 1529 by Soliman II., surnamed

the Magnificent, and Peter Rares, prince of Moldavia:—Art. I. 'The Sultan recognises that Moldavia has voluntarily, and without resistance, offered the promise of submission to the Ottoman Empire.' Art. II. 'The Moldavian nation is to enjoy its liberties as of old, without hinderance or molestation. Its laws, customs, rights, and prerogatives, to be for ever inviolable.' Art. III. 'The princes are to govern the land freely as heretofore, without any interference of the Sublime Porte, directly or indirectly.' Art. V. 'The frontiers of Moldavia are to be maintained untouched in all their extent.' Art. IX. 'The title, "*independent country,*" shall continue to be applied to Moldavia; it shall be used in every written document which the Ottoman Porte shall address to the prince.' Art. XI. 'The princes of the Moldavian nation are to be elected by the different classes of the population. The election is to be recognised by the Sublime Porte, without taking any part in it, or raising any difficulties.' Art. XII. 'The country is to be defended by the Ottoman Porte, whenever it shall call for its help.' In return for all these concessions and advantages, the Moldavians were bound to give the Porte, '*in sign of submission,*' an annual '*present*' of four thousand Turkish ducats, which are equivalent to eleven thousand piastres, forty falcons, and forty mares in foal; and, when necessary, to furnish a contingent to the imperial army.

It would be hard to exhibit a more jealous determination not to allow national existence and independence to be overlaid by the dominant country, than is displayed in some of these stipulations. The only one of them open to abuse was the engagement to furnish a contingent to the Ottoman armies, and that was not acted upon. Yet the elements which were to extinguish Rouman patriotism were at work already. The Palæologi, Cantacuzenes, and other distinguished Greek families, who fled from Constantinople upon, and before, its fall, and established themselves in Roumania, strengthened the taste for Byzantine institutions, which near neighbourhood and community of religion had begun to impart. The ex-patriarch, Niphon, in particular, acquired great influence over Rodolph, vayvod of Wallachia, at the close of the fifteenth century; and, at his instigation, the Byzantine model was copied in everything. The primitive equality which had long prevailed among Rouman boyards had hindered the rise of a regular feudal hierarchy, as in the centre and west of Europe; and now all the offices of the court and the administration were converted into titles of nobility; their holders were made for the first time a privileged body; and one, the dignities and immunities of which were not conquered upon

the field of battle, like those of the hereditary nobles of the west, but were at the sole disposal of the government; so that the descendants of princes, if appointed to no new office by the reigning government, sank into the rank of plebeians. The mere artificial nobility thus created, without roots in the past, gradually separated their cause from that of the nation, thwarted the efforts of real patriots, and, when the loss of national independence was consummated, consoled themselves for it with their ill-gotten wealth.

Vlad VIII. of Wallachia, a favourite of Soliman the Magnificent, was hated by his people, especially by the proverbially spirited inhabitants of the district called Little Wallachia. Let us add, for the information of

> .....'learned philologists, who chase
> A panting syllable through time and space,'

that this frequently recurring name, Vlad, is identical with Ladislaus in Poland, Lancelo in Provence, and Launcelot in England. Well, a sturdy boyard, called Parvul, headed an insurrection, and drove away the *protégé* of the Moslem. To the surprise of every body, the Sultan was declared to be ready to grant investiture to the new prince. An ambassador professedly for that purpose came to Crayova with three hundred horse. He was received in great state; and Parvul knelt before him to receive the turban, the customary symbol of investiture. The Turk at that instant lifted his mace, and struck the unsuspecting Rouman dead at his feet: at this signal the horsemen fell on the unarmed boyards around, cut many of them down, and then leisurely took the road to Giurgevo. Such were the mutual relations of lord and vassal on the banks of the Danube in 1522.

The close of the sixteenth century witnessed a great and nearly successful struggle of the Wallachians for freedom. The Turks must have broken their promise not to intrude upon Rouman ground, and may have thought themselves no longer bound by it; for they were in some numbers at Bucharest in 1594. There was a general massacre of them in that year,—regular Sicilian vespers. The insurgents were commanded by Michael the Brave, a Wallachian, worthy to be mentioned in the same breath with the great Moldavian, Stephen, for valour, at least, if not for wisdom and stability. Assisted by Stephen Bathory, vayvod of Transylvania, Michael gave battle to the immense army of Mahomet III., near Bucharest, with partial success, on the 23rd of August, 1595. But the Emperor Sigismund marched upon him from behind. When was a Rouman army engaged with the Turk without having a Christian enemy on its rear? So Michael was obliged to retreat before over-

whelming numbers. Bucharest was taken, and its churches turned for a short time into mosques. At Tergovista next, sixty thousand men beat nearly three times that number of Turks, and the spoiler was driven back. After this great victory the prince of Transylvania returned home, and the Wallachian completed his success by taking the frontier fortresses of Widdin and Nicopolis. At this critical moment the chief clergy and boyards showed their worthlessness by conspiring against their deliverer; they were detected, however, and punished. After this, Michael was for a time reconciled with the Porte; but either from versatility of character, or from the force of circumstances, he tried to secure protectors in different quarters; for we find him again swearing fealty to the Emperor of Germany, Rodolph II., who made promises of assistance that were never realized. In 1600, Michael united once more the twin provinces under one sceptre; but the Moldavians rose up against him, and, assisted by the Poles, they invaded him in turn, and were for a moment masters of Bucharest. The Turks again took that unfortunate city in 1604; but Tergovista, at the foot of the Carpathians, was Michael's capital, and his policy, like that of Stephen the Great, was to retreat upon the mountains when defence in the plain became impossible, and there to bide his time. Twice with his Pandours he threw himself across Bulgaria, and tried to march upon Adrianople. There is little doubt that he would have succeeded in liberating his country, had it not been for the ungenerous hostility of the Poles. They crushed him at Ploiesti, and left him unable any longer to resist the Turks. The armour of Michael the Brave is preserved as a sacred relic in the museum of St. Sava at Bucharest. Hungarian writers assert that he bought the help of Stephen Bathory by declaring himself his vassal: this the Roumans stoutly deny, and observe that Poles and Hungarians generally claim to have been their masters at the same time, thus refuting each other's pretensions. Indeed, formal treaties with both powers recognise the partial sovereignty of the Rouman princes: they only wished to supplant the Porte in the sort of supremacy exercised by it.

From this time forward the Porte, as a measure of precaution, regularly named the vayvods or hospodars of both provinces, choosing them, however, at first among native families. Meantime the peasants sank into a state of serfdom; and the descendants of most eminent men, the real noble lineages of the land, into obscurity. The best prince of the seventeenth century was Serban Cantacuzene, who founded schools, printing-houses, and cloth-manufactories, had the Bible translated, and was preparing

for a war of independence, when he was poisoned by near relatives in 1688.

The Roumans owed so little gratitude to their Christian neighbours, that they lent their aid to the Turks against Austria without any scruple. The banners of their chiefs floated beside the horsetails of the pachas at the great siege of Vienna, when, for the last time, the call of the Muezzin could be heard from its walls, and camels grazed in the pastures of the Danube. So sincere were the people, as a whole, in helping their masters, that they actually rose up against their then reigning princes, because they suspected them of partiality for the allied Christian powers. Austria coveted them eagerly, as was natural; for Roumania was then a still larger and more tempting morsel than it is now. And, at the Treaty of Carlowitz in 1699, when Austria had decidedly gained the ascendant over Turkey, the former cabinet bargained earnestly to have a part of Moldavia, and give Poland another part. To the honour of the Turks, they were at that time true to their engagements. 'The Principalities,' replied the Ottoman plenipotentiaries, 'were not subdued by force of arms; they made their submission voluntarily, and in virtue of capitulations which bind us to respect their territory as well as their liberties.'

But a new power now rose out of obscurity that was soon to supplant Austria as the great enemy of the Porte, and its self-appointed heir. Before the disastrous campaign of Peter the First upon the Pruth, in 1711, he made overtures to the hospodars of both Principalities; and they engaged to prepare provisions for his troops, and to dispose the inhabitants in his favour. This last undertaking was not so easily accomplished. There was not then the self-conscious national feeling that exists now; the very name, *Rouman*, was confined to the peasant; yet an obscure instinct made the people dislike the Russians. And when Demetrius Cantemir, prince of Moldavia, formed magazines for the Czar's army, a patriot boyard, Lupu Costaki, gave them up to the Turks. Unfortunately the latter have never been able to distinguish between their friends and their enemies: they reproached the Roumans with a treacherous complicity with Russia, of which the persons really guilty were only the governors imposed by the Porte itself upon a passive people; and they sent a Greek of Constantinople to take Cantemir's place. The new hospodar, Nicholas Mavrocordato, was quite as disaffected as his predecessor; and having determined to punish Costaki for his untimely fidelity, he succeeded in making him suspected: the loyal boyard was sent in chains to the camp of the grand vizir at Peterwaradin, and there was

literally cut to pieces. So far was he from being a partisan of Russia, that for more than a hundred years his name was periodically execrated in all the churches of the Russian Empire; but the Porte became then, as it has been repeatedly since, the blundering instrument of executing upon its own friends the vengeance of its enemy.

Brandovino, prince of Wallachia, who was as much devoted to the Czar as Cantemir, was overlooked until 1714, when he was summoned to Constantinople, and beheaded with his three sons; the real motive of the execution being the temptation to confiscate his property, which is said to have amounted to six millions sterling. After a two years' reign of a priest-ridden native prince, Stephen Cantacuzene, who was likewise beheaded, the Porte handed over the administration of Wallachia also to the Fanariot Greeks, (so called from the suburb of Constantinople which was their head-quarters,) supposing that they would prove more devoted servants than indigenous princes. The wily Greeks had made themselves necessary to the Turks as interpreters and negotiators between them and their Christian subjects generally, and, being, many of them, rich merchants and bankers, they were useful in a financial point of view. For more than a hundred years these people had at their disposal both the rich provinces of the Danube, as a mine of which as much as possible was to be made without any regard to the feelings or the interests of the inhabitants, who were impoverished and crushed under their brutalizing rule. The hatred they have excited in the hearts of their victims cannot be conceived in our happier country; it is the one great all-absorbing passion of the Roumans, patient as they are proverbially, and unmanned by having intrusted to others the care of their defence. We have only to imagine a class like the publicans of Scripture invested with powers over a foreign country, distributing rank at their pleasure, introducing every variety of corruption and extortion, and weighing down serf and noble in one common degradation. What feelings they inspire, can best be learned from the indignant pen of a Rouman:—

'The Fanariots, by dint of intrigue and all manner of baseness, have succeeded in making themselves all-powerful in the seraglio, and with the members of the Turkish ministry. They occupy the first place in its diplomacy, are the official representatives of Turkey in the provinces, and hold in their hands the threads of all our commercial and political connexions. For centuries they have betrayed both Turks and Roumans, and now, by lies and calumnies, they try to put an impassable abyss between us.'

And another equally good hater:—

'Turkey chose the princes that were to govern us from among the refuse of these Greeks of the lower Empire, whom the Moslem conquerors allowed to live in that Ghetto of all baseness and intrigue called the Fanar, and who purchased the permission by the vilest subserviency to all the caprices of their new masters. From this impure Fanariot marsh issued, for more than a century, the leeches that gorged themselves on the blood and the gold of the Principalities.'

Yet the oppression of the Fanariots was not of the kind that provokes popular insurrection; like the bite of the vampire, it was so managed as to draw blood with the least possible violence or warning. The poor were too wretched to understand that the resources of their country were being squandered on unworthy strangers. It was an understood thing that, between the state and the landowners, the bare necessaries of life alone were to be left them, and they cared little whether the lion's share of the fruit of their labours fell to the nearer or the more distant oppressor. Then, as the Turks religiously observed their early promises not to intrude their persons or their worship on the soil of Roumania, there were none of those conflicts to which the presence of hostile races gives rise. The Greek leech professed the same religion as the people, belonged to the same nation as most of the monks and higher clergy. The upper class, indeed, ought to have been awake to the state of their country, but they were only too ready to become the accomplices of the spoilers, while, by marriage, usurpation, and purchase, Greek families were, year after year, received into the ranks of Rouman proprietors. 'When the Greeks of the Fanar came here,' says one of the writers already quoted, 'their first care was to give to their hangers-on and to their lacqueys the rank of boyard. Those upstarts now form a *coterie*, recruited among all the hungry and ruined boyards who expect everything from Russia.'

Thus, by one of the strange inconsistencies only to be found in the East, the Turks scrupulously abstained from infringing the letter of the capitulations on all points except the naming of the hospodar. They contented themselves with an insignificant tribute from the subject territory, did not attempt to dwell, to buy, sell, or pray, within its limits, and yet practically delivered it over to the most merciless extortion. They would not touch its internal administration or legislation with one of their fingers, and they suffered the fountain of power and justice to be corrupted! Many wealthy Roumans seem to have sought consolation in the superstitions of their low form of Christianity; and they evinced it in a shape the most injurious to their country,—making large gifts and behests to the Holy Places, that

is, to the convents of Mount Athos, Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, &c., and to the patriarchal sees of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria. This abuse reached such an extent, that it is computed that one sixth of the soil now belongs to those Holy Places, and the revenues, nearly £600,000, are collected without any control of the local government, pay no taxes, and are spent out of the country. It is hard to calculate their revenues exactly, because the properties consist mainly in extensive forests. We have been able to acquaint ourselves with the ecclesiastical statistics of Moldavia only: in this, the smaller province, the yearly revenues of thirty-four dedicated (*inclinaté*) convents amount to £91,000, *exclusive of forests*, while the revenues of the home church establishment amount to only £68,000. The original titles of the dedicated convents are kept carefully concealed: it is well known that the monks were bound to feed the poor, to give marriage portions to young girls, keep up hospitals, &c.; but we need not say, 'spiritual persons' have always had a particular method of interpreting and performing such conditions. The parish priests are married, as is the rule of the Greek Church, and they are almost universally natives; but the monks are generally foreigners, and it is from them that the bishops and higher clergy are chosen. Russia has always been the special protector of these monks, and of the property of the foreign convents also; and it has been observed that every Russian intervention has been preceded by the discovery of the relics of some long-neglected saint, and by their being presented in pomp to one or other of the most influential convents.

So good an opportunity for screwing a patient population as the hospodarate presented was not to be had for nothing; and under the designation *bakshish* suitable offerings were made to the high personages of the Turkish divan; so that the office became an object of regular sale, and always fetched far more than the nominal tribute paid to the Porte. Under the Fanariots, increasing rapacity on one side, weakness and venality on the other, brought about the custom of the princes receiving investiture at Constantinople, instead of their own palace. Once named, it was the hospodar's chief business to repay himself for his outlay, with as much interest as possible. But the Turkish ministers found the *bakshish* too good a thing to admit of waiting patiently for the death of the hospodar, to have it repeated; so they fell on the very natural expedient of removing him when any competitors offered a higher price for the place, which generally happened every two or three years; and of course the knowledge that he ran this risk made the hospodar much more rapacious than he would have

been if he held office for life. From 1716 to 1769 there were no fewer than twenty-six princes of Wallachia, for instance, all belonging to the three families Ghika, Racovitza, and Mavrocordato. One of the latter was made and unmade three times. It was thought to be a great improvement when Russia obtained a *hatti-scherif* in 1802, to say that no hospodar should be deposed unless he had reigned seven years.

The consequences of this state of things can hardly be conceived without experiencing them. Taxes were imposed arbitrarily, and repealed when interested parties bought them off; judges could be moved at pleasure, and justice was venal. Ecclesiastical properties were sold immensely under value, and the profit divided with the purchasers. Every public work was a job. Thus, only a few months ago, the cathedral of Jassy, which had lately been finished at an expense of some score thousands of pounds, fell to the ground with an awful crash: it was providential that a whole congregation was not buried in the ruins. Of course, there is no detailed record of the peculations perpetrated a century ago; but the accusations of the Russian consul at Jassy, in 1846, against Michael Stourdza, hospodar of Moldavia, whether true or false in this case, show what was the approved method and working of the system. According to the Russian protocol, his highness had sold the rank of boyard to all that were willing to purchase it; had appropriated the property of the metropolitan church, by forcing the latter to take in exchange lands which he had fraudulently acquired in the Bukovina; had pronounced judgment in lawsuits in which he was himself a party; had made from £250,000 to £300,000 every year, for twelve years, in addition to his lawful civil list, by the sale of contracts for the militia, for corn, for paving, for police, &c., by pocketing part of the gypsy tax and municipal income, by selling legal decisions, ecclesiastical dignities, and the right to administer the goods of native convents, by imposing upon old men transactions to the detriment of their heirs,—in short, by every kind of hideous ingenuity.

The vast resources of the country were of course neglected. It was one of the granaries of ancient Rome; and though only a sixth part of the surface is cultivated, it exports wheat, barley, maize, hemp, tobacco, wool, leather, tallow, wax, honey, butter, and cheese. Its extensive forests are the finest in Europe, and the Carpathians abound with mineral wealth,—gold, silver, mercury, iron, copper, coal, and sulphur. In 1811, a Russian commission made great discoveries; but when peace was made, they filled up the shafts they had sunk. In 1839–40, M. Hommaire de Hell, a Belgian engineer employed by Michael Stourdza,

ascertained the existence of copper and other metallic veins of great extent; but what could be done with an organization that gave capitalists no security, and kept hospodars in continual apprehension of being bought out?

