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SPECIAL INTRODUCTIONS BY
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International University Society

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION VIII.

	LIVED	PAGE
BOND, CHARLES J. Natural Capacity and Vocation.		I
BREASTED, JAMES HENRY Historical Tradition and Oriental Research.	1865-	II
BRIAND, ARISTIDE The Spirit of Solidarity.	1862-	16
CHAMBERLAIN, AUSTEN, SIR The Locarno Pact.	1863-	18
CHATEAUBRIAND International Rights.	1768-1848	27
CHESTERFIELD, LORD Against Revenues from Drunkenness and Vice.	1694-1773	33
CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS The First Oration against Catiline. The Fourth Philippic.	106-43 B.C.	39
CLEON Democracies and Subject Colonies.	(?) -422 B.C.	58
COLET, JOHN Necessity of Reformation in the Church.	1466-1519	61
COUSIN, VICTOR Eloquence and the Fine Arts.	1792-1867	68

	LIVED	PAGE
CROMWELL, OLIVER Protector and Parliament. Debating whether or not to become King of England.	1599-1658	75
DARWIN, LEONARD The Aims of Eugenics. Marriage.	1850-	100
DESEZE, RAYMOND Defending Louis XVI.	1748-1828	117
DESMOULINS, CAMILLE Live Free or Die.	1760-1794	121
DICKENS, CHARLES Intellectual Progress of the People. Education and Progress.	1812-1870	124
DRUMMOND, HENRY The Greatest Thing in the World. Preparation for Learning.	1851-1897	137
EMERSON, RALPH WALDO The Greatness of Lincoln. The American Scholar. Man, the Reformer. Uses of Great Men.	1803-1882	159
FROUDE, JAMES ANTHONY Education.	1818-1894	178
GREY, GEORGE, SIR Foundation of a Federal Institution.	1812-1898	201
KINGSLEY, CHARLES Education of Women.	1819-1875	213
LAURIER, WILFRID, SIR The Character and Work of Gladstone.	1841-1920	216

CONTENTS

iii.

	LIVED	PAGE
LYNDHURST, LORD Russia and the Crimean War.	1772-1863	222
MANNING, CARDINAL Rome the Eternal.	1808-1892	230
NEWMAN, GEORGE, SIR Fifty Years' Progress in Public Health. Public Opinion in Preventive Medicine.	1870-	235
NEWSHOLME, ARTHUR, SIR The Moral Aspects of Social Hygiene.		266
ROSS, RONALD, SIR The Value of Medical Research.	1859-	277
SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINSLEY Robbery of the Begums of Oudh. Proceedings against Warren Hastings. Speech on the Second or Begum Charge (<i>concluded</i>).	1751-1816	283
SIDNEY, ALGERNON Governments for the People, and not the People for Governments.	1622-1683	309
STANLEY, ARTHUR PENRHYN Palmerston and the Duty of England.	1815-1881	313
STRAFFORD, EARL OF Defence when Impeached for Treason.	1593-1641	318
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		325
INDEX		327

CHARLES J. BOND

CHARLES J. BOND, C.M.G., F.R.C.S., was educated at Repton School and University College, London, where he obtained gold medals in Anatomy and Physiology. He was first engaged in agriculture, but entered the medical profession in 1875.

Dr. Bond is a Fellow of University College, London, Vice-President of, and Honorary Consulting Surgeon to, the Leicester Royal Infirmary, Honorary Colonel A.M.S., Vice-Chairman of the Medical Consultative Council, Ministry of Health, and Member of the Industrial Fatigue Research Board. He was created C.M.G. in 1917.

NATURAL CAPACITY AND VOCATION

(Address to L.C.C. School Teachers, 1921).

THERE is growing evidence to show that much disappointment, unhappiness, and ill-health, as well as loss of working time and money, arise in many cases from a want of harmony between the individual and his or her life work.

The old saying about the "round peg in the square hole" applies not only to industrial occupations and manual labour, it is also applicable to commercial and professional life.

We must all have come across a number of cases in our own experience of such "misfits"; individuals who are not making a success of their lives, who are not interested in, and not happy in their work, because they are not naturally fitted for it, and only carry it out because they must, as an irksome routine to be got through with the least trouble and the smallest expenditure of effort.

This applies to some, I hope only a few, members of the medical profession, and I am inclined to think that it applies also to some members of the teaching profession.

The war has brought about a social dislocation on a large scale. Discharged soldiers, as the result of some mental or bodily disability, have become unfit for their old occupations, and, at much cost to the country and effort to themselves, have been compelled to start life afresh, and to endeavour to become adapted to a new environment.

But although the war has pushed prominently into the foreground the problem of the "misfits" in one section of the adult male population, we must not forget that long before the war, year in and year out, the nation was losing much money and many working days because large numbers of workers in all departments of life were not adapted to, and were out of harmony with, their daily work.

The Industrial Fatigue Research Board, in a number of recent reports on the conditions which make for efficiency, full working time, and healthy activity in industrial life, have shown the serious loss of time and money which flows from the voluntary or the compulsory relinquishment of situations and employments by persons who, for different reasons, are not fitted to carry out the duties which such employments entail.

Of the various reasons which lead men and women to give up any particular employment after a short trial, the two most noteworthy are :

1. Ill-health ; and
2. Absence of natural capacity to learn and to carry out the mental operations or the bodily movements incidental to such particular occupations. This was very noticeable in munition workshops during the war.

Hence it becomes important to ask ourselves what it is exactly that we mean when we speak of health and natural capacity in connection with occupation and industrial life.

In earlier days health was regarded largely from the negative side, as freedom from disease. Ignorant of the real cause and of the method of preventing sickness, primitive man was largely at the mercy of outside forces, such as climate, famine, and epidemic illness. Health and bodily well-being in earlier times were regarded as a fortunate escape from punishment by a vindictive deity, rather than as the attainment of a happier and better way of life through individual effort.

Civilised mankind is to-day beginning to realise the enormous part which individual conduct plays in national well-being. We are beginning to appreciate the fact that if men and women are to be well and happy, they must not only study the laws which underlie the healthy way of life, they must also learn to obey them.

But even to-day, or until quite recently, we have been greatly accustomed to think of national health in terms of freedom from attacks of epidemic illness. Public health has been so identified in the public mind with drains and sanitation, that we are very apt, when trying to envisage health, and the healthy life, to leave out of our considerations that large and important side of the health problem which has to do

with successful response to the many beneficial and stimulating influences in our environment, many of which have nothing to do with infection or disease germs.

The state of soundness and "wholeness" or "wholesomeness" originally included in the grand old Anglo-Saxon word health means far more than mere freedom from disease. It means the highest development and the fullest exercise of the best powers of mind and body, of which the individual is capable. It means, in fact, "self-expression," and self-expression in the sense in which the old Greeks regarded it, means the harmonious and controlled development of all the powers in adaptive response to what is best in the outside world.

Perhaps we should do well to consider for a moment what health and the healthy life in this fuller sense do not mean. They certainly do not mean merely such robustness of constitution as will enable a man to satisfy his appetite and instinctive desires without risk of suffering and discomfort as the penalty of self-indulgence. Health in this lower and animal sense is not true well-being, and such a condition in the individual certainly does not tend to communal welfare. The real satisfaction of healthy desire must be sought in the promotion of the welfare of others, as well as our own interests, if "self-expression" is to be realised in its true sense.

But in order to fit this wider vision of health as it affects human life, we must also enlarge our conception of welfare and well-being. The true "well-being" which we have now in mind, as opposed to the spurious and evanescent feeling of happiness which may arise from other causes, is that state of mind and body which promotes and accompanies successful response to beneficial, and successful resistance to harmful environmental influences.

Thus health and well-being for us now include the harmonious development of the whole man, body, mind, and spirit, in relation to the whole outer world, the whole universe, in so far as man comes into relation with it. Such, then, is health in its wider and truer sense.

We must now ask ourselves what meaning we attach to "Natural Capacity."

Out of the obscurity which surrounds human life on all sides, two facts stand forth in ever-increasing significance. The first is, that Life in its individual and in its social aspects, consists essentially in a reaction between innate capacities of response on the one hand, and environmental influences (among which we include especially education) on the other. The second fact is that in this inter-action between inherited tendencies and outer influences, the natural capacities are of more importance than the outer influences; more important, that is, in the

sense that they exercise a larger share in determining what the final result will be. This second conclusion, with its far-reaching importance to human development, is not yet by any means appreciated at its true value.

But not only do bodily health and freedom from disease depend on the success of this reaction between inner and outer forces, mental health and vigour, moral soundness, and individual well-being also depend on the same two factors, as we shall see when discussing the relation between heredity and natural capacity.

Much new knowledge has been gathered in recent years concerning the transmission from parents to offspring of those innate bodily and mental characters on which individual and racial welfare so largely depend. It is now known that every individual is a dual being, an organism made up of two sets of factors or characters, one-half of which are derived from the mother and maternal ancestors, and the other half from the father and ancestors on the paternal side.

The experiments carried out by Mendel on plants over half a century ago, followed in later years by the careful investigations of many workers on plants, animals, and the human species, have firmly established the fact that bodily and mental characters are transmitted from parent to offspring according to certain definite and ordered laws of inheritance. Thus in the union between the male and the female germ cells, which occurs at the time of fertilisation, certain factors or rudiments (such, for instance, as those which control the development of eye colour, hair colour, and brain structure) from one parent unite in the fertilised germ cell with corresponding or alternative characters from the other parent, and the constitution, the mental and bodily pattern, of the new individual results from the nature of these inherited tendencies, and from the manner in which they co-operate in the building up of the new organism.

The important point is that, for the most part, these body-building and brain-building "bricks" are handed on as distinct units. One set—the paternal set—may, for instance, partly or wholly dominate the maternal set in the child, or both sets may take a more or less equal share in development. Not only so, but when, as the individual reaches maturity, and the time comes for new germ cells to be formed, these two sets of maternally and paternally derived hereditary "bricks" may again separate, one set may pass into one ovum and one into another, and so with the male germ cells. Thus, in the union of this second generation of germ cells, paternal and maternal characters may reappear in almost their original purity in different offspring.

Some knowledge of this process of "segregation of unit characters" in successive generations is necessary if we are to understand the curious way in which bodily characters and mental excellences and deficiencies appear and disappear in families of children of the same parents and in different generations.

The inheritance of feeble-mindedness is a striking example of what happens, or may happen, in the union of maternal and paternal characters in the making of the new individual.

The same holds good, in the main, for many other mental and bodily characteristics. The appearance and disappearance of genius in members of the same family, the occurrence of artistic and intellectual ability provide abundant examples of the hereditary transmission of special gifts. The capacity to live to extreme old age is indeed itself a striking feature of familial descent.

At the present time, owing partly to ignorance of the laws of inheritance as they affect human life, partly to prejudice and a legitimate reluctance on the part of society to impose restrictions on the so-called liberty of the subject, partly also to selfishness and want of thought on the part of individuals who are themselves suffering from some transmissible disease or mental or bodily defect, children are brought into the world who ought never to have been born.

It is, indeed, unfortunately true that we take more care in the breeding of our domestic animals than in the breeding of our children. A small beginning has, it is true, been made by the State in regard to this problem of inherited disease and deficiency. The powers now conferred on properly constituted authorities under the Mental Deficiency Act, enabling them to segregate feeble-minded individuals in colonies, have done something to protect the community against the transmission on a large scale of this serious form of human degeneration. When we remember that natural fertility is higher in the feeble-minded than in the normal population, and that moral control is largely absent in this section, we begin to appreciate the magnitude of the danger which threatens our race from this cause.

Looked at from the economic standpoint merely, the problem is a very serious one. The cost of educating a blind child is seven times that of educating a normal child, and it costs ten times as much to educate a deaf as a normal child; when we add to that the cost of the support of such proportion of our pauper, criminal, and mentally defective population as owe their condition to some inherited defect of mind or body, we begin to appreciate the waste of money, time, and effort due to this cause alone. I can well believe that school teachers and others occupied in educational problems may think that I am

attaching undue importance to innate capacity, because their attention is more focussed on educational and other environmental influences, but the verdict of biology and psychology on the physiological side points in the other direction.

We can develop this idea of the preponderating importance of hereditary factors by showing the large part they play in the psychical life of individuals and nations.

Not the psychologist only, but every student of human life and conduct knows that the curve of the intellectual and the emotional life of every individual is represented not by a level line from youth to age, but by a line on which are imposed waves and hollows. One or two of the larger of these excursions represent those critical stages in life which occur at the time of the full development and the decline of the reproductive powers, puberty, and the close of the reproductive life. On the top of these few large rises and falls, especially in individuals of less stable nervous constitution, occur also a series of minor disturbances which represent emotional outbursts and variations in habitual conduct which, though precipitated by, are not wholly due to outside influences.

There is increasing evidence for believing that this bi-parental dual constitution in the make-up of the nervous system of every individual has much to do with these alternating phases of thought and conduct, this varying predominance now of one set of innate tendencies, now of another, derived, perhaps, from another line of ancestors. Although, no doubt, mobilised and fired by the spark of some external event, these vagaries of conduct are primarily due to the surging up into consciousness of different innate tendencies, just as one bodily feature is overshadowed and overgrown by another character in the course of bodily development.

History is full of the sudden and apparently unaccountable changes in the mental and emotional life, and in the conduct of individuals.

The visions and the voices which appealed so strongly to Joan of Arc and Bunyan; the intellectual and emotional storm which accompanied the conversion of St. Paul on the road to Damascus; these, though ordinarily regarded as the result of outside or supernatural influences, have their deeper roots in alternative and varying phases of personality, the upsurging of neuro-psychical tendencies of hereditary origin struggling to gain ascendancy and dominate the life of the individual.

The bodily and mental developments, the altered outlook on life and towards the other sex, which take place at puberty, are not due to outside influences. They arise from within, and represent the energies

of alternative sex characters affecting both mind and body, under the stimulus of the developing sex glands and the other organs of internal secretion, the thyroid, the suprarenal, and the pituitary glands. The individual is primarily male or female, according to the constitution of the two germ cells, by the union of which he or she originates. There are male and female germ cells, though in certain rare and abnormal cases the features and the attributes of both sexes may be found developed in the same individual. Whether the individual will develop the attributes of one sex rather than the other partly depends on the secretion of these internal sex and other glands.

The exceptional strain of the war, acting on the nervous system of certain individuals, especially those of unstable constitution, has provided instances of soldiers who, as the outcome of some emotional shock, developed a dual personality. They lived at one time their old peaceful pre-war existence, and at another, by an abrupt transition, they were plunged in all the terrors and horrors of life in the trenches. These are extreme cases, but the neurological experience of the war has completely demonstrated the great importance of hereditarily transmitted stability or instability of nervous constitution in determining whether any individual will develop these psychological storms as the result of some emotional strain.

Some may think that the more modern methods of analysing emotion and the springs of conduct which we owe to neurologists and psychologists of the Psycho-Analytical School point to the preponderating influence of outside stimuli in determining conduct. The great importance of the sub-conscious processes in the psychical life of every individual, as shown in the repression of natural impulses under the stress of social requirements during childhood, and in the psychical storms which later accompany the upsurging of these repressed feelings and desires into the conscious life—these facts may be regarded as affording evidence of the all-sufficiency of environmental influences to shape the life and conduct of the individual. The good results which have followed the practice of "Suggestion" wisely applied, in properly selected cases, may also be thought by some to support such a conclusion.

Psycho-analysis has no doubt proved a valuable instrument when properly used in bringing to the surface the unconscious stratum of the psychical life, and in unravelling the tangled skein of the motives which underlie conduct. But we must not forget that the extent to which, and the permanency with which these early mental and emotional impressions are registered during childhood in the unconscious mind, are determined very largely by the innate constitution and capacity for

registration of the individual nervous organisation. The way in which the individual will respond later will also largely depend on the hereditarily transmitted pattern of the brain, that is on the material organ subserving these neuro-psychical manifestations.

Looked at from the biological point of view this conflict between the more primitive and instinctive desires and the more slowly evolved socialised feelings and conduct, which is the outcome of inhibitory and self-controlling influences, represents the overgrowing and supplanting of the primitive life of youthful and savage man by the socialised life of mature and civilised mankind. Changes which in the one case take thousands of years, in the other are passed through in a single decade.

This surely means that in our study of the factors and influences which mould the lives of our young citizens we must not be led to ignore or to attach little value to the fundamental importance of the biological and genetic factors of national life. Provided that we do not press the analogy too far, we may usefully extend this consideration of the importance of the unconscious in individual to communal life. Does not repression play a large part in moulding the development of national life? The condition of Russia to-day provides an object-lesson of what a ruthless autocratic régime can effect in generating and fomenting the nervous instability and explosiveness which, when the appropriate occasions arise, and the pressure is released, break out in violent and in ungoverned anti-social conduct. The revolution in Russia to-day is the outcome of many years of political and social repression in a population and a community still in an adolescent or even a childhood stage, and among citizens who know that they are unhappy, but are ignorant, or only dimly conscious of what they want, and of the way to attain it.

Yes, it may be said, but does not this point to the great importance of governmental control, and other outside influences in determining national conduct?

No doubt the history and the condition of Russia to-day does point to the important influence of economic, social, and political factors in precipitating sudden convulsions and storms in national life, just as the stress and the shocks of war determined the altered behaviour and the alternating phases of personality in the individual soldier, but we must not overlook the important fact that the ultimate effect on any nation of years (it may be ages) of tyranny and repression will depend largely on the innate capacities of self-reliance and self-control in the population, on inborn powers of rising superior to outside circumstances, and that these hereditarily transmitted characters vary in every nation and every race.

If, as seems likely to be the case, the final outcome of the revolution in Russia should prove to be very different politically and socially from the condition reached by the French nation after the French Revolution, this will depend as much, or more, on innate differences in the natural genius of the two nations, than on differences in external circumstances.

The life of the nation, like the life of the individual, consists essentially in a reaction between innate hereditarily transmitted capacities and powers, especially of a neuro-psychical kind, and social, political, and many other environmental influences. In this interplay between inner and outer forces inborn characteristics play a very important, if not a predominant part.

It is also true of the nation, as of the individual, that the manner in which the great opportunities and the great crises are responded to, and met, reveals in a way that smaller happenings do not show the innate qualities, the powers of control and response, the stuff of which both individuals and communities are made.

The great crisis of death, and the manner in which it has been approached and passed through by different individuals, provides records which are not only of historical interest, but valuable as revealing the inner springs of being.

We have now considered health in what we think should be its wider and fuller meaning, and we have realised the great importance of starting life with a normal capital of vigour and capacity, especially of a neuro-psychical kind. We have further seen that all life (plant, animal, and human) consists in a reaction between inner and outer forces, between Nature and Nurture.

What, we must now shortly ask, do we mean when we speak of "choosing a career in life"?

Translated into psychological and physiological language we surely mean the exercise of discretion and judgment, as far as our limited powers will allow, in controlling and guiding this interplay between inner and outer forces which we call life. That is to say, in endeavouring to make it, as far as we can, an efficient and useful response, one which will result in good and happiness to the individual and benefit to the community. One of the great drawbacks of our modern way of life, as lived by the great mass of our fellow-citizens under present social and industrial conditions, is that so little choice and control is possible, and that the possibilities for "self-expression" are so small.

Most of us are born into a rigid machine-like system; only the more capable, the more adaptable, are able to rise out of the groove and make the best of themselves and of their lives.

This, in a way, may be part of the method and the means by which evolution takes place, but we cannot help feeling that the medium in which we live and move nowadays has congealed around us, preventing, by its very solidity, individual initiative and freedom of movement. Let us beware, however, of attaching undue importance to the environment, lest we ignore those innate capacities and powers which even in ordinary, normal persons can rise above environmental influences.

With these thoughts in mind, what then must be our conclusion, and what inferences may we draw, of a practical kind, from this study of health and innate capacity in relation to life ?

Surely our first conclusion must be the need for a more intimate knowledge of the hereditary endowment, especially in the sphere of the nervous system, the innate mental equipment which underlies the psychical lives of the children and adolescents whom it is our duty as teachers not only to educate but to train as citizens.

Every advancement and every improvement, not only in the school curriculum, but in the practical administration of the school life, which bring the minds of the teacher and the child into closer contact, such as smaller classes, individual interest, friendly relations between pupil and teacher, all these are helpful in so far as they enable the teacher to appreciate the powers and the tendencies of the human mental and bodily material which he or she is called upon to mould and direct. Such knowledge alone can enable the teacher to decide whether the peg which he is shaping is a round or a square one, and the kind of hole in life which it is the best fitted to occupy. Such knowledge is necessary to enable parents and others interested in the welfare of our young citizens to decide what occupation and what career in life is best suited to the capacity of the individual in any given case.

Many of the difficulties which disturb the world at the present time would be dissipated with more goodwill and wider knowledge of each other and ourselves. We suffer both in our individual and in our social relations because we do not understand and appreciate each other. We fail in our estimate of each other's character to judge how much of the feeling and conduct shown is due to innate characteristics and tendencies, and how much to mere ephemeral outside influences which it may be possible to remove or modify.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

(1865-).

JAMES HENRY BREASTED was born at Rockford, Illinois, in 1865, and educated at the North Western College, Chicago Theological Seminary, where he received the B.D., Yale University, and Berlin, where he received the Ph.D. He has also received the D.Litt. of Oxford University.

Starting as Assistant in Egyptology in the University of Chicago, he has had extensive experience in matters relating to Egypt and Oriental studies generally. He helped in the preparation of the Imperial Egyptian Dictionary for the Royal Academies of Germany.

In 1905 he directed the Egyptian Expedition in Nubia for the University of Chicago, and another expedition in the Near East in 1919. In 1920 he was Director of an Archæological survey of Mesopotamia for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Since 1905 he has been Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History in the University of Chicago, becoming Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in 1915 and Director of the Oriental Institute in 1919.

His numerous publications include "A History of Egypt" (1905), "Ancient Records of Egypt, Historical Documents" (5 vols. 1906), "Outlines of European History: The Early World" (1914), "Ancient Times: A History of the Early World" (1916), and "Survey of the Ancient World" (1919).

HISTORICAL TRADITION AND ORIENTAL RESEARCH

(Delivered in Washington, 1924).

IT has often been remarked that the outstanding trait of the untrained mind is credulity. The rationalisation of man's views of the world has been a very slow process and it is still very far from a completed process. It has commonly been thought to have begun with the Greeks, but its origin must be sought in the Orient in a period long before Greek civilisation had arisen. The Edwin Smith Medical Papyrus, acquired in 1906 by the New York Historical Society, discloses the inductive process of scientific investigation already in operation in the

seventeenth century before Christ. For example, this document contains the earliest occurrence of the word "brain" anywhere appearing in surviving records of the past. The word is unknown in Old Testament Hebrew, in Babylonian, Assyrian, or any of the ancient languages of Western Asia. The organ itself therefore was evidently discovered, and the recognition of its various functions was begun, for the first time by these physicians of early Egypt in the thousand years preceding the seventeenth century B.C. The observations recorded in the Medical Papyrus show that its author had already observed that control of the members and limbs of the body was localised in different sides of the brain; and the recognition of localisation of functions in the brain, mostly the work of modern surgeons and others within the past generation or two, had already begun in the seventeenth century B.C., at a time when all Europe still lay in savagery or barbarism.

There is in existence part of an original transit instrument, made, as stated by the inscription upon it, by no less a king than Tut-Ankh-Amen, in the fourteenth century B.C. It did not come from the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, but was apparently made by him for the tomb of his (or his wife's) great-grandfather, Thothmes IV. (fifteenth century B.C.). This and another such piece at Berlin are the oldest scientific instruments of any kind now known to us. It was used for determining meridian time, especially at night, in order that the observer might then set his water-clock, with its 24-hour divisions, a division of the day which thence passed over into Europe in Hellenistic times, whence it was transmitted to us.

Now Herodotus reports a tradition current in his day (fifth century B.C.), that the Greeks were greatly indebted to Egyptian knowledge. This tradition has in recent times been universally rejected; but it would seem that there was much truth in the tradition transmitted to us by Herodotus, and that its complete rejection by classical prejudice is unjustifiable.

The fact that the early Egyptian scientific worker employed an inductive method so far back as the seventeenth century B.C. does not, however, mean that he had completely banished from his mind all belief in magic or in supernatural forces. This truth has been well demonstrated for later ages by Prof. Lynn Thorndyke in his monumental volumes on "The History of Magic and Experimental Science." Undoubtedly the Greek took the longest step in freeing his mind from inherited religious and traditional prepossessions. Using astronomical observations undoubtedly drawn from Babylonia, Thales predicted a solar eclipse in 585 B.C. Astonishing as it seemed to the Greeks, there is little probability that this feat was an unprecedented achievement.

What was unprecedented, however, was the revolutionary generalisation which Thales based upon his ability to make such a prediction. For he banished the erratic whims of the gods from the skies and discerned the sway of natural law throughout the celestial world. To tear away and fearlessly to trample under foot beliefs and superstitions which had been sanctified by age-long religious veneration demanded dauntless loyalty to his own intelligence. This first supreme enthronement of the human mind was probably the greatest achievement in the career of man.

We can pay no greater tribute to such Greek thinkers than to recognise, that although they put credulity to rout, they could not banish it altogether. It has survived with extraordinary persistence even to the present day. In modern times it was of course the tremendous significance of the discoveries of Galileo which most impressively re proclaimed the supremacy of natural law and the sovereignty of the human mind in discerning that law.

From Galileo's struggle with the church to Huxley's debate with Gladstone, the heavy guns of natural science have dealt tradition one destructive blow after another. It has been under this destructive attack at the hands of natural science that historical criticism has grown up in modern times since Niebuhr. Indeed it has been no accident that the first serious discussion of the Old Testament narratives in Genesis and Exodus was written by Thomas Cooper, who was the associate of Priestley in the discovery of oxygen.

The critical scalpel which had not spared Hebrew tradition was equally unsparing in its treatment of the cherished classical heritage from Greece and Rome. The tales of Romulus and Remus, the Trojan war, and the entire cycle of legends which were linked with it, were shorn away. A critical attitude of universal negation arose. It included the whole Mediterranean and Oriental world: Rome, Greece, Hebrews, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Egyptians. Historical criticism would not allow that early man at the beginning of the age of writing had ever heard and transmitted an echo from earlier ages, which, because they possessed no writing, could only send on their story in the form of oral traditions. This attitude of the historical critic may be compared with that of an observer who stands on a mountain peak, and, looking off across a distant landscape to a dim horizon shrouded in mists and cloud, insists that the intermittent glimpses of mountain profiles which vaguely emerge on the far-away skyline cannot correspond to any reality. In short, without ever having been himself on the ground to investigate, he denies the existence of the phantom mountains on the horizon.

Critical negation was supreme when, fifty years ago, archæology began to reveal with startling vividness the facts and the daily equipment of human life in the very ages with which the rejected traditions dealt. In the seventies of last century the excavations of an untrained observer from the outside disclosed an astonishing vision of pre-Greek civilisation at Mycenæ and Troy. The incredulity with which these discoveries of Heinrich Schliemann were greeted by the classicists was highly characteristic. His excavations recovered and exhibited to the incredulous eyes of the destructive critics the whole material equipment of daily life from the very age of the Trojan war (or wars), and from the very city in and around which it was waged.

Similar revelations, involving far earlier periods of time, rapidly disclosed the successive stages of the human career from a remote antiquity, reaching well back of the beginnings of the world as dated by an alleged "Biblical" chronology. In dealing with the traditions of these earlier ages the orientalist soon developed a similar school of negative criticism. Such traditional accounts were promptly thrown into the discard. Maspero's bulky history of the oriental peoples, still a standard work on most modern library shelves, tells us that Menes, the first king of the First Dynasty of Egypt, was a purely mythical or legendary figure. Nevertheless we now possess his tomb, and in Chicago we have a piece of his personal ornaments, a gold bar bearing his name in hieroglyphic—the oldest piece of inscribed jewelry in existence. Since 1894, thousands of prehistoric graves have been excavated along the margin of the Nile Valley, revealing to us the successive stages of human advance for many centuries before the once legendary Menes.

Much the same process is going on in the investigation of Babylonian history. Even the mythical hero Gilgamesh, the original of the European Hercules, bids fair to emerge at last as a remote city king of early Babylonia, who gained a reputation for his prowess in war, until he became the typical and proverbial strong man of all ages.

The crowning disclosure in this unprecedented series of unexpected revelations has recently come from Asia Minor. Nearly twenty years ago the German Assyriologist, Hugo Winckler, visited the mounds of Boghaz (or Boghaz Koi—"Boghaz village") in central Asia Minor. As he walked over the ruins he kicked up with his boot heel several cuneiform tablets, lying practically on the surface. Below were piled the clay tablet archives of the Hittite "Foreign Office," the earliest of which had been lying there at the capital of the Hittite Empire since the middle of the second thousand years before Christ. The result has been the decipherment of ancient Hittite, or rather a whole group of Hittite dialects.

One of these tablets reports a war of Atreus, king of Achaia, against the king of Caria at about the middle of the thirteenth century, that is, about 1250 B.C. There can be no doubt that in this tablet we have a contemporary reference to the cycle of Trojan wars—a reference which must be regarded as an irreproachable historical source, as old as the events which it records. Thus out of the lost oriental background of Greek history in Asia Minor comes a written document confirming a Greek tradition, born in an age when the Greeks themselves still lacked writing. Because writing reaches further back in the Orient by nearly three thousand years than it does in Greece, we are able to confirm Greek tradition out of contemporary written sources.