The Fanariots were raised to power at a time of Austrian ascendency, but their whole tenure of it was one long and flagrant conspiracy in favour of Russia. The Czars, in turn, were indefatigable in their efforts to deserve the being served with such zeal. During the war from 1736 to 1739 the Count de Munich penetrated to Jassy. In 1769 the armies of Russia appeared again. The Duc de Choiseul, minister of Louis XV., had stirred up the Porte to assist the Confederation of Bar, the Catholic or supposed patriot party in Poland; but a Baltic fleet reached the Mediterranean before it was known that it had set off; 150,000 Turks were beaten on the banks of the Kaghoul by 30,000 better disciplined Russians; the Principalities were immediately overrun; Catherine ordered the formation of a Rouman legion for her service under the command of a Cantacuzene, and a Romanof governed both provinces with an indigenous divan, taking care to flatter every national aspiration. Catherine would certainly have secured her prey, but that Frederick the Great, wiser than Frederick William IV., would not allow it, and proposed in its stead the first partition of Poland. At the Congress of Fokcha in 1772, the Empress even proposed that the Roumans should be made independent,—of course intending to relieve them of the responsibility of that independence at the earliest opportunity; for it was in this way that the Crimea was shortly afterwards separated from Turkey, and then appropriated by the Czarina.

The Treaty of Kainardji, in 1774, first gave Russia an official protectorate of the Principalities, and it coincided with the first dismemberment of that territory that had taken place since the Huns. Austria seized the Bukovina, and Turkey and Russia were obliged to leave her in possession of it, as a sort of compensation for the advantages given to the latter power by the treaty of Kainardji. Nine years later, Louis XVI. wanted England to join him in preventing Catherine II. from laying hands on the Crimea, and on the province upon the Kuban; but the government of George III. could not be got to see the importance of the matter. In every subsequent negotiation with the Porte, Russia called attention to the privileges and immunities of her co-religionists; but at the Treaty of Bucharest, in May, 1812, the interested nature of all this protection was allowed to appear. At the moment that Russia was apparently struggling for existence against the prodigious power of Napoleon I., she

actually carried her frontier from the Dniester to the Pruth, acquiring a province of nearly a million and a half of souls at the expense of Moldavia, just as, during the late war of 1854–6, she found means to occupy Eastern Mandshooria, from the Amoor southward to the forty-second degree of north latitude. The Russian poet was right, when he called the policy of his government 'wide as space, and patient as time;' and how far-seeing it is! Turkey applied to be admitted into the *droit public* of Europe in 1815, but the cabinet of St. Petersburg found means to keep her out.

We saw the Rouman people resist the first advances of Russia, in the time of Peter the Great; they gave a yet more decisive proof of their instinctive fears and jealousy of the great Sclavonian power that had assumed unasked the right of protecting them, when the Greek, Hypsilanti, raised the standard of revolt against the Porte in 1821. The Greek revolution began five hundred miles from Greece, such was the strange connexion of that country with the populations north of the Balkan. Hypsilanti had been a major in the Russian army, and he fixed upon the Principalities for the theatre of his first attempt, in the hope of thereby more easily receiving help from the Czar; but while Alexander hesitated, the Roumans cut the matter short; they rose up under Theodore Vladimiresco to defend the Turkish sovereignty, and drove Hypsilanti with his Greek adherents over the Austrian frontier,—this, too, at a time when the Czar's determination was imperfectly understood, and they supposed they were drawing upon themselves his dread displeasure. At the Convention of Akerman, the Porte expressed its gratitude for this timely loyalty by engaging to choose for the future the hospodars of Moldo-Wallachia from among the native boyards: but this determination came too late; the Fanariots had already naturalized themselves, or allied themselves to indigenous families; so that there was no real change in the system, and this was probably the reason why the cabinet of St. Petersburg accepted and forwarded the apparent change. It gained popularity, without any loss of the advantage of being able to reckon upon the Rouman princes.

A paper written in a very unfair spirit against the claims of the Moldo-Wallachians, in the *Eclectic* for June, 1857, says, 'The insurrection of Hypsilanti, in appearance a national rising, was one of those Muscovite concoctions.' The writer enters into so many details about the East, that he or his prompter must have been so far acquainted with his subject as to know that Hypsilanti's followers were those Greeks whom Turkey had sown with profusion throughout the provinces, and that this attempt

failed precisely because of the attachment to the Porte manifested by the Rouman population at their own risk; yet he leaves his readers under the impression that it was to a great extent a national rising. Nor is this the only important *suppressio veri* in that paper. We will, however, acquit the immediate writer of intentional dishonesty: the fact is, he evidently derived all his information from some Magyar source, of which he is but the interpreter, and he looks at all Eastern questions through the medium of short-sighted and passionate Hungarian prejudices. It is deeply to be regretted, that this noble, spirited, and in so many respects generous people should ever have been so placed as to become almost inevitably unjust to others. The cause of Hungarian liberty was lost in 1849, because the races formerly oppressed felt they could not trust the professed determination of the Magyars to renounce their ancient ascendency; and we are afraid that they were not altogether wrong.

The battle of Navarino, the final settlement of the Greek question, and the Russian march to Adrianople in 1829, are among the remembrances of the present generation. This time the occupation of Roumania lasted from 1828 to 1834; but the Count de Kessely, who became civil governor for the last three years of it, proved a real friend to the Moldo-Wallachians, and is remembered by them with the liveliest gratitude. A sort of constitution, called the *réglement organique*, began to be carried out under his auspices. In this instrument the Porte and Russia may be said to have divided the sovereignty between them. The two powers were to choose by common consent the first hospodar for each Principality; and their successors were to be elected by the nation,—the hospodarates to last for life. No man can serve two masters, and in the practical working of the government Russia exercised more real power than the Porte. The ministers, for instance, presented their reports to the Russian consul-general before their own princes, nor was any one safe who thwarted the policy of the Czar. (For proof of the latter assertion we need only refer to the case of Benjamin, the metropolitan of Moldavia. This venerable man, who was above ninety years of age, having brought his clergy to use the national language in the liturgy, was for this crime arrested, and thrown into a monastery at Slatina for the remainder of his days.) The very hospodar of Wallachia whom the Emperor Nicholas himself had helped to choose, was deposed in 1842, because he proved loyal to the Porte.

With a government thus practically Russian, a corrupt aristocracy, all glittering with Russian decorations, a common religion, a little army of monks, all zealous Russian partisans; and, above

all, with the fact, that the nation really owed to Russian intervention a certain degree of relief from injustice and suffering; under such circumstances, the cabinet of St. Petersburg might reasonably suppose it could reckon on the sympathies of the Roumans. If it did, it was undeceived in 1848. The report of the French Revolution of February in that year, and of the explosions that followed it throughout Europe, echoed over the Carpathians like the sound of a distant trump of jubilee. The inhabitants of the towns, joined by some of the more enthusiastic young boyards, and by the small but increasing middle class everywhere, rose in arms, with shouts of 'Down with Russia!' 'The Ottoman Porte for ever!' This national party did not aim at effecting any great social revolution, like the Red Republicans in other countries; their desire and hope was to get rid of the Russian protectorate; and, though probably animated by little love or reverence for the Porte, they would have gladly made their allegiance to it a shield against the absorption with which they were threatened by their hated protector. At both Jassy and Bucharest they became masters without a blow.

The first impression at Constantinople was favourable to the Roumans. Riza Pacha was disposed, at all risks, to take under his protection the revolution thus peaceably effected. The negotiations that ensued have not been made public; it is to be presumed, that Russia bullied, and that the Porte found England too indifferent, and the other powers too much occupied with their intestine difficulties, to give her any assistance. So the ministry was dismissed, the Porte consented that the national Rouman party should be crushed, and, to save its own dignity, engaged to take the first step in the joint occupation of the territory.

The counter-revolution was effected in the most treacherous way. At the first moment Turkish troops had been concentrated on the Danube to give countenance to the Roumans; and Suliman Pacha, the minister of commerce, came to Bucharest, and officially pronounced the revolution accomplished. Then came the news of a change of ministry, and Fuad Effendi advanced with an army to settle matters, as he said. Meantime, the patriots seem to have taken no measures to organize a national force. Fuad Effendi, on arriving at Bucharest with 15,000 soldiers, invited to his camp their leading men; he then gravely told them, that he came in the name of their sovereign, the Sultan, and in that of his august ally, the Emperor of all the Russias, to restore loyal order! All who protested were sent to prison, some of them for a time to the hulks, while the town was given over to be pillaged by our gentle friends the Bashi-Bazouks. There were only 360 Wallachian soldiers at Bucharest:

surrounded by twenty times their number, they refused to surrender, and were cut to pieces, selling their lives as dearly as they could.

Three days afterwards a Russian army of occupation crossed the Pruth in great force. It is said that as many as sixty thousand half-armed peasants assembled in different places to resist them; but, finding themselves without leaders, and without hope of overcoming the united odds of numbers and discipline, they dispersed. Thus Turkey acted like a gendarme, preparing the way for Russia in '*our Principalities*,' as the Czar called them in his proclamation, and taking upon herself, too, the chief odium of the aggression. The Russians not only disarmed the peasants, but carried the precaution so far as to take the very iron from their ploughs, and reduce them to the state of Israel under the Philistines. The *organic instrument* was now superseded, and, by a new convention signed at Balta Liman, it was determined that hospodars should be named by the two powers jointly, for the term of seven years. Divans composed of notables and of the superior clergy were to take the place of the elective deliberative assembly.

The indifference exhibited by England on this occasion most probably drew down the war of 1854–6. The Emperor Nicholas thought that Napoleon I. was right in calling us a nation of *boutiquiers*,—not 'shop-keepers,' as the word is generally rendered, but petty booth or stall-keepers,—and that we would bear with any thing rather than go to war. 'The sick man's' possession of the provinces was now but nominal; only one blow apparently was needed to sever his last hold upon them, and of course the opportunity for striking that blow was not long waited for. We all remember it was a quarrel about the key of a church at Bethlehem that brought the Russian armies across the Pruth in the summer of 1853. The Czar seized the Principalities, 'as a material guarantee for the satisfaction of his just demands.' *Material guarantee*, that is the word; it is the very same that was used when General Buxhowden seized Finland; the same result was intended, and doubtless Nicholas would have felt less remorse, had it been successful, than poor Alexander did. The hospodars were ordered to pay no more tribute to the Porte, and to govern with the assistance of a board appointed by the Czar. For appearance' sake they withdrew; but the Russian army found supplies and quarters prepared for them as carefully as if they were in their own country; and the authorities met them everywhere with bread and salt, symbols of welcome. The small national militia force, on the other hand, refused to march with the Russians, though drawn up before the cannon's mouth. Prince Gortschakof acted like a master, and a cruel

one: young boyards who expressed their sympathy with Turkey and her allies were pressed into the ranks as common soldiers, and the people generally were forced to do all kinds of unrequited service, and actually yoked to the carts themselves, when their oxen had been worked to death. 'The thirty years of Russian occupation,' says a writer in the *Etoile*, 'have been for us years of misery, pillage, famine, pestilence, cholera. The Russians brought us death and slavery; bowed under the knout, our fathers and mothers drew their carts like beasts of burden.'

After oppression and cruelty such as this, we can understand how the Rouman hates his Muscovite protector. The very peasants know by experience that there is no danger of the Turkish nationality overlying theirs; but that if the Russians became masters, they would, in the most practical sense, become the chattels of those odious strangers. In 1853, the patriots of 1848, who were still in exile, offered their swords to Omar Pacha, and promised to effect a general insurrection among their countrymen, if this step should be thought advisable. He consented at first to accept their services; but when the armies of England and France had landed in Bulgaria, the Porte thought it better to be under no obligation to its ill-used subjects. Not only were they sent out of the camp, but, what was worse, a body of Wallachian frontier guards, who came to Kalafat with arms and baggage, were thrust back again, and left to provide as they could for their own safety in the mountains.

Austria, our readers will remember, refused to join the allies against Russia, but undertook the task of occupying the Principalities, and interposing between the belligerents. Russia was thereby obliged to retreat; but at the same time her south-western frontier was covered, and her strength husbanded for the great struggle that took place in the Crimea. As might be expected, the Croats were no gentler guests than the Cossacks had been. It is said that no less than four hundred murders, with other outrages of all kinds in proportion, were perpetrated by the Austrian troops during the two years they spent in Moldo-Wallachia, and that the officers took very little trouble to bring the offenders to justice. Hence the Roumans have as much to complain of the hard and insulting military despotism of Austria, as they had of that of Russia. They know, too, that the cabinet of Vienna has again resumed the hope, so long dormant, of getting possession of them; and they look upon it as the sworn foe of nationality, the slave of the Jesuits, the enemy of their religion. The only difference between their feelings towards Austria, and towards the Fanariots, is that more fear enters into the one passion, and more contempt into the other.

The treaty of peace was signed March 30th, 1856. The firm-

ness of Lord Palmerston deprived Russia of all direct access to the Danube; the immediate mouths of the river were given in charge to the Porte; but the southern strip taken from Bessarabia was re-united to Moldavia. It contains 195,000 souls, including many thousands of Bulgarians and Roumeliots, who immigrated after the war of 1829. But the Congress of Paris felt that neither the dismantling of Sebastopol, nor the neutralizing of the Black Sea, nor the intrusting of the mouths of the Danube to the Porte, would accomplish the object of the war, so long as the Principalities remained open to the views of Russia, by their chronic anarchy and suffering. The first step was to substitute the protectorate of all the great powers for that of Russia, both over those provinces, and over the Christian populations directly subject to the Porte. For the arrangement of details, it was determined to wait for a subsequent congress. Lord Granville having suggested that it would be well, in the mean time, to ask the Roumans themselves, what were their wants and wishes, the proposal was adopted, and the Porte was authorized to appoint caimacams, or temporary governors, and to draw up an electoral system for the choice of a divan *ad hoc* in each province.

We have now come to the thorny part of our subject, the as yet unsettled question of the union of the Principalities; but before we attempt to sum up what has been said for or against it, let us pause, and take a general view of the social state, resources, and prospects of the country for which Europe is about to legislate,—a society rich, indeed, elegant, and polished at top, but wretched and suffering beneath.

Were all Roumania united, it would form a territory considerably larger than England, and containing even in its present state above seven millions of inhabitants. Since the loss of Transylvania, the Bukovina, and Bessarabia, the extent is nearly equal to that of England; but its deep loam, that can support the asparagus plant in a wild state perennially, is so fertile, that Malte-Brun did not exaggerate in saying it could easily supply food to a people of twenty millions. Even as it is, with a great and increasing exportation of cereals, the cultivation of a small part of the surface suffices for the four millions who inhabit it. Of these $2\frac{1}{2}$ belong to Wallachia, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to Moldavia, without reckoning the 195,000 recently recovered from Bessarabia. The population is divided into two classes,—the *privileged*, and the *imposable*. The former comprises the clergy and boyards of every description, with servants, soldiers, frontier guards, &c. The latter comprises the great mass of the people, to whom may be justly applied the mediæval description of the Hungarian serfs: *Plebs misera, egens, contribuens, aut potius nulla*. Over the

clergy there are two metropolitans, and five bishops, chosen from among the monks: there are about 3,000 of those monks living in monasteries that were once more numerously inhabited; indeed, many religious houses, especially those belonging to foreign monks, have gone to ruin altogether. The married parish-priests and deacons swarm to an amount that argues a singularly priest-ridden people: with their families, they actually make forty-eight per cent. of the entire population! But then it must be remembered that, as in the case of the Jewish Levites, many callings are included in one: they are schoolmaster, priest, and magistrate; of course doing all these badly.

A census of Wallachia as recent as June, 1857, enables one to judge exactly of the present elements of the body social in the largest of the two provinces. There are 41 towns, 3,307 villages, 2,406 private estates, 1,205 monastic estates, and 870 estates held in block by 87,562 peasant proprietors, called *moschneani*. As the heads of families alone are reckoned in this number, it follows that nearly one fifth of the inhabitants of Wallachia are in the rank of peasant proprietors, though after a fashion of cultivation in common which is very contrary to sound economy. There are 4,280 churches, of which 114 are in the city of Bucharest alone, implying church accommodation probably greater than any other city of Europe,—Moscow, Kiev, and Rome excepted. We give in full the list of the privileged classes, premising that the *postelnitchei* is a kind of minor boyardy; that engineers, architects, painters, miners, choristers, lawyers, physicians, telegraph clerks, &c., are included in one term,—*liberal professions*; and lastly, that traders and artisans are only nominally privileged, for the honour of the thing, since they have to pay for licences, and only escape the capitation tax.

Priests and deacons	10,033
Civil boyards	2,406
Military boyards	479
Sons and nephews of ditto	2,500
Liberal professions	707
Neamuri	5,386
Postelnitchei	1,131
Licensed merchants and traders	11,518
Licensed manufacturers and artisans	13,632
Soldiers, police, frontier guards	18,399
Servants, and others	38,348
Total	105,539

The *clacasi*, or imposable peasants, who, by a miscalled golden bull (*chrysobulla*) of a Mavrocordato, are made to bear all the burdens of the state, amount to 313,277 heads of families. There is the almost incredible number of 33,267 gypsies, forming a class apart, and representing, of course, a population of over 160,000 persons! This great influx of gypsies may partly arise from this country having been their first station upon reaching Europe, but still more from the spirit of toleration, both national and religious, that has always distinguished it. The latter cause, combined with a social state favourable to petty commerce and to usury, filled Poland with Jews; but in the seventeenth century, under the weak and bigoted Wasa dynasty, Poland lost its character for toleration, while the Roumans have ever retained theirs, it being their boast that not a drop of blood has ever been shed in their land through religious persecution. Some of the boyards have shown that tendency Romewards which distinguishes so many diseased aristocracies in non-Catholic countries; but they have always been borne with, as well as a small number of Lutherans. There are eighty-six Roman Catholic churches in Moldavia alone, eighteen Armenian, and two Lutheran. The exports of Wallachia in 1855 represented a value of 173,000,000 piastres, about £2,200,000; and those of Moldavia were probably greater, as Galatz is the chief port of the Principalities. The Wallachian customs produced 800,000 piastres in 1827, and nearly 6,000,000 in 1855.