It has long been recognised that in the early development of Greek civilisation the cities of Asia Minor took the lead. It is also evident that the inland background of oriental culture contributed much to this early development of Greek civilisation on the western fringes of Asia. It is out of this newly recovered oriental background that we are slowly regaining the earlier forerunners of Greek civilisation.

This contemporary reference to the Trojan war is an epoch-making revelation, which must react powerfully upon our treatment of early human traditions. It at once demonstrates that such traditions must not be thrown to the scrap-heap, but rather carefully divested of gods and goddesses, prodigies and wonders, and then examined for the nucleus of sober fact upon which the legendary tale has been built up.

As we look back upon our earliest historical horizon, we now know that the men who stood there in the grey dawn of the age of writing were able to hear echoes of a remoter past, transmitted in the form of oral tradition, of which some portion was then committed to writing and thus survived. In our modern effort to recover and reconstruct the story of man's past career, we have thus rehabilitated a new body of sources, however cautious it behoves us to be in making use of them. Not credulity alone, but also historical method, demands that we recognise these traditions, or the nucleus of fact to be drawn from them, as a body of sources to be restored to their proper chronological position in the past career of man on earth.

ARISTIDE BRIAND

(*For Biographical Note see Section vii.*)

THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY

(Speech after the signing of the Locarno Treaty, 1925).

WHEN the Locarno agreements were initialled and brought to the knowledge of the world they aroused among the peoples a great movement of confidence and I might even say of enthusiasm. Not that the peoples have thought out or understood in all their details the clauses of the different articles. The characteristic of the popular assent is that it has been, so to speak, instinctive.

Among the numerous letters that I myself have received—you have no doubt all received many—there is one which particularly touched me and which by itself would have made me regard the act with which I was associated at Locarno as the most important and the most moving of my already long political life. It is a simple letter of a few lines from an unknown woman of the people who wrote, “Allow a mother of a family to congratulate you. At last I shall be able to look at my children without apprehension and to love them with some security.”

This is not, however, the first time that the nations have come together to seek among themselves security agreements. In the past there have been associations constituted by affinities of temperament and most often of interests. In spite of all they were bristling with difficulties, anxieties, and suspicions like those gloomy clouds charged with electricity which carry the thunder in their womb. Those were but flimsy safeguards against war.

The Locarno Treaty, which we have just consecrated by our signatures, embodies an encouraging innovation in that it proceeds from another spirit. The spirit of solidarity takes the place of that of distrust and suspicion. It is not by an accumulation of strength that it is hoped to render war impossible but by the bonds of mutual assistance and human solidarity.

Opposite me sit the German delegates ; that does not mean that I do not remain a good Frenchman, as they remain, I am sure, good Germans, but in the light of these treaties we are Europeans only.

By our signatures we declare for peace. The particularism of our countries is blotted out by this agreement and with it vanish unpleasant memories. If the Locarno agreements do not mean that, they do not mean much. If they are not the draft of the constitution of a European family within the orbit of the League of Nations they would be frail indeed and would hold many disappointments in store for us.

Our nations have often in the course of centuries come into conflict on the battlefields and they have often left there with their blood the flower of their strength. The Locarno agreements will have been worth while if they mean that these massacres shall no longer take place, and if they prevent the brows of our women from being overcast by fresh gloom and our towns and villages from being devastated and ravished again, and our men mutilated.

We must collaborate in a common labour of peace, and our nations, which on the battlefield showed equal heroism, will discover in other phases of human activity means of emulation no less glorious.

It is in this spirit that, as French delegate, I sign the treaties of Locarno. And here I make this solemn declaration, confident that I am spokesman for the immense majority of my compatriots: I am determined to extract to-morrow from these conventions everything they can provide against war and in favour of peace. I see in them the beginning of a magnificent work, the renewal of Europe, its investment with its true character by means of a general union in which all nations will be invited to participate, each according to its special qualifications, to ensure a definite peace and to find in that peace the consecration of their intelligence and their genius while allowing them to advance each day along the road of progress.

In conclusion, I express the ardent hope that the Locarno agreements may fulfil all that they promise, that the germs they contain may develop and give the nations that peace which they expect therefrom.

SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

(1863-).

JOSEPH AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN is the eldest son of Joseph Chamberlain. He was educated at Rugby, Trinity College, Cambridge, the École des Sciences, Paris, and Berlin University.

Austen Chamberlain entered the House of Commons in 1892 and in 1895 became Civil Lord of the Admiralty. His strong gifts came to be recognised as none the less remarkable because they chanced to differ considerably from his father's. In 1900 he became Financial Secretary to the Treasury, and in 1903 he entered the Cabinet as Postmaster-General, and, on the resignation of his father from the Government in order to expound Tariff Reform in the country, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

During the days in the wilderness after the crushing defeat sustained by the Unionist Party in 1906, Austen Chamberlain established strong claims to the leadership of the party, but on Lord Balfour's resignation in 1911 a section of the party favoured Walter (afterwards Viscount) Long, and both men stood aside for Bonar Law, whom they loyally supported.

In the Coalition Government of 1915 Austen Chamberlain became Secretary of State for India, but resigned in 1917 as his office was censured for the breakdown of the hospital arrangements in connection with the military campaign in Mesopotamia.

In 1918 he returned to office in the Coalition Government as minister without portfolio, and after the 1918 election became once more Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1921 he succeeded Bonar Law as Leader of the House of Commons, and exchanged the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer for that of Lord Privy Seal.

On the fall of the Coalition Government in 1922 Austen Chamberlain did not enter the new Conservative ministry, but in November, 1924, he became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he secured the Locarno Pact, for which he received the high honour of being created K.G.

THE LOCARNO PACT.

(Delivered in the House of Commons, November, 1925).

IN accordance with the promise I gave the House at an early stage in the negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Locarno, I now submit a motion which brings under review of the House the obligations which it is proposed that his Majesty's Government should accept before his Majesty's Government tender advice to the King to ratify that Treaty. I had been encouraged to hope by the very generous acknowledgments of the work done at Locarno which have been made in public speeches by leaders of the two Opposition Parties that such a motion as I have placed on the paper would receive the unanimous acceptance of the House.

Although it is not for me to criticise, I am sorry that the Opposition Parties should have found it necessary to put down any amendments to my motion. But I gladly take note of the fact that neither motion criticises the agreement come to or challenges the policy of his Majesty's Government in accepting the limited obligations imposed by the Treaty of Locarno. What both motions do is to state that the work of Locarno would not be complete unless it was followed by further steps of general pacification or appeasement.

I hope it is not necessary for me to say that it has always been the view of his Majesty's Government that the agreements made at Locarno, valuable as they are in themselves, are yet more valuable for the spirit which produced them, which informed them and which is already at work in our international relations; and that we regard Locarno, not as the end of the work of appeasement and reconciliation, but as its beginning.

The policy which his Majesty's Government is pursuing has already received the general approval of the House. I was able to satisfy myself in our earlier discussion, particularly in the month of June, that the policy which his Majesty's advisers were pursuing was accepted by all parties in the House; that not only were the aims of all parties the same, but that there was general agreement as to the conditions which must govern our search for peace.

The House will observe that in the policy we have pursued we have built on the foundation laid by our predecessors, that we have attempted to continue the work which they were pursuing and which they were unable to complete, and that we have carried on with the same desire

to help Europe to move out of the rut of war-thought, war-suspicion, and war-fear into a better atmosphere, which is the only sure foundation for future peace.

I was myself very fortunate in the circumstances in which I was called upon to deal with these matters, and in the men with whom I had to co-operate. It was a great thing that the Reparations question had been removed from the field of controversy before we were called upon to deal with the international situation. We were all animated by the same purpose, which was not a party purpose but a national purpose, common to all parties.

I had not met the representatives of Germany until I met them at the Conference. I was very soon able to satisfy myself that they came there animated by the same sincere desire for peace and reconciliation, and that they would work with us in the same whole-hearted spirit to secure the end so essential for the prosperity of all our peoples.

I was particularly fortunate in the character of the great Frenchman who represented his country there—M. Briand—a man of singular courage and great clearness of vision and a wide and generous liberality of thought. I think I am not saying too much when I say that the success of the Locarno Conference was largely due to the representatives of Germany and France. The representatives of Belgium assisted in the peaceful purpose. The representative of Italy took the same position in the settlement of difficulties, the alleviation of fears, the dispersion of suspicion, and without the aid of those two countries it might never have been possible to arrive at a solution by the parties immediately concerned.

I think it is true to say that all of us at the Conference, and observers watching from outside, felt from the first meeting of the Conference that we were face to face with something new in post-war years. For the first time those who had been enemies met on a footing of perfect equality—not as victors and vanquished, but on the initiative of the German Government itself, and the document in which their jurists had co-operated with our jurists was the only document that was before the Conference.

As I observed to some of my colleagues at the Conference, had some inhabitant of another world, ignorant of what had passed in the last few years, dropped into our gathering, he would never have guessed that we were representatives of nations so recently involved in bitter feud, but would have thought that we were business men who had associated in the past, amongst whom differences had arisen, but who were determined that those differences must be overcome so that their association might be maintained.

It was in such a spirit of goodwill on all sides and of confidence that the Conference of Locarno met and conducted its deliberations and came to its conclusions, and it was in that spirit that we separated. We felt that what we achieved did, indeed, mark a turning point in the history of Europe, and, it may be, the history of the world, and that it was an earnest and an omen of a new international spirit in relations which would grow and develop as the years roll by.

Now, criticism is suggested in the amendment, not of what we did but of what we did not do. It is suggested that our work was incomplete, because among the documents initialled at Locarno there was none providing for general disarmament. That is true. But Locarno was not the place, nor were we who were assembled there competent alone to produce that scheme of general disarmament.

What we have done is to bring a new assurance of peace and security to many nations which felt themselves most threatened and insecure, and in so doing it is the belief of all of us that we have hastened the possibility of effectively dealing with the question of disarmament, and that we have brought a new support to the work of the Assembly of the League of Nations and to its Council. And I would remind the House that the Council itself will be dealing with the question in a very few weeks' time.

It was not possible to deal with the question of disarmament at Locarno. Other nations must be represented besides those who were represented at Locarno in order to deal with this question effectively. But not only did we do nothing at Locarno to make disarmament more difficult; we did much to make it easier.

It is also said that the Treaty should be followed by positive steps to secure the adhesion of Russia to the League of Nations. It is the desire of his Majesty's Government, and I think it is the desire of every Government which is a member of the League, that the League should become as widely and universally representative as possible. The absence of great nations from the League does *pro tanto* weaken its authority and usefulness, although it would be a great mistake, in my opinion, to underrate the present powers of the League as now constituted as an instrument of peace and an aid to conciliation and reconciliation. It has a moral authority in international affairs which no nation can afford to disregard.

The admission of Russia must depend entirely on the attitude of the Government of Russia. It is not for the League to go begging in one quarter or another. That would be derogatory to the League and it would be a minimising of its authority and its position which, I think,

no friend of the League could countenance or support. The will to join the League must be spontaneous in the Government concerned.

Is there any will on the part of the Soviet Government to join the League? M. Chicherin has said in the past two days in Berlin that the Russian Government is not prepared to join the League on any terms whatever, that it finds a difficulty about joining a body the seat of whose secretariat and the habitual place of whose meetings is Switzerland. But it has more fundamental objections than those. It regards the League as an association of nations, each of them constituted on a system which is incompatible with the view which the Soviet Government takes of what the world should be, and it has a fundamental objection to joining a League based upon such a constitution of society. If that be the view of the Soviet Government it is really not possible for anybody to accuse his Majesty's Government of being an obstacle to the entrance of Russia into the League.

As to the documents and proceedings of the Conference, I think every friend of the League and of international peace and goodwill will rejoice that the German Government has seen its way to propose entrance to the League of Nations. I must confess that I was taken completely by surprise when I found that by far the most serious of our difficulties was constituted by one condition or request that Germany should enter the League.

The question of the reaction of the French Treaties and of the relations of France with Poland and Czechoslovakia was found on examination to be far less difficult than any of us had supposed. I must say that some injustice was done to Poland because whenever there was thought to be a hitch in our proceedings the Press representatives, perhaps not unnaturally, assumed that Poland must be the obstacle in our path. It was not so.

The greatest obstacle was the entrance of Germany into the League. I came to the conclusion that the German objections were due to apprehensions which were very largely misapprehensions of what the obligations of a member of the League were, and of what would be the policy of the League in given events. All of us who initialled the letter felt that in the declarations which we made to the German Government we were saying no more than what has been declared by the Assembly in resolution after resolution, and what is the common sense of the document we had to interpret. No member can enter the League except with the same rights and the same obligations as every other member. The very foundation is that all nations in it are equal, be they big nations or little nations—that they have the same rights and consequently the same duties, and it was impossible to create a new class of membership,

with restricted rights and restricted duties, or, alternatively, with full rights and restricted duties.

But the duties of a nation must be proportionate to the capacity of the nations who fulfil them, and no one can anticipate that the Council would ask of any a service which it is materially incapable of rendering. We have, therefore, said nothing which in any way weakens the authority or the position. We have explained that we have no authority to speak on behalf of the League, but we have given as our own an interpretation of the obligations of the members of the League which, I think, will be accepted in every quarter.

As to the actual Treaty of Locarno, it is a Treaty which is aimed at nobody, pointed at no one, threatens no one, and menaces no one. It is a treaty of mutual guarantee. The obligations of France to Germany are the same as the obligations of Germany to France. The same is true of Belgium and Germany, and the obligations of the guaranteeing Powers, Italy and Great Britain, are the same to Germany as they are to France, or as they are to Belgium. This is not, then, a Treaty directed by one group of Powers against any Power or group of Powers, but is a mutual Treaty of guarantee among the Powers concerned to preserve peace on their frontiers and between themselves.

All the agreements initialled at Locarno conform strictly to the spirit of the covenant of the League of Nations. They are placed under the guardianship of the League; the League is the ultimate authority in regard to the issues which might be raised. What we have done is not to subtract from the power or authority of the League, but to support and underpin that authority and power for the settlement of conflicts between nations.

What is the object which we undertook? There is no case in which we can be called upon to take military action except in pursuance of the Covenant and the action of the League, or where action is taken by one of the parties in breach of its obligations which leads to such an immediate danger that you cannot wait even a few days that may be necessary for the meeting of the Council. And in that case the British Government of the day remains the judge of whether that case of immediate danger has arisen. The Italian Government as a joint guarantor is in exactly the same position as ourselves. Each guarantor is judge of whether the circumstances have arisen which brings his guarantee into immediate play.

I have no doubt that as a matter of practice the two guarantors would at once exchange views upon the situation. And, indeed, I think it is probable that the Powers who are guaranteed would be anxious as to what were the views the guarantors took before they themselves

took action. But though undoubtedly the Italian Government and our own would in such cases exchange views, the decision rests in each case with the particular Government.

Under Article 44 of the Versailles Treaty the signatory Powers were entitled to consider any breach of any provision of Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles as a hostile act by Germany.

Now we are providing that immediate war follows only if the act is an act which is of such a character that it may become dangerous to the innocent party and may be fatal to his safety. It is only where any delay endangers the security of an innocent party that we contemplate action before a decision of the Council has been given, and even then we provide that the Council shall still be seized of the matter, and that when it has given its decision we will conform to it.

I do not think that the obligations of this country could be more narrowly circumscribed, or the conditions in which we have an actual vital national interest, than they are in this Treaty of Locarno.

I should feel the work at Locarno only half done if it had not produced a *détente* on the Eastern frontier of Germany and contributed to render secure the peace of that part of the world. Recent events must have taught us all that if war breaks out in Europe there is no knowing when the conflagration can be arrested. We cannot be indifferent to the prospects of peace in any part of the world, least of all in any part of Europe, to which we are so close.

More than that, we have taken new obligations. When we joined the League of Nations we became in a greater or less degree participants in any conflict which breaks out, and our interest is to see that the danger of war is removed as far as possible in every quarter of the world, and above all in every quarter of Europe in which danger of war may arise.

The Treaties signed between Poland and Germany and between Czechoslovakia and Germany naturally cannot be exactly the same as those which are signed by the Western nations. Great Britain was not prepared to accept any obligations in that part of the world. But I am glad that by the free agreement and the goodwill that their representatives brought to the discussion of their very special problems, the security of the Eastern frontiers of Germany and of the neighbouring States has come out of Locarno not weakened, but strengthened, and the danger of war has been rendered much more remote.

I do not say that these treaties when ratified will make war impossible. It is not given to any human instrument to do that. But I do say that they render war infinitely more difficult, that they make it far less possible that war should break out on some obscure or trivial incident or claim. With these agreements in operation it will, I think,

be difficult for one of the nations signatory of them to make war against one of its fellow nations without clearly putting itself in the wrong before the whole civilised world, and bearing the odium of such wrong doing.

After all, half the conflicts between nations arise out of some petty incident that was not worth the loss of a soldier's life, but where the honour or the pride or the national sentiment of two countries becomes engaged, and neither feels it possible to yield to the other. I do not believe that such incidents can create war among the peoples who have signed the treaty. And if the deeper causes of war cannot be wholly removed by written instruments, at least it is true to say that the spirit which brought us to Locarno, and which inspired us there, has affected also the policy of Governments, and there is good reason to hope that a new leaf has been turned over, and that the nations will work in future with the object of preserving peace.

Look at what had happened at the time of the agreement at Locarno. Thousands of Germans in Poland were under an order of expulsion, but hardly had the Foreign Minister gone back to his capital than the Polish Government decided to suspend the decree against these men, while the German Government also suspended decrees of expulsion against Polish inhabitants of Germany. On our side the settlement of outstanding questions about disarmament had been facilitated and hastened, and on December 1, the date on which the Treaties would be signed, the evacuation of Cologne would begin, and would be carried through with all the expedition that the material circumstances of the case allowed. At the same time the whole administration of the Rhine would be revised with a view of reducing interference with German rights and German administration to the narrowest limits compatible with the safety of the troops remaining there.

I believe a great work for peace has been done, and that it could not have been done unless all the nations had felt the need of starting a new and better chapter of international relations, and unless this country was prepared to take her share in guaranteeing the settlement so arrived at.

I regretted—nobody more—that the circumstances of the British Empire made it impossible for all its parts to be represented directly in these international negotiations from day to day. All that was possible was to keep the Governments of the Dominions and of India fully informed of everything that had been done. Their liberty and freedom of action was safeguarded specifically in the Treaty. It was

recognised that only their Governments, acting with the authority of their Parliaments, could take over the obligations which the House of Commons was now asked to assume for Great Britain.

I hope that it may be possible to discuss this matter fully with them when the next Imperial Conference is held, and that that Imperial Conference will not be too long delayed. I do not think matters of such consequence could possibly be dealt with by despatch or cable at the distance of thousands of miles, and without the personal contact and personal explanation needed for a true appreciation of the position.

In the meanwhile we who cannot dissociate ourselves from what passes, the safety and peace of whose shores, the security of whose people is intimately bound up with the peace and security of the Continent, and above all of its Western portion, must take our decision. We ask the House to approve the ratification of the Treaty of Locarno in the belief that by that Treaty, and by our part in it, we are diverting danger from our country, and from Europe, that we are safe-guarding peace, and that we are laying the foundations of goodwill and friendship with the enemy of a few years ago.

CHATEAUBRIAND

(1768-1848).

FRANÇOIS RENÉ AUGUSTE, VISCOUNT DE CHATEAUBRIAND, immortal in literature as the author of 'Atala,' 'René,' and 'The Genius of Christianity,' represents in political oratory the first strong reaction of "Bourbonism" against the ideas of the French Revolution. In 1823-24 he was Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis XVIII., and helped to force what has been called a most unjustifiable war on Spain. In doing so he made the speech on Intervention, probably the most effective of his orations. In defining the causes of the assault on Spain, Lamartine, in his 'History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France,' says that "Spain was verging on a Republic" and "a Republic proclaimed on the other side of the Pyrenees would sweep away the throne of the Bourbons in France."

From the reaction represented by this speech of Chateaubriand may be traced the great reactionary movement which gained such force in Europe during the last quarter of the century.

He was born at St. Malo, September 4th, 1768. In his youth a follower of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists, he changed his opinions and published his 'Genius of Christianity,' the work which has done most to give him an enduring reputation. His 'René,' 'Atala,' and 'Essay on Revolutions,' are of scarcely less celebrity than the 'Genius of Christianity,' though perhaps they are not so widely read outside of France. His appointment to the Cabinet under Louis XVIII. was due to a pamphlet 'Bonaparte and the Bourbons,' which Louis said was worth a hundred thousand men to him. After his retirement from the ministry he was Ambassador to Rome under the Martignac administration. Resigning, he continued for a time in politics, representing under Louis Philippe "the principle of legitimacy." His residence in England strengthened his taste for English literature, and his translations of Milton, made after his retirement from politics, are among the last notable works of his later life. He died in 1848. His critics admire his brilliancy, but accuse him of overweening egotism. Richard Garnett calls him a "great rhetorician rather than a great poet, a great writer rather than a great man." Lamartine, who gives him credit for sincerity and earnestness, says, on the other hand, that "he saw far and saw correctly, going astray, when he erred at all, through passion and not from intellectual error."

INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS

(Delivered in the French Chamber of Deputies in 1823 on the Question of Intervening Forcibly in the Affairs of Spain).

I SHALL at once set aside the personal objections, for private feelings must have no place here. I have no reply to make to mutilated pieces, printed by means unknown to me in foreign gazettes. I commenced my ministerial career with the honourable Member who spoke last, during the 'Hundred Days,' when we each had a portfolio *ad interim*, he at Paris and I at Ghent. I was then writing a romance, he was employed on history; I still adhere to romance.

I am about to examine the series of objections presented at this tribune. These are numerous and diversified; but that I may not go astray in so vast a field, I shall arrange them under different heads.

Let us first examine the question of intervention. Has one government a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another government? This great question of public right has been resolved in opposite ways; those who have connected it with natural law, as Bacon, Puffendorf, Grotius, and all the ancients, are of opinion that it is permitted to take up arms, in the name of human society, against a people who violate the principles upon which general order is based, in the same manner as in private life we punish common disturbers of the peace. Those who look upon the question as a point of civil law maintain, on the contrary, that one government has no right to intervene in the affairs of another government. Thus, the former place the right of intervention in our duties, and the latter in our interests.

Gentlemen, I adopt the principle laid down by the civil law; I take the side of modern politicians, and I say with them, no government has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of another government. In fact, if this principle were not admitted, and especially by peoples who enjoy a free constitution, no nation could be free on its own soil; for the corruption of a minister, or the ambition of a king, would be sufficient to occasion an attack upon any State which should endeavour to improve its condition. To the various causes of war, already too numerous, you would thereby add a perpetual principle of hostility, a principle of which every man in possession of power would be the judge, because he would always have the right of saying to his neighbours: "Your institutions displease me; change them, or I shall declare war against you."

I hope my honourable opponents will acknowledge that I explain myself frankly. But in presenting myself in this tribune to maintain the

justice of our intervention in the affairs of Spain, how am I to escape from the principle which I myself have enounced? You shall see, gentlemen.

When modern politicians had rejected the right of intervention, by quitting the natural, to place themselves within the civil law, they found themselves very much embarrassed. Cases occurred in which it was impossible to abstain from intervention without putting the State in danger. At the commencement of the Revolution it was said: "Let the colonies perish rather than a principle!" and the colonies accordingly perished. Was it right to say also: "Let social order perish rather than a principle"? That they might not be wrecked against the very rule they had established, they had recourse to an exception, by means of which they returned to the natural law, and said: "No government has a right to intervene in the internal affairs of a nation, unless in such a case as may compromise the immediate safety and essential interests of that government." I shall presently quote the authority from which I borrow these words.

The exception, gentlemen, does not appear to me more questionable than the rule; no State can allow its essential interests to perish, under the penalty of perishing itself as a State. Having reached this point of the question, the whole face of it is changed,—we find ourselves altogether upon different ground. I am no longer bound to contest the rule, but to prove that the case of exception has occurred for France.

Before I adduce the motives which justify your intervention in the affairs of Spain, I ought first, gentlemen, to support my statement on the authority of examples. I shall frequently have occasion in the course of my speech to speak of England, since my honourable opponents quote it every moment against us, in their extempore, as well as in their written and printed speeches. It was Great Britain alone who defended these principles at Verona, and it is she alone who now rises against the right of intervention; it is she who is ready to take up arms for the cause of a free people; it is she that reproves an impious war, hostile to the rights of man,—a war which a little bigoted and servile faction wishes to undertake, to return on its conclusion to burn the French charter, after having rent to pieces the Spanish constitution. Is not that it, gentlemen? We shall return to all these points; but first let us speak of the intervention.

I fear that my honourable opponents have made a bad choice of their authority. England, say they, has set us a great example by protecting the independence of nations. Let England, safe amidst her waves, and defended by ancient institutions,—let England—which has not suffered either the disasters of two invasions or the disorders of a thirty years' revolution—think that she has nothing to fear from Spain, and feel

averse to intervene in her affairs, nothing certainly can be more natural ; but does it follow that France enjoys the same security, and is in the same position ? When, under other circumstances, the essential interests of Great Britain have been compromised, did she not for her own safety, and very justly without doubt, derogate from the principles which are now invoked in her name ?

England, on going to war with France, promulgated, in the month of November 1793 the famous declaration of Whitehall. Permit me, gentlemen, to read a passage of it for you. The document commences by recalling the calamities of the Revolution, and then adds :—

“ The intentions set forth of reforming the abuses of the French government, of establishing upon a solid basis personal liberty and the rights of property, of securing to a numerous people a wise legislation, an administration, and just and moderate laws,—all these salutary views have unhappily disappeared ; they have given place to a system destructive of all public order, maintained by proscriptions, by banishment, by confiscations without number, by arbitrary imprisonment and by massacres, the memory of which is frightful. The inhabitants of this unhappy country, so long deceived by promises of happiness, always renewed at the epoch of every fresh crime, have been plunged into an abyss of calamities without example.

“ This state of affairs cannot subsist in France, without implicating in one common danger all the neighbouring powers, without giving them the right, without imposing upon them the duty of arresting the progress of an evil which only exists by the successive violation of all laws and every sense of propriety, and by the subversion of the fundamental principles which unite men, by the ties of social life. His Majesty certainly does not mean to dispute with France the right of reforming its laws ; he would never wish to influence by external force the mode of government of an independent State : nor does he desire it now, but in so far as this object has become essential to the peace and security of other powers. Under these circumstances he demands of France, and his demand is based upon a just title, the termination at length of a system of anarchy which is only powerful in doing wrong, incapable of fulfilling towards the French people the first duty of government, to repress the disturbances and to punish the crimes which daily multiply in the interior of the country ; but, on the contrary, disposing in an arbitrary manner of their lives and property, to disturb the peace of other nations, and to make all Europe the theatre of similar crimes and like calamities. He demands of France the establishment of a stable and legitimate government, founded on the recognized principles of

universal justice, and calculated to maintain with other nations the customary relations of union and of peace. The King, on his part, promises beforehand a suspension of hostilities; friendship in so far as he may be permitted by events which are not at the disposal of the human will; and safety and protection to all those who, declaring themselves for a monarchical government, shall withdraw themselves from the despotism of an anarchy which has broken all the most sacred ties of society, rent asunder all the relations of civil life, violated all rights, confounded all duties; availing itself of the name of liberty to exercise the most cruel tyranny, to annihilate all property, to seize upon all estates, founding its power on the pretended consent of the people, and ruining whole provinces with fire and sword, for having reclaimed their laws, their religion, and their legitimate sovereign!"

Well, gentlemen, what think you of this declaration? Did you not imagine that you were listening to the very speech pronounced by the King at the opening of the present session; but that speech developed, explained, and commented upon with equal force and eloquence? England says she acts in concert with her allies, and we should be thought criminal in also having allies! England promises assistance to French royalists, and it would be taken ill if we were to protect Spanish royalists! England maintains that she has the right of intervening to save herself and Europe from the evils that are desolating France, and we are to be interdicted from defending ourselves from the Spanish contagion! England rejects the pretended consent of the French people; she imposes upon France, as the price of peace, the condition of establishing a government founded on the principles of justice, and calculated to maintain the customary relations with other States, and we are to be compelled to recognise the pretended sovereignty of the people, the legality of a constitution established by a military revolt, and we are not to have the right of demanding from Spain for our security, institutions legalized by the freedom of Ferdinand!

We must, however, be just: when England published this famous declaration, Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI. were no more. I acknowledge that Marie Josephine is, as yet, only a captive, and that nothing has yet been shed but her tears; Ferdinand, also, is at present only a prisoner in his palace, as Louis XVI. was in his, before he went to the Temple and thence to the scaffold. I do not wish to calumniate the Spaniards, but neither do I wish to estimate them more highly than my own countrymen. Revolutionary France produced a Convention, and why should not revolutionary Spain produce one also? Shall I be told that by accelerating the movement of intervention we shall make the position of the monarch more perilous? But did England save Louis

XVI. by refusing to declare herself? Is not the intervention which prevents the evil more useful than that by which it is avenged? Spain had a diplomatic agent at Paris at the period of the celebrated catastrophe, and his prayers could obtain nothing. What was this family witness doing there? He was certainly not required to authenticate a death that was known to earth and heaven. Gentlemen, the trials of Charles I. and of Louis XVI. are already too much for the world, but another judicial murder would establish, on the authority of precedents, a sort of criminal right and a body of jurisprudence for the use of subjects against their kings.

LORD CHESTERFIELD

(PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, FOURTH EARL OF
CHESTERFIELD)

(1694-1773).

THAT history repeats itself, even in the matter of political agitation, is very plainly manifested in the speech on the Gin Act, delivered by Lord Chesterfield in the House of Lords in 1743. In it we find the arguments which have been made so familiar to the voters of the United States since the Prohibition movement began to figure in American politics more than fifty years ago. Lord Chesterfield on this occasion may have been more intent on harassing the ministry than on abolishing the liquor traffic, but no one has greatly improved upon his argument. He was a cultivated and trained statesman, a diplomat and a man of affairs, as well as a man of fashion. He became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1744. Through his famous 'Letters to His Son,' which for more than a hundred years have been put into the hands of young persons going into society, his name has long been "a household word" in England and America, and all the world has read the famous letter written to him by Doctor Johnson. He was born in London, September 22nd, 1694, and died March 24th, 1773.

AGAINST REVENUES FROM DRUNKENNESS AND VICE

(Speech on the Gin Act delivered in the House of Lords,
February 21st, 1743).

TO pretend, my lords, that the design of this bill is to prevent or diminish the use of spirits is to trample on common sense and to violate the rules of decency as well as of reason. For when did any man hear that a commodity was prohibited by licensing its sale, or that to offer and refuse is the same action?

It is indeed pleaded that it will be made dearer by the tax which is proposed, and that the increase of the price will diminish the number of the purchasers; but it is at the same time expected that this tax shall supply the expense of a war on the Continent. It is asserted,

therefore, that the consumption of spirits will be hindered ; and yet that it will be such as may be expected to furnish, from a very small tax, a revenue sufficient for the support of armies, or the re-establishment of the Austrian family, and the repressing of the attempts of France.

Surely, my lords, these expectations are not very consistent ; nor can it be imagined that they are both formed in the same head, though they may be expressed by the same mouth. It is, however, some recommendation of a statesman, when, of his assertion, one can be found reasonable or true ; and in this, praise cannot be denied to our present ministers. For though it is undoubtedly false that this tax will lessen the consumption of spirits, it is certainly true that it will produce a very large revenue—a revenue that will not fail but with the people from whose debaucheries it arises.

Our ministers will therefore have the same honour with their predecessors, of having given rise to a new fund ; not indeed for the payment of our debts, but for much more valuable purposes ; for the cheering of our hearts under oppression, and for the ready support of these debts which we have lost all hopes of paying. They are resolved, my lords, that the nation which no endeavours can make wise, shall, while they are at its head, at least be very merry ; and, since public happiness is the end of government, they seem to imagine that they shall deserve applause by an expedient which will enable every man to lay his cares to sleep, to drown sorrow, and lose in the delights of drunkenness both the public miseries and his own.

Luxury, my lords, is to be taxed, but vice prohibited, let the difficulties in executing the law be what they will. Would you lay a tax on the breach of the ten commandments ? Would not such a tax be wicked and scandalous ; because it would imply an indulgence to all those who could pay the tax ? Is not this a reproach most justly thrown by the Protestants upon the Church of Rome ? Was it not the chief cause of the Reformation ? And will you follow a precedent which brought reproach and ruin upon those that introduced it ? This is the very case now before you. You are going to lay a tax, and consequently to indulge a sort of drunkenness, which almost necessarily produces a breach of every one of the ten commandments. Can you expect the reverend bench will approve of this. I am convinced they will not ; and therefore I wish I had seen it full upon this occasion. I am sure I have seen it much fuller upon other occasions, in which religion had no such deep concern.

We have already, my lords, several sorts of funds in this nation, so many that a man must have a good deal of learning to be master of them. Thanks to his Majesty, we have now among us the most

learned man of the nation in this way. I wish he would rise up and tell us what name we are to give this new fund. We have already the Civil List Fund, the Sinking Fund, the Aggregate Fund, the South Sea Fund, and God knows how many others. What name we are going to give this new fund I know not, unless we are to call it the Drinking Fund. It may, perhaps, enable the people of a certain foreign territory (Hanover) to drink claret, but it will disable the people of this kingdom from drinking anything else but gin ; for when a man has, by gin drinking, rendered himself unfit for labour or business, he can purchase nothing else ; and then the best thing for him to do is to drink on till he dies.

Surely, my lords, men of such unbounded benevolence as our present ministers deserve such honours as were never paid before ; they deserve to bestride a butt upon every signpost in the city, or to have their figures exhibited as tokens where this liquor is to be sold by the license which they have procured. They must be at least remembered to future ages as the " happy politicians " who, after all expedients for raising taxes had been employed, discovered a new method of draining the last relics of the public wealth, and added a new revenue to the Government. Nor will those who shall hereafter enumerate the several funds now established among us, forget, among the benefactors to their country, the illustrious authors of the Drinking Fund.

May I be allowed, my lords, to congratulate my countrymen and fellow-subjects upon the happy times which are now approaching, in which no man will be disqualified from the privilege of being drunk ; when all discontent and disloyalty shall be forgotten, and the people, though now considered by the ministry as enemies, shall acknowledge the leniency of that government under which all restraints are taken away ?

But, to a bill for such desirable purposes, it would be proper, my lords, to prefix a preamble, in which the kindness of our intentions should be more fully explained, that the nation may not mistake our indulgence for cruelty, nor consider their benefactors as their persecutors. If, therefore, this bill be considered and amended (for why else should it be considered ?) in a committee, I shall humbly propose that it shall be introduced in this manner : " Whereas the designs of the present ministry, whatever they are, cannot be executed without a great number of mercenaries, which mercenaries cannot be hired without money ; and whereas the present disposition of this nation to drunkenness inclines us to believe that they will pay more cheerfully for the undisturbed enjoyment of distilled liquors than for any other concession that can

be made by the Government ; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, that no man shall hereafter be denied the right of being drunk on the following conditions."

The specious pretence on which this bill is founded, and, indeed, the only pretence that deserves to be termed specious, is the propriety of taxing vice ; but this maxim of government has, on this occasion, been either mistaken or perverted. Vice, my lords, is not properly to be taxed, but suppressed ; and heavy taxes are sometimes the only means by which that suppression can be attained. Luxury, my lords, or the excess of that which is pernicious only by excess, may very properly be taxed, that such excess, though not strictly unlawful, may be made more difficult. But the use of those things which are simply hurtful, hurtful in their own nature and in every degree, is to be prohibited. None, my lords, ever heard, in any nation, of a tax upon theft or adultery, because a tax implies a license granted for the use of that which is taxed to all who shall be willing to pay it.

The noble lord has been pleased kindly to inform us that the trade of distilling is very extensive ; that it employs great numbers ; and that they have arrived at an exquisite skill, and therefore—note well the consequence—the trade of distilling is not to be discouraged.

Once more, my lords, allow me to wonder at the different conceptions of different understandings. It appears to me that since the spirits which the distillers produce are allowed to enfeeble the limbs and vitiate the blood, to pervert the heart and obscure the intellects. that the number of distillers should be no argument in their favour ; for I never heard that a law against theft was repealed or delayed because thieves were numerous. It appears to me, my lords, that if so formidable a body are confederated against the virtue or the lives of their fellow-citizens, it is time to put an end to the havoc, and to interpose while it is yet in our power to stop the destruction.

So little, my lords, am I afflicted with the merit of this wonderful skill which the distillers are said to have attained, that it is, in my opinion, no faculty of great use to mankind to prepare palatable poison ; nor shall I ever contribute my interest for the reprieve of a murderer, because he has, by long practice, obtained great dexterity in his trade.

If their liquors are so delicious that the people are tempted to their own destruction, let us at length, my lords, secure them from these fatal draughts, by bursting the vials that contain them. Let us crush at

once these artists in slaughter, who have reconciled their countrymen to sickness and to ruin, and spread over the pitfalls of debauchery such baits as cannot be resisted.

The noble lord has, indeed, admitted that this bill may not be found sufficiently coercive, but gives us hopes that it may be improved and enforced another year, and persuades us to endeavour a reformation of drunkenness by degrees, and, above all, to beware at present of hurting the manufacture.

I am very far, my lords, from thinking that there are, this year, any peculiar reasons for tolerating murder ; nor can I conceive why the manufacture should be held sacred now, if it be to be destroyed hereafter. We are, indeed, desired to try how far this law will operate, that we may be more able to proceed with due regard to this valuable manufacture.

With regard to the operation of the law, it appears to me that it will only enrich the government without reforming the people ; and I believe there are not many of a different opinion. If any diminution of the sale of spirits be expected from it, it is to be considered that this diminution will, or will not, be such as is desired for the reformation of the people. If it be sufficient, the manufacture is at an end, and all the reasons against the higher duties are of equal force against this ; but if it be not sufficient, we have, at least, omitted part of our duty and have neglected the health and virtue of the people.

When I consider, my lords, the tendency of this bill, I find it calculated only for the propagation of diseases, the suppression of industry, and the destruction of mankind. I find it the most fatal engine that ever was pointed at a people ; an engine by which those who are not killed will be disabled, and those who preserve their limbs will be deprived of their senses.

This bill, therefore, appears to be designed only to thin the ranks of mankind, and to disburden the world of the multitudes that inhabit it ; and is perhaps the strongest proof of political sagacity that our new ministers have yet exhibited. They well know, my lords, that they are universally detested, and that, whenever a Briton is destroyed, they are freed from an enemy ; they have therefore opened the flood gates of gin upon the nation that, when it is less numerous, it may be more easily governed.

Other ministers, my lords, who had not attained to so great a knowledge in the art of making war upon their country, when they found their enemies clamorous and bold, used to awe them with prosecutions and penalties, or destroy them like burglars, with prisons and with gibbets. But every age, my lords, produces some improvement ; and every nation, however degenerate, gives birth, at some happy period of

time, to men of great and enterprising genius. It is our fortune to be witnesses of a new discovery in politics. We may congratulate ourselves upon being contemporaries with those men who have shown that hangmen and halters are unnecessary in a State and that ministers may escape the reproach of destroying their enemies by inciting them to destroy themselves.

This new method may, indeed, have upon different constitutions a different operation ; it may destroy the lives of some and the senses of others ; but either of these effects will answer the purposes of the ministry, to whom it is indifferent, provided the nation becomes insensible, whether pestilence or lunacy prevails among them. Either mad or dead the greatest part of the people must quickly be, or there is no hope of the continuance of the present ministry.

For this purpose, my lords, what could have been invented more efficacious than an establishment of a certain number of shops at which poison may be vended—poison so prepared as to please the palate, while it wastes the strength, and only kills by intoxication ? From the first instant that any of the enemies of the ministry shall grow clamorous and turbulent, a crafty hireling may lead him to the ministerial slaughter-house and ply him with their wonder-working liquor till he is no longer able to speak or think, and, my lords, no man can be more agreeable to our ministers than he that can neither speak nor think. except those who speak without thinking.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO

(106-43 B.C.).

IN oratory and all forms of prose composition Cicero was for seventeen centuries the acknowledged master of the civilized world. So long as Latin remained the "vulgar tongue" of learning in Europe, every one who aspired to be heard beyond his own province studied and imitated the style of Cicero. As first the French and afterwards the English language began to be used in literature; as the great writers of Northern Europe, encouraged by the example of Dante, dared to employ the vernacular of the despised common people of their own countries, the style of Cicero passed from the Latin of the learned into literature which appealed to a wider circle of readers. In England, Bacon presents in his 'Essays' the first model of the later English prose which in the essays of Addison reasserts the right of the English language to be governed by its own laws rather than by those of any Latin, however elegant. In the main, however, the style of educated writers of English prose is Ciceronian, in spite of Addison, for Macaulay in the earlier years of the nineteenth century and, towards its close, the great Frenchman Taine, have strongly swayed the minds of English prose writers away from Saxon towards Ciceronian constructions.

If Cicero's influence over prose literature has been thus universal in English and other Teutonic tongues which have a "time" radically different from Latin and an accentuation which creates a sense of musical values in language greatly unlike that which made Latin intelligible as a spoken tongue—if in spite of all differences of speech and of "ear" he has thus swayed the prose writing of Northern Europe, Teutonic as well as Latin, for so many centuries, we should naturally expect him to be the supreme arbiter of oratorical style. And this expectation has been fully realized. The Ciceronian construction of clauses, balancing each other in musical "time" and arranged to make possible the greatest cumulative force of idea, governs modern oratory still as it did that of the Middle Ages. During the last twenty-five years, we have seen a tendency to break away from it, towards a simpler construction, but it is far from its full realization. Whenever we say that this or that piece of prose is "oratorical" in its style, we mean simply that it approximates more or less to the syntax of Cicero. If from the standpoint of the student

of English, who loves its mastering simplicity and admires its natural syntax because it tends to force the plain truth to be told, this seems unfortunate, there must have been a supreme and sufficient reason for it, or it could not have existed as it has done, the central fact in the oratory and the prose writing of so many centuries among so many people of diverse languages and habits of thought. Without doubt, this supreme reason is to be sought in the nice sense of time in language which Cicero had perhaps in a greater degree than any one else who ever wrote Latin prose. Unless an orator or a prose writer can develop this sense so that it will govern his composition as surely and as unconsciously as the feet of a skilful dancer are governed by the music of a waltz, his sentences must always be ragged and uneven, repellent to all whose intellects are sufficiently developed to give them an idea of order and a love of harmony. As this idea of order, this love of harmony, is the normal rule of the intellect, the speaker who offends through a defective ear for the time of the language in which he expresses himself must necessarily create an unfavourable impression. If, on the contrary, he has the sense of time as a governing factor in his constructions, if, when he adds a clause, his ear immediately impels him to give it its due balance with the next ; if every period harmonizes and balances the time of every other ; and if to this he adds such harmonies of tone as are illustrated in the Latin vowel successions of Cicero as they are in the English of Burke he has a mode of expression worthy of the highest thought, and when used for the purpose of expressing great ideas, sure to compel permanent attention to them. This is the conclusion which every one must draw who studies the careful art of Cicero's constructions and considers in connection with it the permanent force it has given his ideas.

The art of oratory, as Cicero understood it, approximates in its technique the technical art of modern versification. Except that the time of balancing clauses must not be so exactly identical as to set them tripping, the oratory of Cicero makes demands on the ear for antithetical time in the government of its constructions almost if not quite as severe as does modern English blank verse of average regularity. Occasionally in classical oratory, the rhythms of poetry were allowed ; it was not considered a fault but rather a beauty that an orator, moved by his subject and speaking in cadenced periods, should occasionally break into a perfect hexameter, but as a rule the exactly identical time-balances of verse were avoided or disguised. The Greeks and Romans had a nice ear for time in language and were often conscious of it. Of course every one who speaks a modern language as a vernacular acquires, in learning to talk, the " natural " ear for its time, but as a rule we never become conscious of the operations of this " ear "

and so are ignorant of the first essentials of such art as governed Cicero's prose, as in its more nearly perfect measure it governed the verse of Horace and of Virgil.

To develop a consciousness of this sense of time without becoming self-conscious because of it, is to have the A B C of Cicero's art as an orator. It has been said with truth that it was as nearly an exact art as poetry or sculpture, and for those who in seeking the artistic can avoid the always present and always imminent danger of the artificial, it is likely to be not less a source of power in speaking than a knowledge of musical time is in the composition of verse.

In the politics of Rome, Cicero stands for the virtue of ancient aristocracy against the later imperialism through which one strong and masterful man after another sought supreme power by appealing to the fighting instincts of the lowest masses of the people. The later Roman republic was essentially an aristocratic and oligarchical institution, modified by mob law. It ended as aristocracies always end, in imperialism. In mediæval Europe, we have first the governing oligarchy of feudal barons with the king as their chief—*primus inter pares*. Next we have the struggle for supremacy between the one man and the oligarchy in which by appealing to the previously unconsidered multitude, the one masterful man gets the better of the hundred who seek to master him and the masses. Thus in France we see established the absolutism which preceded the Revolution. Again after the Revolution, Napoleon followed the example of Marius and Cæsar in Rome, and of Cromwell in England, evoking the latent power of the many who are weak to overcome the few who are strong. Whenever an aristocracy or an oligarchy reaches a certain stage of corruption, this process becomes a part of the inevitable logic of events. First an oligarchy which has assumed to rule in the name and by the right of the people oppresses and defrauds them. Then some strong man appeals to the people as their champion and, winning their confidence, grasps the supreme power which first Catiline and then Cæsar strove for at Rome in the time of Cicero.

In his speeches against Verres, the plunderer of Sicily ; in denouncing Catiline ; in defending Milo for killing Clodius ; in his Philippics against Antony, and in every public act to which he was impelled by his natural instincts, Cicero resists with all the strength of his great intellect the tendency of a corrupt Republic to surrender its last remnant of liberty to any and every desperate adventurer bold enough to grasp supremacy in the name of the people and use it for his own purposes of absolving himself from all restraint. When Cicero's head was sent to Rome ; when Fulvia, the widow of Clodius and the wife of Antony, pierced with her needle the tongue which had done more than any other for the perpetua-

tion of all the good there was in Roman civilization, she paid him the highest compliment he ever received and illustrated in doing so the causes of his failure. He demanded disinterestedness from an oligarchy no longer capable of anything except the most extreme and immoral selfishness. Necessarily, he defeated himself, but he won in defeat a greater victory than that of any other man of his day—greater even than that of Cato, for out of his mental stress, the keen excitements of his struggles for the perpetuation of the republic, were born the Ciceronian oratory and literature of Rome and of all succeeding centuries until our own times.

He was born at Arpinum, January 3rd, 106 B.C. A *novus homo*, a "new man," born from a family of plebeian origin, he forced his way to the first offices of the Republic. As Consul at the time of the conspiracy of Catiline, he saved Rome only to lose it, after Cæsar, suspected as an accomplice of Catiline, had been assassinated for his usurpation, by men who were mere antiquarians instead of the leaders they thought themselves. An antiquarian himself, Cicero had too great a reverence for antique virtue to win against the thorough-going scoundrelism of the triumvirate. Augustus, after encouraging him at least tacitly against Antony, consented at least tacitly to Antony's determination to have him assassinated. So on December 7th, 43 B.C., after Cicero's throat had been cut at the door of his Formian villa by a representative of the new order of things, his head and hands were sent to the triumvirs in witness that there was no longer a single living and formidable tongue to plead for the antique virtue, the ancient liberty, the republican glories of Rome.

W.V.B.

THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST CATILINE

(Delivered in the Roman Senate).

WHEN, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now? Do not the nightly guards placed on the Palatine Hill—do not the watches posted throughout the city—does not the alarm of the people, and the union of all good men—does not the precaution taken of assembling the Senate in this most defensible place—do not the looks and countenances of this venerable body here present have any effect upon you? Do you not feel that your plans are detected? Do

you not see that your conspiracy is already arrested and rendered powerless by the knowledge which every one here possesses of it? What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to meet you—what design was there which was adopted by you, with which you think that any one of us is unacquainted?

Shame on the age and on its principles! The Senate is aware of these things; the consul sees them; and yet this man lives. Lives! aye, he comes even into the Senate. He takes a part in the public deliberations; he is watching and marking down and checking off for slaughter every individual among us. And we, gallant men that we are, think that we are doing our duty to the republic if we keep out of the way of his frenzied attacks.

You ought, O Catiline, long ago to have been led to execution by command of the consul. That destruction which you have been long plotting against us ought to have already fallen on your own head.

What? Did not the most illustrious man, Publius Scipio, the Pontifex Maximus, in his capacity of a private citizen, put to death Tiberius Gracchus, though but slightly undermining the Constitution? And shall we, who are the consuls, tolerate Catiline, openly desirous to destroy the whole world with fire and slaughter? For I pass over older instances, such as how Caius Servilius Ahala with his own hand slew Spurius Mælius when plotting a revolution in the state. There was—there was once such virtue in this republic, that brave men would repress mischievous citizens with severer chastisement than the most bitter enemy. For we have a resolution of the Senate, a formidable and authoritative decree against you, O Catiline; the wisdom of the republic is not at fault, nor the dignity of this senatorial body. We, we alone,—I say it openly,—we, the consuls, are wanting in our duty.

The Senate once passed a decree that Lucius Opimius, the consul, should take care that the Republic suffered no injury. Not one night elapsed. There was put to death, on some mere suspicion of disaffection, Caius Gracchus, a man whose family had borne the most unblemished reputation for many generations. There were slain Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, and all his children. By a like decree of the Senate the safety of the Republic was intrusted to Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Did not the vengeance of the Republic, did not execution overtake Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius, the prætor, without the delay of one single day? But we, for these twenty days, have been allowing the edge of the Senate's authority to grow blunt, as it were. For we are in possession of a similar decree of the Senate but we keep it locked up in its parchment—buried,

I may say, in the sheath ; and according to this decree you ought, O Catiline, to be put to death this instant. You live—and you live not to lay aside, but to persist in your audacity.

I wish, O conscript fathers, to be merciful ; I wish not to appear negligent amid such danger to the State ; but I do now accuse myself of remissness and culpable inactivity. A camp is pitched in Italy, at the entrance of Etruria in hostility to the Republic ; the number of the enemy increases every day ; and yet the general of that camp, the leader of those enemies, we see within the walls—aye, and even in the Senate—planning every day some internal injury to the Republic. If, O Catiline, I should now order you to be arrested, to be put to death, I should, I suppose have to fear lest all good men should say that I had acted tardily, rather than that any one should affirm that I acted cruelly. But yet this, which ought to have been done long since, I have good reason for not doing as yet ; I will put you to death then, when there shall not be one person possible to be found so wicked, so abandoned, so like yourself, as not to allow that it has been rightly done. As long as one person exists who can dare to defend you, you shall live ; but you shall live as you do now, surrounded by my many and trusty guards, so that you shall not be able to stir one finger against the Republic ; many eyes and ears shall still observe and watch you, as they have hitherto done, though you shall not perceive them.

For what is there, O Catiline, that you can still expect, if night is not able to veil your nefarious meetings in darkness, and if private houses cannot conceal the voice of your conspiracy within their walls—if everything is seen and displayed ? Change your mind ; trust me ; forget the slaughter and conflagration you are meditating. You are hemmed in on all sides ; all your plans are clearer than the day to us ; let me remind you of them. Do you recollect that on the twenty-first of October I said in the Senate, that on a certain day, which was to be the twenty-seventh of October, C. Manlius, the satellite and servant of your audacity, would be in arms ? Was I mistaken, Catiline, not only in so important, so atrocious, so incredible a fact, but, what is much more remarkable, in the very day ? I said also in the Senate that you had fixed the massacre of the nobles for the twenty-eighth of October, when many chief men of the Senate had left Rome, not so much for the sake of saving themselves as of checking your designs. Can you deny that on that very day you were so hemmed in by my guards and my vigilance that you were unable to stir one finger against the Republic ; when you said that you would be content with the flight of the rest, and the slaughter of us who remained ? What ? when you made sure that you would be able to seize Præneste on the first of November by a nocturnal attack,

did you not find that that colony was fortified by my order, by my garrison, by my watchfulness and care? You do nothing, you plan nothing, you think of nothing which I not only do not hear, but which I do not see and know every particular of.

Listen while I speak of the night before. You shall now see that I watch far more actively for the safety than you do for the destruction of the Republic. I say that you came the night before (I will say nothing obscurely) into the Scythedealer's street, to the house of Marcus Lecca; that many of your accomplices in the same insanity and wickedness came there too. Do you dare to deny it? Why are you silent? I will prove it if you do deny it; for I see here in the Senate some men who were there with you.

O ye immortal gods, where on earth are we? in what city are we living? what constitution is ours? There are here,—here in our body, O conscript fathers, in this the most holy and dignified assembly of the whole world, men who meditate my death, and the death of all of us, and the destruction of this city, and of the whole world. I, the consul, see them; I ask them their opinion about the republic, and I do not yet attack, even by words, those who ought to be put to death by the sword. You were, then, O Catiline, at Lecca's that night; you divided Italy into sections; you settled where every one was to go; you fixed whom you were to leave at Rome, whom you were to take with you; you portioned out the divisions of the city for conflagration, you undertook that you yourself would at once leave the city, and said that there was then only this to delay you, that I was still alive. Two Roman knights were found to deliver you from this anxiety, and to promise that very night, before daybreak, to slay me in my bed. All this I knew almost before your meeting had broken up. I strengthened and fortified my house with a stronger guard; I refused admittance, when they came, to those whom you sent in the morning, to salute me, and of whom I had foretold to many eminent men that they would come to me at that time.

As, then, this is the case, O Catiline, continue as you have begun. Leave the city at last; the gates are open; depart. That Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you as its general. And lead forth with you all your friends, or at least as many as you can; purge the city of your presence; you will deliver me from a great fear when there is a wall between me and you. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and to this very Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we are, the most ancient protector of this city, that we have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible, and so deadly an enemy to the republic. **But the safety of the commonwealth must not be too often allowed**

to be risked on one man. As long as you, O Catiline, plotted against me while I was the consul-elect, I defended myself not with a public guard, but by my own private diligence. When, in the next consular comitia, you wished to slay me when I was actually consul, and your competitors also, in the Campus Martius, I checked your nefarious attempt by the assistance and resources of my own friends, without exciting any disturbance publicly. In short, as often as you attacked me, I by myself opposed you, and that, too, though I saw that my ruin was connected with great disaster to the republic. But now you are openly attacking the entire republic.

You are summoning to destruction and devastation the temples of the immortal gods, the houses of the city, the lives of all the citizens ; in short, all Italy. Wherefore, since I do not yet venture to do that which is the best thing, and which belongs to my office and to the discipline of our ancestors, I will do that which is more merciful if we regard its rigour, and more expedient for the State. For if I order you to be put to death, the rest of the conspirators will still remain in the republic ; if, as I have long been exhorting you, you depart, your companions, those worthless dregs of the republic, will be drawn off from the city too. What is the matter, Catiline ? Do you hesitate to do that when I order you, which you were already doing of your own accord ? The consul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Do you ask me, are you to go into banishment ? I do not order it ; but, if you consult me, I advise it.

For what is there, O Catiline, that can now afford you any pleasure in this city ? for there is no one in it, except that band of profligate conspirators of yours, who does not fear you,—no one who does not hate you. What brand of domestic baseness is not stamped upon your life ? What disgraceful circumstance is wanting to your infamy in your private affairs. From what licentiousness have your eyes, from what atrocity have your hands, from what iniquity has your whole body ever abstained ? Is there one youth, when you have once entangled him in the temptations of your corruption, to whom you have not held out a sword for audacious crime, or a torch for licentious wickedness ?

What ? when lately by the death of your former wife you had made your house empty and ready for a new bridal, did you not even add another incredible wickedness to this wickedness ? But I pass that over, and willingly allow it to be buried in silence, that so horrible a crime may not be seen to have existed in this city, and not to have been chastised. I pass over the ruin of your fortune, which you know is hanging over you against the ides of the very next month ; I come to those things which relate not to the infamy of your private vices, not to your domestic

difficulties and baseness, but to the welfare of the republic and to the lives and safety of us all.

Can the light of this life, O Catiline, can the breath of this atmosphere be pleasant to you, when you know that there is not one man of those here present who is ignorant that you, on the last day of the year, when Lepidus and Tullus were consuls, stood in the assembly armed ; that you had prepared your hand for the slaughter of the consuls and chief men of the State, and that no reason or fear of yours hindered your crime and madness, but the fortune of the republic ? And I say no more of these things, for they are not unknown to every one. How often have you endeavoured to slay me, both as consul-elect and as actual consul ? How many shots of yours, so aimed that they seemed impossible to be escaped, have I avoided by some slight stooping aside, and some dodging, as it were, of my body ? You attempt nothing, you execute nothing, you devise nothing that can be kept hid from me at the proper time ; and yet you do not cease to attempt and to contrive. How often already has that dagger of yours been wrested from your hands ? How often has it slipped through them by some chance, and dropped down ? and yet you cannot any longer do without it ; and to what sacred mysteries it is consecrated and devoted by you I know not, that you think it necessary to plunge it in the body of the consul.

But now, what is that life of yours that you are leading ? For I will speak to you not so as to seem influenced by the hatred I ought to feel, but by pity, nothing of which is due to you. You came a little while ago into the Senate : in so numerous an assembly, who of so many friends and connections of yours saluted you ? If this in the memory of man never happened to any one else, are you waiting for insults by word of mouth, when you are overwhelmed by the most irresistible condemnation of silence ? Is it nothing that at your arrival all those seats were vacated ? that all the men of consular rank, who had often been marked out by you for slaughter, the very moment you sat down left that part of the benches bare and vacant ? With what feelings do you think you ought to bear this ? On my honour, if my slaves feared me as all your fellow-citizens fear you, I should think I must leave my house. Do not you think you should leave the city ? If I saw that I was even undeservedly so suspected and hated by my fellow-citizens, I would rather flee from their sight than be gazed at by the hostile eyes of every one. And do you, who, from the consciousness of your wickedness, know that the hatred of all men is just and has been long due to you, hesitate to avoid the sight and presence of those men whose minds and senses you offend ? If your parents feared and hated you, and if you could by no means pacify them, you would, I think, depart somewhere out of

their sight. Now, your country, which is the common parent of all of us, hates and fears you, and has no other opinion of you, than that you are meditating parricide in her case ; and will you neither feel awe of her authority, nor deference for her judgment, nor fear of her power ?

And she, O Catiline, thus pleads with you, and after a manner silently speaks to you :—There has now for many years been no crime committed but by you ; no atrocity has taken place without you ; you alone unpunished and unquestioned have murdered the citizens, have harassed and plundered the allies ; you alone have had power not only to neglect all laws and investigations, but to overthrow and break through them. Your former actions, though they ought not to have been borne, yet I did bear as well as I could ; but now that I should be wholly occupied with fear of you alone, that at every sound I should dread Catiline, that no design should seem possible to be entertained against me which does not proceed from your wickedness, this is no longer endurable. Depart, then, and deliver me from this fear ; that, if it be a just one, I may not be destroyed ; if an imaginary one, that at least I may at last cease to fear.