The peasant is not a serf, in the Russian sense of the word. By a decree of the General Assembly in April, 1749, he exchanged pure for simple villanage. He cannot be sold with the land, but can quit his holding on giving notice. The boyard is the landowner, but the law determines the amount of arable land, meadow, pasture, and garden to be given to every labouring family for its subsistence, in exchange for one tenth of the produce in kind, and from twelve to twenty days' labour. The landlord always claims his labour at the time most inconvenient to the peasant; but the latter has this important advantage, that land is abundant and labour scarce, and under certain circumstances he receives two-thirds of the soil. His condition, in short, resembles that of the extinct cottar tenants in Ireland, or the state of the peasants in most of the Austrian dominions until lately. Prussia was similarly circumstanced less than a century ago, until the Stein and Hardenberg ministry abolished forced labour by buying up on a large scale the lands held under this condition, and allowing the peasants to pay off the state gradually. The statistics of Moldavia cannot be ascertained quite

as minutely as those of Wallachia. It is known that in 1849, out of 1,953 estates, 448 belonged to *rediesi, i. e.,* those associations of co-proprietors called *moschneani* in the sister province. After deducting forests, the proportions of cultivated land are, private estates, 39 parts in 100; monasteries, 34 parts; *rediesi,* 27. The population living on the last kind of property was 326,078, being thicker than in the other two sections, and a little more in proportion to the whole people than in Wallachia. It appears, by a petition addressed to the Moldavian divan on the 30th of November last, that holdings of this nature have been sadly reduced in number and extent by the encroachments of powerful and unprincipled neighbours.

From all that has preceded it will appear that the elements of a middle class are less numerous in Roumania than in happier countries, but that it is by no means destitute of them; and, what is more important, with the exception of the *rediesi,* they are rapidly increasing. In spite of Russian protection, Turkish weakness, Russian and Austrian occupations, the artisans, traders, members of liberal professions, &c., have multiplied exceedingly within the last twenty years. They have not the cunning and meanness of the Greeks, have acquired habits of public order, and are animated by an enthusiastic public spirit. It was these classes, in conjunction with a small number of boyards, that rose up against the Russian protectorate in 1848. They are getting richer every year, and the boyards more deeply involved. It should be added, that at the very earliest glimpse that can be obtained of the institutions of the Roumans, as they emerge from the darkest ages, we find a representative system established among them. It is still retained for the lowest degrees of the political hierarchy; mayors, common councillors, sub-prefects,—all the local authorities are chosen by rote; and if the system is disused at the head of the state, it is continued in the Church, at least so far as it is national. Such habits are certainly a training for self-government more than we should at first sight expect to find in an ignorant and downtrodden people.

Like all the rest of Europe for the last half century, the Roumans have begun to inquire fondly and reverently into the origin and fortunes of their race. The cry for liberty raised throughout Europe at the close of the eighteenth century soon changed its nature: instead of the liberty of man in the abstract, as the French philosophers understood him, deprived of all individuality, each people yearned for the emancipation and elevation of their own race, with its customs, its remembrances, its peculiarities. Even so the aspirations of the Roumans rest

upon identity of race as their basis, not upon conventional political associations, nor even upon identity of religion. What Schafaric, Palacki, Gay, Milutinowicz, &c., have done for Bohemia, Servia, and other Sclavonic nations, that Major in Transylvania, Asuky in Moldavia, and Heliade in Wallachia have accomplished for the Roumans, endowing them with a national literature. For the first time in history this distinguished race, parted out as they are between three alien powers, feel themselves to be members of one family, treasuring the same recollections, chanting the same ballads; but, alas! not indulging in the same hopes; for he would be sanguine indeed who would expect Bessarabia ever to be wrested from the grasp of Russia; and, though the Austrian empire may very possibly fall to pieces in some future time of revolutions, it is much less likely that the vigorous, and generally Protestant, Magyar shall ever lose his predominance among the medley of races that inhabit Transylvania.

The new literary school, of course, promptly returned to the use of the Roman character, and they make the Latin tongue the model to which the modern language is to be brought back as much as possible: they so hate every barbaric syllable, that they even try to exclude from current usage words that have become necessary elements of the language. One of them, speaking of the discarded Sclavonic language, says, 'They covered with hateful soot the noble Roman forms, and thought to bury them hopelessly and for ever. How often, when I began to use the Latin alphabet, I have seen the genuine old face of the word reappear before me, shining in all its brilliancy, and seeming to smile its thanks at being delivered from the vile rags of Cyril!' The first dictionary comparing this with all the Neo-Latin tongues was published in 1825. It was observed that among the words lost were *liberty* and *hope*. The translation of the Bible is said to be a valuable standard work. Rouman history had to be gleaned almost entirely from the notices of foreign and hostile writers. Simeaï undertook this pious task towards the close of the eighteenth century. In 1808 the Austrian censor wrote upon his book, *Opus igne, auctor patibulo dignus.* Gregory Ghika allowed the posthumous publication of his *Rouman Chronicles* in 1853; but some thirty volumes of documents of all sorts, intended as *pièces à l'appui,* have mysteriously disappeared.

The reader is now, we trust, prepared to understand the controversy that has been pending about the future condition of Roumania, and that will probably have been settled ere these pages meet his eye. As soon as the decisions of the Congress of

March, 1856, were known in the Principalities, it seemed as if an electric shock thrilled through the nation. No one would have been prepared beforehand for the general feeling of enthusiasm excited by the thought, that to a certain extent their fate was placed in their own hands; if they could not determine it finally, they should at least have a hearing; Europe had asked for the free expression of their wishes. At once, as if by magic, the entire nation identified itself with the liberal party of 1848. The watchwords in every mouth were few, but all-important: first of all, Union of the two provinces, making one state with one government; then the rank of prince to be hereditary, and the dynasty foreign; thirdly, a really representative legislative assembly; lastly, the Rouman territory to be declared neutral. Englishmen would have contented themselves with writing, speaking, shouting, agitating, and drinking, for the Union: the Roumans did all this, and they did more,—*they danced to the Union!* The *chora uniani*, in which the performers dance in a circle holding each other's hands, became the most popular amusement at every festivity, alike in the saloon of the boyard, and upon the village green. The programmes of the patriotic committees, and other addresses that were circulated, were generally of a manly and temperate tone.

Two powers were disagreeably affected, and perhaps surprised, by the enthusiasm and unanimity of the Roumans. The Porte, conscious of its weakness, afraid of the future, jealous of its present dignity, was desirous of maintaining things as much as possible in their present state; but Austria was far more in earnest still: every kind of progress, every municipal liberty, the very shadow of a representative government, makes her subjects discontented; and she is accustomed for that reason to bully all neighbouring powers, and force them into a system of government and police like her own. What a check, then, would it be to her to have a nation at her very doors, living its own life, governed by its own laws, under the collective guarantee of Europe; and that nation of one blood with a million and a half of the least favoured of her own subjects! The cabinet of Vienna would submit to any sacrifice short of war with a first-rate power, rather than allow of such an example. But the instinct of self-preservation is not its only motive. As a Rouman slily says, 'The Austrian Cæsar, wiser than the Russian, has never published his will;' but he does not the less pursue an unvarying purpose of aggrandizement; and he entertains anew the hope of himself possessing those fair provinces that he had so long coveted, and of which the ascendency of Russia made him despair for a time. With that patience which is one of her

virtues, says the *Journal des Débats*, Austria will wait to see the failure of the present experiment, and the discouragement that will lay hold of Europe; then, in the interest of peace, order, and civilization, the cabinet of Vienna will propose to take charge of the provinces that Turkey shall have proved herself unable to govern, to protect, or to retain. That this suggestion is no calumny is proved by the simple fact, that, during the occupation of the Principalities, such court was paid to the corrupt boyards who had once made themselves remarked as the partisans of Russia, that to a man they have now become the creatures of Austria. A petition to the Congress of Paris, in March, 1856, was summarily stopped, and the messengers arrested by the Austrian police at Czernowitz.

The idea of giving Roumania to Austria may recommend itself at first sight, as an apparent opposing of a strong barrier to Russian progress, instead of a weak one; and it is whispered that such an eventuality would not displease Lord Palmerston: but that is the fate which would be most of all abhorrent to the feelings of the Roumans; and, though courts in bygone centuries, and the Congress of Vienna in our own, disposed of millions of human beings in various political combinations without or against their own consent, and with very little regard to their own interest, it is to be hoped that the day of this cruel and immoral policy has passed away. Years ago, the late eminent Italian publicist, Count Cesar Balbo, suggested that Austria ought to be compelled to take the Principalities instead of her Italian territories. She has already moved eastward on the map of Europe, he said, losing the Netherlands and Franche Comté, gaining Transylvania and the Bukovina. The idea is remarkable, as coming from a man of such political wisdom that, nine years before the event, he predicted that England, France, and Sardinia would join in an alliance to protect Turkey against Russia, and that Austria would remain neuter. But have statesmen the right thus to sacrifice others for their own purposes? Was Count Balbo's charity equal to his foresight? He would probably answer, that the Roumans themselves do not understand their true interests, and that wiser heads than theirs have a right to force them to what is at once for the general advantage and for their own. We distrust this reasoning, because we are not sure that it would really strengthen Austria to add to its already discontented subjects four millions more who hate its very name; we are not sure that, after taking upon us the responsibility of disposing of a people against their will, we would not be found to have thereby sown for them the seeds of future tempests and untold evils. Austria was our old ally against France, she

is now yet more useful as a check to Russia; and it is true that concern for her own safety makes her the inflexible and incorruptible enemy of Russian extension; for it is known that in 1828 the Emperor Nicholas proposed in vain to divide Roumania with her, though offering to cede all Wallachia as far as Bouczco: but enmity to Russia is only a negative principle in common; there can be little positive sympathy between an Austrian cabinet and the English people. Moreover, we ought not to reckon too confidently on the vitality and stability of our ally. Had Providence placed a powerful nation in the centre or south-east of Europe, it would be the best security for the maintenance of the balance of power; but Austria is not a nation, it is a court ruling several unwilling nations by playing them off one against the other, it is an 'apparatus of geographical torture.' Now, setting aside all claims which the aspirations of those various subject countries may have upon English sympathy, and looking at the question in the bare political, utilitarian point of view, we ask, Is it safe, in an age when national feeling is being so strongly revived on all hands,—is it safe to take a power which only subsists by the suppression of nationalities, and to trust to it as our principal barrier against Russian conquest? Francis II. once told a French ambassador that his people never caught the fever all at the same time; but political epidemics have been more catching, and wars more killing, since that imperial jest.

To return to our narrative. After the Congress of Paris, Austria took the supreme direction of everything concerning Roumania, and the Porte became her docile instrument. Of course caimacams were named, disposed to check the fermentation in favour of the Union. Theod. Balche, the new governor of Moldavia, had been such an admirer of Russia, that he used to sign his name in Russian characters. He commanded the militia during Prince Gortschakof's occupation. The Porte deprived him of the office as soon as the Russians were gone; but he attached himself to Austria, and so, before two years had elapsed, he was made caimacam. While the Porte thus honoured and rewarded its enemies, the exiles of 1848, who had suffered in its cause, were not allowed to return home until June, 1857. The first step taken in pursuance of the Porte's anti-Unionist policy was to put the Rouman press to silence. The Roumans tell us there had been no restriction on their press until 1830. In that year general Count Pahlen, commanding the Russian army of occupation, appointed an officer to inspect all foreign publications introduced into the country, and his province was soon extended to the censorship of home publications. After 1834, the place of the Russian officer was filled by a native in each of the

Principalities. During the occupation of 1848, the one native paper in each capital was not allowed to publish anything except selections from the journals of St. Petersburg and Odessa! Gregory Ghika and the Moldavian divan made a liberal law in 1855; but towards the close of 1856, its execution was illegally suspended by a dispatch of Fuad Pacha; and from that time forward no paper was allowed to appear in Moldavia except the official gazette. Papers continued to be published in Wallachia, but under the most vexatious censorship, frequently with whole columns blank, the matter of which had been prohibited at the last moment. With praiseworthy perseverance the Rouman liberals determined to establish free organs abroad, since they could not have them at home. The *Bucimal* and *Opinione* were published weekly at Paris, the *Etoile du Danube* in French at Brussels. It is said that the principal Rouman merchants contributed largely to defray the expense of this and various other attempts to help the cause of the Union. Austria refused to allow those papers to pass through its posts, and even opened the sealed letters it suspected of containing them. It also frequently intercepted their private correspondence.

The firman, to regulate the system of election for the divans *ad hoc*, appeared in January, 1857. The instrument was so drawn up as to bear inspection in foreign countries; the suffrage was very liberally bestowed; the distribution of representatives, on the other hand, was so managed as to give the aristocracy a considerable majority. Thus the Wallachian divan was composed of 12 dignitaries for the clergy, 34 for the great boyards, 17 for the little boyards, 17 for the rural communes, 22 for the towns; thereby giving the boyards 63 votes against 39, had they been disposed to separate their interests from those of the country generally. The relative proportion was the same in the Moldavian divan. It was determined that the election for the latter should take place first, because there was most hope of being able to create an anti-Unionist party in the province that contained the most numerous and the most wealthy boyards. The Moldavians were reminded that, in case of union, their population being inferior to that of Wallachia, they would be always out-voted, and that Jassy would lose its rank as a capital. The remembrance of every time of civil war was raked up, and pretended zealots for the separate nationality of each province proposed to erect monuments on the different fields of battle where Stephen the Great had beaten the Wallachians, or where Michael the Brave had avenged them on the Moldavians. No art was too vulgar, if it promised a chance of bringing discredit on the liberal party. When Savfit Effendi came to Jassy, a

crowd went to meet him to do him honour: they were amazed to see a Turk upon the coach-box brandishing a naked sabre, and pouring forth a volley of insults in good Rouman. Next day, a deputation waited on his excellency to complain of this proceeding. It appeared on examination that the offender was a servant of *the minister of the interior*, whom his master had dressed like a Turk, with the mission to provoke, if possible, from the crowd some act of disrespect towards the commissioners of the Sultan. The cry that the movement was at bottom a socialist revolution, and that property was in danger, was also supposed likely to produce a great effect on the Moldavian boyards. The Vienna papers proclaimed most confidently that Moldavia was opposed to the Union which Wallachian revolutionists were endeavouring to impose upon her; and the *Times* and *Morning Post* made themselves then, as they have continued since, the faithful echoes of the Vienna press. So little do some of our leading journals know about the Roumans, that the *Globe* took them for Sclavonians.

The death of caimacam Balche, early in 1857, gave the Porte an opportunity of appointing as his successor a more energetic agent, a M. Vogorides, a Fanariot, who took his measures for fulfilling the prophecies of his friends. He began by ordering all election committees to be dissolved, and the addresses of all Unionist candidates to be seized. Nothing favourable to the Union was allowed to be printed, or, if printed abroad, allowed to circulate. People accused of *coalition* to influence the elections were thrown into prison. There were no means of contradicting the most monstrous assertions. A false circular, purporting to proceed from the Unionist committee, stating that the Union was to be followed by a partition of land, and by the substitution of the Catholic for the Greek rite, was allowed to be circulated, and the Unionists were not allowed to disavow it. Every functionary who appeared even lukewarm was dismissed. Villagers had to sign an anti-Unionist petition under the lash. Men were imprisoned with threats of having the Union whipped out of them; others were banished without trial. The provosts of the thirty-four corporations of Jassy were sent for to sign the anti-Unionist petition; the refractory were brought by gendarmes; and some of them were even forced to sign the names of different members of their corporations, without their consent or knowledge. About this time, the consuls of France, Russia, and Prussia made an ineffectual remonstrance against the total silencing of the press. The English consul could not join them. Can that have been genuine English policy that sealed his lips on such a subject?

The caimacam managed to reduce the number of electors to the few whom he thought he could gain or browbeat by very summary processes, the invention of which can have caused no great expenditure of ingenuity. At one time he threatened to disfranchise all unmarried priests:—a ladies' parliament would doubtless approve of making matrimony one condition of possessing the right of suffrage. Then the property of Unionists was arbitrarily undervalued; men who had estates as large as German duchies were declared ineligible for want of sufficient property qualification. The lawyers were excluded in a body, because they had no diplomas from foreign universities. Local authorities were forced to sign blank certificates of qualification, which government filled up as it pleased. The electoral lists were not published until they underwent a final revision from the caimacam and the Austrian agent. When they appeared, instead of the 2,000 large landowners who ought to have been inscribed, there were but 350, many of whom had no right to vote at all; instead of 20,000 small proprietors, there were 2,264; the whole class of liberal professions was represented by 11 electors; the *rediesi* were left out altogether; while the imposable peasants had votes in the first degree; for the election of their representatives took place by two degrees. Protestations arose from all quarters; but the persons officially appointed to examine into the validity of all complaints were the very parties who had perpetrated the wrong. In those insulting and derisory proceedings the Roumans saw the hand of their old enemies, the Greeks of Constantinople; and they did not as yet know that they would be sustained by any of the great powers; so they complained with very pardonable bitterness that they were worse off than when under the oppressive protectorate of Russia. 'The Fanariots know all the secret avenues of the Sultan's council, and Moldo-Wallachia is too rich a prey that they should consent to let it escape. As long as these fine provinces are not definitively organized, as long as they are given over to caprice and despotism, the Fanariot can continue to exercise his marvellous instinct for fishing in troubled waters. They are the relations or allies of every candidate for power, mixed up with every subterraneous intrigue, and with every personal ambition that agitates the divan.' 'The Roumans are the only people in the East who have risen against Russia; they are also the only people who, under the protection of France and England, have lost everything, so that they are reduced at this moment to the state of an Austrian province or a Turkish pashalik.' Another writer tells Austria that, in making an accomplice of Turkey, she hopes at once to save her own interests, depopularize the

Turkish government, and finally profit by its unpopularity. But she is mistaken, he continues: Russia is both more powerful and more skilled in corruption.