If, as I have said, your country were thus to address you, ought she not to obtain her request, even if she were not able to enforce it ? What shall I say of your having given yourself into custody ? What of your having said, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, that you were willing to dwell in the house of Marcus Lepidus ? And when you were not received by him, you dared even to come to me, and begged me to keep you in my house ; and when you had received answer from me that I could not possibly be safe in the same house with you, when I considered myself in great danger as long as we were in the same city, you came to Quintus Metellus, the prætor, and, being rejected by him, you passed on to your associate, that most excellent man, Marcus Marcellus, who would be, I suppose you thought, most diligent in guarding you, most sagacious in suspecting you, and most bold in punishing you ; but how far can we think that man ought to be from bonds and imprisonment who has already judged himself deserving of being given into custody ?

Since, then, this is the case, do you hesitate, O Catiline, if you cannot remain here with tranquillity, to depart to some distant land, and to trust your life, saved from just and deserved punishment, to flight and solitude ? Make a motion, say you, to the Senate (for that is what you demand), and if this body votes that you ought to go into banishment, you say that you will obey. I will not make such a motion, it is contrary to my principles, and yet I will let you see what these men think of you. Be gone from the city, O Catiline, deliver the republic from fear ; depart

into banishment, if that is the word you are waiting for. What now, O Catiline? Do you not perceive, do you not see the silence of these men; they permit it, they say nothing; why wait you for the authority of their words when you see their wishes in their silence?

But had I said the same to this excellent young man, Publius Sextius, or to that brave man, Marcus Marcellus, before this time the Senate would deservedly have laid violent hands on me, consul though I be, in this very temple. But as to you, Catiline, while they are quiet they approve, while they permit me to speak they vote, while they are silent they are loud and eloquent. And not they alone, whose authority forsooth is dear to you, though their lives are unimportant, but the Roman knights too, those most honourable and excellent men, and the other virtuous citizens who are now surrounding the Senate, whose numbers you could see, whose desires you could know, and whose voices you a few minutes ago could hear,—aye, whose very hands and weapons I have for some time been scarcely able to keep off from you; but those, too, I will easily bring to attend you to the gates if you leave these places you have been long desiring to lay waste.

And yet, why am I speaking? that anything may change your purpose? that you may ever amend your life? that you may meditate flight or think of voluntary banishment? I wish the gods may give you such a mind; though I see, if alarmed at my words you bring your mind to go into banishment, what a storm of unpopularity hangs over me, if not at present, while the memory of your wickedness is fresh, at all events hereafter. But it is worth while to incur that, as long as that is but a private misfortune of my own, and is unconnected with the dangers of the republic. But we cannot expect that you should be concerned at your own vices, that you should fear the penalties of the laws, or that you should yield to the necessities of the republic, for you are not, O Catiline, one whom either shame can recall from infamy, or fear from danger, or reason from madness.

Wherefore, as I have said before, go forth, and if you wish to make me, your enemy as you call me, unpopular, go straight into banishment. I shall scarcely be able to endure all that will be said if you do so; I shall scarcely be able to support my load of unpopularity if you do go into banishment at the command of the consul; but if you wish to serve my credit and reputation, go forth with your ill-omened band of profligates; betake yourself to Manlius, rouse up the abandoned citizens, separate yourself from the good ones, wage war against your country, exult in your impious banditti, so that you may not seem to have been driven out by me and gone to strangers, but to have gone invited to your own friends.

Though why should I invite you, by whom I know men have been already sent on to wait in arms for you at the forum Aurelium ; who I know has fixed and agreed with Manlius upon a settled day ; by whom I know that that silver eagle, which I trust will be ruinous and fatal to you and to all your friends, and to which there was set in your house a shrine, as it were, of your crimes, has been already sent forward. Need I fear that you can long do without that which you used to worship when going out to murder, and from whose altars you have often transferred your impious hand to the slaughter of citizens ?

You will go at last where your unbridled and mad desire has been long hurrying you. And this causes you no grief, but an incredible pleasure. Nature has formed you, desire has trained you, fortune has preserved you for this insanity. Not only did you never desire quiet, but you never even desired any war but a criminal one ; you have collected a band of profligates and worthless men, abandoned not only by all fortune but even by hope.

Then what happiness will you enjoy, with what delight will you exult, in what pleasure will you revel, when in so numerous a body of friends you neither hear nor see one good man ! All the toils you have gone through have always pointed to this sort of life ; your lying on the ground not merely to lie in wait to gratify your unclean desires, but even to accomplish crimes ; your vigilance, not only when plotting against the sleep of husbands, but also against the goods of your murdered victims, have all been preparations for this. Now you have an opportunity of displaying your splendid endurance of hunger, of cold, of want of everything ; by which in a short time you will find yourself worn out. All this I effected when I procured your rejection from the consulship, that you should be reduced to make attempts on your country as an exile, instead of being able to distress it as consul, and that that which had been wickedly undertaken by you should be called piracy rather than war.

Now that I may remove and avert, O conscript fathers, any in the least reasonable complaint from myself, listen, I beseech you, carefully to what I say, and lay it up in your inmost hearts and minds. In truth if my country, which is far dearer to me than my life,—if all Italy— if the whole Republic were to address me, “ Marcus Tullius, what are you doing ? will you permit that man to depart whom you have ascertained to be an enemy ? whom you see ready to become the general of the war ? whom you know to be expected in the camp of the enemy as their chief, the author of all this wickedness, the head of the conspiracy, the instigator of the slaves and abandoned citizens, so that he shall seem not driven out of the city by you, but let loose by you against the city ? Will you not order him to be thrown into prison,

to be hurried off to execution, to be put to death with the most prompt severity? What hinders you? is it the customs of our ancestors? But even private men have often in this republic slain mischievous citizens. Is it the laws which have been passed about the punishment of Roman citizens? But in this city those who have rebelled against the republic have never had the rights of citizens. Do you fear odium with posterity? You are showing fine gratitude to the Roman people who have raised you, a man known only by your own actions, of no ancestral renown, through all the degrees of honour at so early an age to the very highest office, if from fear of unpopularity or of any danger you neglect the safety of your fellow-citizens. But if you have a fear of unpopularity, is that arising from the imputation of vigour and boldness, or that arising from that of inactivity and indecision most to be feared? When Italy is laid waste by war, when cities are attacked and houses in flames, do you not think that you will be then consumed by a perfect conflagration of hatred?"

To this holy address of the republic, and to the feelings of those men who entertain the same opinion, I will make this short answer:— If, O conscript fathers, I thought it best that Catiline should be punished with death, I would not have given the space of one hour to this gladiator to live in. If, forsooth, those excellent men and most illustrious cities not only did not pollute themselves, but even glorified themselves by the blood of Saturninus, and the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and many others of old time, surely I had no cause to fear lest by slaying this parricidal murderer of the citizens any unpopularity should accrue to me with posterity. And if it did threaten me to ever so great a degree, yet I have always been of the disposition to think unpopularity earned by virtue and glory, not unpopularity.

Though there are some men in this body who either do not see what threatens, or dissemble what they do see; who have fed the hope of Catiline by mild sentiments, and have strengthened the rising conspiracy by not believing it; influenced by whose authority many, and they not wicked, but only ignorant, if I punished him, would say that I had acted cruelly and tyrannically. But I know that if he arrive at the camp of Manlius to which he is going, there will be no one so stupid as not to see that there has been a conspiracy, no one so hardened as not to confess it. But if this man alone were put to death, I know that this disease of the republic would be only checked for a while, not eradicated forever. But if he banish himself, and take with him all his friends, and collect at one point all the ruined men from every quarter, then not only will this full-grown plague of the republic be extinguished and eradicated, but also the root and seed of all future evils.

We have now for a long time, O conscript fathers, lived among these dangers and machinations of conspiracy ; but somehow or other, the ripeness of all wickedness, and of this longstanding madness and audacity, has come to a head at the time of my consulship. But if this man alone is removed from this piratical crew, we may appear, perhaps, for a short time relieved from fear and anxiety, but the danger will settle down and lie hidden in the veins and bowels of the republic. As it often happens that men afflicted with a severe disease, when they are tortured with heat and fever seem at first to be relieved if they drink cold water, but afterwards suffer more and more severely, so this disease which is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of this man, will only get worse and worse, as the rest will be still alive.

Wherefore, O conscript fathers, let the worthless begone,—let them separate themselves from the good,—let them collect in one place,—let them, as I have often said before, be separated from us by a wall ; let them cease to plot against the consul in his own house,—to surround the tribunal of the city prætor,—to besiege the Senate House with swords—to prepare brands and torches to burn the city ; let it, in short, be written on the brow of every citizen, what are his sentiments about the republic. I promise you this, O conscript fathers, that there shall be so much diligence in us the consuls, so much authority in you, so much virtue in the Roman knights, so much unanimity in all good men, that you shall see everything made plain and manifest by the departure of Catiline,—everything checked and punished.

With these omens, O Catiline, begone to your impious and nefarious war, to the great safety of the republic, to your own misfortune and injury, and to the destruction of those who have joined themselves to you in every wickedness and atrocity. Then do you, O Jupiter, who were consecrated by Romulus with the same auspices as this city, whom we rightly call the stay of this city and empire, repel this man and his companions from your altars and from the other temples,—from the houses and walls of the city,—from the lives and fortunes of all the citizens ; and overwhelm all the enemies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments.

THE FOURTH PHILIPPIC

(Delivered to the People in the Roman Forum Against Antony).

THE great numbers in which you are here met this day, O Romans, and this assembly, greater than, it seems to me, I ever remember, inspire me with both an exceeding eagerness to defend the republic, and with a great hope of re-establishing it. Although my courage indeed has never failed, what has been unfavourable is the time ; and the moment that that has appeared to show any dawn of light, I at once have been the leader in the defence of your liberty. And if I had attempted to have done so before, I should not be able to do so now. For this day, O Romans (that you may not think it is but a trifling business in which we have been engaged), the foundations have been laid for future actions. For the Senate has no longer been content with styling Antonius an enemy in words, but it has shown by actions that it thinks him one. And now I am much more elated still, because you too with such great unanimity and with such a clamour have sanctioned our declaration that he is an enemy.

And indeed, O Romans, it is impossible but that either the men must be impious who have levied armies against the consul, or else that he must be an enemy against whom they have rightly taken arms. And this doubt the Senate has this day removed—not indeed that there really was any ; but it has prevented the possibility of there being any. Caius Cæsar, who has upheld and who is still upholding the republic and your freedom by his zeal and wisdom, and at the expense of his patrimonial estate, has been complimented with the highest praises of the Senate.

I praise you,—yes, I praise you greatly, O Romans, when you follow with the most grateful minds the name of that most illustrious youth, or rather boy ; for his actions belong to immortality, the name of youth only to his age. I can recollect many things ; I have heard of many things , I have read of many things ; but in the whole history of the whole world I have never known anything like this. For, when we were weighed down with slavery, when the evil was daily increasing, when we had no defence, while we were in dread of the pernicious and fatal return of Marcus Antonius from Brundisium, this young man adopted the design which none of us had ventured to hope for, which beyond all question none of us was acquainted with, of raising an invincible army of his

father's soldiers, and so hindering the frenzy of Antonius, spurred on as it was by the most inhuman counsels, from the power of doing mischief to the republic.

For who is there who does not see clearly that if Cæsar had not prepared an army the return of Antonius must have been accompanied by our destruction? For, in truth, he returned in such a state of mind, burning with hatred of you all, stained with the blood of the Roman citizens, whom he had murdered at Suessa and at Brundisium, that he thought of nothing but the utter destruction of the republic. And what protection could have been found for your safety and for your liberty if the army of Caius Cæsar had not been composed of the bravest of his father's soldiers? And with respect to his praises and honours,—and he is entitled to divine and everlasting honours for his godlike and undying services,—the Senate has just consented to my proposals, and has decreed that a motion be submitted to it at the very earliest opportunity.

Now, who is there who does not see that by this decree Antonius has been adjudged to be an enemy? For what else can we call him, when the Senate decides that extraordinary honours are to be devised for those men who are leading armies against him? What? did not the Martial legion (which appears to me by some divine permission to have derived its name from that god from whom we have heard that the Roman people descended) decide by its resolutions that Antonius was an enemy before the Senate had come to any resolution? For if he be not an enemy we must inevitably decide that those men who have deserted the consul are enemies. Admirably and seasonably, O Romans, have you by your cries sanctioned the noble conduct of the men of the Martial legion, who have come over to the authority of the Senate, to your liberty, and to the whole republic, and have abandoned that enemy and robber and parricide of his country. Nor did they display only their spirit and courage in doing this, but their caution and wisdom also. They encamped at Alba, in a city convenient, fortified, near, full of brave men and loyal and virtuous citizens. The fourth legion imitating the virtue of this Martial legion, under the leadership of Lucius Egnatuleius, whom the Senate deservedly praised a little while ago, has also joined the army of Caius Cæsar.

What more adverse decisions, O Marcus Antonius, can you want? Cæsar, who has levied an army against you, is extolled to the skies. The legions are praised in the most complimentary language, which have abandoned you, which were sent for into Italy by you, and which, if you had chosen to be a consul rather than an enemy, were wholly devoted to you. And the fearless and honest decision of those legions is confirmed by the Senate, is approved of by the whole Roman people,—unless,

indeed, you to-day, O Romans, decide that Antonius is a consul and not an enemy. I thought, O Romans, that you did think as you show you do. What? do you suppose that the municipal towns and the colonies and the prefectures have any other opinion? All men are agreed with one mind; so that every one who wishes the State to be saved must take up every sort of arms against that pestilence. What? I should like to know!—does the opinion of Decimus Brutus, O Romans, which you can gather from his edict, which has this day reached us, appear to any one deserving of being lightly esteemed? Rightly and truly do you say No, O Romans. For the family and name of Brutus have been by some special kindness and liberality of the immortal gods given to the republic, for the purpose of at one time establishing, and at another of recovering, the liberty of the Roman people. What, then, has been the opinion which Decimus Brutus has formed of Marcus Antonius? He excludes him from his province. He opposes him with his army. He rouses all Gaul to war, which is already roused of its own accord, and in consequence of the judgment which it has itself formed. If Antonius be consul, Brutus is an enemy. Can we then doubt which of these alternatives is the fact?

And just as you now with one mind and one voice affirm that you entertain no doubt, so did the Senate just now decree that Decimus Brutus deserved excellently well of the republic, inasmuch as he was defending the authority of the Senate and the liberty and empire of the Roman people. Defending it against whom? Why, against an enemy. For what other sort of defence deserves praise? In the next place the province of Gaul is praised, and is deservedly complimented in most honourable language by the Senate for resisting Antonius. But if that province considered him the consul, and still refused to receive him, it would be guilty of great wickedness. For all the provinces belong to the consul of right, and are bound to obey him. Decimus Brutus, imperator and consul-elect, a citizen born for the republic, denies that he is consul; Gaul denies it; all Italy denies it; the Senate denies it; you deny it. Who then thinks that he is consul except a few robbers? Although even they themselves do not believe what they say; nor is it possible that they should differ from the judgment of all men, impious and desperate men though they be. But the hope of plunder and booty blinds their minds; men whom no gifts of money, no allotment of land, nor even that interminable auction has satisfied; who have proposed to themselves the city, the properties and fortunes of all the citizens as their booty, and who, as long as there is something for them to seize and carry off, think that nothing will be wanting to them; among whom Marcus Antonius (O ye immortal gods, avert, I pray you, and efface

this omen) has promised to divide this city. May things rather happen, O Romans, as you pray that they should, and may the chastisement of this frenzy fall on him and on his friend. And, indeed, I feel sure that it will be so. For I think that at present not only men, but the immortal gods, have all united together to preserve this republic. For if the immortal gods foreshow us the future, by means of portents and prodigies, then it has been openly revealed to us that punishment is near at hand to him, and liberty to us. Or if it was impossible for such unanimity on the part of all men to exist without the inspiration of the gods, in either case how can we doubt as to the inclinations of the heavenly deities ?

It only remains, O Romans, for you to persevere in the sentiments which you at present display.

I will act, therefore, as commanders are in the habit of doing when their army is ready for battle, who, although they see their soldiers ready to engage, still address an exhortation to them ; and in like manner I will exhort you who are already eager and burning to recover your liberty. You have not—you have not, indeed, O Romans, to war against an enemy with whom it is possible to make peace on any terms whatever. For he does not now desire your slavery, as he did before, but he is angry now and thirsts for your blood. No sport appears more delightful to him than bloodshed and slaughter and the massacre of citizens before his eyes. You have not, O Romans, to deal with a wicked and profligate man, but with an unnatural and savage beast. And, since he has fallen into a well, let him be buried in it. For if he escapes out of it, there will be no inhumanity of torture which it will be possible to avoid. But he is at present hemmed in, pressed and besieged by those troops which we already have, and will soon be still more so by those which in a few days the new consuls will levy. Apply yourselves then to this business, as you are doing. Never have you shown greater unanimity in any cause ; never have you been so cordially united with the Senate. And no wonder. For the question now is not in what condition we are to live, but whether we are to live at all, or to perish with torture and ignominy.

Although nature, indeed, has appointed death for all men, yet valour is accustomed to ward off any cruelty or disgrace in death. And that is an inalienable possession of the Roman race and name. Preserve, I beseech you, O Romans, this attribute which your ancestors have left you as a sort of inheritance. Although all other things are uncertain, fleeting, transitory, virtue alone is planted firm with very deep roots. It cannot be undermined by any violence ; it can never be moved from its position. By it your ancestors first subdued the whole of Italy ;

then destroyed Carthage, overthrew Numantia, and reduced the most mighty kings and most warlike nations under the dominion of this empire.

And your ancestors, O Romans, had to deal with an enemy who had also a republic, a Senate House, a treasury, harmonious and united citizens, and with whom, if fortune had so willed it, there might have been peace and treaties on settled principles. But this enemy of yours is attacking your republic, but has none himself ; is eager to destroy the Senate, that is to say, the council of the whole world, but has no public council himself ; he has exhausted your treasury, and has none of his own. For how can a man be supported by the unanimity of his citizens, who has no city at all ? And what principles of peace can there be with that man who is full of incredible cruelty, and destitute of faith ?

The whole, then, of the contest, O Romans, which is now before the Roman people, the conqueror of all nations, is with an assassin, a robber, a Spartacus. For as to his habitual boast of being like Catiline, he is equal to him in wickedness, but inferior in energy. He, though he had no army, rapidly levied one. This man has lost that very army which he had. As, therefore, by my diligence, and the authority of the Senate, and your own zeal and valour, you crushed Catiline, so you will very soon hear that this infamous piratical enterprise of Antonius has been put down by your perfect and unexampled harmony with the Senate, and by the good fortune and valour of your armies and generals. I, for my part, as far as I am able to labour and to effect anything by my care and exertions and vigilance and authority and counsel, will omit nothing which I may think serviceable to your liberty. Nor could I omit it without wickedness after all your most ample and honourable kindness to me. However, on this day, encouraged by the motion of a most gallant man, and one most firmly attached to you, Marcus Servilius, whom you see before you, and his colleagues also, most distinguished men, and most virtuous citizens ; and partly, too, by my advice and my example, we have, for the first time after a long interval, fired up again with a hope of liberty.

CLEON

(?)-422 B.C.

CLEON has been called "the scorn and terror of all good men at Athens." Cicero characterizes him as turbulent, but eloquent, and he is generally classed as a typical Athenian demagogue. Perhaps much of his evil reputation is due to the comedies of Aristophanes, in which he was violently attacked. It is said that the poet had a private grudge against him, because of a complaint made to the Athenian Senate that the "Babylonians" held Athenian institutions up to ridicule. However this may be, Cleon, though the son of a tanner, and rude enough in his methods, was certainly not wholly a demagogue in the modern sense, for in his speech against the Mitylencans, reported by Thucydides, he begins by boldly questioning the fitness of the turbulent Athenian democracy to rule subject colonies. The date of Cleon's birth is uncertain. He became noted at Athens after the death of Pericles as the leader of the Athenian Democrats against the Aristocratic party under Nicias. In 425 B.C. he carried on a successful campaign against the Spartans, but in 422 B.C., when put at the head of the expedition against Brasidas, the Lacedæmonian commander, he was defeated and killed at Amphipolis.

DEMOCRACIES AND SUBJECT COLONIES

(From the Speech Against Mitylene as Reported by Thucydides in the Third Book of the Peloponnesian War).

UPON many other occasions my own experience hath convinced me that a democracy is incapable of ruling over others, but I see it with the highest certainty now in this your present repentance concerning the Mitylencans. In security so void of terror, in safety so exempt from treachery, you pass your days within the walls of Athens, that you are grown quite safe and secure about your dependents. Whenever, soothed by their specious entreaties, you betray your judgment or relent in pity, not a soul amongst you reflects that you are acting the dastardly part, not in truth to confer obligations upon those dependents, but to endanger your own welfare and safety. It is then

quite remote from your thoughts, that your rule over them is in fact a tyranny, that they are ever intent on prospects to shake off your yoke—that yoke, to which they ever reluctantly submitted. It is not forgiveness on your part, after injuries received, that can keep them fast in their obedience, since this must be ever the consequence of your own superior power, and not of gratitude in them.

Above all, I dread that extremety of danger to which we are exposed, if not one of your decrees must ever be carried into act and we remain forever ignorant that the community which uniformly abides by a worse set of laws hath the advantage over another which is finely modelled in every respect except in practice ; that modest ignorance is a much surer support than genius which scorns to be controlled, and that the duller part of mankind in general, administer public affairs much better than your men of vivacity and wit. The last assume a pride in appearing wiser than the laws ; in every debate about the public good they aim merely at victory, as if there were no other points sufficiently important wherein to display their superior talents ; and by such conduct they generally subvert the public welfare ; the former, who are diffident of their own abilities, who regard themselves as less wise than the laws of their country—though unable to detect the specious orator, yet being better judges of equity than champions in debate, for the most part enforce rational conduct. This beyond denial is our duty at present ; we should scorn competitions in eloquence and wit, nor wilfully and contrary to our own opinion mislead the judgment of this full assembly.

For my part, I persist in my former declarations, and I am surprised at the men who propose to have the affair of Mitylene again debated, who endeavour to protract the execution of justice, in the interest of the guilty more than of the injured. For by this means the sufferer proceeds to take vengeance on the criminal with the edge of his resentment blunted ; when revenge, the opposite of wrong, the more nearly it treads upon the heels of injury, generally inflicts the more condign punishment. But I am more surprised at him, whoever he be, that shall dare to contradict, and pretend to demonstrate, that the injuries done by the Mityleneans are really for our service, and that our calamities are hardships on our dependents. He certainly must either presume upon his own eloquence, if he contends to prove that what was plainly decreed was never decreed ; or, instigated by lucre, will endeavour to seduce you by the elaborate and plausible artifice of words. In such contentions, the State, indeed, awards the victory to whom she pleaseth, but she sustains all the damage herself. You are answerable for this, Athenians—you, who fondly dote on these wordy competitions—you, who are accustomed to be spectators of speeches and hearers of actions. You measure the possibility

of future effects by the present eloquence of your orators ; you judge of actions already past, not by the certain conviction of your own eyes, but the fallible suggestions of your ears, when soothed by the inveigling, insinuating flow of words. You are the best in the world to be deceived by novelty of wit, and to refuse to follow the dictates of the approved judicious speaker,—slaves as you are to whatever trifles happen always to be in vogue, and looking down with contempt on tried and experienced methods. The most earnest wish that the heart of any of your body ever conceived is to become a speaker ; if that be unattainable, you range yourselves in opposition against all who are so, for fear you should seem in judgment their inferiors. When anything is acutely uttered, you are ready even to go before it with applause, and intimate your own preconception of the point, at the same time dull at discerning whither it will tend. Your whole passion, in a word, is for things that are not in reality and common life ; but of what passeth directly before your eyes you have no proper perception. And, frankly, you are quite infatuated by the lust of hearing, and resemble more the idle spectators of contending sophists than men who meet to deliberate upon public affairs. From such vain amusements, endeavouring to divert you, I boldly affirm that no one city in the world hath injured you so much as Mitylene.

It is the usual effect of prosperity, especially when felt on a sudden, and beyond their hope, to puff up a people into insolence of manners. The successes of mankind, when attained by the rational course, are generally of much longer continuance than when they anticipate pursuit. And in a word, men are much more expert at repelling adversity than preserving prosperity. By this ought we long ago to have adjusted our conduct towards the Mityleneans, never distinguishing them above others with peculiar regard ; and then they never would have been that insolent people we have found them now. For so remarkably perverse is the temper of man, as ever to contemn whoever courts him, and admire whoever will not bend before him. Let condign punishments therefore be awarded to their demerits.

JOHN COLET

(1466-1519).

JOHN COLET, the leading spirit in the English Renaissance, was born in 1466. His father, Sir Henry Colet, was a wealthy and well-connected merchant, who held on three occasions the office of Lord Mayor of London. Young Colet was educated at Oxford, and responded eagerly to the impulses of the new learning which was then being introduced by Linacre and others; and soon afterwards he paid a long visit to Italy, from which he returned in 1496. The results were immediately evident. In 1497 he began his career as a lecturer at Oxford, taking as his subject St. Paul's Epistles, and this series of lectures, which were spread over two years, marked a complete break with the old scholastic method. Colet abandoned the futile sciolism which found in the sentences of a treatise mere pegs on which to hang gaudy rags of useless erudition, putting in its place a sane and rational consideration of the treatise as a unified whole with a meaning and a place in the history of human life and human thought. The success of the new method was instantaneous, at least among the youthful and enthusiastic spirits at Oxford, whom it summoned to a direct and inspiring study of the original tongues in which the Scriptures were written, and the success of the new teacher was immediately assured. In 1504 Colet was made dean of St. Paul's, remaining in this important office till his death in 1519. As dean he was the founder of St. Paul's, the school which inaugurated the first rational system of teaching boys established in England. While still at Oxford he had exerted great influence on the celebrated Erasmus, and so on the whole European Renaissance.

But Colet was not only a vital factor in the spread of the new learning; he was also an ardent supporter of reform in the Church—so much so that he was actually accused of heresy by the Bishop of London. But when Convocation was summoned in 1512, specially to consider the extirpation of heresy, it was Colet who was selected to preach the opening sermon before the young King Henry VIII. and the clergy. "This sermon," says Mr. A. D. Innes in his *Life of Cranmer*, "really amounted to a programme of the Reformation as desired by Colet—a process of curing heresy by common sense and right living, instead of the favourite prescription of cautery. Primarily it was an indictment of the secular and worldly way of life prevalent among the clergy. . . . It is to be noted

that the temptations to which he charges them with yielding are not those of the flesh and the devil, but of the world. If the immoralities so freely attributed more particularly to the regular clergy by the advanced Reformers had been half so flagrant as has commonly been alleged, it is hardly conceivable that Colet would have abstained from strong expression on the subject."

NECESSITY OF REFORMATION IN THE CHURCH

(Sermon at Convocation, 1512).

OUR present meeting is to consult the Reformation of Ecclesiastical affairs ; and that there was never more need of it than in the present state of the Church. The spouse of Christ (which one would wish to be without spot or wrinkle) is become deformed and ill-favoured ; as the faithful city is become a harlot. I must therefore warn you and importune you to bestow all your thoughts upon the Reformation of the Church ; a work incumbent on the bishops and clergy, because nothing has so much disfigured the face of the Church, as the secular and worldly lives of the clerks and priests in it. If priests and bishops who should be the lights of the world, ran into dark ways, how great must the darkness of the common people be !

The being conformed to this world, is to follow the four evils of this world :

1. Devilish Pride.
2. Carnal Lusts.
3. Worldly Covetousness.
4. Secular Business.

All which now are, and reign in the Church and ecclesiastical persons.

1. *Pride of Life.* How ambitious, how greedy are the clergy now-a-days of honours and preferments. How do they run, as it were out of breath, from one benefice and dignity to another, from the less to the greater profit, from the lower to the higher place. And the more they rise, the more lofty and stately they become ; forgetting the humble office of bishops, and affecting a worldly lordship.

2. *Carnal Lusts and Concupiscence.* And has not this vice so abounded in the Church, that at present the far greater number of the priests regard nothing but the pleasure and delight of their own senses ; feasting and revelling, and vain babbling, or hunting and hawking, or being immersed in other sports, or amusements of the world.

3. *Worldly covetousness*, or the lust of the eye. The plague has so inflicted the minds, and blinded the eyes of the clergy, that they will look at nothing but what has some gain and filthy lucre in it. What do we seek for in the Church but fat benefices and high promotions? And when we attain them, do we mind the duty of them? No; the greatest pluralist does the least office. O avarice, avarice, the root of all evil, of thee comes the heaping of one benefice upon another; of thee, the bargain of resignations for pensions reserved; of thee, the frivolous suits for tithes, for oblations, for mortuaries, for dilapidations, in the name of the Church; but truly for one private interest. O avarice, of thee comes the burden of episcopal visitations; of thee, the corruption of ecclesiastical courts, and the new inventions of extorting from the poor and needy; of thee, the sharpness of officials in grasping all dues, and the eagerness of all ordinaries to extend their jurisdiction; of thee, the great abuses in the probate of wills, and the sequestration of fruits; of thee, the rigorous execution of all Canons that bring in profits to the court, and the shameful neglect of all others that tend only to the Reformation of manners.

4. The fourth evil is *secular business*; wherein priests and bishops do now wholly employ their time, as servants of men rather than of God, and more the soldiers of this world than of Jesus Christ. Our warfare should be to pray devoutly, to read and study the Scripture diligently, to preach the Word of God sincerely, and rightly to administer the holy sacraments. But, alas! we are entangled in the affairs of the world. From these secular occupations of the clergy, many scandals ensue.

1st. The dignity of the priesthood is debased, while priests are wrapped up in earthly things, whose conversation ought to be in heaven.

2nd. The sacred order must needs be debased when there appears no difference between the priest and the layman, but according to the prophet Hosea (chapter IV. 9) there shall be like people like priest.

3rd. The order and harmony in the Church is confounded, when the highest Churchmen meddle with the meanest and vilest things, and in their stead the matters of religion, the high and heavenly things, must be handled by the lowest of the people.

4th. Great offence and occasion of falling is given to the lay-people, when by the example of the priesthood, instead of being weaned from the world, they are taught to be the more addicted to it. Such worldly minded priests are the worst of hypocrites, while they go in holy vestments and live a profane life.

By these four mischiefs among the clergy, the face of the Church is more wounded than it was at first by the persecution of tyrants or since by the insults of heretics. For by persecuting tyrants the Church in affliction grew more bright and pure, and the Church being shaken by insulting heretics, was the better grounded and settled in the Holy Scriptures. But by the secular lives of the clergy and their worldly dealings, all charity is extinct, and the Church cannot be wise and strong in the Lord. We are sensible that the laity are very apt to oppose the Clergy; but alas! the danger is in our own opposition to the laws of Christ. We are now threatened and troubled with heretics; but alas! the most pernicious heresy is in the ill lives of the clergy. St. Bernard, preaching to a convocation of the clergy said, "Many men are catholic in their words and doctrines, who are heretics in their works and conversation." They do the same by ill example that others do by false doctrine, *i.e.*, they lead people out of the way of truth and righteousness. These men are more dangerous than other common heretics; as people are led into other pernicious ways more easily by ill examples than by any perverse teaching. So much for the first part. Be not conformed to this world.

The second duty is to be reformed. The reformation of the state of the Church must begin from you fathers, and be followed by us as sons and brethren. The way, I presume, to reform the Church is not so much to make new laws (we have enough—too many) but to put the present laws in execution. To this purpose, rehearse the ancient Canons.

1. The Canons that warn you, holy fathers, to lay hands suddenly on no man; not to be too easy in admitting men to holy orders. This gate (alas!) is kept too wide open. Multitudes thrust in, who have little learning, and less religion in them. But the best qualification is good morals, and serious piety.

2. Rehearse the canons that command the benefices of the Church to be given to the most worthy, not by near relation, or carnal affection, or any other respect of persons; whereby it happens that boys and block-heads and sots do now reign and rule in the Church, instead of grave and wise and good men.

3. Rehearse the canons against simony and corrupt procuring of benefices, a prevailing infection, that eats like a canker in the minds of the clergy, and prostitutes them to most servile and the most mercenary ways of getting preferment.

4. Rehearse the canons against non-residence. How many evils grow from hence: All the care of souls is left to poor curates, and these insufficient, if not scandalous.

5. Let all canons be recited that concern the lives of the bishops and clergy, that forbid every man in holy orders, to be either a merchant, a usurer, a hunter, a gamester, or a soldier ; especially the canons that restrain clergymen from the haunting of taverns, and keeping company with suspected women.

6. Recite the canons for the regulation of monks and religious orders. That they leave the broad way of the world, and go in the straight and narrow way to heaven : not negotiating in worldly business, nor attending and soliciting in the courts of princes.

7. Above all, reverend fathers and bishops, recite the canons that concern yourselves ; and especially those which relate to your fair and canonical election in the chapters of the respective cathedral churches. The neglect of these canons has been the reason that bishoprics have been disposed of more out of favour to men than any respect to the Grace of God ; so that we have bishops who have little of the spiritual persons in them, earthly rather than heavenly, favouring of the kings of this world more than of the spirit of Christ.

Let the canons be recited of the residence of bishops within their respective dioceses ; that they look diligently to the cure of souls, sow the seed of the word of God, show themselves in their own cathedrals, especially on the greater festivals ; officiate sometimes in their own persons ; do sacrifice for their people ; hear the petitions and pleas of the poor ; support the fatherless and widows, and exercise themselves in the works of charity.

Recite the canons for a due distribution of the revenues of the Church ; not to squander them away in costly buildings, nor in sumptuous apparel, nor in extravagant feasting, nor in the raising of kinsmen, much less in the keeping of hounds ; but in things profitable and necessary for the Church. Remember St. Austen the Monk (while bishop of England) had this rule given to him by Pope Gregory, to make a partition of the goods of the Church into four equal shares ; one for the support of the bishop and his family ; a second to maintain the inferior clergy ; a third, to uphold and repair the buildings of the Church ; a fourth to relieve the poor.

Let the canons be recited (even over and over) that would purge away the corruption of their courts, the arts, the frauds, the many ways of getting and catching money by that sordid covetous humour that is the cause of all our mischiefs, the fountain of all iniquity.

Lastly, let those canons and constitutions be renewed that enjoin the celebration of councils, and especially of provincial synods for the reformation of the Church. Nothing can be more to the detriment of the Church of Christ, than the want of such general and provincial assemblies.

When these several canons have been recited with such as relate to the correction of manners, there will want nothing but a due and impartial execution of them ; that having a law of the Church, we may live according to that law. And the execution and observation of these canons must begin with you, our bishops and governors. Your example must teach and direct all other orders and degrees. It is your light must shine before us ; that we sons may see how to follow in our fathers' steps.

When once the clergy are thus reformed in the Church, we are then in a right method of proceeding to the reformation of the laity ; who will then readily comply with us. For the body follows the soul ; and such as are rulers of the city, such will be the inhabitants thereof. So likewise will the people soon be good, if the priests are so. Our good lives will teach them more effectually than all our sermons and discourses to them ; our piety and virtue will ever compel them to come into the right way, more powerfully than all your suspensions, excommunications, and other cursings and terrors of the Church.

If you would bring the lay people to live according to your wish and will, ye must first walk yourselves according to the will of God. You would have them obedient to you : and St. Paul doth so advise them (Hebrews 13, 17.) But then the foundation of that obedience must be to take heed to yourselves. You would be honoured of the people, as St. Paul again requires. (I. Timothy, 5, 17.) But then ye must rule well. Ye must likewise labour in the word and doctrine ; and so shall ye be counted worthy of double honour.

You would have your tithes and offerings and all sorts of Church dues without suit or contention for them, as St. Paul has provided. (Romans XV. 27.) But surely then you should sow your spiritual things before you can expect to reap their carnal things. Would you be so hard and unjust upon them as to reap where you did not sow, and to gather where you have not strawed ?

You would have what ye call the liberties and franchises of the Church, *i.e.*, the clergy, exempted from secular judges. This also, is reasonable ; for it is written in the psalms " Touch not Mine anointed." (Psalm CV. 15.) But if ye desire this liberty, be not in bondage to the world, assert within yourselves the liberty of the Gospel, that liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free. Set your hearts and affections upon His service which is perfect freedom. Serve God, and reign in Him ; and then (believe me) the people will not touch their Lord God's anointed.

The preacher must make an apology, that he, a servant, should presume to advise the Lords ; and that the son should undertake to teach the fathers : truly this had been more fit for the fathers themselves. You prelates might have done it with a graver authority, and greater

wisdom. But the command of the most Reverend Father and Lord, the Archbishop, President of this synod, must be obeyed. I must submit to the burden he has laid upon me (in truth too heavy for my shoulders) and bear it in remembrance of what the prophet has said, obedience is better than sacrifice. I have mentioned, Reverend fathers and brethren, the particulars I thought proper for the Reformation of our ecclesiastical affairs. I trust, that of your benignity ye will take all in good part. If I have gone beyond my due bounds, or have spoken with too much warmth ; forgive a man that speaks out of pure zeal, heartily lamenting the breaches and decays of the Church. Consider the matter well ; and be not offended at my manner of delivery. Consider the sad estate of the Church ; and use all your utmost endeavour to repair and reform it. Suffer not this great assembly to meet and depart in vain. Suffer not this synod to be held to no end and purpose. Truly ye have before met in " Convocation " ; but if, by your favour I may speak the truth, I have not seen any good come of it to the Church. Go on now, in the Holy Spirit ye have called upon ; and by the aid of that Spirit, presiding over this council, debate, determine and ordain such things as may be to the interest of the Church, to your own praise, and to the honour of God : Unto whom we ascribe all honour and glory, Now and for ever. Amen,

VICTOR COUSIN

(For Biographical Note see Section iii.).

ELOQUENCE AND THE FINE ARTS

(Ninth Lecture on the True, the Beautiful, and the Good).

IT will, perhaps, seem strange that we rank among the arts neither eloquence, nor history, nor philosophy.

The arts are called the fine arts, because their sole object is to produce the disinterested emotion of beauty, without regard to the utility either of the spectator or the artist. They are also called the liberal arts, because they are the arts of free men and not of slaves, which affranchise the soul, charm and ennoble existence ; hence the sense and origin of those expressions of antiquity, *artes liberales*, *artes ingenuæ*. There are arts without nobility, whose end is practical and material utility ; they are called trades, such as that of the stove-maker and the mason. True art may be joined to them, may even shine in them, but only in the accessories and the details.

Eloquence, history, philosophy, are certainly high employments of intelligence. They have their dignity, their eminence, which nothing surpasses ; but rigorously speaking, they are not arts.

Eloquence does not propose to itself to produce in the soul of the auditors the disinterested sentiment of beauty. It may also produce this effect, but without having sought it. Its direct end, which it can subordinate to no other, is to convince, to persuade. Eloquence has a client which, before all, it must save or make triumph. It matters little whether this client be a man, a people, or an idea. Fortunate is the orator if he elicit the expression : That is beautiful ! for it is a noble homage rendered to his talent ; unfortunate is he if he does not elicit this, for he has missed his end. The two great types of political and religious eloquence, Demosthenes in antiquity, Bossuet among the moderns, think only of the interest of the cause confided to their genius, the sacred cause of country and that of religion, whilst at bottom Phidias and Raphael work to make beautiful things. Let us hasten to say, what the names of Demosthenes and Bossuet command us to say, that true eloquence, very different from that of rhetoric, disdains certain means of success. It asks no more than to please, but without any

sacrifice unworthy of it ; every foreign ornament degrades it. Its proper character is simplicity, earnestness. I do not mean affected earnestness, a designed and artful gravity, the worst of all deceptions ; I mean true earnestness, that springs from sincere and profound conviction. This is what Socrates understood by true eloquence.

As much must be said of history and philosophy. The philosopher speaks and writes. Can he, then, like the orator, find accents which make truth enter the soul ; colours and forms that make it shine forth evident and manifest to the eyes of intelligence ? It would be betraying his cause to neglect the means that can serve it ; but the profoundest art is here only a means, the aim of philosophy is elsewhere ; whence it follows that philosophy is not an art. Without doubt, Plato is a great artist ; he is the peer of Sophocles and Phidias, as Pascal is sometimes the rival of Demosthenes and Bossuet ; but both would have blushed if they had discovered at the bottom of their souls another design, another aim than the service of truth and virtue.

History does not relate for the sake of relating ; it does not paint for the sake of painting ; it relates and paints the past that it may be the living lesson of the future. It proposes to instruct new generations by the experience of those who have gone before them, by exhibiting to them a faithful picture of great and important events, with their causes and their effects, with general designs and particular passions, with the faults, virtues, and crimes that are found mingled together in human things. It teaches the excellence of prudence, courage, and great thoughts profoundly meditated, constantly pursued, and executed with moderation and force. It shows the vanity of immoderate pretensions, the power of wisdom and virtue, the impotence of folly and crime. Thucydides, Polybius, and Tacitus undertake anything rather than procuring new emotions for an idle curiosity or a worn-out imagination. They doubtless desire to interest and attract, but more to instruct ; they are the avowed masters of statesmen and the preceptors of mankind.

The sole object of art is the beautiful. Art abandons itself as soon as it shuns this. It is often constrained to make concessions to circumstances, to external conditions that are imposed upon it ; but it must always retain a just liberty. Architecture and the art of gardening are the least free of arts ; they are subjected to unavoidable obstacles ; it belongs to the genius of the artist to govern these obstacles, and even to draw from them happy effects, as the poet turns the slavery of metre and rhyme into a source of unexpected beauties. Extreme liberty may carry art to a caprice which degrades it, as chains too heavy crush it. It is the death of architecture to subject it to convenience to comfort.

Is the architect obliged to subordinate general effect and the proportions of the edifice to such or such a particular end that is prescribed to him ? He takes refuge in details, in pediments, in friezes, in all the parts that have not utility for a special object, and in them he becomes a true artist. Sculpture and painting, especially music and poetry, are freer than architecture and the art of gardening. One can also shackle them, but they disengage themselves more easily.

Similar by their common end, all the arts differ by the particular effects which they produce, and by the processes which they employ. They gain nothing by exchanging their means and confounding the limits that separate them. I bow before the authority of antiquity ; but, perhaps, through habit and a remnant of prejudice, I have some difficulty in representing to myself with pleasure statues composed of several metals, especially painted statues. Without pretending that sculpture has not to a certain point its colour, that of perfectly pure matter, that especially which the hand of time impresses upon it, in spite of all the seductions of a contemporaneous artist of great talent, I have little taste, I confess, for that artifice that is forced to give to marble the *morbidezza* of painting. Sculpture is an austere muse ; it has its graces, but they are those of no other art. Flesh-colour must remain a stranger to it. Nothing more would remain to communicate to it but the movement of poetry and the indefiniteness of music ! And what will music gain by aiming at the picturesque, when its proper domain is the pathetic ? Give to the most learned symphonist a storm to render. Nothing is easier to imitate than the whistling of the winds and the noise of thunder. But by what combinations of harmony will he exhibit to the eyes the glare of the lightning rending all of a sudden the veil of the night, and, what is most fearful in the tempest, the movement of the waves that now ascend like a mountain, now descend and seem to precipitate themselves into bottomless abysses ? If the auditor is not informed of the subject, he will never suspect it, and I defy him to distinguish a tempest from a battle. In spite of science and genius, sounds cannot paint forms. Music, when well guided, will guard itself from contending against the impossible ; it will not undertake to express the tumult and strife of the waves and other similar phenomena ; it will do more : with sounds it will fill the soul with the sentiments that succeed each other in us during the different scenes of the tempest. Haydn will thus become the rival, even the vanquisher of the painter, because it has been given to music to move and agitate the soul more profoundly than painting.

Since the 'Laocoon' of Lessing, it is no longer permitted to repeat, without great reserve, the famous axiom,—*Ut pictura poesis* ; or, at

least, it is very certain that painting cannot do everything that poetry can do. Everybody admires the picture of Rumour, drawn by Virgil ; but let a painter try to realize this symbolic figure ; let him represent to us a huge monster with a hundred eyes, a hundred mouths, and a hundred ears, whose feet touch the earth, whose head is lost in the clouds, and such a figure will become very ridiculous.

So the arts have a common end, and entirely different means. Hence the general rules common to all, and particular rules for each. I have neither time nor space to enter into details on this point. I limit myself to repeating that the great law which governs all others is expression. Every work of art that does not express an idea signifies nothing ; in addressing itself to such or such a sense, it must penetrate to the mind, to the soul, and bear thither a thought, a sentiment capable of touching or elevating it. From this fundamental rule all the others are derived ; for example, that which is continually and justly recommended,—composition. To this is particularly applied the precept of unity and variety. But, in saying this, we have said nothing so long as we have not determined the nature of the unity of which we would speak. True unity is unity of expression, and variety is made only to spread over the entire work the idea or the single sentiment that it should express. It is useless to remark, that between composition thus defined, and what is often called composition, as the symmetry and arrangement of parts according to artificial rules, there is an abyss. True composition is nothing else than the most powerful means of expression.

Expression not only furnishes the general rules of art, it also gives the principle that allows of their classification.

In fact, every classification supposes a principle that serves as a common measure.

Such a principle has been sought in pleasure, and the first of arts has seemed that which gives the most vivid joys. But we have proved that the object of art is not pleasure :—the more or less of pleasure that an art procures cannot, then, be the true measure of its value.

This measure is nothing else than expression. Expression being the supreme end, the art that most nearly approaches it is the first of all.

All true arts are expressive, but they are diversely so. Take music ; it is without contradiction the most penetrating, the profoundest, the most intimate art. There is physically and morally between a sound and the soul a marvellous relation. It seems as though the soul were an echo in which the sound takes a new power. Extraordinary things

are recounted of the ancient music. And it must not be believed that the greatness of effect supposes here very complicated means. No, the less noise music makes, the more it touches. Give some notes to Pergolese, give him especially some pure and sweet voices, and he returns a celestial charm, bears you away into infinite spaces, plunges you into ineffable reveries. The peculiar power of music is to open to the imagination a limitless career, to lend itself with astonishing facility to all the moods of each one, to arouse or calm, with the sounds of the simplest melody, our accustomed sentiments, our favourite affections. In this respect music is an art without a rival ; however, it is not the first of arts.

Between sculpture and music, those two opposite extremes, is painting, nearly as precise as the one, nearly as touching as the other. Like sculpture, it marks the visible forms of objects, but adds to them life ; like music, it expresses the profoundest sentiments of the soul, and expresses them all. Tell me what sentiment does not come within the province of the painter ? He has entire nature at his disposal, the physical world, and the moral world, a churchyard, a landscape, a sunset, the ocean, the great scenes of civil and religious life, all the beings of creation—above all, the figure of man, and its expression, that living mirror of what passes in the soul. More pathetic than sculpture, clearer than music, painting is elevated, in my opinion, above both, because it expresses beauty more under all its forms, and the human soul in all the richness and variety of its sentiments.

But the art *par excellence*, that which surpasses all others, because it is incomparably the most expressive, is poetry.

Speech is the instrument of poetry ; poetry fashions it to its use, and idealizes it, in order to make it express ideal beauty. Poetry gives to it the charm and power of measure ; it makes of it something intermediary between the ordinary voice and music—something at once material and immaterial, finite, clear, and precise—like contours and forms the most definite, living and animated ; like colour pathetic, and infinite like sound. A word in itself, especially a word chosen and transfigured by poetry, is the most energetic and universal symbol. Armed with this talisman, poetry reflects all the images of the sensible world, like sculpture and painting ; it reflects sentiment like painting and music, with all its varieties, which music does not attain, and in their rapid succession that painting cannot follow, as precise and immobile as sculpture ; and it not only expresses all that ; it expresses what is inaccessible to every other art,—I mean thought, entirely distinct from the senses and even from sentiment,—thought that has no forms, thought that has no colour, that lets no sound escape, that does not manifest itself in any way,—thought in its highest flight, in its most refined abstraction.

Think of it. What a world of images, of sentiments, of thoughts at once distinct and confused, are excited within us by this one word—country! and by this other word, brief and immense,—God! What is more clear and altogether more profound and vast!

Tell the architect, the sculptor, the painter, even the musician, to call forth also by a single stroke all the powers of nature and the soul! They cannot, and by that they acknowledge the superiority of speech and poetry.

They proclaim it themselves, for they take poetry for their own measure; they esteem their own works, and demand that they should be esteemed in proportion as they approach the poetic ideal. And the human race does as artists do: a beautiful picture, a noble melody, a living and expressive statue, give rise to the exclamation, How poetical! This is not an arbitrary comparison; it is a natural judgment which makes poetry the type of the perfection of all the arts,—the art *par excellence*, which comprises all others, to which they aspire, which none can reach.

When the other arts would imitate the works of poetry, they usually err, losing their own genius, without robbing poetry of its genius. But poetry constructs, according to its own taste, palaces and temples, like architecture; it makes them simple or magnificent; all orders, as well as all systems, obey it; the different ages of art are the same to it; it reproduces, if it please, the Classic or the Gothic, the beautiful or the sublime, the measured or the infinite. Lessing has been able, with the exactest justice, to compare Homer to the most perfect sculptor; with such precision are the forms which that marvellous chisel gives to all beings determined! And what a painter, too, is Homer! And, of a different kind, Dante! Music alone has something more penetrating than poetry, but it is vague, limited, and fugitive. Besides its clearness, its variety, its durability, poetry has also the most pathetic accents. Call to mind the words that Priam utters at the feet of Achilles while asking him for the dead body of his son, more than one verse of Virgil, entire scenes of the 'Cid' and the 'Polyeucte,' the prayer of Esther kneeling before the Lord, or the choruses of 'Esther' and 'Athalie.' In the celebrated song of Pergolese, 'Stabat Mater Dolorosa,' we may ask which moves most, the music or the words. The 'Dies Iræ, Dies Illa,' recited only, produces the most terrible effect. In those fearful words, every blow tells, so to speak; each word contains a distinct sentiment, an idea at once profound and determinate. The intellect advances at each step, and the heart rushes on in its turn. Human speech, idealized by poetry, has the depth and brilliancy of musical notes; it is luminous as well as pathetic; it speaks to the mind as well

as to the heart ; it is in that inimitable, unique, and embraces all extremes and all contraries in a harmony that redoubles their reciprocal effect—in which, by turns, appear and are developed, all images, all sentiments, all ideas, all the human faculties, all the inmost recesses of the soul, all the forms of things, all real and all intelligible worlds !

OLIVER CROMWELL

(1599-1658).

CARLYLE says that Cromwell's speeches "excel human belief," in their unlikeness to all other speeches, in their utter disregard of all standards of oratory and logical sequence of thought. Some of them are certainly worthy to be called, as they have been called, "agglomerations of opaque confusions; of darkness on the back of darkness," when they are judged by our standards; but the time was when they had as much weight in England as the most polished orations of Demosthenes had in Athens. Unlike anything else in the history of oratory, they represent a time and mode of thought unlike anything else in the history of the world. The Cromwellian Puritan, Carlyle says, represents "a practical world based on belief in God." . . . "Our ancient Puritan reformers," he writes, "were, as all reformers that will ever much benefit the earth are always, inspired by a heavenly purpose. To see God's own law, then, universally acknowledged for complete as it stood in the Holy Written Book, made good in this world; to see this, or the true unwearied aim and struggle towards this, was a thing worth living for and dying for. Eternal justice, that God's will be done on earth as it is in heaven—corollaries enough will flow from that, if that there be; if that be not there, no corollary good for much will flow. It was the general spirit of England in the seventeenth century. In other somewhat sadly disfigured form, we have seen the same immortal hope take practical form in the French Revolution and once more astonish the world."

This may be accepted as a correct characterization of Puritan eloquence in general, but those who read Cromwell's speech in reply to Whitlocke and the Committee of 99, when they offered him the crown, will readily understand that heroes are not always heroic. As a matter of fact, this speech, while it is one of the most characteristic Cromwell ever delivered, carefully refrains from announcing a definite conclusion, and is characteristic of Cromwell's great strength of intellect only in the skill with which he refrains from committing himself to any obligation which would have limited the absolute power he then exercised as Lord-Protector. Preferring the substance of power to its dignity, and remembering that he was in power himself but as a representative of the popular

protest against royal prerogatives, he finally refused the crown and kept his historical consistency. As a speaker he is marvellous in his incomprehensibility. It is impossible to believe the assertions made by his enemies, that his speeches are the mere outpourings of an intellect in many respects radically disordered, but it does appear that he speaks extemporaneously with the utmost fluency without any idea of consistency of statement, or of the cohesiveness of thought which should have existed between the different parts of his speeches. His sentences are apt to grow interminable and he frequently despairs of completing them and wisely abandons them without even waiting to come to a semicolon. It has been pointed out that among modern speakers Gladstone showed the same mental bent towards involved utterances, but never failed to extricate himself, even where escape from the involutions of his extemporaneous style had grown seemingly impossible. Cromwell, trained as a soldier to force his way by main strength, ceases to rely on mere skill when it does not serve his purpose. When a sentence does not suit him, instead of attempting to mend it, he abandons it and begins afresh, appearing to speak simply from the suggestion of uncoordinated ideas as they come into his mind, without making any great effort to control them. How such a style was possible for a great soldier who could marshal men as Cromwell did, it is not easy to imagine, but it is certain enough that only a Cromwell could afford to venture on it in any deliberative body of English-speaking people.

PROTECTOR AND PARLIAMENT

(Delivered in the House of Commons, January 22nd, 1655).

I PERCEIVE you are here as the House of Parliament, by your Speaker whom I see here, and by your faces which are in a great measure known to me.

When I first met you in this room, it was to my apprehension the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to the considerations of this world. For I did look at, as wrapt-up in you together with myself, the hopes and the happiness of,—though not of the greatest,—yet a very great “People”; and the best People in the world. And truly and unfeignedly I thought it so: as a People that have the highest and clearest profession amongst them of the greatest glory, namely, Religion: as a People that have been, like other Nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low, but we

might measure with other Nations :—and a People that have had a stamp upon them from God ; God having, as it were, summed-up all our former honour and glory in the things that *are* of glory to Nations, in an Epitome, within these Ten or Twelve years last past ! So that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad.

And if I be not very much mistaken, we were arrived,—as I, and truly I believe as many others, did think,—at a very safe port ; where we might sit down and contemplate the Dispensations of God and our Mercies ; and might know our Mercies not to have been like to those of the Ancients,—who did make out their peace and prosperity, as they thought, by their own endeavours ; who could not say, as we, That all ours were let down to us from God Himself ! Whose appearances and providences amongst us are not to be outmatched by any Story. Truly this was our condition. And I know nothing else we had to do, save as Israel was commanded in that most excellent Psalm of David : “ The things which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us, we will not hide them from our children ; showing to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and His strength, and His wonderful works that He hath done. For He established a Testimony in Jacob, and appointed a Law in Israel ; which He commanded our fathers that they should make known to their children ; that the generation to come might know them, even the children which should be born, who should arise and declare them to *their* children : that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments.”

This I thought had been a song and a work worthy of England, whereunto you might happily have invited them,—had you had hearts unto it. You had this opportunity fairly delivered unto you. And if a history shall be written of these Times and Transactions, it will be said, it will not be denied, that these things that I have spoken are true ! This talent was put into your hands. And I shall recur to that which I said at the first : I came with very great joy and contentment and comfort the first time I met you in this place. But we and these Nations are for the present under some disappointment !—If I had proposed to have played the Orator,—which I never did affect, nor do, nor I hope shall,—I doubt not but upon easy suppositions, which I am persuaded every one among you will grant, we did meet upon such hopes as these.

I met you a second time here : and I confess, at that meeting I had much abatement of my hopes, though not a total frustration. I confess that that which damped my hopes so soon was somewhat that did look like a parricide. It is obvious enough unto you that the then management of affairs did savour of a Not owning,—too much savour I say, of a Not owning of the Authority that called you hither. But

God left us not without an expedient that gave a second possibility—Shall I say possibility? It seemed to me a probability—of recovering out of that dissatisfied condition we were all then in, towards some mutuality of satisfaction. And therefore by that Recognition, suiting with the Indenture that returned you hither; to which afterwards was also added your own Declaration, conformable to, and in acceptance of, that expedient:—thereby, I say, you had, though with a little check, another opportunity renewed unto you to have made this Nation as happy as it could have been if everything had smoothly run on from that first hour of your meeting. And indeed,—you will give me liberty of my thoughts and hopes,—I did think, as I have formerly found in that way that I have been engaged in as a soldier, That some affronts put upon us, some disasters at the first, have made way for very great and happy successes; and I did not at all despond but the stop put upon you, in like manner, would have made way for a blessing from God. That Interruption being, as I thought, necessary to divert you from violent and destructive proceedings; to give time for better deliberations;—whereby leaving the Government as you found it, you might have proceeded to have made those good and wholesome Laws which the People expected from you, and might have answered the Grievances, and settled those other things proper to you as a Parliament: for which you would have had thanks from all that intrusted you.

What hath happened since that time I have not taken public notice of; as declining to intrench on Parliament privileges. For sure I am you will all bear me witness, That from your entering into the House upon the Recognition, to this very day, you have had no manner of interruption or hindrance of mine in proceeding to what blessed issue the heart of a good man could propose to himself,—to this very day none. You see you have me very much locked up, as to what you have transacted among yourselves, from that time to this. But some things I shall take liberty to speak of to you.

As I may not take notice what you have been doing; so I think, I have a very great liberty to tell you That I do not know what you have been doing! I do not know whether you have been alive or dead. I have not once heard from you all this time; I have not: and that you all know. If that be a fault that I have not, surely it hath not been mine! If I have had any melancholy thoughts, and have sat down by them,—why might it not have been very lawful for me to think that I was a Person judged unconcerned in all these businesses? I can assure you I have not so reckoned myself! Nor did I reckon myself unconcerned in you. And so long as any just patience could support my expectation, I would have waited to the uttermost to have received from you the issue of your

consultations and resolutions—I have been careful of your safety, and the safety of those that you represented, to whom I reckon myself a servant.

But what messages have I disturbed you withal? What injury or indignity hath been done, or offered, either to your persons or to any privileges of Parliament, since you sat? I looked at myself as strictly obliged by my Oath, since your recognising the Government in the authority of which you were called hither and sat, to give you all possible security, and to keep you from any unparliamentary interruption. Think you I could not say more upon this subject, if I listed to expatiate thereupon? But because my actions plead for me, I shall say no more of this. I say, I have been caring for *you*, for your quiet sitting; caring for your privileges, as I said before, that they might not be interrupted; have been seeking of God, from the great God a blessing upon you, and a blessing upon these Nations. I have been consulting if possibly I might, in anything, promote, in my place, the real good of this Parliament, of the hopefulness of which I have said so much unto you. And I did think it to be my business rather to see the utmost issue, and what God would produce by you, than unseasonably to intermeddle with you.