The election presented a strange spectacle. The greater part of those to whom the government had thought it safe to give the suffrage, abstained from exercising the privilege: of 138 priests on the list of the secular clergy, for instance, but three recorded votes. His excellency the caimacam was prepared for this emergency. Peasant electors were brought by force to the urns; they sometimes escaped from the attendant gendarmes, and a regular chase ensued upon the road; others were roused in their homes at night, and secured in time, or fled half-dressed. Outrage and violence were employed in some cases, and respectable merchants were beaten by officials; but generally opposition votes were quietly struck through with the pen. In the district of Vaslonio, the electors heard proclaimed as successful candidate a person for whom not one of them had voted. The electors in the first degree of many rural communes protest that they were forced to sign the *procès verbal* for the government nominee. The sub-prefect in one place told the refractory electors that it made no matter to them who was chosen. 'Then why were we brought here?' 'Indeed, it would have been better not to have called you together at all!' In another place they were kept prisoners until three in the morning: when their power of resistance was exhausted, they signed their own names and those of their happier colleagues who had contrived to keep out of the way. It is hardly necessary to say, the government nominees were everywhere returned.*

Austria could not let so much and such successful zeal pass unrewarded; his excellency N. Vogorides received the order of the iron crown. The same courier brought nineteen titles and decorations, and it was observed that every one of the parties so favoured had been previously decorated by Russia. Indeed, one of them, John Cantacuzene, had been known of old by the surname of 'the Cossack.'

The leaders of the national party were incessant in their exhortations to the people not to allow themselves to be excited to any illegal act: hence these measures, galling as they were, provoked no riots; but there was an explosion of universal indignation in legal shapes. The protestation addressed to the European commissioners at Bucharest, on June 20th, 1857, was signed by immensely more electors *de jure* than had appeared

* It should be observed that the cases of fraud and violence mentioned above are not mere rumours; they are grievances positively and formally stated by the persons concerned, in their appeals to the European commissioners at Bucharest.

on the government lists. Thereupon, the representatives of France, Prussia, Russia, and Sardinia expressed to the Porte, in notes couched in the same terms, their surprise at the system of violence and intimidation that had been pursued, and their determination not to recognise a divan so composed. The ambassadors of Austria and England not only refused to join their colleagues, but also encouraged the Porte to resist their demand of a new and impartial election. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe even went to the length of continuing his opposition after the British government had signified to him that it should cease.

As we are unwillingly obliged to differ from his lordship on the Rouman question, it is but right to say that we have the most unfeigned respect for his character, and the most unqualified admiration for his general career as our representative at the Porte in most critical times. Of the seventeen years of his last mission it is not too much to say, with the *Times*: 'During the most momentous period of modern Turkish history he has been the controlling spirit of the Porte; incorruptible, in the midst of universal corruption; unterrified, while all around him were shrinking; of preternatural activity, with sloth and apathy on every side; carrying on a ceaseless warfare with every kind of evil, positive or negative, which came within the circuit of his view. He has roused a lethargic Sultan into action, taught self-seeking pachas honesty, terrified distant governors into justice, foiled the sedition of Greeks, restrained the cupidity of Armenians, protected missionaries, checked Mussulman persecution, and extended Christian rights. In short, Turkey, as it is to-day, is mainly his work.' Lord Stratford de Redcliffe is hated by the enemies of Turkey more bitterly than any Turkish statesman, and by the enemies of England more bitterly than any British statesman, with one exception. But he is hated most of all by the Roman Catholic propagandists in the Levant, because he hindered them from crushing the American missionaries, and persecuting their converts unto death. It is to Jesuit intrigues that his lordship owes the hostility of French journalists in particular; his credit with the Porte having been dexterously represented in such a light as to wound the jealousy of that susceptible nation. The infirmities of his temper were taken advantage of, and trumpeted over Europe, by ceaseless enemies; nor was the *Times* itself guiltless in this respect, though it owns to-day that those very defects may have contributed to success in his peculiar mission. He was feared by the Turkish ministers, because he never scrupled to tell them the truth angrily and emphatically; he was liked and respected, because they felt in their consciences that he was the sincerest friend of their country.

Under the influence of these mingled feelings he was called familiarly *the little Sultan*, and could do more at Constantinople than any other man living, except the great Sultan. We can even forgive his lordship's indiscretion in suspending obedience to his instructions, when we remember that a similar act of haughty independence saved Turkey in 1853; for it is pretty well known in diplomatic circles, that it was his advice and personal influence that determined the Porte to disregard the Vienna note, and to force the Western powers to protect it by boldly declaring war.

We believe that the very energy and whole-heartedness with which Lord Stratford has thrown himself into the cause of the Porte, and identified himself with its interests, has made him unconsciously unjust towards the Roumans. His great object is to strengthen the Turkish Empire, both by making the Sultan completely master of distant provinces, and by raising the inhabitants in the scale of civilization; but he overlooks the peculiar position of the Roumans, which makes the policy of concentration in this case an interference with vested rights, as impolitic as it is unjust. They are not *rayas;* they are not even subjects, in the proper sense of the word; they are vassals. Their princes have retained not only the formula 'by the grace of God,' but also the sovereignty implied in it, having enacted laws, received and dispatched ambassadors, made treaties of alliance, peace, commerce, and extradition, from 1396 to 1854, without ever asking the ratification of the Porte. One of those treaties was with England in 1588; the two last were with Austria; the others with Hungary, Poland, Transylvania, and with Emperors of Germany. From 1829 to 1856 there was not, properly speaking, an Ottoman functionary in the Principalities. The very naming of the caimacams, and regulating of the electoral system, were powers conferred by the Congress of Paris, not assumed by the Porte as of right. In short, the sort of sovereignty which Turkey has exercised over these provinces has been simply the right to do them harm, without doing itself good; and to continue this suicidal policy, or, still worse, to usurp a measure of sovereignty unwarranted by the past, would only throw them into the arms of Russia, and make them sooner or later a means of ruin to the Empire, instead of serving as a barrier against invasion. 'Think you,' says a writer in the *Star of the Danube*, 'Think you that the Turks will gain by alienating from them systematically a population of five millions, the only Christian vassals in the Empire who are neither Greeks nor Sclavonians?'

Some confidential letters addressed to the caimacam of Mol-

davia, by various relatives, and among others by his brother-in-law, M. Mussurus, the Turkish ambassador at London, fell into the hands of the opposite party by some mysterious and doubtless discreditable means, and were published in different papers. It appears from them, that Lord Palmerston views the Rouman question much in the same light as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and it can be gathered that M. Mussurus took care to instil his views into the mind of the British commissioner, Sir Henry Bulwer, before he left London for Bucharest. The secretary of the Greek legation at London, M. A. Vogorides, brother of the caimacam, writes to advise him to conform himself in everything to the wishes of the Austrian consul, and to employ all persons recommended by him, no matter how ill-famed they may be. 'The question is not one of morality, or of good or bad conduct, philosophically considered; but it is one of the rights of his Majesty,' &c. In an official declaration, the caimacam declares that those letters were stolen from him, and that the text has been disfigured; but as he enters into no detail, we cannot but suspect that those letters present an authentic and disgraceful page in the history of Fanariot diplomacy. The Roumans do not complain of Sir Henry Bulwer personally; but they say that the other commissioners who were hostile to their claims always put him forward, in order to make the national party feel that liberal England was against them.

After a visit of the Emperor Napoleon to Osborne, the British government forced Lord Stratford to yield. Austria could not stand alone, and so in August the Porte cancelled the elections, and ordered the country to be consulted again. This time the national party triumphed everywhere in both provinces, though there was neither a press nor liberty for public meetings in Moldavia, and but a press under censure in Wallachia. The patriots of 1848, who had just been allowed to return home, were pretty generally elected in the latter province, and everything went off in the most orderly manner.

The Moldavian divan was opened on the 3rd of October, 1857, in the midst of the acclamations of an immense multitude assembled from thirty miles round. The opening of the Wallachian divan took place eight days later. In both cases, everybody was struck by the simple dignity of the peasant deputies of the rural communes. The first act of either assembly was a cordial vote of thanks to the protecting powers; they then proceeded to the questions with which all men's minds were occupied. On the 19th of October, the Moldavian divan, with but two dissentient voices, voted the following summary of the first and most urgent wants of the country:—1. The rights of

the Principalities to be respected, and particularly that of self-government, according to the tenor of the ancient capitulations with the Sublime Porte. 2. Union of the Principalities in one state, under the designation of Roumania. 3. A foreign hereditary prince, to be chosen among some reigning European dynasty, his heirs to be educated in the religion of the country. 4. Neutrality and inviolability of the new state. 5. Legislative power to be confided to a general assembly, in which all the interests of the nation shall be represented. This vote was accompanied by several columns of explanatory *considerata*, from which our limits forbid us to extract.

On the 21st of October, the Wallachian divan, containing among its members two ex-hospodars, passed *unanimously* a statement of fundamental wants, agreeing substantially with that of the sister assembly. Caimacam Vogorides actually suppressed the publication of the official bulletin of these two deliberations, and of the reports of the special committees that preceded them.

'We desire union,' said M. Hourmousaki, in the divan at Jassy, 'because we are weary of being an apple of discord between rival powers; because we are weary of seeing legions of aspirants for the hospodarate; because we want no more hard farmers of power, who hasten to make the best use of their short lease, trembling lest they should be supplanted by somebody bidding higher. And we are called revolutionists, because we don't want to be conservative of such a state of things. What is it that we are asked to perpetuate? Demoralization, corruption, nepotism, shamelessness, impunity of evil at the summit of society!'

Ex-hospodar Bibisco, at Bucharest: 'A sort of instinct, a secret presentiment, tells us that time presses, and that political life will elude our grasp, if at this great and solemn occasion, which will never present itself again, serious measures are not taken to secure a better future.'

From the first there was a difference of opinion between the Ottoman government and the Moldo-Wallachians, as to the very purpose for which the divans were convoked. The former wished it to be understood that they were to confine themselves to matters of internal organization; the latter asserted their right to treat the political question in the first instance. The firman for the elections ended with a menace in the shape of a recommendation to the divan, 'to spare us the pain of having to devise means for protecting our august rights of lordship (*suzerainté*) against any invasion of them.' The Wallachian assembly was so far from accepting the limits which the Porte

wished to put to its deliberations, that it refused to occupy itself with internal wants at all, saying that the political reconstitution of the country was the only question between it and the Congress at Paris, and that the Roumans could afterwards settle their internal affairs at their leisure. By persisting in this extreme and probably unwise determination, it rendered its subsequent sittings barren of all interest. The Moldavian divan, on the contrary, was very animated. It voted as desirable principles to be put in practice for the future, the equality of all Roumans before the law, the equitable and general distribution of taxes, the accessibility of all Roumans to all the functions of the state. Complaining of the arbitrary arrests that had frequently taken place on the sole authority of the prince, it recorded its wish for a Rouman *Habeas corpus*, or the inviolability of both person and domicile, except under predetermined circumstances, and at the order of the proper judge. It called for a strict separation of the legislative and executive functions, the Fanariot princes having too often presumed to make laws by their private authority. It protested against the exemption of foreign residents in the Principalities from the jurisdiction of native tribunals,—a privilege which Moslem usages rendered necessary in Turkey Proper, but which had been productive of the greatest abuses in Roumania. It voted also the confirmation of the already existing liberty of all forms of worship, 'except the restriction stipulated in the capitulations with the Porte,' a polite way of saying that Mahometan worship alone remains prohibited. The declaration voted asserts that the principle of religious liberty is involved in the Saviour's command to love our neighbour as ourselves. In the debate upon this subject, M. Cogalniceano quoted also our Lord's saying, *My kingdom is not of this world.* 'Let every one, then,' continued he, 'adore God according to his conscience. We have not to settle the affairs of Heaven, but those of this world.'

The Times tries to discredit all these resolutions, as mere imitations of the French National Convention; but this is to appeal from reason to prejudice. What are all the great principles admitted in the first French revolution, but our own civil and religious liberties? with this great and unfortunate difference, that they were learned as a theory, rather than won by slow and sure experience. Are we sorry to see these principles carried out, to a certain extent, in Belgium and Sardinia? The most important difference between our institutions and those desired by the Roumans consists in the absence from their scheme of an hereditary peerage: but there are no historical families to be found, except in the dust; the present

great boyards only represent the worst times that the nation can remember. It is a scaffolding of Byzantine Mussulman and Russian functionaries, altered in every reign.

The only debates which threatened to disturb the harmony of the assembly, were those that concerned the way in which the total emancipation of the peasant was to be effected. The divan voted the abolition of forced labour, and the establishment of communal properties; but it was unable to come to any conclusion as to the principle to be followed in creating those properties. The great landed interest contended that the peasants should content themselves with the system now about to be tried in Russia; that is, the villages with the immediately adjoining enclosures to constitute the commune, the land generally to be retained by the boyards. The popular interest, on the other hand, contended strenuously for the Prussian system,—the peasants to be permitted to buy up at a low price all the land which they are at this moment allowed to cultivate for their subsistence. It is a question which will, we trust, be settled by the Congress of Paris; for it is too exciting a matter to be left to the interested parties themselves. We regret that the space at our disposal does not allow us to transcribe in full the sort of memorial presented to the divan by the sixteen peasant deputies, on behalf of their class; we can only quote a few mutilated paragraphs:—

'To this day all the heaviest burdens of the state have pressed upon us. We have been alone in paying the capitation tax, in furnishing conscripts, in feeing every functionary, administrator, magistrate, and gendarme; we alone have had to give our unrequited labour for roads and bridges, and for the gratuitous transport of every foreign invader's baggage. During rigorous winters we have had to convey foreign armies to the Danube, and beyond it; and when our overworked and starved oxen dropped dead, we have had to take their place, while our families suffered from hunger at home; for our own authorities took from us what the enemy left.....The law of forced labour has been so interpreted as to become more intolerable every year: our toil has been increased, and the land allotted for subsistence diminished, and we don't utter a complaint; the prefect beats us, the sub-prefect beats us, the gendarme beats us, the tax-gatherer beats us, the boyard beats us, the steward beats us. Our crops perish, while the landlord's maize glitters like gold in his garner; our communal funds, which ought to present millions of piastres economized, prove to be like casks without a bottom.....But God could not forget us; and in His mercy He has touched the hearts of the most powerful Monarchs of the world, so that we may now proclaim aloud the cause of all our sufferings. Let all remembrance of the past be banished from our minds! There are still among our lords men that fear God; they know that there

was a time when they were our fathers, and we were their children, and that the decay of our class, and of the institutions of our country, dates from the Fanariot princes. It is our heart's desire that every rank may live in peace on the venerable soil of Roumania, that the whole nation may increase and prosper; as it is written, *The city that is divided against itself cannot stand.*'

Part of the British press—the *Daily News, Morning Herald, Examiner, Daily Telegraph* and *Press*—have supported the claims of the Roumans; and to these journals we may add the *Edinburgh Review*, in an able article for April, 1857: but the greater part have taken the other side, as was natural; for the arguments against the Union have the advantage of recommending themselves at first sight to those who have no special acquaintance with the subject; and, as the Roumans complain, Russia and Austria alone, of all Europe, are thoroughly acquainted with its bearings, having studied it with reference to their own interests.

The Roumans, it is pretended, aim at total independence, or, as this objection is put in a Turkish circular of December, 1856, 'Instead of two provinces revolving in their proper sphere, and only seeking for that material and domestic well-being, which would enable them to live happy under the tutelary guardianship of, and under the laws guaranteed by, the Empire, when we should have a half-independent state, its very nature and form would create for it objects of ambition.' This objection overlooks the fact, that the growing trade, upon which the future prosperity of the Principalities will altogether depend, passes under the walls of Constantinople; so that to reduce them to obedience in any future attempt to shake off a merely nominal tribute, it will not be necessary to send an army across the Danube, nor even a fleet to its mouth; the Turks may effectually blockade Roumania, without leaving their own capital! It is quite possible that the Roumans, like all Latin nations, may set too much importance on the form of government, and forget that liberty itself is nothing without moral strength to profit by it; but they urge modest economical reasons in favour of the Union, enough of themselves to justify it, unless major reasons can be brought against them from some other point of view.

The Times reproaches the Rouman aristocracy with its corruption, and the nation in general with a want of vitality; but it is unfair to expect any thing else from a country where three foreign powers with different views have been putting every honest man out of the way. Strangers only see the great boyards; and they present, we believe, nearly the worst specimen of the country. This is the class that has been educated in

political corruption for generations; that was slavishly devoted to Russia, and now furnishes its contingent of partisans to Austria, if, indeed, they be not still Muscovite in their hearts. But we have shown that there is a rapidly increasing middle class, as there is a rapidly increasing band of patriots among the boyards. They carried the elections for the divans by acclamation; and with the increasing prosperity of a well-governed country, they surely ought to be strong enough to prevent a reaction. Much that has been said among us of the immorality and incapacity of the Rouman aristocracy has stung them to the quick. 'The English Government and English press may be able to crush the Principalities, and deliver over five millions of Christians to an oppression more abject than that under which they groaned before the late war; but let them not add insult to injustice.' So writes the *Etoile*. Truth, however, obliges us to say, that the five millions we so often hear of are really little more than four.

The assertion that opposition to the Union tends to deliver the Roumans over to oppression, is not the mere declamation for which it might be taken by the uninitiated. It is certain that if the state of this people be not made better, it will be made much worse. The policy of the Porte for the last two years has been systematically directed to the object of changing the present anomalous and provisional state of things, for one of definitive subjection. Hence the interference for the first time in history with matters of internal legislation, such as the silencing of the Moldavian press; hence in every firman the affectation of calling the provinces 'an integral part of his Highness' dominions;' hence the eagerness to seize the advantage presented by the ignorance or inadvertence of the Congress of Paris, and to name caimacams more dependent than was ever pacha of Bagdad or Damascus. The Turkish circulars confound the Roumans with the *rayas* generally, and studiously avoid mentioning the collective guarantee of the powers of Europe. The summoning of the divan is called, in the act of convocation, a privilege granted by the government of the Sultan; and again, 'It was thought fit to consult the people upon the measures of internal amelioration,' &c.; thus at once keeping the Congress out of sight, and evading the purpose for which the Congress wished the nation to be consulted. We will not dispute about the word *suzerainté* inserted in the Treaty of Paris, to express the relation between the Porte and its vassals; for it would be impossible to define precisely that confused relation by any term borrowed from either feudal or modern usages: but it is evident that there is now an intention of taking advantage of

the ambiguity of the word. In February, 1856, at a conference held at Constantinople by the Turkish ministers and European ambassadors, mention was freely made of the capitulations with Wallachia,—not a word was said of those made with Moldavia; of course, because the latter were more favourable to Rouman nationality. In October last, Aali Pacha went further, and treated the capitulations with both provinces as a dead letter, saying that the original documents are nowhere to be found, and they were frequently violated by the Moldo-Wallachians themselves. A memorandum of the Wallachian divan justly replied to this, that the contents of the capitulations are known by the versions repeatedly promulgated by the Porte itself; and, furthermore, that this is the only documentary evidence of the Porte's right to receive tribute.

The writer in the *Eclectic*, already alluded to, observes that the oldest of the capitulations was signed sixty years before Constantinople became an Ottoman city, and all the rest at a time when regions now an integral part of the empire, such as Bosnia and Epirus, had yet to be conquered; so that they have been entirely superseded by circumstances, and are to be considered as defunct mediæval documents, any attempt to revive the authority of which is but a pettifogging quibble. Now we are quite aware that, with attorney cases, possession is nine points of law, and that the capitulations are not to be taken apart from the subsequent relations of Turkey and the Principalities, which are their commentary and complement. Thus, after 1462, and again after 1600, the Porte had the right to treat Wallachia as a conquered country. However, it did not do so; it contented itself with appointing the hospodars, and voluntarily resumed compliance with the most striking stipulation of the treaties,—that no Turk should establish his dwelling or his worship north of the Danube. Such a fact as this, one so contrary to all Moslem habits, formally establishes the difference between the Roumans and the Christian subjects of the Porte. The *tierra Romanesca* has never been won for the crescent; the mosque, the symbol of conquest, has never cast its shadow upon the soil. And is Christian Europe now to help forward this Turkish project of conquest? Is the war of 1854–6 to end by the subjugating of a Christian people to the Moslem yoke? The western powers undertook to sustain Turkey, and it in turn was to emancipate its Christian subjects, and give them political equality. Now, Turkey has been notoriously unfaithful to its engagements. For the promised admission of *rayas* to its armies, it has substituted the making them pay for the privilege of not serving. But, in any case, the hour in which

emancipation is claimed for others, and pashaliks are passing away, would be badly chosen for acquiescing in the destruction of Rouman independence. 'If you tie us to a carcase,' say the Roumans, 'we can expect nothing from it but putrefaction;' and they are right. What progress or civilization are to be expected under a legislation derived from the Koran? The Turks have everything to learn; we are trying to raise and strengthen them, in spite of the wrong principles that are at the bottom of their whole political organization; but let us not gratuitously render matters worse by bringing fresh millions more completely under confessedly deleterious influences.

It will, perhaps, be said, that we are arguing against an imaginary danger. The Congress about to meet will never endorse the pretensions of Turkey; it will confine itself to internal, social, and administrative improvements, conferring upon the Roumans real benefits, and only refusing them the imaginary and perilous advantage of a semi-independence. Be it so; indeed, we are ourselves persuaded that the protecting powers cannot in 1858 grant the Principalities less than Russia procured for them in 1829. But it must not be forgotten, that everything that can be said against making the Principalities a pashalik applies, though with mitigated force, to every arrangement short of union under an hereditary prince. How can any system of choosing princes for life be secured from the extravagance, depredation, and demoralization that characterize that form of government? A prince who has but a life interest in power will inevitably direct his energies to accumulate wealth for his family, instead of identifying himself with the welfare of his people. We take for granted that Congress will determine that the hospodars are to be chosen for life, and that will be an improvement on the old system: but the Kings of Poland used to be elected for life, and that degree of limited stability did not save the state. Catherine II., and Frederick the Great, knew what they were about when they mutually guaranteed that they would allow no one to change this form of government, or, as they hypocritically put it, to deprive the Polish republic of the right of free election. Any half measure will have the most disastrous effect on the Rouman mind, and, indeed, on the Christians of the East generally, disposing them to set lightly by our promises and our generosity, and to turn to Russia as the only power from which effectual protection is to be expected.

Ancient Rome perished partly because she had destroyed the nationalities that should have been dykes around her. Modern Turkey has successively lost Algiers, Tunis, and Egypt; and it

is remarkable that the two last states, as semi-independent vassals, were of much more use to her in the late war than they would have been had they remained misgoverned provinces. The question is one of strength or weakness for the northern frontier. Would it not have been better for Turkey, had Roumania been made a Christian Egypt a hundred years ago? Who is likely to be the most vigilant sentinel on the Danube,—the lethargic Turk, or the inhabitants on the spot?

But is the garrison really well-disposed? Is not its religion enough to secure its attachment to Russia? Religion,—this is indeed the weak point in the argument of the advocate for the Roumans. The whole civilization of a people, both in kind and in degree, depends on its religion; and, alas! the Greek Church is lower in the scale of Christianity than the Romish, as low as the Armenian: to find anything worse we should have to go to the Copts or the Abyssinians. The religion of the Roumans, we must own, forces us to doubt of their political future, and to look upon the experiment which would give them practical independence with anything but certainty of success. We look upon it, however, as the most just, and the least hazardous, of the alternatives before us; and what we fear in the influence of Greek religion upon the Roumans is not so much the creation of direct sympathy with Russia, as that general keeping down of moral tone which would hinder the aristocracy and middle class from attaining the sound integrity necessary to save their independence. The Greek Church does not, like the Roman, tend to absorb nationalities, but exhibits half a dozen separate church organizations: the election of the Rouman metropolitans is notified for form's sake to their elder spiritual brother, the patriarch of Constantinople, but he exercises no positive jurisdiction over them. With the Russian Church in particular the Roumans sympathize but partially. 'We do not recognise,' writes a Moldo-Wallachian, the successor of Peter the Great as a religious authority, nor admire the servile system of St. Petersburg. We prefer the authority of patriarchs to that of Cæsars. It is from Rome, moreover, that the autocratic system has borrowed the indissolubility of marriages and the non-election of bishops.' The secular Rouman clergy, the parish priests, desire no foreign sceptre; the monks do so notoriously, and it is through them that Russia has always tried to exercise her influence; but they are despised by the people, with whom the epithet *Greceasca* is as much a term of contempt as *Græculus esuriens* was with Juvenal; so that the hostility between regular and secular clergy tells against the popularity of Russia, 'that pious nation,' as she is sarcastically called, 'the friend of Greek

monkery.' It was practically Russia that, through the *hegoumenoi*, administered the affairs of these its indefatigable auxiliaries; but if the Roumans are allowed to be their own masters, one of their first measures will be to secularize the management of this vast property. The patriarch of Constantinople having been recently encouraged by the Porte to claim a sort of jurisdiction over the Rouman metropolitans, the Moldavian divan appointed a committee to examine the question, and, upon its report, asserted the independence of their national Church, proving it, in the first instance, by synodical letters in the time of the Emperor John Palæologus, and of Alexander the Good, prince of Moldavia during the first thirty-two years of the fifteenth century; secondly, by the ecclesiastical code in vigour since 1652; thirdly, by the testimony of the historian, prince Demetrius Cantemir; fourthly, by a firman of the Porte; fifthly, by the organic instrument of 1831. This vote was called a revolutionary measure by the Vienna press; and the *Times*, without knowing anything of the matter, did not fail to repeat the accusation. The degree of influence which community of religion exercises should be decided by experience, and not by mere theorizing; and in the case of the Roumans experience has shown that identity of religion was not enough to dispose them, as a people, in favour of Russia, even when they were trodden under foot, and received protection from no quarter but Russia: how much less is it to be feared, if they become a free people under the protection of united Europe!

But all this agitation about the Union has been suggested by Russia, we are told: she gives her voice for it, and that is enough to show that we ought to vote against it. Russia, says a Rouman, in answer to this argument, is but the phantom of greatness; it has always been building on illusions that it has had the art to propagate. If you want to increase its *prestige* in Roumania, you need only say that the call for union is a Russian intrigue; for you will thereby make its counsels one with our aspirations. The fact is, on the contrary, 'in joining France on the question of the Union, Russia tries to seize the *beau rôle;* she does not wish for the Union any more than Austria does, she cannot wish for it; but she pretends to do so, in order to prove her generosity, her liberality, and to exhibit herself to all eyes as the ally of the victorious power.' This explanation of Russian policy is universal among the writer's countrymen. They remember how violently the late Emperor Nicholas expressed himself, in 1848, against the establishment of an independent Roumania; and they believe that the present cabinet of St. Petersburg affects to wish for the Union, as the

best way to hinder it. It is certainly remarkable, that all the old Russian partisans are, to borrow an Americanism, rabid anti-Unionists. One of caimacam Vogorides' greatest supporters is bishop Suhopan, who in 1853 called upon the people from the pulpit to take up arms for the orthodox faith. We do not suppose that this clique has received any secret instructions from its old patron, but it must possess the instinct that its present attitude is no unpardonable offence. The Russian journal in Belgium too, the *Nord*, supports the Union in a very reserved and shuffling way, with an evident absence of heartiness. The real calculation of the cabinet of St. Petersburg must be something of this sort: 'The Union is a disadvantage; for Jassy is within a few hours of our frontier, and if the provinces were kept apart, Moldavia could be more easily closed against the West: but the appointment of an hereditary prince is a greater evil still. Perhaps by supporting the Union we may find means the better to hinder the greater evil; besides, if we oppose the Rouman people altogether, we set them irrecoverably against us. Let us therefore support the Union nominally: if it be rejected by the Congress, so much the better; if it pass, we shall at least have gained in popularity what we lose in opportunity.'

'Roumania would prove a second Greece, an advanced post of the Russian Empire.' There is this great difference at the outset, that the Roumans know the Russians as bad neighbours, to whom they would never give themselves up except in despair; the Greeks know them as powerful and distant protectors. In a work published by the celebrated Count de Mirabeau, in 1788, there appears a remarkable memoir drawn up by some Austrian general officers, in 1774, in answer to questions dictated by the cabinet of Vienna. They speak of the Rouman peasants as undergoing all sorts of oppression and injustice from the boyards: the latter, it is said, feel great hostility to Austria; the peasants would have wished to belong to Russia, 'but, having been recently occupied by the Russians, they have learned to know the real value of the government for which they sighed.' It is to be hoped that they have learned it still better during the eighty-four years that have elapsed since this was written.

We believe the inordinate increase of Russian power to be the great danger for the present and for some future generations. The ambitious projects of that cabinet are but too well seconded by the massive strength of its own prodigious and generally homogeneous population, by the relationship of race with twenty-five millions of Sclavonic subjects of Austria and Turkey, and by the relation-

ship of religion with these and some eight or ten millions more. Russia, like the old Romans, has always quarrels in reserve for the opportune moment, a capital of blood and spoils; but in this more powerful than ancient Rome,—the nucleus of native population is immensely larger, and religious instincts are transformed into elements of conquest. We have faith in the destinies of England and of the world; but we will not conceal from ourselves that more unlikely events have come to pass than would be the breaking up of both the Austrian and Turkish Empires to the aggrandizement of Russia, and the establishment of a power such as the world has never seen, no, not under Napoleon I.,—a power reigning in the Baltic, the Archipelago, and the Adriatic, giving law to Europe, and comforting the multitude of its subjects for the absence of every liberty by the splendour of this slavery. As long as Europe is disquieted by the possibility, however faint, of such a triumph of barbarism, so long must the possession and security, or else neutrality, of the Moldo-Wallachian territory remain of an importance that can hardly be exaggerated. 'The world's centre of gravity is on the Lower Danube,' said the sagacious Talleyrand. The gate of the world was already disputed on the Danube between Roman and barbarian eighteen centuries ago; and if the Rhine has since then supplanted it in importance for a time, it will never do so again. The lower Danube is the weak point of Europe, and no short-sighted philanthropy should hinder us from using every lawful means to prevent Russian extension in this valuable quarter. We have the right not to allow its population, if they were so disposed, to bring one of the greatest of calamities upon Europe and upon themselves. But do we weaken Russia by throwing the Roumans into its arms? That is the practical question. The Roumans themselves are willing to tell us what they think of the matter.

'The war has removed from our frontiers the dangers that threatened them on the side of Russia: it is Austria now that takes the place of Russia, who at least defended us against the encroachments of Turkey; and it is thought this will prove a mean of combating the sympathies for Russia that may exist among us. Then the sooner Europe is undeceived the better.....We will be the allies of the Porte, but we never will be *rayas!* If we are not to be independent, if we must have a master, at least we will choose a powerful one. The stronger he be, the more bearable our servitude. Between Austria that covets us, Russia that desires us, Turkey that holds us, we must make a choice, and most assuredly the choice will not fall upon the last.....The surest way to ruin the influence of the cabinet of St. Petersburg in this country, is to borrow Russia's own weapons, to give to Europe the part that this cabinet has been playing alone for more than a century. It is to

substitute the collective and disinterested protection of the great powers for the exclusive and interested protection of the Czar.....Has the separation of the two provinces been an obstacle to the views of the Russian cabinet? Has it not rather favoured them? You cannot help the existence of community of religion from of old between Russia and Roumania; you cannot hinder their frontiers from touching; but you may so act, that it may not be their interest to recur to the protection of the Czars.....Is it just to have us tossed about according to the vacillations of the divan at Stamboul? to take no account of our interests or sympathies, but to impose upon us the interests or sympathies of others? Allies of Turkey, as long as you please; but vassals of Russia or Austria, never!'

The Roumans have surely had good cause to abhor and to despise Turkey. It promised solemnly to defend their frontiers, and has given away whole provinces. It opens the door to Austria now, as it did once to Russia. Its protectorate consists practically in hesitating to whom it is to hand them over. Yet notwithstanding all this, the Roumans are only anxious to be protected against the iron dominion of such masters as Austria or Russia, by the nominal sovereignty of the Sultan. 'The Turks are very good when they remain Turks, and don't make themselves Austrians or Russians.' 'What Moldo-Wallachia fears more than anything is a feeble, hesitating Turkey, turning incessantly from Russia to Austria, and *vice versâ*, making the Principalities the everlasting battle-ground of Muscovite and Austrian intrigue.' Impose upon this people in earnest the yoke of either Turkey or Austria, and what it may cost them we cannot calculate, but assuredly it will cost British statesmen the bitterest regret.

The warmth with which France supports the claims of the Roumans has not perhaps been altogether without weight in determining the English government to take the opposite side. France has responded too readily to the interested advances of Russia since the peace. The ungenerous attempts of the French public, with the indirect countenance of the court, to depreciate the British army and its exploits in the Crimea, must have created just indignation in the minds of British statesmen and publicists. But the poor Roumans should not suffer for the faults of our vain-glorious allies. We will not venture to affirm that there were no selfish views connected with the sympathy of Napoleon III. for their cause. It would doubtless be agreeable to the Emperor to have a French dynasty established in Moldo-Wallachia. But, with the exception of the *Univers* and *Union Catholique*, whose ultramontanism makes them the warm advocates of Austria, French writers, of all shades of opinion, are so unanimous, that we are constrained to look upon the public

feeling as one of unselfish sympathy with a kindred race, a lost sister just recovered; and of course this feeling awakens a most enthusiastic response from the Roumans. They have passed through the hands of more oppressors than any other people, except the Jews; but never before did they meet with a nation disposed to befriend them. The influence of England has altogether given way to that of France. Here is an extract from a letter from Jassy to a Brussels paper:—

'One thing that afflicts us here is, that the English government should have abandoned us. English ideas, in matters of civil liberty, were the admiration of many; much was expected from the people which boasts of having founded liberty on a solid base. But what are we to think when we see English policy associated with that of Austria? The English are said to be angry, because at this moment we have more sympathy with the French nation. But could it be otherwise? Is it not France that has made our national fibre vibrate by twice proposing, in the councils of diplomacy, this popular wish,—the Union of the Principalities? Is not the French government the only one that has remembered us? Is it not French writers that defended, and still defend most warmly, our cause?'