But, as I said before, I have been caring for you, and for the peace and quiet of these Nations: indeed I have; and that I shall a little presently manifest unto you. And it leadeth me to let you know somewhat,—which, I fear, I fear, will be, through some interpretation, a little too justly put upon *you*; whilst you have been employed as you have been, and,—in all that time expressed in the Government, in that Government, I say in that Government,—have brought forth nothing that you yourselves say *can* be taken notice of without infringement of your privileges. I will tell you somewhat, which, if it be not news to you, I wish you had taken very serious consideration of. If it be news, I wish I had acquainted you with it sooner. And yet if any man will ask me why I did it not, the reason is given already: Because I did make it my business to give you no interruption.

There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees: There be some that choose,—a man may say so by way of allusion,—to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven,—I will not say what you have *cherished*, under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of Peace and Settlement,—instead of mercy and truth being brought together, and righteousness and peace kissing each other, by your reconciling the Honest People of these Nations, and settling the woeful distempers that are amongst us; which had been glorious things and worthy of Christians to have proposed,—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns have thriven under your shadow! Dis-settlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction; together with

real dangers to the whole,—have been more multiplied within these five months of your sitting, than in some years before ! Foundations have also been laid for the future renewing of the Troubles of these Nations by all the enemies of them abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp ; for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these Nations abroad and at home, the discontented humours throughout these Nations,—which products I think no man will grudge to call by that name, of briers and thorns,—*they* have nourished themselves under your shadow !

And that I may clearly be understood : They have taken their opportunities from your sitting, and from the hopes they had, which with easy conjecture they might take up and conclude that there would be no Settlement ; and they have framed their designs, preparing for the execution of them accordingly. Now whether,—which appertains not to me to judge of, on their behalf,—they had any occasion ministered for this, and from whence they had it, I list not to make any scrutiny or search. But I will say this : I think they had it not from me. I am sure they had not from me. From whence they had, is not my business now to discourse ; but *that* they had, is obvious to every man's sense. What preparations they have made, to be executed in such a season as they thought fit to take their opportunity from : that I know, not as men know things by conjecture, but by certain demonstrable knowledge. That they have been for some time past furnishing themselves with arms ; nothing doubting but they should have a day for it ; and verily believing that, whatsoever their former disappointments were, they should have more done for them by and from our own divisions, than they were able to do for themselves. I desire to be understood that, in all I have to say of this subject, you will take it that I have no reservation in my mind,—as I have not,—to mingle things of guess and suspicion with things of fact ; but that the things I am telling of are fact ; things of evident demonstration.

These weeds, briers and thorns,—they have been preparing, and have brought their designs to some maturity, by the advantages given to them, as aforesaid, from your sittings and proceedings. But by the Waking Eye that watched over that Cause that God will bless, they have been, and yet are, disappointed. And having mentioned that Cause, I say, that slighted Cause,—let me speak a few words in behalf thereof ; though it may seem too long a digression. Whosoever despiseth it, and will say, It is *non Causa pro Causa*, “ a Cause without a Cause,”—the All searching Eye before mentioned will find out that man ; and will judge him, as one that regardeth not the works of God nor the operations of His hands ! For which God hath threatened that He will cast men

down, and not build them up. That man who, because he can dispute, will tell us he knew not when the Cause began, nor where it is ; but modelleth it according to his own intellect ; and submits not to the Appearances of God in the World ; and therefore lifts up his heel against God, and mocketh at all His providences ; laughing at the observations, made up not without reason and the Scriptures, and by the quickening and teaching Spirit which gives life to these other ;—calling such observations “enthusiasms” : such men, I say, no wonder if they “stumble and fall backwards, and be broken and snared and taken,” by the things of which they are so wilfully and maliciously ignorant ! The Scriptures say, “The Rod has a voice and He will make Himself known by the judgments which he executeth.” And do we not think He will, and does, by the providences of mercy and kindness which He hath for His People and their just liberties ; “whom He loves as the apple of His eye ? ” Doth he not by them manifest Himself ? And is He not thereby also seen giving kingdoms for them, “giving men for them, and people for their lives,”—as it is in Isaiah Forty-third ? Is not this as fair a lecture and as clear speaking, as anything our dark reason, left to the letter of the Scriptures, can collect from them ? By this voice has God spoken very loud on behalf of His People, by judging their enemies in the late War, and restoring them a liberty to worship, with the freedom of their consciences, and freedom in estates and persons when they do so. And thus we have found the Cause of God by the Works of God ; which are the testimony of God. Upon which rock whosoever splits shall suffer shipwreck. But it is your glory,—and it is mine, if I have any in the world concerning the interest of those that have an interest in a better world,—it is my glory that I know a Cause which yet we have *not* lost ; but do hope we shall take a little pleasure rather to lose our lives than lose ! But you will excuse this long digression.

I say unto you, Whilst you have been in the midst of these Transactions, that Party, that Cavalier Party,—I could wish some of them had thrust-in here, to have heard what I say,—have been designing and preparing to put this Nation in blood again, with a witness. But because I am confident there are none of that sort here, therefore I shall say the less to that. Only this I must tell you : They have been making great preparations of arms ; and I do believe it will be made evident to you that they have raked-out many thousands of arms, even all that this City could afford, for divers months last past. But it will be said, “May we not arm ourselves for the defence of our houses ? Will anybody find fault for that ? ” Not for that. But the reason for *their* doing so hath been as explicit, and under as clear proof, as the fact of doing so. For which I hope, by the justice of the land, some will, in the face of the

Nation, answer it with their lives : and then the business will be pretty well out of doubt.—Banks of money have been framing, for these and other such like uses. Letters have been issued with Privy-seals, to as great Persons as most are in the Nation, for the advance of money,—which “ Letters ” have been discovered to us by the Persons themselves. Commissions for Regiments of horse and foot, and command of Castles, have been likewise given from Charles Stuart, since your sitting. And what the general insolences of that Party have been, the Honest People have been sensible of, and can very well testify.

It hath not only been thus. But as in a quinsy or pleurisy, where the humour fixeth in one part, give it scope, all “ disease ” will gather to that place, to the hazarding of the whole ; and it is natural to do so till it destroy life in that person on whomsoever this befalls. So likewise will *these* diseases take accidental causes of aggravation of their distemper. And this was that which I did assert, That they have taken accidental causes for the growing and increasing of those distempers,—as much as would have been in the natural body if timely remedy were not applied. And indeed things were come to that pass,—in respect of which I shall give you a particular account,—that no mortal physician, if the Great Physician had not stepped in, could have cured the distemper. Shall I lay this upon your account, or my own ? I am sure I can lay it upon God’s account : That if He had not stepped in, the disease had been mortal and destructive !

And what is all this ? “ What are these new diseases that have gathered to this point ? ” Truly I must needs still say : “ A company of men like briars and thorns ” ; and worse, if worse can be. Of another sort than those before mentioned to you. These also have been and yet are endeavouring to put us into blood and into confusion ; more desperate and dangerous confusion than England ever yet saw. And I must say as when Gideon commanded his son to fall upon Zeba and Zalmunna, and slay them, they thought it more noble to die by the hand of a man than of a stripling,—which shows there is some contentment in the hand by which a man falls : so it is some satisfaction if a Commonwealth must perish, that it perish by men, and not by the hands of persons differing little from beasts ! That if it must needs suffer, it should rather suffer from rich men than from poor men, who, as Solomon says, “ when they oppress, leave nothing behind them, but are as a sweeping rain.” Now such as these also are grown up under your shadow. But it will be asked, What have they done ? I hope, though they pretend “ Commonwealth’s Interest,” they have had no encouragement from you ; but have, as in the former case, rather taken it than that you have administered any cause unto them for so doing. “ Any cause ”

from delays, from hopes that this Parliament would not settle, from Pamphlets mentioning strange Votes and Resolves of yours ; which I hope did abuse you ! But thus you see that, whatever the grounds were, these have been the effects. And thus I have laid these things before you ; and you and others will be easily able to judge how far you are concerned.

“ What these man have done ? ” They also have laboured to pervert, where there could, and as they could, the Honest-meaning People of the Nation. They have laboured to engage some in the Army :—and I doubt not that only they, but some others also, very well known to you, have helped to this work of debauching and dividing the Army. They have, they have ! I would be loath to say Who, Where, and How ? much more loath to say they were any of your own number. But I can say : Endeavours have been made to put the Army into a distemper, and to feed that which is the worst humour in the Army. Which though it was not as mastering humour, yet these took advantage from delay of the Settlement, and the practices before mentioned, and the stopping of the pay of the Army, to run us into Free-quarter, and to bring us into the inconveniences most to be feared and avoided.—What if I am able to make it appear in fact, That some amongst you have run into the City of London, to persuade to Petitions and Addresses to you for reversing your own Votes that you have passed ? Whether these practices were in favour of your Liberties, or tended to beget hopes of peace and Settlement from you ; and whether debauching the Army in England, as is before expressed, and starving it, and putting it upon Free-quarter, and occasioning and necessitating the greatest part thereof in Scotland to march into England, leaving the remainder thereof to have their throats cut there ; and kindling by the rest a fire in our own bosoms, were for the advantage of affairs here, let the world judge !

This I tell you also : That the correspondence held with the Interest of the Cavaliers, by that Party of men called Levellers, who call themselves Commonwealth's-men, is in our hands. Whose Declarations were framed to that purpose, and ready to be published at the time of their projected common Rising ; whereof, I say, we are possessed ; and for which we have the confession of themselves now in custody ; who confess also they built their hopes upon the assurance they had of the Parliament's not agreeing to a Settlement :—whether these humours have not nourished themselves under your boughs, is the subject of my present discourse ; and I think I shall say not amiss, if I affirm it to be so. And I must say it again, That that which hath been their advantage, thus to raise disturbance, had been by the loss of those golden opportunities which God hath put into your hands for Settlement. Judge you whether

these things were thus, or not, when you first sat down. I am sure things were not thus! There was a very great peace and sedateness throughout these Nations; and great expectations of a happy Settlement. Which I remembered to you at the beginning in my speech; and hoped that you would have entered on your business as you found it.

There was a Government already in the possession of the People,—I say a Government in the possession of the People, for many months. It hath now been exercised near Fifteen Months: and if it were needful that I should tell you *how* it came into their possession, and how willingly they received it; how all Law and Justice were distributed from it, in every respect, as to life, liberty and estate; how it was owned by God, as being the dispensation of His providence after Twelve Years War; and sealed and witnessed unto by the people,—I should but repeat what I said in my last Speech unto you in this place: and therefore I forbear. When you were entered upon this Government; ravelling into it—You know I took no notice what you were doing—if you had gone upon that foot of account, To have made such good and wholesome provisions for the Good of the People of these Nations as were wanted; for the settling of such matters in things of Religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a Godly Ministry, and yet as would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments,—to men of the same faith with them that you call to Orthodox Ministry in England, as it is well known the Independents are, and many under the form of Baptism, who are sound in the faith, and though they may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking for salvation only by faith in the blood of Christ, men, professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower,—I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing Godliness; and might have been instrumental if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the Godly of all judgments from running one upon another; and by keeping them from being overrun by a Common Enemy, have rendered them and these Nations both secure, happy and well satisfied.

Are these things done; or any things towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them unless they can press their finger upon their brethren's consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the Contest we had with the Common Adversary. For indeed Religion was not the thing at first contested for at all: but God brought it to that issue at last; and gave it unto us by way of redundancy; and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us. And wherein consisted this more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the Bishops to all species

of Protestants to worship God according to their own light and consciences? For want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses; and for which also many that remained here were imprisoned, and otherwise abused and made the scorn of the Nation. Those that were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men might not be trampled upon for their consciences! Had not they themselves laboured, but lately, under the weight of persecution? And was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy than for those who were oppressed by the Bishops to become the greatest oppressors themselves, so soon as their yoke was removed? I could wish that they who call for liberty now also had not too much of that spirit, if the power were in their hands!—As for profane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition; the contentious railers, evil-speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners; persons of loose conversation,—punishment from the Civil Magistrate ought to meet with these. Because, if they pretend conscience; yet walking disorderly and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural lights,—they are judged of all. And their sins being open, make them subjects of the Magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain.—The discipline of the army *was* such, that a man would not be suffered to remain there, of whom we could take notice he was guilty of such practices as these.

And therefore how happy would England have been, and you and I, if the Lord had led you on to have settled upon such good accounts as these are, and to have discountenanced such practices as the other, and left men in disputable things free to their own consciences! Which was well provided for by the Instrument of Government; and liberty left to provide against what was apparently evil. Judge you, Whether the contesting for things that were provided for by this Government hath been profitable expense of time, for the good of these Nations! By means whereof you may see you have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing!—I will say this to you, in behalf of the Long Parliament: That, had such an expedient as this Government been proposed to them; and could they have seen the Cause of God thus provided for; and been, by debates, enlightened in the grounds of it, whereby the difficulties might have been cleared to them, and the reason of the whole enforced, and the circumstances of time and persons with the temper and disposition of the People, and affairs both abroad and at home when it was undertaken might have been well weighed by them: I think in my conscience,—well as they were thought to love their seats,—

they would have proceeded in another manner than you have done ! And *not* have exposed things to these difficulties and hazards they now are at ; nor given occasion to leave the People so dissettled as they now are. Who, I dare say, in the soberest and most judicious part of them, did expect, not a question, but a doing of things in pursuance of the Instrument of Government. And if I be not misinformed, very many of you came up with this satisfaction ; having had time enough to weigh and consider the same.

And when I say such an expedient as this Government,—wherein I dare assert there is a just Liberty to the People of God, and the just Rights of the People in these Nations provided for,—I can put the issue thereof upon the clearest reason ; whatsoever any go about to suggest to the contrary. But this not being the time and place of such an averment, I forbear at present. For satisfaction's sake herein, enough is said in a Book entitled "*A State of the Case of the Commonwealth,*" published in January, 1653. And for myself, I desire not to keep my place in this Government an hour longer than I may preserve England in its just rights, and may protect the People of God in such a just Liberty of their Consciences as I have already mentioned. And therefore if this Parliament have judged things to be otherwise than as I have stated them,—it had been huge friendliness between persons who had such a reciprocation in so great concernments to the public, for *them* to have convinced me in what particulars therein my error lay ! Of which I never yet had a word from you ! But if, instead thereof, your time has been spent in setting up somewhat else, upon another bottom than this stands upon,—it looks as if the laying grounds for a *quarrel* had rather been designed than to give the People *settlement*. If it be thus, it's *well* your labours have not arrived to any maturity at all !

This Government called you hither ; the constitution thereof being limited so,—a Single Person and a Parliament. And this was thought most agreeable to the general sense of the Nation ;—having had experience enough, by trial, of other conclusions ; judging this most likely to avoid the extremes of Monarchy on the one hand, and of Democracy on the other ;—and yet not to found *Dominium in Gratia* either. And if so, then certainly to make the Authority more than a mere notion, it was requisite that it should be as it is in this Frame of Government ; which puts it upon a true and equal balance. It has been already submitted to the judicious, true and honest People of this Nation, Whether the balance be not equal ? And what their judgment is, is visible—by submission to it ; by acting upon it ; by restraining their Trustees from meddling with it. And it neither asks nor needs any better ratification.

But when Trustees in Parliament shall, by experience, find any evil in any parts of this Frame of Government, a question referred by the Government itself to the consideration of the Protector and Parliament,—of which evil or evils Time itself will be the best discoverer :—how can it be reasonably imagined that a Person or Persons, coming in by election, and standing under such obligations, and so limited, and so necessitated by oath to govern for the People's good, and to make *their* love, under God, the best underpropping and only safe footing :—how can it, I say, be imagined that the present or succeeding Protectors will refuse to agree to alter any such thing in the Government as may be found to be for the good of the People ? Or to recede from anything which he might be convinced casts the balance too much to the Single Person ? And although, for the present, the keeping-up and having in his power the Militia seems the hardest condition, yet if the power of the Militia should be yielded up at such a time as this, when there is as much need of it to keep this Cause (now most evidently impugned by all Enemies), as there was to *get* it for the sake of this Cause :—what would become of us all ! Or if it should not be equally placed in him and the Parliament, but yielded up *at any time*—it determines his power either for doing the good he ought, or hindering Parliaments from perpetuating themselves ; from imposing what Religion they please on the consciences of men, or what Government they please upon the Nation. Thereby subjecting us to dissettlement in every Parliament, and to the desperate consequences thereof. And if the Nation *shall* happen to fall into a blessed Peace, how easily and certainly will their charge be taken off, and their forces be disbanded ! And then where will the danger be to have the Militia thus stated ? What if I should say : If there *be* a disproportion, or disequality as to the power, it is on the other hand !—

And if this be so, Wherein have you had cause to quarrel ? What demonstrations have you held forth to settle me to your opinion ? I would you had made me so happy as to have let me known your grounds ! I have made a free and ingenuous confession of my faith to *you*. And I could have wished it had been in your hearts to have agreed that some friendly and cordial debates might have been toward mutual conviction. Was there none amongst you to move such a thing ? No fitness to listen to it ? No desire of a right understanding ? If it be not folly in me to listen to Town-talk, such things *have* been proposed ; and rejected, with stiffness and severity, once and again. Was it not likely to have been more advantageous to the good of this Nation ? I will say this to you for myself ; and to that I have my conscience as a thousand witnesses, and I have my comfort and contentment in it ; and I have

the witness too of divers here, who I think truly would scorn to own me in a lie : That I would not have been averse to any alteration, of the good of which I might have been convinced. Although I could not have agreed to the taking it off the foundation on which it stands ; namely, the acceptance and consent of the People.

I will not presage what you have been about, or doing, in all this time. Nor do I love to make conjectures. But I must tell you this : That as I undertook this Government in the simplicity of my heart and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the Interest,—which in my conscience I think is dear to many of you ; though it is not always understood what God in His wisdom may hide from us, as to Peace and Settlement :—so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking. For if you had, upon the old Government, offered me this one, this one thing,—I speak as thus advised and before God ; as having been to this day of this opinion ; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many who hear me speak —if, I say, this one thing had been inserted, this one thing, That the Government should have been placed in my Family hereditary, I would have rejected it ! And I could have done no other according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason ;—though I cannot tell what God *will* do with me, nor with you, nor with the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us.

This hath been my principle ; and I liked it, when this Government came first to be proposed to me, That it puts us off that hereditary way. Well looking that God hath declared what Government He delivered to the Jews ; and that He placed it upon such Persons as had been instrumental for the Conduct and Deliverance of His people. And considering that Promise in *Isaiah*, “ That God would give Rulers as at the first, and Judges as at the beginning,” I did not know but that God might “ now ” begin,—and though, at present, with a most unworthy person ; yet, as to the future, it might be after this manner ; and I thought this might usher it in ! I am speaking as to my judgment against making Government hereditary. To have men chosen, for their love to God, and to Truth and Justice ; and not to have it hereditary. For as it is in the *Ecclesiastes*, “ Who knoweth whether he may beget a fool or a wise man ? ” Honest or not honest, whatever they be, they must come in, on that plan ; because the Government is made a patrimony !—And this I perhaps do declare with too much earnestness ; as being my own concernment ;—and know not what place it may have in your hearts, and in those of the Good People in the Nation. But however it be, I have comfort in this my truth and plainness.

I have thus told you my thoughts ; which truly I have declared to you in the fear of God, as knowing He will not be mocked ; and in the strength of God, as knowing and rejoicing that I am supported in my speaking ;—especially when I do not form or frame things without the compass of integrity and honesty ; so that my own conscience gives me not the lie to what I say. And then in what I say, I can rejoice.

Now to speak a word or two to you. Of that, I must profess in the name of the same Lord, and wish there had been no cause that I should have thus spoken to you ! I told you that I came with joy the first time ; with some regret the second ; yet now I speak with most regret of all ! I look upon you as having among you many persons that I could lay down my life individually for. I could, through the grace of God, desire to lay down my life for you. So far am I from having an unkind or unchristian heart towards you in your particular capacities ; I have this indeed as a work most incumbent upon me : this of speaking these things to you. I consulted what might be my duty in such a day as this ; casting up all considerations. I must confess, as I told you, that I did think occasionally, This Nation had suffered extremely in the respects mentioned ; as also in the disappointment of their expectations of that justice which was due to them by your sitting thus long. “ Sitting thus long ” ; and what have you brought forth ? I did not nor cannot comprehend what it is. I would be loath to call it a Fate ; that were too paganish a word. But there hath been Something in it that we had not in our expectations.

I did think also, for myself, That I am like to meet with difficulties ; and that this Nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of Necessity in that great business of raising of Money. And were it not that I can make some dilemmas upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment and actions, I should shrink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. Supposing this Cause or this Business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man. If it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this Cause and this Business was of God, I would many years ago have run from it. If it be of God, He will bear it up. If it be of man, it will tumble ; as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our Histories, and other Traditions of Actions in former times, but God manifesting Himself, that He hath shaken, and tumbled down and trampled upon, everything that He had not planted ? And as this is, so let the All-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old Plotting and Contriving to bring things to this Issue, and that they are not the Births of Providence,

then they will tumble. But if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good,—He is very able to bear us up! Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall in His strength be able to encounter with them. †And I bless God I have been inured to difficulties; and I never found God failing when I trusted in Him. I can laugh and sing, in my heart, when I speak of these things to you or elsewhere. And though some may think it is a hard thing To raise Money without Parliamentary Authority upon this Nation; yet I have another argument to the Good People of this Nation, if they would be safe, and yet have no better principle: Whether they prefer the having of their will though it be their destruction, rather than comply with things of Necessity? That will excuse me. But I should wrong my native country to suppose this.

For I look at the People of these Nations as the blessing of the Lord; and they are a People blessed by God. They have been so; and they will be so, by reason of that immortal seed which hath been, and is, among them; those Regenerated Ones in the land, of several judgments; who are all the Flock of Christ, and lambs of Christ. His, though perhaps under many unruly passions, and troubles of spirit; whereby they give disquiet to themselves and others: yet they are not so to God; since to us He is a God of other patience; and He will own the least of Truth in the Hearts of His people. And the People being the blessing of God, they will not be so angry but they will prefer their safety to their passions, and their real security to forms, when Necessity calls for Supplies. Had they not well been acquainted with this principle, they had never seen this day of Gospel Liberty.

But if any man shall object, It is an easy thing to talk of Necessities when men create Necessities: would not the Lord Protector make himself great and his family great? Doth not he make these Necessities? And then he will come upon the People with his argument of Necessity!—This was something hard indeed. But I have *not* yet known what it is to make Necessities, whatsoever the thoughts or judgments of men are. And I say this, not only to this Assembly, but to the world, That the man liveth not who can come to me and charge me with having, in these great Revolutions, made Necessities. I challenge even all that fear God. And as God hath said, “My glory I will not give unto another,” let men take heed and be twice advised how they call his Revolutions, the things of God, and His working of things from one period to another,—how, I say, they call them Necessities of men’s creation! For by so doing, they do vilify and lessen the works of God, and rob Him of His glory; which He hath said He will not give unto another, nor suffer to be taken from Him! We know what God did to Herod, when he was applauded

and did not acknowledge God. And God knoweth what He will do with men, when they call His Revolutions human designs, and so detract from His glory. These issues and events have not been forecast ; but were sudden Providences in things : whereby carnal and worldly men are enraged ; and under and at which, many, and I fear some good men, have murmured and repined, because disappointed of their mistaken fancies. But still all these things have been the wise disposings of the Almighty ; though instruments have had their passions and frailties. And I think it is an honour to God to acknowledge the Necessities to have been of God's imposing, when truly they have been so, as indeed they have. Let us take our sin in our actions to ourselves ; it's much more safe than to judge things so contingent, as if there were not a God that ruled the Earth !

We know the Lord hath poured this Nation from vessel to vessel, till He poured it into your lap, when you came first together. I am confident that it came so into your hands ; and was not judged by you to be from counterfeited or feigned Necessity, but by Divine Providence and Dispensation. And this I speak with more earnestness, because I speak for God and not for men. I would have any man to come and tell of the Transactions that have been, and of those periods of time wherein God hath made these Revolutions ; and find where he can fix a feigned Necessity ! I could recite particulars, if either my strength would serve me to speak, or yours to hear. If that you would resolve the great Hand of God in His great Dispensations, you would find that there is scarce a man who fell off, at any period of time when God had any work to do, who can give God or His work at this day a good word.

“ It was,” say some, “ the cunning of the Lord Protector,”—I take it to myself,—“ it was the craft of such a man, and his plot, that hath brought it about ! ” And, as they say in other countries, “ There are five or six cunning men in England that have skill ; they do all these things.” Oh, what blasphemy is this ! Because men that are without God in the world, and walk not with Him, know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God, and to be spoken unto by the Spirit of God,—who speaks without a Written Word sometimes, yet according to it ! God hath spoken heretofore in divers manners. Let Him speak as He pleaseth. Hath he not given us liberty, nay, is it not our duty, To go to the Law and the Testimony ? And there we shall find that there *have* been impressions, in extraordinary cases, as well without the Written Word as with it. And therefore there is no difference in the thing thus asserted from truths generally received,—except we will exclude the Spirit ; without whose concurrence all other teachings are ineffectual. He doth speak to the hearts and consciences of men ;

and leadeth them to His law and Testimony, and there "also" He speaks to them : and so gives them double teachings. According to that of Job : " God speaketh once, yea twice " ; and to that of David : " God hath spoken once, yea twice have I heard this." These men that live upon their *mumpsimus*, and *sumpsimus*, their Masses and Service-books, their dead and carnal worship,—no marvel if they be strangers to God, and to the works of God, and to spiritual dispensations. And because *they* say and believe thus. must we do so too ? We, in this land, have been otherwise instructed ; even by the Word, and Works, and Spirit of God.

To say that men bring forth these things when God doth them,—judge you if God will bear this ? I wish that every sober heart, though he hath had temptations upon him of deserting this Cause of God, yet may take heed how he provokes and falls into the hands of the Living God by such blasphemies as these ! According to the Tenth of the *Hebrews* ; " If we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remains no more sacrifice for sin." A terrible word. It was spoken to the Jews who, having professed Christ, apostatised from Him. What then ? Nothing but a fearful " falling into the living hands of the Living God !"—They that shall attribute to this or that person the contrivances and production of those mighty things God hath wrought in the midst of us ; and fancy that they have not been the Revolutions of Christ Himself, " upon whose shoulders the government is laid,"—they speak against God, and they fall under His hands without a Mediator. That is, if we deny the spirit of Jesus Christ the glory of all His Works in the world ; by which He rules kingdoms and doth administer, and is the rod of His strength,—we provoke the Mediator : and He may say : I will leave you to God, I will not intercede for you ; let Him tear you to pieces ! I will leave thee to fall into God's hands ; thou deniest me my sovereignty and power committed to me ; I will not intercede nor mediate for thee ; thou fallest into the hands of the Living God !—Therefore whatsoever you may judge men for, howsoever you may say, " This is cunning, and politic, and subtle,"—take heed again, I say, how you judge of His Revolutions as the product of men's inventions !—I may be thought to press too much upon this theme. But I pray God it may stick upon your hearts and mine. The worldly-minded man knows nothing of this, but is a stranger to it ; and thence his atheisms, and murmurings at instruments, yea, repining at God Himself. And no wonder ; considering the Lord hath done such things amongst us as have not been known in the world these thousand years, and yet notwithstanding is not owned by us !

There is another necessity, which you have put upon us, and we have not sought. I appeal to God, Angels and Men,—if I shall now raise money according to the Article in the Government, whether I am not compelled to do it! Which Government had power to call you hither; and did:—and instead of seasonably providing for the Army, you have laboured to overthrow the Government, and the Army is now upon Free-quarter! And you would never so much as let me hear a tittle from you concerning it. Where is the fault? Has it not been as if you had a purpose to put this extremity upon us and the Nation? I hope this was not in your minds. I am not willing to judge so:—but such is the state into which we are reduced. By the designs of some in the Army who are now in custody, it was designed to get as many of them as possible,—through discontent for want of money, the Army being in a barren country, near thirty weeks behind in pay, and upon other specious pretences,—to march for England out of Scotland; and, in discontent, to seize their General there (General Monk), a faithful and honest man, that so another (Colonel Overton) might head the Army. And all this opportunity taken from your delays. Whether will this be a thing of feigned Necessity? What could it signify, but “The army are in discontent already; and we will make them live upon stones; we will make them cast-off their governors and discipline?” What can be said to this? I list not to unsaddle myself, and put the fault upon your backs. Whether it hath been for the good of England, whilst men have been talking of this thing or the other, and pretending liberty and many good words,—whether it has been as it should have been? I am confident you cannot think it has. The Nation will not think so. And if the worst should be made of things, I know not what the Cornish men nor the Lincolnshire men may think, or other Counties; but I believe they will all think *they are not safe*. A temporary suspension of “caring for the greatest liberties and privileges” (if it were so, which is denied) would not have been of such damage as the not providing against Free-quarter hath run the Nation upon. And if it be my liberty to walk abroad in the fields, or to take a journey, yet it is not my wisdom to do so when my house is on fire!