Here is part of a letter addressed to Lord Cowley:—

'It is not so simple a thing to change measures as diplomatists imagine. When England abandons France for Austria, she lowers herself in the eyes of the world; she practically says to Italy, "Reckon no longer upon me, remain in thy shroud; I will never say, *Lazarus, come forth!*" Let King Bomba, the crowned tyrant, torture his subjects and insult civilization, England can say nothing to him, she must respect the brother-in-law of her august ally. The protection of the unhappy, that England is giving up, another power shall inherit it. Look around you, my lord, and tell me by what advantages you will make up for the loss of the moral influence that gave you so many clients. England appeared great and noble when she rose up before Europe, followed by a train of oppressed nations; but she seems little when she takes her place beside Austria. As for the Principalities, you promised to bring them progress, civilization, and liberty; and in their stead you have brought them the cane of the Austrian corporal, the avidity and delays of Austria's bureaucracy, the odious rigour of her police, the infamous corruption of her *espionnage;* and now there are the Jesuits to boot!'

It is evident these passages, and many like them, were written for effect. Writers unacquainted with the English mind, and with our thorough indifference to what other people think of us, hoped to work upon our national self-love. But the feelings they express are not the less genuine; and if England can afford to do without the good opinion of the Roumans, it is to be regretted for their own sakes that we have lost our influence upon them,

and that the name of England no longer symbolizes in their eyes liberty and right. No Englishman who has always lived at home can form the least surmise of the vast store of hatred that misrepresentation, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, have been accumulating against us in continental minds for generations. Despots hate us for our liberal institutions; revolutionists, because we will not forward their wild schemes; France, because we have succeeded too well in this world; Russia, because we alone are in her way; Greek and Catholic, because we are Protestants; and now we have given the Roumans just cause of complaint. Englishmen who know the Continent can sigh with Byron,—

> 'Alas! could she but fully, truly know
> How her great name is now throughout abhorr'd;
> How eager all the earth is for the blow
> Which shall lay bare her bosom to the sword;
> How all the nations deem her their worst foe,
> That worse than *worst of foes*, the once adored
> False friend, who held out freedom to mankind,
> And now would chain them.'.....

The Roumans like to contemplate Belgium as the model of their future organization; a country that Europe has made neutral, and that about equals their own in its present population, though of far inferior resources for the future. What Belgium and Switzerland are between the centre and the west of Europe, they would wish to be between the north and south-east. We reckon in any case upon this country being proclaimed neutral, like the two just mentioned and the Black Sea. Perhaps it is by the gradual increase of the number of neutral seas and territories that the ravages of war may be gradually circumscribed, and its final cessation prepared. Whatever fears we may entertain about the future of Moldo-Wallachia, a low form of religion has not hindered Belgium and Sardinia from retaining free institutions: the experiment of favouring another people with them is surely worth the trial. We have seen ruins enough, we know too well how nations perish; would that we knew better how they rise into political existence! M. Guinet's work on Roumania ends with a noble protest, in which we gladly join, against the most odious and criminal of infanticides, the stifling the first life-cry of a people. Adopting this similitude, we would say, Roumania is a sickly child; we dare not hope much from it; but humanity bids us let it have a trial for its life. If the experiment fail, matters will not be worse than they would at once on the refusal to try the experiment. There were very

plausible political reasons found for the dismemberment of unfortunate Poland, yet we blame our fathers for having allowed it.

We shall see what He who rules the hearts of kings has in reserve for this people. If they are to be disappointed, there is one consideration which would partially console us for so false a step. It is possible, that there will be more security for religious liberty, and more hope of the spread of Protestantism in the provinces, if the connexion with Turkey is made more immediate, just as the fatal battle of Mohacz allowed the Reformation to spread in Hungary, and penetrate into Transylvania. We cannot help suspecting that the boasted toleration of Roumania is partly owing to the absence of vigorous assaults upon the established faith. When the continuance of religious liberty was voted lately by the Moldavian divan, Monseigneur Scribau and one or two other clerical deputies wished to introduce some reserves and exceptions: it is easy to conceive how the union of priestly and magisterial functions in the same persons would, under certain circumstances, facilitate despotic restrictions on religious liberty.

We dare not trespass on the reader's patience by entering upon the question of the navigation of the Danube. We will only say that Turkey, who does not trouble herself about Bosnian, Bulgarian, Rouman, or Servian interests, is the tool of Austria; and the extremely illiberal policy of the latter power shows that she will make no sacrifice whatever in return for the countenance given to her ambitious and ungenerous projects by the English government. The most important object, indeed, for us was to have access to the grain-exporting ports on the Lower Danube, without being dependent for it upon any other power; and this is secured: but the cheapness or dearness of freight on the Pruth, the Sereth, the Danube, and the Save, is by no means indifferent to British manufacturers, since there is a prodigious non-Austrian and non-manufacturing population on those rivers; and dear it will be, if the arrangements of the *Riverain* states are not controlled. The traffic of a French steam-boat company on the Lower Danube has already been interrupted.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

Omphalos: an Attempt to untie the Geological Knot. By Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S. London. 1857.—In this interesting work Mr. Gosse makes a confident attempt to vindicate the Mosaic history of creation, according the old and literal reading of the sacred text. In so doing he accepts what may be called the *facts* of geology, but repudiates the *conclusions* of its eminent professors. His argument consists in the assertion and application of a principle here styled the law of prochronism, and may be summarily stated in few words. The course of nature, says our author, is a circle. The order of organic life is strictly and invariably circular, without definite beginning, without natural conclusion. However closely the structure and development of any organism may be scrutinized and traced, no philosopher can put his finger on the point of origin, and say, This is the starting-point of its existence. It is only an arbitrary expedient to date the commencement of such existence from the first trace of germinal or embryonic life. If the flower is folded in the germ, the germ is first embedded in the flower. If the matured organism springs from the embryo, the embryo itself demands a parent organism: the embryo, therefore, is as truly the issue as it is the source of organic life. This principle our author largely illustrates by reference to the natural kingdom. His first examples are from the vegetable world: 'See that magnificent tuft of lady-fern on yonder bank, arching its exquisitely cut fronds so elegantly on every side. A few years ago this ample crown was but a single small frond, which you would probably not have recognised as that of a lady-fern. Somewhat earlier than this the plant was a minute flat green expansion (*prothallus*), of no definite outline, very much like a liverwort. This had been previously a three-sided spore lying on the damp earth, whither it had been jerked by the rupture of a capsule (*theca*). For this spore, though so small as to be visible only by microscopic aid, had a previous history, which may be traced without difficulty. It was generated, with hundreds more, in one of many capsules, which were crowded together, beneath the oval bit of membrane, that

covered one of the brown spots, (*sori*,) which were developed in the under surface of the fronds of an earlier lady-fern. That earlier lady-fern had in turn passed through the same stages of sporal frond, prothallus, spore, theca, sorus, frond, prothallus, &c., *ad infinitum*.' The illustrations which follow are profuse as well as beautiful. We select one more, and this time from the animal kingdom: 'The cow that peacefully ruminates under the grateful shadow of yonder spreading beech was a year or two ago a gamesome heifer with budding horns. The year before she was a bleating calf, which again had been a breathless *fœtus* wrapped up in the womb of its mother. Earlier still it had been an unformed vesicle, a microscopically minute ball, formed out of one of the component cells of a still earlier structure,—the germinal vesicle of a fecundated *ovum*. But this *ovum*, which is the remotest point to which we can trace the history of our cow as an individual, was, before it assumed a distinct individuality, an undistinguishable constituent of a *viscus*,—the *ovum* of another cow, an essential part of *her* structure, a portion of the tissues of *her* body, to be traced back, therefore, through all the stages which I have enumerated above to the tissues of another parent cow, thence to those of a former, and so on, through a vista of receding cows so long as you choose to follow it.' The author adds, 'This then is the order of all organic nature.' Here let us pause. Our readers have already gained some intimation of the way in which this principle may be applied; but before we follow Mr. Gosse into a more questionable part of his argument, let us see how much is really established. The law of prochronism makes creation the necessary commencement of organic life; but, more than this, it establishes the fact of a number of independent acts of creation against the theory of serial development. Creation, says our author, is an irruption into the circle of organic life; and as every species has a distinct circle to itself, a separate creative act must have attended the origination of every species. It is an invaluable book which sets this truth before us in a clear and unanswerable manner. But what is the bearing of this doctrine on the literal reading of the Mosaic record, and especially on the supposed difficulties of geology? It is relevant, indeed, to the first; but incompetent, we think, to meet the last. Let it be granted that Adam was created with adult proportions and matured faculties, and that these, although actually due to immediate creative power and wisdom, bore the usual signs of development and growth. Let it be granted that the trees of Eden might well bear the same delusive marks of stages of existence through which they had never passed. Our author has still to show that the principle of prochronism applies with equal force to inorganic matter; and even when he has proved that it has a legitimate application to the frame-work of the globe, his task is not done. Grant that the course of nature, as a whole, is circular; that the career of the Gulf stream, for example, is an illustration of a perpetual revolution, still beginning and nowhere ending, in which creation is involved. This only affects the structure and course of our planet; but what of its buried contents? Series of strata

may, despite the ordinary laws of evidence, have merely a prochronic history and significance; but the fossils of organized creatures were surely not necessarily involved in the construction of a habitable globe; and if they are found embedded in a world and in a spot that has every other trace of the march and action of succeeding years, should not it make our author pause before denouncing the chronology which claims and harmonizes both?

The World of Mind. An Elementary Book. By Isaac Taylor. London: Jackson and Walford. 1857.—Mr. Taylor has an established reputation in various branches of literature. We greatly value his earliest contribution to intellectual philosophy, and think that the *Elements of Thought* may be of considerable service still to those who are commencing metaphysical studies. The *World of Mind* is intended to be supplementary to the former work, and introductory to another, which is hereafter to appear. The present is a volume of substantial excellence. It is more compact in its structure, and less rhetorical in its style, than some of its predecessors from the same prolific pen; and it abounds with examples of searching analysis and sound generalization, which cannot fail to commend it to careful and thoughtful readers. It is not a *history* of mental science; and yet it is impossible to peruse a chapter without perceiving that there is scarcely a school of ancient philosophy with which the author is not acquainted, and scarcely a phase of modern metaphysics which has escaped the glance of his wakeful eye. Mr. Taylor regards his subject as susceptible of an obvious distribution, under three heads, as thus:—'There are subjects belonging properly to the PHYSIOLOGY of MIND, or psychology, as it is now called; such are, whatever relates to *sensation*, *perception*, *memory*, and the like: secondly, themes of a more abstruse kind, and which may be designated as METAPHYSICAL; the terms, *space*, *time*, *cause*, and *effect*, belong to this department: thirdly, there is what constitutes the science and art of LOGIC; the terms *induction*, *deduction*, *syllogism*, *evidence*, *doubt*, *belief*, and the like, belong to the third department.'—Page 18. This distribution, which is the same as that adopted in the *Elements of Thought*, is adhered to in the present treatise; but the arrangement of topics is altered. The foremost place is assigned to METAPHYSICS, and the chapters devoted to the discussion of this subject are amongst the most valuable in his book. The author thinks it undesirable to attempt a definition of mind, knowing so little of what it really *is;* and substitutes for a definition of its nature a description of its characteristics, which is sufficient for all scientific purposes. He discriminates with great acuteness, and marks off with admirable exactitude, the respective provinces of animal physiology and intellectual philosophy; and shows that the old conflict between the materialists and idealists has been a perpetual battle with shadows, and can never be terminated on a strictly logical basis. It is, in fact, the sport of suicides. He deals most effectually with the prejudices of those who regard metaphysical science as a region of cloud-land, and contends that it is simply the application of the Baconian *Organon* to the phenomena of mind. In

some of the author's expositions of ultimate abstractions we thoroughly acquiesce. In reference to the *infinite* he says, 'The supposition of an endless progress, or movement onward, though we fail to follow it conceptively, compacts itself into an abstract notion for which we require a name; and we call it the infinite, or infinitude.'—Page 32. We should say the infinite is a *belief*, rather than a *notion;* it is an intuition of reason rather than a product of reasoning. Mr. Taylor would probably not object to this, as we find him saying farther on, 'The human mind connects itself with the unknown and the infinite in various modes of undefined feeling, and of intuitive or irresistible persuasion.'—Page 344. As to *space*, he supposes the case of an annihilated sphere, and says, it 'has left a sort of residual meaning in its place, or a shadow of reality which asks a name. This remainder of meaning is symbolized or represented by the word SPACE; and when we have accepted it, we feel as if an intellectual necessity had been supplied.'—Page 32. Again, 'The sphere, in ceasing to exist, does not release us from the notion of space; but when the human mind has come to touch this border, it must be content to retrace its steps toward the concrete; whatever there may be outstretched beyond this limit, it is what can never become an intelligible object of inquiry.'—Page 37. Space is not only a form of sensibility or subjective condition of thought, as Kant maintained, but it is also an objective condition of perception; and, although beyond the boundaries of matter it ceases to be 'an intelligible object of inquiry,' it is still, as ever, an inevitable necessity of our reason. To think *no space without us* is an utter impossibility. Space is the home of being. Of *power* Mr. Taylor writes with singular clearness and irresistible cogency. 'The most subtile processes of logic,' says he, 'still leave us in possession of the intuitive belief that MIND is free in some sense in which nothing else is free.'—Page 50. This distinguishes it at once from all the operations of physical law. It is in the first springing forth of volitional energy that the idea of power emerges. We cordially agree with him, that 'MIND is the only *power* or force in the universe of which we have or can have any cognizance.'—Page 52. In this treatise the moral nature of man is fully recognised; the facts of his consciousness are carefully examined, and the conclusions which they warrant fearlessly exhibited. 'Among our instinctive convictions, none is more absolute, or more persistent, than that of the moral sense. We feel *as if* MIND *in man* were endowed with a POWER toward good and evil, which gives coherence to its consciousness, and which brings its faculties into unison.'—Page 93. This moral sense is constantly pointing to an authority above us to which we are related; and it harmonizes with all the teachings of revelation respecting our present duty, and our future destiny. We have observed with satisfaction the profound regard which the author of this volume cherishes for the Holy Scriptures. He says, 'The only form of truth, moral and spiritual, concerning the Unknown and the Infinite, which, in this age, we need be concerned with in serious mood, has reached us in that one way which alone could give it fixity among the multifarious and

interminable evolutions of meditative thought. It has come to us in the categoric and peremptory form of an attested utterance from the unseen world.'—Page 345. Many attempts have of late been made to bring the doctrines of revelation and the discoveries of science into harmony; but those attempts have too often been conducted on *à priori* principles, and have been barren of practical results. The Bible has been warped to support creeds, and nature has been twisted to uphold theories; and, instead of adjustment, we have had confusion. Mr. Taylor says, 'In the prosecution of the modern physical sciences, the human mind has demonstrated the congruity of the human reason with *that* REASON of which the material universe is the product. The mind which understands, and the MIND which has produced this scheme of things, are in unison.'—Page 346. Well conceived and well expressed is this profound and beautiful sentiment; and why, we would ask, might not the same principle be adduced in order to establish the unison of science with revelation? In this brief sketch of the *World of Mind*, we have limited our notes to that department of it which is occupied by MAN; but it must not be supposed that Mr. Taylor's plan is so circumscribed in its range. On the contrary, his WORLD is a wide world; it constitutes a community that is inconceivably extended and multiplied on all sides,—a community in which the 'higher order of mind is but as one to millions, incalculably many, of the inferior rank.'

The Land of Promise: Notes of a Spring Journey from Beersheba to Sidon. By Horatius Bonar, D.D. London: Nisbet and Co. 1858.—Such is the unassuming title of a volume whose pages are replete with hallowed interest; and although we have had occasion of late to notice several valuable works on Oriental topography, we direct the reader's attention to this with peculiar pleasure. The theme is inexhaustible. In the language of our author, 'Palestine bears to be often visited, and can afford to be spoken of for the hundredth time, without yielding less to one that may come after. Each new study of its history or geography, if rightly guiding itself, will lay down new formations, and take us down to new deposits. Its great events have not erased each other, as is often the case in other histories. They have not come like wave on wave, or like the ripple on the sand, effacing all that has been before. They have formed so many separate strata, each of which remains for ever, ready to give up its story to any one that will search.' Concerning the *future* of Israel and the Land of Promise, Dr. Bonar speaks in unmeasured and confident terms. If (as we intimated in our notice of his work on Sinai) the wâdys of the Sinaitic peninsula are, in his esteem, to overflow with limpid waters, and its calcined crags to be covered with 'the glory of Lebanon, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon;' how much more sure is he that the *debris*, which meets him everywhere in the covenanted land, shall be replaced by the vine and the fig-tree, the oil-olive and pomegranate, the corn-fields of the valleys, and the shooting branches of the terebinth and the cedar on the top of the rocks! 'Here is a land waiting for a people, and a people waiting for

a land. Is there no meaning in the fact, that there has been for ages no real security for landed property in Palestine?.....Proper security there is none. The true heir is absent; and, in his absence, his land cannot legally be bought and sold. Had he been dead, the transfer might have gone on. But he is alive, and, though absent, he refuses to give his consent to any alienation of his patrimonial acres. Till his signature can be obtained, all purchases must be a venture, and all "deeds and dispositions" mere empty scrolls.' (Page 21.) Yet this venture is being largely made. The representatives of Russia, Austria, and France, are fast buying up the sacred places, and fierce contests may yet be waged about them over every acre of Mount Zion. When and where shall the claim of Israel be acknowledged? Waving in the noon-breeze, there are the flags of many nations,—the British, the Russian, the French, the Austrian, the Turkish; but no Hebrew flag floats over house or tower of the sacred city. The 'lion' of Judah and the 'wolf' of Benjamin have no banner in a city which was once wholly their own. It is true enough that the Jew has no present. He lives in the past or the future. 'Jerusalem as it was, and Jerusalem as it shall be; these are the two great objects of engrossment.' (Page 152.) Leaving the author's views of 'Jerusalem as it shall be,' (though casting towards it as fond, if not as confident, a look as his own,) our space only admits of reference to his descriptions of 'Jerusalem as it was.' Its environs rise up before us in the vitality of unforgotten youth. His description of the wâdy and village of Urtass includes a masterly revival of the pompous days of Solomon, when that monarch appeared in all his glory; but the passage is too long to quote. The scene of this highly-coloured picture of Judean pageantry is still a lovely retreat for the inhabitants of Bethlehem and Jerusalem. Meshullam, the owner, a converted Jew, is forming an extensive plantation of olives, and figs, and vines. Whilst we write, we have before us some of the flowers with which its neighbouring heights are sprinkled:—the anemone, which, with its crimson flowers and fringe-like leaf, rises wherever there is the smallest patch of soil into which to strike; the white everlasting; the pheasant's eye; the yellow white star, which clings to every crevice; fern, and grass, and orchis, &c. Truly *Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.* Dr. Bonar's geological predilections and attainments, which, as we have seen, have fuller scope amid the sandstone and primitive Sinaitic groups, render good service here, however, in enabling him to discuss the deeply interesting subject of the quarries underneath and around Jerusalem. 'As at the present day, so in former ages, stones of the first limestone rock were to be had in abundance and just at hand. For cedars Solomon must send to Lebanon, for firs to some of the Syrian mountains, for shittim-wood to the Desert, for copper to Wâdy Maghara, or Swabit-el-Khadem, for gold and silver to the farthest south; but for stone he did not need to go a mile beyond Jerusalem. It lay all around and beneath.' The caverns formed an easy commencement for quarries; the stone underground being softer and more easily worked. This

may be seen by some parts of the sub-structure of the Mosque, to which light and air have not free access. Exposure to sun and air indurates the stone. The builders of the city and of the Temple, therefore, took advantage of the natural excavations with which these limestone rocks abound. Our author can boast of the rare achievement of having entered the Mosque of Omar twice, and twice returned safely from it. We can enter into the ardent associations awakened as he trod the pavement over which Kings, and priests, and prophets, and the Son of God Himself had walked; and which has since been drenched by the blood of Jew, and Saracen, and Crusader. And only second in interest is the minute description of 'the consecrated rock,' left grey and bare in the centre of the gorgeous mosque, and which our author is *quite sure* (!) is none other than 'the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite,—the great centre or pivot round which all Israel's worship was to turn in future days.' But we can only allude to this elaborate account of the history of Moriah, and the Temple, and the Mosque. The discussions relative to Bir-es-Seba; the ascent to Dhahariyah; the cave of Machpelah; the possibility of the preservation of the bodies of the patriarchs; and especially the inquiries concerning Caleb's mountain and the city of Hebron; cannot fail to awaken the profoundest interest, and enlarge the reader's acquaintance with Old-Testament narrative.—We must not close this volume without a reference to its valuable APPENDIX, containing, in the first part, topographical notes concerning Rephaim, Hinnom, Gihon, the valley of Jehoshaphat, En-rogel, the Tyropæon, the Citadel, the tomb of the Kings, and the place of the crucifixion; and, in the second, a magazine of bibliographical literature, which is 'meant chiefly to contain a list of books upon the geography and topography of Palestine, with such remarks on them as have occurred to the author.' This list extends from 'The Voyage of Helena, the Empress, Daughter of Cœlus, King of Britain, and Mother of Constantine the Great, to Jerusalem, A.D. 337,' to 'Travels in several Parts of Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land, by James Haynes. London. 1741.' The Index, moreover, is in itself a repertory of topographical information.

The Song of Songs: translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary, Historical and Critical. By Christian D. Ginsburg. Longman. 1857.—This work is announced as the first of a series of Commentaries upon the five books called the *Megiloth*. If the entire undertaking be accomplished with the same learning and diligence which distinguish this instalment, the whole will be a most valuable contribution to the exegesis of the Old Testament. The author labours under a disadvantage in this volume which he will scarcely encounter again. His work is based upon a theory of the design of the Canticles which the greater part of the Christian world will reject at once. It is thus stated:—'This Song records the real history of a humble but virtuous woman, who, after having been espoused to a man of like humble circumstances, had been tempted in a most alluring manner to abandon him, and transfer her affections to one of the wisest and richest of men, but who successfully resisted

all temptations, remained faithful to her espousals, and was ultimately rewarded for her virtue.' This theory will imply, in the estimation of most of our readers, a fundamental error, the pervading influence of which must render the book worthless. But such a pre-judgment would be a great mistake. We are not among the number of those who accept such a theory, or any one of the many modifications of it which are current, as a relief from a great and heavy difficulty. But the value of the work is rather increased than lessened by the hypothesis which it espouses. The maintenance of that hypothesis has given birth to the most thorough and exhaustive disquisition upon the history of the exposition of this wonderful Book which our language contains. The literal, allegorical, and typical interpretations are tracked, concurrently and in succession, through the whole series of Jewish and Christian theological literature, from the earliest times to the present day. Moreover, all the miscellaneous introductory matter which is necessary to the right understanding of the Song as a work of art, is condensed and set before the reader in a luminous form. And, finally, the translation and comment upon the original text are executed by one who is evidently a profound Hebrew scholar. The notes are of so judicious a character, that the student must be greatly aided by them in the exposition of the Book, whatever key he may himself apply to it. He who accepts the hypothesis as a happy expedient, will regard this as a most complete edition of an ancient sacred poem; and he who thinks that the Holy Spirit had a deeper design than to exhibit *the reward of virtue*, must yet admit that a most useful superstructure is erected on an unsound foundation.

The Psalms chronologically arranged, with Historical Introductions; and a General Introduction to the whole Book. By F. G. Hibbard, Author of 'History and Geography of Palestine,' &c. In Two Parts. New York: Carlton and Porter. 1856.—This edition of the Book of Psalms we greatly admire, and cordially recommend it to every student of Holy Scripture. It is not a Commentary, in the ordinary sense of the word; it is simply a new edition of the English authorized version; but based on a principle which gives it an immeasurable advantage over every other similar work with which we are acquainted. The principle is that of chronological arrangement: the author disposes the several compositions in their order, and amid the historical circumstances out of which they grew; assigns them, according to his best lights, to their authors; and prefaces each Psalm, or group of Psalms, with such introductory notices as serve to interweave the whole body of them into the fabric of Old Testament history. It must be observed, however, that this work does not aim at any innovation on the established arrangement of the Book of Psalms as an isolated section of the sacred Scriptures. It is the Holy Spirit's own selection and combination of the devotional poetry of the ancient economy. It was His will that a large number of hymns with which Hebrew literature had been enriched should be irrecoverably lost in the course of time. It was by His authority that the holy songs which He

had inspired from age to age were gathered together into one whole, and preserved for the better economy, without any direct connexion with their authors, their circumstances, and their occasions. No modern Ezra, therefore, may interfere with that arrangement; nor could any human skill now suffice to distribute the Psalms in the exact order, or amid the exact historical relations, of their original production. For the highest purposes which these holy hymns subserve, in the edification of Christian man, and the direction of Christian worship, their present miscellaneous and uncombined order is doubtless the best. The devout soul loses sight of David and all his afflictions, when he pours forth his sorrows, and hopes, and fears in the great Psalmist's universal language of appeal to God. Open the book wherever he may, he finds his own experience reflected, and acceptable words put into his lips. *Not unto themselves, but unto us all they ministered* those everlasting songs. Of this the present editor is deeply conscious. He has accomplished his task in the most reverent and humble spirit; simply giving the results of long and patient research in the disposition of the several Psalms, adopting the appropriate metrical form, but retaining the authorized version, with its marginal annotations. Of the value of his running introductions we cannot speak too highly. They are, indeed, the distinctive characteristic and highest recommendation of the volume. The light which they shed upon the preacher's critical study of the text is far more important than any one would suppose who was not used to its aid in his studies; and we are doing good service to all young Ministers, when we recommend them to make this edition of the Psalms their working companion. The former part of the work has great value, though not sufficient of itself to give any prominence to this edition. It embraces the usual matter of introductions, and is especially copious on the authors and titles. The summary of their theology, too, is remarkably comprehensive and exact; but the section on the Messianic element is very deficient, in our judgment; more especially when compared with the copiousness of modern literature on this question,—a question of such supreme importance in the exposition of the Psalms. On the whole, it strikes us that much of the general introduction might be incorporated to advantage with the running prefaces; nearly all, for instance, that is said upon the vindictive and Messianic Psalms. This last question being viewed more comprehensively, as the occasions for it gradually arise; the general introduction, as such, being condensed, and put into a more summary form; and a few notes being here and there added; this edition of the Psalms would be perfect in its kind. As far as it goes, it is so already; and we congratulate and thank the learned author for his most acceptable contribution to English expository literature.

The Outlines of Theology: or, The general Principles of revealed Religion briefly stated. Designed for the Use of Families, and Students in Divinity. By the Rev. James Clark. Vols. I. and II. London: Ward. 1857.—Systems of divinity are proverbially dry,

even in the estimation of serious readers; and yet we must have such books. The Scriptures are not systematic in form, but, like nature, various and promiscuous; all their treasures may be classified, but they must first be gathered and assorted; and if intelligently grouped, we see no reason why revealed facts and principles should not be as interesting and beautiful, when classified, as other systems; and more so, inasmuch as they embrace the highest truths and affect the most important interests. Mr. Clark has well justified the use of such compendiums in his introductory Lecture on 'the Advantages of reducing the Principles of Religion to a System for ourselves.' In the general character of the first volume of the *Outlines* there is much to admire. We cannot, however, but regret that more exact logic has not been observed in the mode of stating many points in the evidences of revelation, and that the *petitio principii* is allowed to creep in to weaken, if not to invalidate, the whole. We refer particularly to the proofs of the authenticity of the sacred Scriptures, which are somewhat unguardedly stated. But our chief complaint in respect to this part of the Lectures is on the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures,—the rock on which these writings are built, peculiarly and exclusively their own; for a book may be both genuine and authentic, and not inspired. Our author defines inspiration as 'a supernatural influence exerted over the mind, whereby its faculties are improved to a degree which they could not have acquired by the mere unassisted powers of nature.' Where, it may be asked, is the proof of such supernatural influence? There are gradations of superiority; what is the utmost of 'unassisted' nature? and when does the 'supernatural influence' come in? Mr. Clark's illustrations of inspiration are better than his definition; but that is because some of them, at least, exceed the definition; yet we are left without *proof* of a supernatural—meaning a Divine—influence, which is the very question. We cannot rest that vital question upon the nature of those communications; for when any man shall suppose it possible to conceive of such and such doctrines being the speculation of an unassisted human mind, he will be at liberty to reject the doctrine as Divine, the proof of a Divine commission and inspiration being wanting. Sir Isaac Newton and many other philosophers have propounded many doctrines which seem to transcend 'the unassisted powers of nature,' that is, of the human mind; but no one supposes they were inspired. Neither are we satisfied with the manner in which our author disposes of the objection against prayer as 'useless, since it will neither change God's will, nor alter His purpose.' In this and some other difficulties, Mr. Clark appears to be hampered with the metaphysics of his creed. God is sovereign and immutable; and this great truth is the glory of His nature, the hope of the penitent, and the security of the saint. 'He is in one mind, and who can turn Him? and what His soul desireth, even that He doeth.' But both in the question of prayer, and of the decrees of God, and similar questions, it seems to be forgotten that we are speaking of the will of a moral Governor, who, in dealing with responsible creatures, displays His holy immutability by dealing with

them, as He has declared He ever will do, according to their character and behaviour. His decree and pre-determination is to do to and for them as they turn from good to evil by their corrupt free-will, or from evil to good by their gracious free-will,—a will influenced, but not compelled, by His grace: so that, when they repent, 'He repenteth Him of the evil which He said He would do unto them;' and when they call upon Him, He hears them; and when they trust in His Son, He saves them, to the glory of His immutable free grace. Answers to prayer are direct and special; and if prayer means anything, it must mean that God does for men when they pray what He would not have done if they had not prayed. We were surprised that Mr. Clark omitted the argument from the prevalency of prayer in proof and illustration of 'the special Providence of God:' this chapter, and that on 'general Providence,' contain some excellent thoughts, and they are well put.—We turned to the second volume, which has only just reached us, with some interest, as it contains more of specific doctrine; but we confess to great disappointment; not so much, however, in the Lectures on the doctrine of (concerning) Christ, as in those in reference to the Holy Spirit, that on His personality excepted. The theology of personal religion is, to our apprehension, a mass of crudities; the 'outlines' are by no means clear, in either the Lecture on 'the Witness,' or that on the 'Seal of the Holy Spirit.' Indeed, the phraseology is unlike that of the first volume, evidently from the want of clear conceptions in the author's mind. 'The witness of the Holy Spirit coincides with the witness of our own spirit in the truth and the reception of our holy religion, *theoretically, experimentally, practically.*' Then 'He bears witness to the reality of our conversion,' as to the *nature* of it, its *necessity*, and its *evidences.* Then He coincides with our own spirit, first, in a natural disposition to destroy everything hostile to itself, and foster everything which is congenial with what is Divine;' secondly, 'in a natural tendency to destroy a servile, and promote a filial, temper;' and, thirdly, 'in a special determination to emancipate ourselves from a state of slavery and bondage, and invest ourselves with all the liberty of the children of God!' Was ever a doctrine stated more confusedly? In what respects does our author catch the idea of his motto, Rom. viii. 16, and a multitude of similar texts? How do any of his remarks agree with the office of a Divine witness to a gracious fact, the knowledge of which is the foundation of all the glorious privileges of that extraordinary chapter, and the triumph of its close?—a spirit which pervades the Psalms of David, and all the joys and joyous songs of all the saints of God. The same confusion and indistinctness pervades the next Lecture. He does not distinguish between things that differ, and makes distinctions where no difference exists. The Holy Spirit 'seals a similitude of tastes, first, for the cardinal truths of the Gospel; secondly, for true and experimental religion; and, thirdly, for sincere and practical religion.' Again: 'He seals, first, the *moral image of God* upon all the subjects of redemption; secondly, the *moral law;* and, thirdly, all the excellencies of the Saviour's *moral charac-*

ter.' Are not these three one? There are many minor objections that we might urge, generally arising from a want of perception of logical order; such as, page 71, vol. i., the placing the Lord's Supper as a sacrament before Baptism, which the sentiments of the same page might show to be an error, since faith must precede salvation. Innumerable instances might be given of illogical propositions; such as, 'The creation of the world, and the formation of all things, takes for granted the pre-existence of Christ,'—a doctrine purely of revelation. It is very common to find Mr. Clark thus saying one thing 'assumes' another, when they have no necessary, natural, or logical connexion; and the *non sequitur* pervades his book. But we may not enlarge, or there is abundance of room for fair criticism. 'Outlines' ought to be clear, bold, full, and give the form of truth in the law of grace. The design is good, but the general scheme should have been otherwise filled up,—with greater breadth and more precision. But we perceive that Mr. Clark has fed in a narrow pasture; he has contented himself with a few authors, mostly modern, and almost entirely of the Calvinistic and Dissenters' schools. He appears hardly to have read a single Arminian divine; and there *is* another side taken in reference to the peculiarities of his creed, by men not wholly insignificant in learning, in the knowledge of Scripture and the analogy of faith, and in the power to construct a clear proposition, and to argue out their views by some show of reason. John Goodwin, Thomas Jackson, Daniel Whitby, and a host of others, are not beneath contempt. We hope to have more contentment with Mr. Clark's concluding volume.

The Intellectualism of Locke: An Essay. By Thomas E. Webb, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. Dublin: M'Gee and Co.; London: Longmans. 1857.—A work by the successor of the late Professor Butler must challenge attention from the thinking public, and must be expected by its author to undergo a severe and searching scrutiny. Respectable mediocrity, and even second-rate ability, will scarcely fail to incur contempt, if seated in the chair from which that eminent man was accustomed to teach moral and intellectual truth and wisdom. This volume, however, is no second-rate performance. It must at once gain for its writer an honourable place among living critics of metaphysical philosophy. Mr. Webb has undertaken to vindicate the philosophy of Locke from the misrepresentations of modern critics, especially of Sir William Hamilton and M. Cousin. He professes to establish, by a rigorous analysis of the Essay concerning Human Understanding, that Locke is neither a sensualist, ignoring the existence of any elements of thought but those supplied by the external senses; nor an empiricist, recognising the existence of no elements of thought but those supplied by sense, external or internal. He endeavours to prove that Locke, on the contrary, as recognising ideas of which intellect is properly the source, and cognitions of which intellect is exclusively the guarantee, is an intellectualist,—an intellectualist in the sense of Reid and Kant.