I have troubled you with a long Speech; and I believe it may not have the same resentment with all that it hath with some. But because that is unknown to me, I shall leave it to God;—and conclude with this: That I think myself bound, as in my duty to God, and to the People of these Nations for their safety and good in every respect,—I think it my duty to tell you that it is not for the profit of these Nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you, That I do dissolve this Parliament.

DEBATING WHETHER OR NOT TO BECOME KING OF ENGLAND

(Delivered Monday, April 13th, 1657, at Whitehall, before the Committee of Ninety-Nine, Addressing Whitlocke as Reporter of the Committee).

I THINK I have a very hard task on my hand. Though it be but to give an account of myself, yet, I see I am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account of myself: yet that is a business very comprehensive of others;—comprehending us all in some sense, and, as the Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all the interests of these three nations!

I confess I have two things in view. The first is, to return some answer to what was so well and ably said the other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that title in the instrument of settlement. I hope it will not be expected I should answer everything that was then said, because I suppose the main things that were spoken were arguments from ancient constitutions and settlements by the laws, in which I am sure I could never be well skilled, and therefore must the more ask pardon for what I have already transgressed in speaking of such matters, or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of them, in my present answer to you.

Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the law, seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusiveness to enforce that one thing of kingship. And if your arguments come upon me to enforce upon me the ground of necessity,—why, then, I have no room to answer, for what must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of my business to consider whether there were such a necessity, or would arise such a necessity from those arguments. It was said: “Kingship is not a title, but an office, so interwoven with the fundamental laws of this nation that they cannot, or cannot well, be executed and exercised without it,—partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignorance which the law hath of any other title. It knows no other; neither doth any know another. And, by reciprocation,—this said title, or name, or office, you were further pleased to say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the power and prerogatives of it, which are by the law made certain, and the law can tell when it keeps within compass and when it exceeds its limits. And the law knowing this, the people can know it also. And the people do love what they know. And it will neither be *pro salute populi*, nor for our safety, to obtrude upon the people what they do not nor cannot understand.

It was said also “that the people have always, by their representatives in Parliament, been unwilling to vary names, seeing they love

settlement and known names, as was said before." And there were two good instances given of that: the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter somewhat of the title; and the other in the Long Parliament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to adopt the word "Representative" instead of "Parliament," refused it for the same reason. It was said, also, that "the holding to this word doth strengthen the new settlement; and hereby there is not anything *de novo* done, but merely things are revolved into their old current." It was said that "it is the security of the Chief Magistrate, and that it secures all who act under him." Truly these are the principal of those grounds that were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

I cannot take upon me to repel those grounds; they are so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to make any answer to them, I must not grant that they are necessarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may be found, they are not of necessity, they are not inevitable grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why, then, they will hang upon the reason of expediency or conveniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty to speak; otherwise, I am concluded before I speak. Therefore, it will behove me to say what I can, why these are not necessary reasons; why they are not—why it is not (I should say) so interwoven in the laws but that the laws may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satisfaction of the people, and answering all objections equally well, without such a title as with it. And then, when I have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word or two for my own grounds. And when I have said what I can say as to that latter point, I hope you will think a great deal more than I say.

Truly though Kingship be not a mere title, but the name of an office which runs through the whole of the law, yet it is not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, but by reason of what the name signifies. It is a name of office plainly implying a supreme authority: is it more; or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a name of office plainly implying the supreme authority; and if so, why, then, I should suppose,—I am not peremptory in anything that is matter of deduction or inference of my own,—but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or shall be the name under which the supreme authority acts,—why, I say, if it had been those four or five letters, or whatever else it had been, that signification goes to the thing, certainly it does; and not to the name.

Why, then, there can no more be said but this: As such a title hath been fixed, so it may be unfixed. And certainly in the right of the

authority, I mean the legislative power,—in the right of the legislative power, I think the authority that could christen it with such a name could have called it by another name. Therefore the name is only derived from that authority. And certainly they, the primary legislative authority, had the disposal of it, and might have detracted from it, changed it :—and I hope it will be no offence to say to you, as the case now stands, So may you. And if it be so that you may, why, then, I say, there is nothing of necessity in your argument ; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it.

Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the original question—which I hope is altogether out of the question,—I had rather have any name from this Parliament than any other name without it : so much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I believe all men are of my mind in that ; I believe the Nation is very much of my mind,—though it be an uncertain way of arguing, what mind they are of. I think we may say it without offence ; for I would give none ! Though the Parliament be the truest way to know what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself, and if that be one of your arguments, I hope I may urge against it that the reason of my own mind is not quite to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly, what the Parliament settles is what will run, and have currency, through the law ; and will lead the thread of government through this land equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what hath been was upon the same account, by the same authority. Save that there hath been some long continuance of the thing, it is but upon the same account ! It had its original somewhere ! And it was with consent of the whole,—there is the original of it. And consent of the whole will still, I say, be the needle that will lead the thread through all ; and I think no man will pretend right against it, or wrong !

And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these arguments from the law are all not as of necessity, but are to be understood as of conveniency. It is in your power to dispose and settle ; and beforehand we can have confidence that what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that were of old,—especially as this individual thing, the name or title,—according to the Parliament's appointment. Is not this so ? It is question not of necessity ; we have power to settle it as conveniency directs. Why, then, there will (with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to the other considerations you adduced ; otherwise, I say my mouth is stopped !

There are very many enforcements to carry on this thing. But I suppose it will have to stand on its expediency. Truly I should have

urged one consideration more which I forgot,—namely, the argument not of reason only, but of experience. It is a short one, but it is a true one, and is known to you all in the fact of it. That the supreme authority going by another name and under another title than that of King hath been, why, it hath been already twice complied with ! Twice : under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, and also since I exercised the place it hath been complied with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. Now this, on the part of both these authorities, was a beginning with the highest degree of magistracy at the first alteration ; and at a time when that Kingship was the name established ; and the new name, though it was the name of an invisible thing, the very name I say was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry on the justice of the nation. I remember very well my lords the judges were somewhat startled ; yet upon consideration,—if I mistake not,—I believe so,—they, there being among them as able and as learned as have sat there,—though they did, I confess, at first demur a little,—they did receive satisfaction, and did act, as I said before. And as for my own part, I profess I think I may say since the beginning of that change,—though I should be loath to speak anything vainly,—but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do not think there hath been a freer procedure of the laws, not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the “ Halcyon Days of Peace,” from the Twentieth of Elizabeth to King James’s and King Charles’s time. I do not think but the laws have proceeded with as much freedom and justice and with less of private solicitation since I came to the Government as they did in those years so named “ Halcyon.” I do not think, under favour, that the laws had a freer exercise, more uninterrupted by any hand of power, in those years than now ; or that the judge has been less solicited by letters or private interpositions either of my own or other men’s, in double so many years in all those times named “ of peace ! ” And if more of my lords the judges were here than now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat further. And, therefore, I say under favour : These two experiences do manifestly show that it is not a title, though never so interwoven with our laws, that makes the law to have its free passage and to do its office without interruption (as we venture to think it is now doing) ; and if a Parliament shall determine that another name run through the laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage as this of King ever did. Which is all I have to say upon that head.

I will now say something for myself. As for my own mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things. I have not hitherto clear direction, but as I have the Word

of God, and I hope shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my information and direction, so truly, if men have been led into dark paths through the providence and dispensations of God—why surely it is not to be objected to a man. For who can love to walk in the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, yet this must be at a man's own peril. The case may be that it is the providence of God that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say I have had a great deal of experience of providence; and though such experience is no rule without or against the Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in many cases.

Truly the providence of God hath laid aside this title of King providentially *de facto*: and that not by sudden humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by issue of ten or twelve years civil war, wherein much blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of it when it was done, nor need I tell you what my opinion is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. But if it be all disputable, and a man come to find that God in his severity hath not only eradicated a whole family, and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known to himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that to be the very eradication of a name or title—! Which *de facto* is the case. It was not done by me, nor by them that tendered me the Government I now act in; it was done by the Long Parliament,—that was it. And God hath seemed providential, not only in striking at the family, but at the name. And, as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out by an act of Parliament; it hath been kept out to this day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of abominable sins that should be in the latter times,—he doth further say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, he tells them they should “hate even the garments spotted with the flesh.”

I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argument to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with the persons and the family that he blasted the very title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, to reflect, and see this done, this title laid in the dust,—I confess I can come to no other conclusion. The like of this may make a strong impression upon such weak men as I am;—and perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which Providence hath destroyed and laid in the dust; I would not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. And I must confess, as the times are,—they are very fickle, very uncertain, nay, God knows you had need have a

great deal of faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look at settlement!—I would rather I were in my grave than hinder you in anything that may be for settlement of the Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! And therefore, out of the love and honour I bear you, I am forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do what is best for that;—and I am forever bound to acknowledge you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I would not have you lose any help that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I would willingly be a sacrifice, that there might be, so long as God shall please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and good understanding between all of you. And,—whatever any man may think,—it equally concerns one of us as another to go on to settlement: and where I meet with any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and freely I would have you lose nothing that may stand you in stead in this way. I would advise, if there be found any of a froward, unmannerly or womanish spirit,—I would not that you should lose them! I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who might help in this work; that any such should be offended by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a friend for it. If I could help you to many friends, and multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in regard to settlement! And therefore I would not that any, especially any of these who indeed, perhaps, are men that do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

I have now no more to say. The truth is, I did indicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told you what method I would speak to you in. I may say that I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to the safety of your proposals, as to its tendency to the effectual carrying on of this work. I say I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God Almighty that he would direct you to do what is according to his will. And this is that poor account I am able to give of myself in this thing.

LEONARD DARWIN

(1850-).

L EONARD DARWIN, Hon. Sc.D., Cambridge, the fourth son of the great Charles Darwin, was educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and entered the Royal Engineers in 1871, attaining the rank of Major in 1889. From 1877 to 1882 he was instructor at the School of Military Engineering, Chatham, and from 1885 to 1890 he was on the staff of the Intelligence Department of the War Office. He retired in 1890.

Major Darwin served on several scientific expeditions, including Transit of Venus of 1874 and 1882. From 1892 to 1895 he was M.P. for the Lichfield Division of Staffordshire. He was President of the Royal Geographical Society, 1908 to 1911, and from 1913 to 1920 Chairman of the Bedford College for Women, University of London. Throughout the War he was Chairman of the Professional Classes War Relief Council.

In 1911 he became President of the Eugenics Education Society.

THE AIMS OF EUGENICS

(Address to the Eugenics Education Society, 1921).

THE first words which I uttered as your President just ten years ago were that heredity should be our guiding star, and in that opinion I have never faltered. A good deal of progress has been made since that date, and now the man who calls himself well-educated is as a rule beginning to have some dim idea that all human beings are the product of two factors, heredity and environment, and that consequently to both of them some attention should be paid. Now if we only accept one of these factors, namely heredity, as the foundation on which all our operations ought to be built, yet we should as individuals most clearly emphasize the fact that all those who are striving to improve human surroundings have our warm sympathy. Of course eugenists cannot approve of such measures as would injure mankind as a whole, the future as well as the present being taken into account ; but, putting that possibility aside, we personally give our blessing to many reforms

which we do not help to promote. We see as clearly as anyone that the idea of producing a race with the best possible natural qualities would be futile if no thought were to be given to the surroundings of the individuals of that race when it did appear. If this Society confines its attention exclusively to heredity, it is only because so many other Societies think only of environment.

It is true that it may be sometimes necessary to indicate that the high hopes entertained by reformers are not justified by past experiences. It may be said with only a microscopic divergence from the truth that all reforms since civilization began have been based on attempts to improve human surroundings; and we may ask those who found their hopes for the future only on changes being made in environment to consider how much has thus been accomplished since history began. As to our highest moral ideals, is it not true that for the most part they have been promulgated in certain eastern countries ever since the dawn of civilization? How do we compare in intellect with the inhabitants of ancient Greece two thousand years ago? With a knowledge of the delights of country life, can we look on our slums with anything but shame? Do we not blush to talk of peace on earth and goodwill towards men whilst remembering what has happened during the last seven years? And, in view of all this, have we any right to assume that improvements of environment will do more for mankind during the next two thousand years than they have done since the days of Plato? Reformers who look only to surroundings should consider well the foundations on which their projects are based before pointing the finger of scorn at the believers in heredity. Eugenics has been called a dismal science, but it should rather be described as an untried policy. Eugenics indicates a new method of striving for human welfare which, if combined with an equal striving for improvements in human surroundings, more truly justifies a hopeful outlook than anything which has yet been tried in the whole history of the world. More hopeful, that is, if the roads to which our eugenic finger-post is pointing are not as studiously avoided in the future as they have been in the past.

The main eugenic signpost which we wish to erect should, in my opinion, have three arms on it, pointing to three main lines along which an advance should be pressed forward. In the first place the public should be made to realise more and more fully what a potent influence heredity has on the fate of all nations. In the second place efforts must be made to ascertain and to make known the rules by which each individual ought to strive to regulate his own conduct in regard to parenthood in accordance with the laws of heredity in so far as now surely known. Lastly the action which the state should take in order

to stimulate or to enforce conduct productive of racial progress, must be considered, a line of advance to be advocated, however, with great circumspection where compulsion is concerned. Then as to the method of endeavouring to move forward along these three main roads, this we should strive to do by means of our Review, by organising lectures to audiences of various types, by the submission of documents to various authorities, and in other ways. Our aim must be to attack along a wide front with the aid of many weapons.

The laws of natural inheritance supply a means of predicting in a measure the qualities of offspring when the qualities of their parents are known ; and if we accept heredity, not as our sole guide, but as a light ever to be held in view, we are in fact intending to rely to some extent on these laws of natural inheritance when attempting to forecast the results in the future of our actions of to-day. Genetics is the pure science which deals with heredity, and genetics is, therefore, the very foundation on which the superstructure of eugenics is being built. The students of genetics will, however, I am sure all agree that a vast amount of research is needed before they will be able to rest satisfied with the knowledge they have acquired, supposing it to be possible that such a state of contentment will ever be reached. Now it is impossible to conduct the needed breeding experiments on human beings, and genetic research must be largely concerned with the lower animals and with plants ; whilst eugenics is primarily concerned with man alone. Then again eugenics must include the study of many social and economic problems which lie quite outside the sphere of genetics. The pure science of genetics and the applied science of eugenics do, therefore, cover different fields, though the boundary between them is ill-defined and movable ; and in both fields further advances are urgently needed. For these reasons it seems to me—though here opinions may differ somewhat—that our main aim, whilst leaving geneticists to cultivate their own ground, should now be to formulate a sound eugenic policy based on existing genetic knowledge and then to promote the translation of every advance in eugenic theory into general practice. In this way we should be strengthening what is now the weakest link in the chain on which we have to rely in our efforts either to facilitate the adoption of reforms tending to promote racial progress or to widen the area over which such reforms may be justifiably extended.

As to the first of the suggested lines of advance, that is, as to getting into direct and immediate touch with the public with the hope of spreading abroad a general knowledge of the laws of natural inheritance, this knowledge should form the basis of all the arguments brought forward at public lectures on eugenics, that is, at lectures not forming part of any

extensive series. It is indeed in laying this foundation of scientific truth that speakers on such occasions encounter their greatest difficulties ; for many prejudices arising from ignorance have to be overcome. For example, those who do not acknowledge to themselves that men differ greatly from each other in their inborn qualities, cannot be made to realise the extreme importance of paying attention to heredity in regard to social questions ; and the acknowledgment that we do not start even in the race of life will be hindered by a disinclination which we all feel both to regard any human disabilities as being incurable and to own that other individuals may be greatly superior to ourselves. As to the facts on which the scientific theories of heredity are based, it is worse than useless to attempt to give them in detail at single lectures ; for lecturers should remember that on such occasions they cannot hope to do more than leave an enduring general impression on the minds of their audiences. Except in systematic courses of study, much must always be both stated and accepted on authority ; for fully to justify all the beliefs of eugenists would require months rather than days. " It is hardly possible," so my father declared, " within a moderate compass to impress on the minds of those who have not attended to the subject, the full conviction of the force of inheritance which is slowly acquired by rearing animals, by studying the many treatises which have been published on the various domestic animals, and by conversing with breeders." If this be so, the public can only learn how to give to natural inheritance its proper value by acquiring information at second hand ; and yet to make any statement acceptable to audiences, it must be in some degree endorsed by their own reasoning powers. It is on this account that allusion to the breeding of domestic animals becomes almost a necessity in public lectures on eugenics ; for the wisdom of attending to breed in the case of cattle and dogs is universally admitted. Great care should, however, always be taken to indicate that, though our experiences in the stockyard enable us better to understand the laws of natural inheritance, yet our reliance on these laws carries with it no implication whatever that the methods of the animal breeder ought to be introduced into human society. It should in fact be most strongly emphasized that nothing which we advocate is contrary to the highest religious ideals. This is, however, rather a digression ; for I am not here to instruct lecturers how to lecture. All that I now wish to insist on is that by means of lectures to audiences of all kinds the endeavour to spread abroad sound impressions concerning the force of natural heredity and the enormously important part which it plays in deciding the welfare and the destiny of nations, should form a prominent part of our programme.

The title selected for our Society by its founders was the Eugenics Education Society, and certainly they had excellent reasons for thus emphasising the educational aspects of the eugenic campaign which they were inaugurating in this country. There is no class of the community which it is more important to interest in racial problems than teachers of all grades ; because the ideas of the youth of to-morrow will depend so largely on the opinions of the teachers of to-day. But teachers must be taught before they can take a thoroughly intelligent interest in racial questions ; and for this reason it is of primary importance that biology should be given adequate recognition in the curricula of all training colleges. Complete success in this endeavour would not, however, nearly satisfy all our educational aspirations ; for to succeed finally in the first of our main aims, namely, the spreading abroad widely of a general knowledge of the laws of natural inheritance, natural science must be given a far more prominent place than at present in the courses of studies of all schools and colleges. No doubt, there are many who now regard our efforts with great distrust ; but those who feel thus should remember that the better and the more widespread the teaching of biology the more certain would it be that any eugenic errors would be detected and their harmful influence prevented. Again if we want progress in scientific research to be both rapid and on right lines, it is important that a considerable number of students should be thoroughly trained each year in genetics, or that more undergraduates should specialize in Natural Science at our Universities than at present. Eugenics has a long struggle before it, and we must never forget that all these efforts to lay educational foundations for future progress come well within the scope of our endeavours.

Passing on to the second of the main lines of advance to the consideration of which our efforts should be devoted, what we want to know is the rules which ought to guide each individual in deciding on his own voluntary actions in all matters relating to racial progress. The attempt to ascertain the precepts by means of which each one of us should strive to regulate his own conduct in questions connected with parenthood obviously involves the consideration of a number of ethical, racial and economic factors ; for in regard to any proposed line of conduct, we have to weigh in the balance as well as we can its moral effects, the benefits or injuries which it will confer or inflict on the race in the future, and the immediate material advantages or disadvantages to the family and to the State which are likely thus to arise. Even if these problems be approached in a calm and scientific spirit—and in this respect we should strive to set a much needed example—even then it will be exceedingly difficult in most cases now to arrive at precise

conclusions. We must not attempt in the present state of our knowledge to lay down rigid rules of conduct, but only to suggest general guiding principles ; though we may hope that with every advance of science it will be possible more and more clearly to indicate what each individual ought to do and what he ought to avoid. As an illustration of the difficulties involved in these problems, consider the case of a contemplated marriage when both families thus to be connected are characterised by some degree of ill health. Now it would only be persons endowed with high moral qualities who would be likely to obey any self-denying ordinance in regard to marriage and whose fertility would, therefore, thus be diminished. Might we not, by condemning marriage in such cases, tend to breed out the most valuable of all human attributes, namely the desire to do right ? If insanity were the family trouble in question, this being one of the most grievous of all human ailments, we now know that it is sometimes the result of disease and probably in such cases not heritable, whilst other types certainly do run in families. What are we to do in the face of such doubts and difficulties as these ? Are we to admit our incapacity to meet the situation ? Certainly not, for the history of scientific research clearly proves that what to-day appears like an impenetrable barrier to further progress will probably to-morrow be regarded rather as a useful stepping stone for a further advance. Doubtless we have difficulties ahead of us, which must be faced with patience ; but we should take note of these obstacles in our path mainly as emphasizing the need for a society where such guiding rules for voluntary conduct in relation to parenthood as are warranted by existing knowledge and by present needs will be wisely and temperately discussed.

A comparatively new subject like eugenics is apt to arouse prejudices and to give opportunities for misapprehension ; and it sometimes seems that what is now most needed in regard to voluntary actions is that we should make clear what it is not recommending. We have been accused of wishing to abolish love altogether as a guide to conduct ; but this is false. What we desire is rather to purify love, or to clear away all those harmful influences which so often attach themselves to it. Certain American investigations indicate that the ideals which naturally dwell in the minds of young people in regard to the qualities of the mates to whom they would wish to be connected in marriage are on the whole fairly sound, and that these promptings if followed would generally lead to unions beneficial to the race. But the desire for wealth, the wish to rise in the social scale, and some would add too great attention to personal appearances, often make the choice of a mate far worse than it would have been if these natural ideals had been given full sway. In

passing I must, however, put in a racial plea for good looks on the ground that they are apt to be associated with good health ; a plea which I hope does not spring from a mere masculine weakness on my part. Be that as it may, love is doubtless to a large extent aroused by advantageous moral and mental qualities ; and, in so far as that is the case, it forms the firmest foundation on which to base a eugenic policy.

Much can be done to help to lay this foundation by promoting suitable opportunities for the meeting of young men and maidens ; by judiciously encouraging intercourse between our children and worthy friends of the other sex, from amongst whom worthy mates are not unlikely to be selected ; by stimulating a pride of family in so far as dependent on character and performance ; and, above all, by fostering the growth of all that is noble in the ideals of the adolescent. Never make a close friend of a person one cannot respect is, I believe, not only a helpful rule of life, but also a useful way of setting an example to the rising generation. But here a possible racial danger must be noted ; for an injudicious pursuit of the policy here suggested might make the high-minded become self-righteous and therefore less likely to marry than their more ordinary companions, with obvious dysgenic consequences. Pure love between the sexes should be proclaimed as the noblest thing on earth, and the bearing and rearing of children as amongst the highest of all human duties. Some risks ought to be run in order to secure these joys and to fulfil these duties ; and Cupid may well remain a little blind to all minor defects. To promote these ways of regarding sexual problems, and to show how often the moralist unknown to himself is in effect striving to better the racial qualities of future generations, come well within the scope of our endeavours.

Though we have seen that as knowledge increases so the difficulties of deciding on rules of personal conduct will diminish, yet it is certain that these difficulties will ever remain very formidable. We may now boldly assert that when the heritable defects of many members of a family are very serious, those belonging to it should not become parents ; but how serious must these defects be before being regarded as a bar to parenthood ? It will never be possible to draw as sharp a line of demarcation as that between sheep and goats when marking off from the general population those in whom parenthood would be a moral offence. Because of this impossibility, it may come to be held that the size of the family should vary with the innate qualities of the parents ; but how is this relationship between fertility and transmissible characteristics to be determined ? Then again, many who take no thought concerning racial questions now hold strongly that it is wrong to bring a child into the world without a reasonable prospect of its being able to live a life

up to a certain standard of civilisation. But what should be the standard adopted? In large numbers of cases the cause which has prevented the winning of a 'standard' livelihood, however we may define that term, has been some inborn defect, or defect which would in a measure be passed on to the next generation. Teach those not living up to standard to regulate their conduct with due regard to the welfare of any children who may or may not be born in the future, and many would limit their families on this account, with the result that those harmful innate defects would appear less frequently in future generations. Is it not, therefore, of great importance that some attempt should be made to ascertain what standard of living does justify parenthood?

It is even more important that it should be widely felt that it is morally wrong to limit unduly the size of the family when parents are up to 'standard' in all respects; for it is essential for the welfare of mankind that the seed of this good stock should not be lost to posterity. We should, in my opinion, steadily keep in view the necessity of trying to solve all these intensely difficult problems; problems which need the joint consideration of the eugenicist, the geneticist, and the economist for their solution.

To whatever extent success may attend our efforts to lay down rules for personal conduct in regard to parenthood, to that extent we shall have succeeded in deciding on the direction in which we wish to advance in these matters. Such decisions will, however, prove to be but a very uncertain indication of the extent to which the State should endeavour to promote or to enforce obedience to these rules; this being the subject to which we must now turn our attention. By promoting uniformity of conditions and by checking individual initiative, the State may retard progress in certain directions; and, besides affecting those intended to be affected, government action nearly always produces on other persons various consequences which were unforeseen and which are never fully realized. Whatever may be our political opinions, we nearly all of us agree that these are dangers which must be taken into account when contemplating State control over the individual. These are, however, large issues which some will regard as lying outside the proper scope of eugenic considerations; whilst the point which I especially wish to emphasize in this connection is one definitely related to our action. We ought to be ready to encourage discussion on all proposals for relevant reforms, whilst we should be cautious in the present state of our knowledge in actually recommending governmental interference. If discussion be not bold, progress will be slow; for a nation cannot grope its way

quickly in the darkness of ignorance. If action be too bold, progress will also be slow ; for the wrong road will often be taken.

In matters of conduct we should balance the probability of good or evil arising from the action proposed to be taken, as against the magnitude of the good or evil if it does arise. The smaller the chances of failure, the smaller may be the benefits hoped to be attained. The probability of harm resulting from the mere discussion of any reform would usually be very small, even if that reform would be very harmful if adopted. On the other hand, the possibility of benefits arising from the discussion of reforms is almost equally obvious whether the proposed legislation would in fact be beneficial or harmful. To take a single example, there are strong differences of opinion as regards sterilization ; but all may hold that by open discussion true conclusions would most likely be reached. The advocates of sterilization of course wish to have this subject brought to the notice of the public ; whilst its opponents must admit that they will be more likely to promote than to retard its introduction by, as it were, burying their heads in the sand like the ostrich and by refusing to favour the creation of opportunities for openly stating their objections to it. It is indeed nearly true to say that every subject may be openly discussed with advantage provided the occasion be properly chosen.

Legislative reforms can seldom be effectively promoted or steadfastly maintained unless they are sanctioned by the general opinion of the citizens concerned ; and on somewhat similar grounds we must avoid taking corporate action in regard to legislation unless the proposal in question has our nearly unanimous approval. The neglect of such warnings may lead to the disappearance of governments or the disruption of societies. Where compulsion is not concerned, unanimity is more probable ; and your Council's action in agitating in favour of reforms in the methods of income tax assessment in order to promote fertility in a useful class of the community was, I believe, unanimously endorsed by you. In this instance we are justified in holding that that agitation produced definite and beneficial effects. No doubt the more legislation involves compulsory interference with the individual, the less ready will our members be to back it. But in regard to the Mental Deficiency Bill, by means of which the segregation of the feeble-in-mind was sanctioned, when we knew that our action in backing that measure would meet with approval, then our advocacy was pushed forward unhesitatingly. In regard to other reforms based on compulsion, it may not now be wise to act, our opinion not yet being ripe for it. Personally I should like to see practical steps advocated for lessening the fertility of habitual criminals, of hopeless wastrels, and of the grossly

unfit generally ; and others doubtless wish to advance in other directions. My object for the moment is not, however, to attempt to survey all the roads by which advances may be made in future, but to consider what should be the broad principles of strategy which should guide us in the long fight before us in our attempts to promote racial progress.

Eugenics aims at increasing the rate of multiplication of stocks above the average in heritable qualities, and at decreasing that rate in the case of stocks below the average. But if the banner under which we are to fight is only to have inscribed on it some such arid definition of policy as this, our defeat will be certain. We can show that our aims have nothing sordid in them ; for certainly we put moral qualities first, mental qualities second, and physical qualities last of all in the order of importance. What we are striving to do is to inspire every citizen with a keen sense of racial responsibility so that all his actions shall be powerfully affected by it, and in this and in other ways there are innumerable opportunities of now improving the lot of future generations. We must also let it be known how the eugenic ideal sprang into activity in recent years when science began to teach us that man has been slowly evolved from some ape-like progenitor, and when it thus endowed us with the hope that this upward march of mankind might be continued for long in the future. But science when giving us good grounds for hope, also issued a grave warning concerning the danger of national deterioration resulting from the unchecked multiplication of inferior types. A determination that a downfall from this cause shall not be the fate of our nation if we can help it must be a sentiment felt by all who are guided by the eugenic ideal. And the eugenic ideal is indeed a most noble ideal, for it aims at the improvement of the welfare of mankind in all the vast ages yet to come.

MARRIAGE

IN a recent issue of the *Eugenics Review* I discussed the question of mate selection, but no mention was there made of the legal precautions which should surround the marriage contract. Since then the question of State certificates of marriage has been raised by Dr. R. A. Gibbons, with the result that I have thought it desirable to endeavour to crystallise my own opinions on these topics.

The following tentative notes are here published mainly in the hope that they will bring forth comments and criticisms from various quarters. Though all the points at issue are regarded merely from the eugenic point of view, in attempting to forecast the advantages and

disadvantages likely to result from any proposed reform, the immediate effects should in fact always receive full consideration. In regard to checks on marriage, it must never be forgotten that marriage is natural, that marriage makes for happiness, and that bars to marriage encourage immorality.

Here, then, are strong arguments in favour of great caution being exercised in introducing any changes in the laws or customs affecting marriage. But against this plea for caution it must be remembered that any legislation which tended to delay or diminish marriages amongst the inferior types to a greater extent than amongst the superior types would in the long run be beneficial to the race. We are here dealing with a difficult balancing of good and evil effects.