Others before Mr. Webb have done something, indeed much, towards establishing conclusions tantamount to these. Not to name Dugald Stewart and Brown, of a former generation, Hallam and Mill have refused to endorse the charge against Locke, of being the founder of the sensational school, or that of deriving our knowledge exclusively from the 'nether spring' of experience, as if he recognised no internal and higher source of intuitive judgment and assurance. Mr. Lewes, again, in his *Biographical History of Philosophy*, has expressly and effectually rebutted these charges. Mr. Henry Rogers has still more fully and elaborately, and, we need not add, most ably, performed the same work in his Essay on Locke, originally published in the *Edinburgh Review*. But Mr. Webb's must henceforth be considered *the* work on this subject. It is not only conclusive, but exhaustive. And yet its arrangement is so admirably logical and consecutive, that the whole is brought within a very limited compass. The author never winds towards his conclusions, or returns upon his path. The Essay is most happily free from digression or repetition. Let us add, that the style, the allusions, and the illustrations, show thorough scholarship, and that classical perfection of training and taste in the use of language, which is rarer still than scholarship. Mr. Webb writes as a critic, not as an original speculator in metaphysical science. He justly and gracefully says, in reference to this, after he has been engaged in exposing some of Sir William Hamilton's errors in regard to Locke: 'I do all homage to his (Sir William Hamilton's) memory. But a great philosophical thinker is not necessarily a patient and impartial philosophical critic. To the just appreciation of an alien system a certain passivity of intellect is required. A strong current of original thought prevents the mind from being an equal mirror to the thoughts of others. The standing pool reflects the forest and the sky more faithfully than the running stream; and it is possible to be a more faithful critic than a great man,—not because one is a greater man, but because one is a less.' Nevertheless, the reader will find scattered through this volume observations which show that Professor Webb is not merely an acute critic: his acuteness has been deepened by patient intensity of thought into profundity.

A Popular Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: with Notes. By the Rev. A. Crawford Broomhead, M.A. London: Bell and Daldy. 1857.—This is a good, clear, popular book, combining the results of much labour honestly directed to the elucidation of this invaluable inspired treatise on the Gospel salvation. The preface gives a succinct view of the occasion and design of the Epistle, both so necessary to our understanding St. Paul. The paraphrase is generally very satisfactory, sometimes, however, stopping short of the full meaning of the Apostle, as we conceive, respecting the privileges of the Christian believer. The notes, although limited, are very valuable, being both pertinent and full; and we know no book of the same size in which the Epistle to the Romans is better explained for the popular mind.

The Life of Martin Luther. By Henry Worsley, M.A. Two Vols. 8vo. London. 1856.—It would be difficult to say why we are disappointed by the perusal of these volumes. The style is easy, the descriptive part of the book decidedly good; the history embodies all the known facts of the great reformer's life, and is written with evident pains. It is not that the interest flags, for we have read to the end without uneasiness; nor that the minuteness confuses, for we could hardly learn too much about such a man,—we love to linger over his little traits of character, and even of weakness; whilst our sympathy is always on the side of the one bold breast that dared to confront a world. We have all this here sketched out from the first years of childhood, to the earnest thoughts and inward soul-struggles by which he was emancipated from Romish thraldom; and then his subsequent career to his death,—all this is told; and we wanted such a story, for our English literature possesses no Life of Luther. And yet we are disappointed. We suspect that the secret lies in this:—the book is rather a history than a biography: its author's power is in narrative rather than analysis; he can tell the story of Luther's times, not unfold the workings of Luther's heart. We question whether, in this latter sense, the life of Rome's great adversary will ever be composed. Luther's cast of mind was not logical, nor his conduct at all times consistent; there was much which is due to the period in which he lived, and to the part he bore, and with which we can hardly sympathize at the present day. It would need something of Mr. Carlyle's grasp of character and sympathy with greatness, (and Luther has much in common with Cromwell,) something of his terse energy, to paint the portrait in its true outline; and, joined with this, it needs such a comprehension of the inner life, its conflicts and final victory in the Redeemer's strength, as but few have the power to pourtray. We may well question whether it will ever be written. We must do Mr. Worsley no injustice: if not for breadth of grasp and originality, at any rate, as a Life of Luther, carefully written, ample in detail, and satisfactory in tone, we can recommend his volumes to our readers.

The Penalties of Greatness. By the Rev. Robert Ferguson, LL.D., F.R.S.L. London. 1858.—We cannot bring ourselves either to relish or approve this style of book. Among the penalties of greatness which Dr. Ferguson has *not* enumerated, (but then he has illustrated it very largely,) is the garrulous and extravagant admiration which it frequently excites. Our age has been unfortunate enough to produce some prominent offenders of this class. We are sorry to have to rank the present author among the number. If there is any sentiment of the slightest value contained in this book, it is derived from the *Lectures on Hero-worship*, by Mr. Carlyle. It adds not a single fact to our knowledge of great men and their fortunes; it puts their characters in no novel or superior light; it deduces from their history none but the most trite and obvious lessons. Worst of all, there is no just discrimination betwixt natural and moral greatness. It is simple (or rather compound) laudation from beginning to end, given without

measure or proportion, and shared equally by all, from Moses and Socrates to Saul of Tarsus and Claverhouse of Dundee. Of course there is a great deal about 'the monk that shook the world,'—no fresh or finer glimpses of his many-sided character, but the usual stale report; and much about 'the name at which the world grew pale,'—but the world has long resumed its cheerful countenance, and there is nothing here to blanch it. Columbus and the Pilgrim Fathers are again boiled down to rags, and the cauldron of dirty water baled out with such an air! We could not have supposed it possible that so many common-places might be said under the name of Dante. 'Dante was a student, but no recluse was he....A generous patriotism was his. He loved Italy, but Florence engaged his inmost heart,' &c. Similar in kind, and equal in value, are the maxims scattered through this precious volume. They are uniformly dull, and vary only in the shade of their triteness or untruthfulness. For example: 'The noblest thing in this our world is man.' This is true, but not new. 'Calvin in the eyes of Luther was little better than a devil.' This is new, but not true. 'To the great man life and death are in themselves things indifferent.' This is surely neither new nor true. And so the work runs on, degenerating still from feebleness to falsehood, till sudden impatience breaks up the reader's spell of weariness, and the book flies whirling from his hasty hands—or, what is more to be deplored, till the reader finds himself incapable of purer studies, loses all taste for exact and sober truth, learns to admire energy rather than principle, and in his false estimate of real greatness is apt to depreciate the very qualities which make even great men what they are.

De l'Education. Par Monsignor Dupanloup, Evèque D'Orleans, de l'Académie Française. Troisième Edition. 8*vo. En trois Tomes. Paris.* 1857.—We cannot discover in these volumes any important addition to our knowledge either of the theory or practice of education, though we have sought carefully for such. The prominent position long held by the author in the larger educational institutions of France encouraged our hopes; and great was our disappointment on finding little beyond vague generalities, startling ejaculations, and well-worded common-places. The great object of the work appears to be to enforce the twin doctrines of education by the priest, and complete surrender to his teachings. As we should be most unwilling to do injustice to the writer, we have extracted a few sentences; and we can assure the reader that we have chosen what appeared to be fair specimens. M. Dupanloup states, as the result of lengthened experience and much reflection, that the two fundamental principles of education are *authority* and *respect*. The loftiest and most profound idea of education, at once the most general and the most simple, is this: 'To cultivate, exercise, develope, strengthen, and polish all the physical, intellectual, moral, and religious faculties which constitute, in the child, nature and human dignity; to give to these faculties their perfect integrity, to establish them in the fulness of their power and activity; to form man, and prepare him to serve his country in the various social relations he will one day be called upon to fill during

his earthly career; and lastly, and still loftier object, so to elevate the present as to prepare for eternal life. Such is the object and end of education.' 'To fulfil these conditions is the duty of parents and of those whom a honourable choice, a high vocation, or a generous devotion, leads to take upon them the parental authority and solicitude; and these conditions are binding always and everywhere, amongst nations the most civilized and learned, as well as amongst the less enlightened and polished of mankind. Nature and Providence have attached these conditions to every kind of human education, equally to public and private, to the education of boys and girls. Take the infant,—here you have human nature, humanity complete, man; nothing more, nothing less. He has a right to the solicitude, the active kindness, and the respect of all the powers on earth; and these, in his turn, he owes to others. For him are designed all institutions, —the prince, the priest, the parent, the teacher, the magistrate, family, society, the Church. Moral discipline, learning, letters, science, religion, the rewards of labour and of virtue, even Providence itself,—all are for him; for he alone, here below, is of God, and for God.' 'The very word, "education," expresses the most noble ideas. It is almost to create; at least it is to wake the dormant faculties from their sleep; to give life, and movement, and activity to a hitherto imperfect existence. Thus intellectual, moral, and religious education is the highest work which man can undertake; it is to continue the Divine work in its noblest department; it is to create souls. The French language has a beautiful equivalent expression, one which rivals in majesty and force its Latin original,—*élever la jeunesse*. It is the merit of the language to have promptly perceived the value of this word, and to have worthily employed it. The varied acceptations of the word, as found in the phrases *élever l'âme, élever l'esprit, élever les sentimens et les pensées, élever le caractère*, these are natural ideas, *les idées Françaises*, and express the duties and the end of education. The Germans and English have not had the same happy inspiration, and are envious; for it is one of the terms which honour a nation, and, as applied to education, seems to show what fecundity and power a word may possess, and how capable it may be of eliciting noble and useful thoughts, which otherwise might have remained obscure and unperceived. Such words not only enrich the language of a people, they embellish and fortify its morals, and raise an idea to its loftiest significance. Education, then, forms, elevates, in some sort creates; and to these ends she *cultivates* and *exercises*, she acts, and causes to act; and thus, while high authority is needed on the one hand, the co-operation of a respectful docility is demanded from the learner. This cultivation, the special work of the instructor, is the result of physical care, intellectual teaching, moral discipline, and religious lessons. This *exercise* implies the active and docile concurrence, the personal, spontaneous, and generous labour of the pupil. The law of labour is the grand law of human education; every intelligent and free creature is destined for action. It may be affirmed that the principal talent of the instructor is to cause his pupil to enter boldly the path of

labour and personal application,—labour or exercise of the body, to give vigour to the limbs; labour of mind, to form his judgment, taste, reason, memory, imagination; labour of heart, will, and conscience, to form his character, to give rise to honest thoughts and virtuous habits. Education is, therefore, the combined work of the teacher and the pupil: the one cultivates, instructs, works from without; but it is essential that he be aided by exercise, application, labour from within. What the teacher does himself is a small matter; what he causes to be done is everything. Thus education is an active and a creative work, in which each party bears his appropriate share, the teacher bringing authority and devotedness, the pupil docility and respect. To the first belongs that potent and fruitful action upon the child, that real authority which gives him the right, and imposes upon him the duty, to act as master; for in education, as elsewhere, without real authority there can be no legitimate action. Education is essentially active; and this activity is shown in the *development* of the human faculties. If the efforts of master and pupil fall short of this, the result is simply a storing of the mind with knowledge; it is instruction, but not education. This development is progressive, and requires guarding, lest it be too violent or precipitate; bearing in mind the remark of Fénélon, *Elle doit suivre la nature et l'aider.* Education commences at birth, and extends through the first twenty years of life, running parallel with the development of the body; it follows nature step by step, and, like her, adapts its teachings, culture, and exercise, to the progress of age, the strength of the child, and its natural development.' If the reader is not satisfied with these selections, he must repair to the ample volumes of M. Dupanloup, and help himself.

The Descendants of the Stuarts. An unchronicled Page in England's History. By William Townend. London: Longmans. 1858.—This volume contains the result of much enthusiasm applied to one field of historical research. We may differ from the author as to the relative importance of his theme; but every such inquiry has an antiquarian interest, and we must do the writer the justice to acknowledge that his labours will possess permanent value, since he has condensed into a moderate compass what could only be found in numerous, and chiefly foreign, publications. It would have been more correct to have put upon his title, 'An unchronicled Page of modern European dynastic History,' since England was perhaps the country of Europe with which the events of the lives of his heroes and heroines had least connexion, with the sole exception of their descent from a family which once ruled over it. The greater portion of those about whom he writes, never saw England; and, for anything that appears, would seem to have had no friends here. Notwithstanding, we recommend our readers who have a taste for the biographies of high life to peruse these chapters. The recommendation must be limited to the narrative portions of the work. With the writer's opinions we have no sympathy. Without being disposed to deny certain favourable personal good qualities to some of the Stuarts, we cannot

accept his opinion as to their great merits. Besides, they were not dealt with for personal demerits, but for being bad kings. Nor can we receive his portraits of William and Mary, and of Louis XIV., as correct likenesses: the two former were not heaven-deserted monsters; nor was the latter the greatest monarch who ever filled a throne.

Dry Sticks, Fagoted by Walter Savage Landor. Edinburgh. 1858. —We were present with our readers when the 'Last Fruits' were gathered from this sturdy and prolific tree. It is now stript from lowest branch to utmost twig, and the relics are before us. We are not disposed to bewail a destruction which is in no sense premature. Let us own, without suspicion of ingratitude, that we never thoroughly depended on the produce of this wild fruit-tree,—wayward in growth and rude in flavour as it often proved, and never quite ripened even on the sunny side. No wonder, then, if these lopped branches have an acrid bitterness. Indeed, they are only offered as a fagot of old sticks; and it is just to say that blossoms on not a few of them testify to the presence of a vital moisture in the stem, still sensitive of such a spring as that which is now bursting on every side, and making every hedge-row in England more fragrant than the gardens of Stamboul or Cashmere.

All the characteristics of Mr. Landor's genius survive in these last effusions. His epigrams are as bitter if not as biting as ever; his love versicles are light and trivial as before. His prejudices seem to suffer no abatement; his charities still disport themselves in a narrow circle of love and friendship. We may well doubt the real greatness of a spirit which refuses to mellow and improve; and this reflection, often forced upon the reader of the present volume, makes it but a melancholy bequest. We have some difficulty in selecting a piece worthy of talents confessedly rare and high. The anacreontic verses are written with a fine and fluent pen; but the following lines on a Pair of Nightingales are to be preferred as wholly unexceptionable, and not less pleasing.

> Cool-smelling Oleander loves the stream
> And bends ripe roses over it; but where
> Are those bright eyes that look aslant at me?
> And whose are those slim talons, smooth, yet sharp,
> That hold an insect up?.....She flies away,
> Nor heeds my doubts and questionings.....Ere long
> Melodious gurgles ripple from a copse
> Hard by; she seems to thank me, seems to tell
> Her partner not to fear me: they defer
> The song of gratitude till even-tide,
> Then gushes it amain.....Fond pair, sing on;
> I will watch near you; none shall interrupt
> That deep and sparkling stream of melody.

The volume closes with some translations from the Persian, Latin verses, and tributary poems on our author. It is a little surprising to find Walter Savage Landor publishing encomiums on himself; but we cannot grudge them to a man whose faults have found more eager recognition than his genius or his virtues.

MISCELLANEA.

A Handy Book of Property Law, in a Series of Letters. By Lord St. Leonards. Blackwood and Sons. 1858. This manual has already found a very wide appreciation. It could hardly be otherwise when a subject so important and intricate is simplified by so much wisdom, learning, and experience.—*All about It! or, the History and Mystery of Common Things.* A miscellaneous volume, gratifying the laudable curiosity of those who ask, 'What is heather? What is rhubarb?'—*Mental Furniture: or, the Adaptation of Knowledge for Man. By Thomas Hughes. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.* There is nothing exceptionable in this little work, and it is written in a pleasant style; but one chapter is very like every other, and the drift and purpose of the whole are not particularly clear. The style is rotatory; the reader makes no sensible advance.—*Lays of the Lost One: and other Poems. By H. Johnston.* A fastidious critic might suggest some alterations in the poetry of this volume; but no one could improve upon the present title. The author's bewilderment is quite infectious, as the venturous reader—rambling he knows not where, nor how, nor why—will first suspect and finally discern. Courage!—*The Stars and the Angels: or, the Natural History of the Universe and its Inhabitants.* A popular work, but something more than a compilation, and something better. The author touches upon many of the highest questions which the relations of the spheres suggest; but the spirit of speculation is chastened by a reverence for revealed truth, and the light of Scripture brought happily to bear upon the facts of science. Two interesting chapters are occupied with the Geology of the Sun and Moon; others treat of Demoniacal Possession and Inspiration, and the Natural History of the Resurrection.—*Thorndale: or, the Conflict of Opinions. By William Smith. Blackwood and Sons.* 1857. The work of Mr. Smith—forming a thick volume of six hundred pages—is highly ingenious, and bespeaks a cultivated mind; but its faults and beauties are both too numerous to be mentioned in this place. It consists of a number of papers, speculative and desultory, on mental, social, and political phenomena; and these are supposed to be the literary relics of an accomplished Englishman, retiring to die in prospect of the lovely Bay of Naples. It is easy to discover that the sentiments of Thorndale are drawn from the portfolio of Mr. Smith.—*Havelock: or, the Broad Stone of Honour. A Tribute of the Tongue and Pen. By Edwin Paxton Hood.* A little book, pointing the moral of a great career.—*The Successful Merchant: Sketches of the Life of Mr. Samuel Budgett, of Bristol. By the Rev. W. Arthur, A.M. Hamilton, Adams, and Co.* A cheap edition of this popular and admired biography.

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