In regard to the feeble-in-mind and the insane, it is now generally agreed that they ought not to become parents; and as regards those who have been duly certified as belonging to either of these categories it seems, therefore, rational that in their case marriage should be legally prohibited. I have in consequence elsewhere suggested that the Mental Deficiency Act should be amended so as to make it a misdemeanour knowingly to marry or to promote or connive at the marriage of a person certified as being mentally defective; and similar provisions should be made applicable to those certified as being insane. Here we should be dealing with persons already selected under carefully safeguarded legal provisions, which are designed to prevent those who are not definitely mentally defective or insane from ever being certified. These suggested amendments to the existing laws would no doubt be effective in very few cases, and they would be chiefly beneficial from their educative influence.

There are other classes of persons who ought not to become parents, but in whose case the legal enforcement of provisions preventing marriage would be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. That the tuberculous, the epileptic and the habitual criminal should have no offspring is a general proposal which will receive wide approval, but when we come to look into details, we find that in each case we should be dealing with a class so difficult to define accurately that the fact of a person being described as belonging to it could not well be made the basis of legal decisions. In Sweden the marriage of epileptics has been for long forbidden by law, but I believe that few if any cases have actually come before the law courts in consequence of this enactment. Epilepsy is a term which covers a wide diversity of ailments, some of them being of so mild a nature as to be detected with difficulty; and it is probably this fact which has made this Swedish legislation inoperative. Somewhat the same difficulties would be felt in making tubercular

diseases a bar to marriage, for if all those who are infected with the microbe in question were to be classed as tuberculous, immense numbers when young would be included in this category. The declaration that the tuberculous should not marry is intended only to apply to those persons in whom the disease is in an active and progressive stage, and to decide when this is the case is not always an easy matter. Then again there are cases where persons affected by these ailments, or who have been insane, might rightly marry provided that no children were to be forthcoming ; and to make marriage legal and parenthood illegal would place a severe strain on the skill of the parliamentary draughtsman. Then as to the man who constantly commits small offences against the law, it would be most desirable that he should not marry, but as marriage in his case might be a stepping stone to better things, it is doubtful if public opinion would ever allow it to be actually prohibited. The marriage of neither the tuberculous, nor the epileptic, nor the habitual criminal, can now, it is feared, be legally prohibited.

In order to overcome some of the above-mentioned difficulties, it has often been proposed that the deposit of a medical certificate should be a necessary preliminary to the issue of a marriage licence ; but even this proposal is open to various objections. It is with regard to venereal diseases that this suggestion has most often been made, and in this connection it is no doubt worthy of careful consideration. The points at issue concerning these diseases will not, however, here be discussed in detail, both because I am not an expert, and because I prefer to limit the scope of my observations to such effects on future generations as are due to natural inheritance and not to infection. I will content myself with remarking that, as far as I am able to judge, the detection of the presence of gonorrhœal infection is surrounded with so much doubt and difficulty that it could not be made the basis of any legal prohibition or penalty.

The strongest objection to making it necessary to obtain a medical certificate as a pre-requisite to marriage is, however, in my opinion, that it would place too much power in the hands of the medical profession. In the case of insanity or mental defect, the certificate permitting a person to be confined can no doubt be signed by two medical men, if endorsed by a magistrate ; and in any case equal precautions would be necessary as regards the issue of marriage certificates. The decisions in regard to insanity are frequently revised, and in the same way, after the necessary licence had been refused, another application might be permitted after a few months' interval. But a first failure to obtain a licence would in many cases break off an engagement ; it would often be an irremediable injury to the party concerned ; and a

corresponding responsibility would be thrown on the medical man who had refused to sign the certificate. Then as regards tuberculosis, epilepsy, insanity, and other diseases, all the difficulties mentioned above in reference to where the line should be drawn when deciding whether to sign a clean certificate of health would be felt to the full by the medical man on whom this duty fell. Lastly, a marriage might often be justifiable after the woman in question had passed the period of child-birth, even if objectionable when progeny might be forthcoming, and the decision as to when parenthood had become an impossibility would often raise great difficulties. We must here again, I think, come to the conclusion that no actual legal prohibition could be based upon such doubtful foundations.

In promoting eugenic reforms it would often be best to try to link them up with reforms which, by producing immediate benefits, would be more likely to attract the attention of the public. No couple should be tied together until separated by death or divorce unless each is acquainted with certain facts concerning the other, and further legal safeguards might well be introduced to prevent anyone from marrying a lunatic, a criminal or a habitual drunkard in ignorance of what they were doing. With this object in view, and also to reap certain obvious concurrent racial advantages, the following proposals are suggested for consideration: Each party should be obliged before the issue of a marriage licence to sign a certificate in a prescribed form, and this certificate should be handed to the other party by the authority some time before issuing the licence. This certificate should contain a declaration of belief that he or she is not suffering from certain non-contagious diseases or certain contagious diseases in a form which might injure the other party or the children of the proposed union, the diseases in question including: (1) insanity, (2) epilepsy, (3) venereal diseases, (4) tuberculosis, and possibly others, being set forth in the printed form of certificate. The certificate should also include a declaration that he had never been confined in prison, lunatic asylum, or home for inebriates, or had been certified either as a lunatic or as a mentally defective person, or had been convicted of any offence or previously married or divorced. When any such statement could not be truthfully made, full particulars should be given of the facts which made this impossible. The name and address of a doctor who had been consulted should be stated, with a definite request to that doctor to answer any inquiries made by the other party, or by his or her parents or guardians. A knowingly false declaration, with intention to deceive, should be punished with imprisonment of specified length and without option of fine; and it should moreover, generally speaking, be made a sufficient

ground for the annulment of the marriage. By means of such an enactment, considerable immediate and racial advantages would be obtained.

In certain countries the relationship, if any, existing between the parties has to be declared before marriage ; but if consanguineous unions are, as I hold, more likely to benefit than to injure the race, this precaution would have no advantages from the purely racial point of view. In fact it might be injurious in spreading false beliefs as to the evil effects of cousin marriages. There are, in fact, no reasons known to me which make it desirable that the English laws in regard to this point should be altered and the same applies to those regulations affecting the age at marriage.

It has been suggested that, in the absence of any such suggested system of certificates, it would be well that a demand should be made by the women's relatives that the man should insure his life, for in this way it would be made necessary for him to obtain a medical certificate. On consideration it appears, however, that though the woman might be in some degree thus safeguarded, the racial effects would be, to say the least, of doubtful value. Trouble would certainly arise with reference to the value of the insurance, with the result that more marriages would thus be hindered amongst the prudent than amongst the imprudent. The benefit, if any, would consist in separating the prudent from the imprudent stocks.

Even if all the safeguards above suggested as desirable were to be introduced, the number of marriages thus frustrated would be very small in proportion to the whole population, and any measures intended to prevent racial deterioration must be more widespread in their scope in order to produce material results. If precaution could be introduced placing a check on rash and ill-considered marriages amongst all classes of the community, the racial results might be very beneficial, the reason being that it is only rash and foolish people who attempt to enter into such unions, and that their rashness and folly are qualities which are transmissible to their offspring. No doubt this argument is too subtle to attract public attention, and here any reform dealing with this question would have to be advocated mainly on the ground that marriages without forethought often result in unhappy unions. With these objects in view the following suggestions seem to be worthy of consideration : Both parties should be made to produce birth certificates before the issue of the marriage licence ; and if the man was, let us say, under 23 years of age and the woman under 21, they should be made to state the names and addresses of their parents or guardians, to whom a notice of the proposed marriage should be sent in good time by the proper

authority. It has also been suggested that the proposed marriage should be advertised in the newspapers in advance at the public expense, on the ground that anything that makes for publicity would be advantageous. But here again the doubt cannot but arise as to whether such precautions would not on the whole reduce parenthood more amongst the desirable than amongst the undesirable stocks.

If destitution is in any degree correlated with inferior hereditary qualities, nothing would be more desirable from the racial point of view than the absolute prohibition of marriage when the income earned by the man would not be sufficient to keep a family in decency. It may, therefore, plausibly be suggested that if any certificate were demanded from the man before marriage, it should contain a statement in regard to his income. But such a provision would be most likely to be operative in enabling prudent parents to prevent their daughter from marrying a less prudent partner. Would that be a beneficial effect as far as the race is concerned? Does not the answer depend on which of the two would, in consequence of this interference with their designs, be prevented for the longer period from obtaining another mate? If the prudent daughter remained for long unmarried, whilst the less prudent man soon obtained a partner who was not so careful about his future prospects, would not the net results on the race be definitely dysgenic? What would be desirable is that marriage should be absolutely prohibited when the income of the bread winner is below a certain figure; but even though the eugenist may point triumphantly to the fact that the young Zulu had to prove that he had killed his man before he could take unto himself a wife, doubts must yet be felt whether in this more civilised age any effective arrangements could now be made which would serve as a bar to marriage to those who seem unlikely to make a suitable head of a household.

Here an obvious objection may be raised in certain quarters on the ground that to stop marriage does not stop procreation. It would, however, somewhat lessen undesirable procreation; and to prove that benefits will be small is no argument against trying to obtain them. Another objection likely to be raised against the foregoing proposals is that they would result in the birth of an increased number of illegitimate children, because the consequent delays in the marriage ceremony would often result either in it not taking place at all, or in the birth taking place before the ceremony. If we calmly recall the subsequent history of those whom we have seen forced into marriage because of the expected appearance of a child, we must have grave doubts as to the moral or other advantages likely to result from such a course; that is to say, as to whether the appearance of an illegitimate child

would not have really been preferable. Enforced marriages not infrequently lead to divorce, and sometimes result in the man becoming the legal father of a child not his own ; and certainly where all affection between husband and wife is absent, misery is likely to be present. The remarks only apply to enforced marriages ; for if prospective parents wish to get married they will seldom be prevented from doing so. Then as to a child appearing before the marriage ceremony rather than soon after it has taken place, the child will according to recent legislation be legitimate. But here again let anyone consider what he would now feel if he discovered that either he was illegitimate, or that he had been illegitimate for some time after birth, or that he was born a month or two after his parents' marriage ; for these are the only alternatives when parenthood is the result of intercourse before marriage. To a person with right moral feeling, would the difference between these alternatives appear very material ? To be illegitimate may entail some disagreeable consequences, but we thus see that a delay in the marriage ceremony, though objectionable, would not be materially damaging. At all events legislation should, broadly speaking, be enacted with the object of promoting the morality of the public in general and in the interests of the moral rather than of those who have proved themselves to be immoral. The sentimental desire to avoid suffering by whitewashing immorality is one with which I have no sympathy, and if a certain number of permanently or temporarily illegitimate children would be born in consequence of any legislation beneficial to the race, that fact should not deter us from advocating such measures. The question to which our attention should be mainly directed in regard to any reform is as to whether it would in truth tend to raise the moral and material welfare of the whole nation.

Our conclusions may be summarized as follows : Though caution is certainly needed in introducing reforms affecting marriage rights, yet many steps in this direction might now usefully be taken. The marriage of certified insane and mentally defective persons should be prohibited. As a preliminary to the issue of a marriage licence, certificates should be exchanged between the parties of such a nature as best to insure that the ceremony should not be performed whilst one party remained in ignorance of the defects of the other, false declarations being severely punished, and in some cases permitting the annulment of the marriage. The numbers of intended marriages abandoned in consequence of such precautions being adopted would be small, and more useful racial results would be produced by greater publicity being given to intended marriages, and by parents being given reasonable opportunities of bringing pressure to bear on their

children when young marriages are contemplated, the object being to place impediments in the way of the marriage of rash and foolish persons. All impediments to marriage which are less likely to be operative amongst the destitute and the imprudent than amongst the better types would have certain dysgenic effects on the nation as a whole, these impediments including a man being made to insure his life or declare his income before marriage. They would, however, tend to differentiate the less fit from the more fit stocks, and they would, therefore, be beneficial if combined with drastic measures calculated to keep down the rate of multiplication of the inferior types.

RAYMOND DESEZE

(1748-1828).

RAYMOND DESEZE (who after the Bourbon Restoration was known as Raymond, Count de Seze) has been greatly admired for his boldness in defending Louis XVI. before the Convention of 1792-93, which condemned and ordered him to the scaffold. The peroration of his speech on behalf of Louis represents the whole so fully, and is so fully characteristic of the speaker, that the reader will have no great difficulty in deciding the extent to which Deseze impressed the Terrorists around him as an uncompromising and dangerous opponent of their methods. He was born in Bordeaux in 1748. Practising at the Paris bar, he had already become celebrated as an advocate when Malesherbes asked him to undertake the King's defence before the Convention. The result was a foregone conclusion and it might be unjust to expect from Deseze a more burning zeal than he shows for the interests of his royal client. He does show dignified and manly adherence as a lawyer to the cause of a client who had no other friend, and that is much. After the Restoration, he was rewarded for the speech by being made President of the Court of Cassation and a peer of France. He died in 1828. Napoleon once denounced him as an English agent. This is said to be unjust ; and even if it were true, it would not be a reproach to a Royalist attempting to restore the Bourbons through the influence of their foreign allies.

DEFENDING LOUIS XVI.

(Delivered in the French Convention, December 12th, 1792).

THAT moment is at length arrived when Louis, accused in the name of the French people, appears, surrounded by his own council, in order to exhibit his conduct to the eyes of mankind. A celebrated republican hath said that the calamities of kings always inspire the minds of those men with sympathy and tenderness who have lived under a monarchical form of government. If this maxim be true, who can invoke it with more justice than Louis, whose misfortunes are unbounded,

and whose losses and calamities cannot be calculated ? You have called him to your bar, and he appears before you with calmness and with dignity, fortified in the consciousness of his own innocence and in the goodness of his intentions. These are testimonies which must console, these are testimonies of which it is impossible to bereave him. He can only declare to you his innocence ; I appear here in order to demonstrate it ; and I shall adduce the proofs before that very people in whose name he is now accused.

The present silence demonstrates to me that the day of justice has at length succeeded to the days of prejudice. The misfortunes of kings have something in them infinitely more affecting than those of private men ; and he who formerly occupied the most brilliant throne in the universe ought to excite a still more powerful interest on his behalf.

I wish that I now spoke before the whole nation ; but it will be sufficient to address myself to its representatives. Louis well knows that the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon this prosecution ; but his mind is entirely occupied with France. He is sure that posterity will carefully collect and examine the charges and proofs adduced against him, but he thinks only of his contemporaries ; and it is the first wish of his heart to undeceive them. If I were only addressing myself at this moment to his judges, I should say : " Royalty is abolished, and you cannot now pronounce any other sentence against him " ; but I am speaking to the people. I shall therefore examine the situation of Louis previous to the abolition of royalty and the situation of Louis at its abolition.

Nations are sovereigns ; they are at liberty to assume any species of government that appears most agreeable to themselves. After having recognized and discovered the badness of their ancient form, they may enact for themselves a new one ; this is a position which one of the council of Louis procured the insertion of in the constitutional code. But the whole nation cannot exercise the sovereignty ; it is necessary, therefore, that it should delegate the exercise of it.

In 1789 the people of France demanded a monarchical form of government ; now a monarchical government requires the inviolability of the chief, and this inviolability was established, not on behalf of the king, but of the nation.

Much has been said on this subject. Some have pretended that it is not a synallagmatic contract, but a delegation. It is, however, a contract until it is revoked ; but let it be called a mandate if you please ! Let it be recollected, however, that the mandatory is not obliged to submit to any other conditions, or any other penalties, than those expressed in the letter of the compact. I open the book of the Constitution, and in the second chapter, which has by way of title " Royalty,"

I there find that the king is inviolable ; there is not any exception in, nor any modification of, this article, but certain circumstances may occur, when the first public functionary may cease to enjoy this character of inviolability. The following is the first instance.

ART. V. " If the king shall not take the oath, or, after having taken it, he retract, he shall be considered as having abdicated the royalty."

The nation here hath foreseen a crime and enacted a forfeiture, but there is not a single word to be found concerning either trial or judgment. However, as, without retracting an oath, a king might betray and favour criminal and hostile principles against the State, the nation hath been aware of this, and the Constitution hath provided against it.

ART. VI. " If the king place himself at the head of an army and direct the forces against the nation, or if he doth not oppose himself, by a formal act, to any enterprise of this kind made in his name, he shall be considered as having abdicated the throne."

I beseech you to reflect on the heinous nature of this offence ; there cannot be a more criminal one. It supposes all the machinations, all the perfidies, all the treasons, all the horrors, all the calamities of bloody civil war ; and yet what does the constitution pronounce ? The presumption of having abdicated the throne !

ART. VII. " If the king, having left the kingdom, shall not return immediately after an invitation made to him by the legislative body, then, etc."

What does the Constitution pronounce upon this occasion ? The presumption of having abdicated the throne.

ART. VIII. says, " that after an abdication, either express or implied, the king shall then be tried in the same manner as all other citizens, for such crimes as he may commit after his abdication."

Louis is accused of sundry offences. He is accused in the name of the nation. Now, either these offences have been foreseen by the constitutional act, and then the corresponding punishment is to be applied to them, or they have not ; and if so, it follows that no punishment can follow from their commission. But I say that the most atrocious of all possible offences hath been foreseen—that of a cruel war against the nation ; and this surely includes all inferior crimes, and consequently points out the extent of all constitutional punishment.

I know that royalty being now abolished, deprivation cannot at present be applied. But has not Louis a right to exclaim : " What ! will you, because you have abolished royalty, inflict a punishment on me, not mentioned in the constitutional code ? Because no existing law can punish me, will you create one expressly on purpose ? You possess every degree of power, it is true, but there is one species which you dare not execute, that of being unjust."

It has been said that Louis ought to be condemned as an enemy, but is he a greater enemy than if he had put himself at the head of an army in order to act against the nation ? And you all know that in such a case, he could not have incurred more than a forfeiture of the crown ! But if you take away from Louis the prerogative of being inviolable as a king, you cannot deprive him of the right of being tried as a citizen. And I here demand of you, where are those propitiatory forms of justice ? Where are those juries which are so many hostages, as it were, for the lives and honour of citizens ? Where is that proportion of suffrages which the law has so wisely required ? Where is that silent scrutiny which in the same urn incloses the opinion and the conscience of the judge ?

I now speak with the frankness becoming a freeman ; it is in vain that I look around and search among you for judges—I can see none but accusers. You wish to pronounce upon the fate of Louis, and yet you have accused him. Will you decide his doom after having already expressed your opinion on his conduct ?

CAMILLE DESMOULINS

(1760-1794).

WHEN the ill-fated Louis XVI. dismissed Necker, Camille Desmoulins, hearing the news in a café in the Palais Royal, leaped on a table, defied the police, and with a pistol in each hand, made a speech which precipitated the actual Revolution. He called the people to arms, declaring that the action of the King was "the tocsin for the Bartholomew of the patriots." From that time until he was executed with the Dantonists in April, 1794, Desmoulins was one of the great forces of the Revolution. He was born at Guise, in Picardy, March 2nd, 1760. His father, who was Lieutenant-General of the Bailiwick of Guise, educated him carefully, and Camille acquired a familiarity with the classics which, as editor of the *Vieux Cordelier*, he made use of to show the advantage of republics over monarchies, of democracies over aristocracies. He stammered so painfully that, as a rule, his great eloquence found vent only at the point of his pen. His street speeches were made only when he was transported out of himself by excitement, and only scraps of them are reported. It is said that in his great speech of July 12th, 1789, on the dismissal of Necker, the stammering habit which usually kept him silent in public assemblages, lost its hold on him, and that he spoke with the utmost fluency. The extract, "Live Free or Die," translated from the *Vieux Cordelier*, is characteristic both of his style and of his habit of thought. He is always classical. It was through too frequent illustrations from Tacitus that he aroused the anger of Robespierre, which sent him to the guillotine.

LIVE FREE OR DIE

ONE difference between the monarchy and the republic, which alone should suffice to make the people reject with horror all monarchical rule and make them prefer the republic regardless of the cost of its establishment, is that in a democracy, though the people may be deceived yet, at least, they love virtue. It is merit that they believe they put in power in place of the rascals who are the very essence

of monarchies. The vices, the concealments, and the crimes which are the diseases of republics are the very health and existence of monarchies. Cardinal Richelieu avowed openly in his political principles, that "the King should always avoid using the talents of thoroughly honest men." Long before him Sallust said: "Kings cannot get along without rascals. On the contrary, they should fear to trust the honest and the upright."

It is, therefore, only under a democracy that the good citizen can reasonably hope to see a cessation of the triumphs of intrigue and crime; and to this end the people need only to be enlightened.

There is yet this difference between a monarchy and the republic; the reigns of Tiberius, of Claudius, of Nero, of Caligula, of Domitian, had happy beginnings. In fact, all reigns make a joyous entry, but only as a delusion. Therefore the Royalists laugh at the present state of France as if its violent and terrible entry under the republic must always last.

Everything gives umbrage to a tyrant. If a citizen have popularity, he is becoming a rival to the prince. Consequently, he is stirring up civil strife, and is a suspect. If, on the contrary, he flee popularity and seclude himself in the corner of his own fireside, this retired life makes him remarked, and he is a suspect. If he is a rich man, there is an imminent peril that he corrupt the people with his largesses, and he is a suspect. Are you poor? How then! Invincible emperors, this man must be closely watched; no one so enterprising as he who has nothing. He is a suspect! Are you in character sombre, melancholy, or neglectful? You are afflicted by the condition of public affairs, and are a suspect.

If, on the contrary, the citizen enjoy himself and have resultant indigestion, he is only seeking diversion because his ruler has had an attack of gout, which made his Majesty realize his age. Therefore he is a suspect. Is he virtuous and austere in his habits? Ah! he is a new Brutus with his Jacobin severity, censuring the amiable and well-groomed court. He is a suspect. If he be a philosopher, an orator, or a poet, it will serve him ill to be of greater renown than those who govern, for can it be permitted to pay more attention to the author living on a fourth floor than to the emperor in his gilded palace. He is a suspect.

Has one made a reputation as a warrior—he is but the more dangerous by reason of his talent. There are many resources with an inefficient general. If he is a traitor he cannot so quickly deliver his

army to the enemy. But an officer of merit like an Agricola—if he be disloyal, not one can be saved. Therefore, all such had better be removed and promptly placed at a distance from the army. Yes, he is a suspect.

Tacitus tells us that there was anciently in Rome a law specifying the crimes of “Lèse-Majesté.” That crime carried with it the punishment of death. Under the Roman Republic treasons were reduced to but four kinds, viz., abandoning an army in the country of an enemy; exciting sedition; the maladministration of the public treasury; and the impairment by inefficiency of the majesty of the Roman people. But the Roman Emperors needed more clauses, that they could place cities and citizens under proscription.

Augustus was the first to extend the list of offences that were “Lèse-Majesté” or revolutionary, and under his successors the extensions were made until none were exempt. The slightest action was a State offence. A simple look, sadness, compassion, a sigh, even silence was “Lèse-Majesté” and disloyalty to the monarch. One must needs show joy at the execution of their parent or friend lest they would perish themselves. Citizens, liberty must be a great benefit, since Cato disembowelled himself rather than have a king. And what king can we compare in greatness and heroism to the Cæsar whose rule Cato would not endure? Rousseau truly says: “There is in liberty as in innocence and virtue a satisfaction one only feels in their enjoyment and a pleasure which can cease only when they are lost.”

CHARLES DICKENS

(1812-1870).

CHARLES DICKENS was born at Landport, near Portsmouth, where his father was employed as a clerk in the Navy Pay Office. Lombroso pointed out that genius frequently occurs among the eldest or youngest of large families; and Dickens was the eldest son of a family of eight. The hardships and mortifications of his early years, his neglected education, and his distasteful drudgery in the blacking factory, are all to be found in that veiled autobiography called "David Copperfield." In this same immortal work is to be found portrayed his father, who unconsciously sat for the portrait of that super-optimist, "Mr. Micawber." The boy was very lonely and very neglected, but, as he himself tells us in his "Uncommercial Traveller," he found much time for reading and had access to the novels of Fielding, Smollett, and Defoe.

The family finances steadily growing worse, they lived, after two or three changes of residence, in a poor part of Camden Town. Here the boy became familiar with a sordid round of debts and duns that culminated in the incarceration of the elder Dickens in the famous Marshalsea Debtors Prison. In this dismal place the whole family afterwards joined him, and the sights and sounds impressed on the mind of the young genius at this period can be found in those chapters of "Little Dorrit" that depict Mr. Dorrit as a prisoner for debt in the Marshalsea. Happily, this total eclipse of the family fortunes passed over, and after a time the creditors were pacified, and the finances even allowed Charles to be sent to school for two years, which was practically all the official schooling he ever had.

His education being now considered as finished, Dickens became a lawyer's clerk; and here, undoubtedly, he stored up that "extensive and peculiar" knowledge of lawyers and their hangers-on that form such a marked characteristic of his novels. Such a novel as "Bleak House," for instance, founded on the famous Jarndyce and Jarndyce Chancery case shows his intimacy with all sorts and conditions of legal folk; and this occurs in a lesser degree in many of the other novels. Whilst working in the lawyer's office during the day, Dickens studied shorthand in the evenings; and how he tamed this "savage stenographic mystery" is set forth in his own inimitable manner in the pages of

“David Copperfield.” Becoming an expert stenographer, he obtained a post as reporter in the “gallery” of the House of Commons, first for the “Sun” and afterwards for the “Daily Chronicle.” During this time he wrote those sketches of London Life, afterwards reprinted as “Sketches by Boz.”

1837 marked a decisive epoch in the career of the novelist, for in that year was commenced the new Odyssey—the famous “Pickwick Papers,” which took England by storm.

Thence forward, Dickens’ career was a progress from triumph to triumph, great novels following each other in a regular succession. “Oliver Twist” appeared simultaneously with the “Pickwick Papers” (1837-39). “Nicholas Nickleby,” containing the portrait of Mr. Squeers, came out like all the rest in serial form during 1838-39. The “Old Curiosity Shop” came next, and then that fine historical novel dealing with the ‘No Popery’ Gordon Riots, “Barnaby Rudge.” “Martin Chuzzlewit” appeared in 1843, but its caustic criticism of some sides of American life and character was greatly resented in the United States. In 1843, Dickens devised a new kind of classic when he began the series of “Christmas Books,” with the inimitable “Christmas Carol.” The others of the series are “The Chimes,” “The Cricket on the Hearth,” “The Battle of Life,” and “The Haunted Man.”

The succession of great novels was continued by “Dombey and Son,” published in 1848, and “David Copperfield,” which came as a fitting crown for the whole series, appeared in 1850. The unexhausted fertility of his brain continued to manifest itself in the production of “Bleak House,” 1853, “Hard Times,” 1854, “Little Dorrit,” 1857. The year after the completion of the last-named novel saw him begin the public readings from his works, which, though successful from a monetary point of view, broke down his constitution and hastened his death. The books written in the last few years were issued as follows: “A Tale of Two Cities,” 1859, “Great Expectations,” 1861, and the last complete novel, “Our Mutual Friend,” 1865. At the end of 1867, Dickens re-visited America for six months to give a series of readings. He gained some £20,000 but inflicted a deadly strain upon a highly strung temperament. Two years later, he died at Gadshill (June 9th, 1870), from an apoplectic fit; leaving “Edwin Drood” half told.

The great work accomplished by Dickens in the sphere of social reform can be merely glanced at here. Suffice it to say, that he attacked and demolished in turn, a series of glaring evils and abuses that had grown up round such institutions as the administration of the old Poor Law with its Bumbles (“Oliver Twist”); the starvation and neglect of boys in Yorkshire boarding schools of the type kept by Mr. Squeers

("Nicholas Nickleby"); and the exposure of the selfish and grasping economists, who, like Mr. Gradgrind in "Hard Times," consider their "hands" merely as flesh and blood machines. The fate of the poor debtor inspired "Little Dorrit"; and the law's delays are scourged in "Bleak House."

In the popular mind, Dickens is perhaps best remembered by the love and jollity that breathes from the "Christmas Stories." Dickens and our modern conception of Christmas are inseparable. The "Christmas Carol" breathes the very spirit of that season when bonds of affection are strengthened and old grievances forgotten, and when all are ready to echo the words of Tiny Tim—"God bless us every one."

INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

(This Address was delivered at a Soiree of the Members of the Manchester Athenæum, October 5th, 1843, at which Dickens presided. Among the other speakers on the occasion were Cobden and Disraeli).

I AM sure I need scarcely tell you that I am very proud and happy; and that I take it as a great distinction to be asked to come amongst you on an occasion such as this, when, even with the brilliant and beautiful spectacle which I see before me, I can hail it as the most brilliant and beautiful circumstance of all, that we assemble together here, even here, upon neutral ground, where we have no more knowledge of party difficulties, or public animosities between side and side, or between man and man, than if we were a public meeting in the commonwealth of Utopia.

Ladies and gentlemen, upon this, and upon a hundred other grounds, this assembly is not less interesting to me, believe me—although, personally, almost a stranger here—than it is interesting to you; and I take it, that it is not of greater importance to all of us than it is to every man who has learned to know that he has an interest in the moral and social elevation, the harmless relaxation, the peace, happiness, and improvement, of the community at large. Not even those who saw the first foundation of your Athenæum laid, and watched its progress, as I know they did, almost as tenderly as if it were the progress of a living creature, until it reared its beautiful front, an honour to the town—not even they, nor even you who, within its walls, have tasted its usefulness, and put it to the proof, have greater reason, I am persuaded, to exult in its establishment, or to hope that it may thrive and prosper, than scores of thousands at a distance, who—whether consciously or unconsciously, matters not—have, in the principle of its success and bright example, a deep and personal concern.

It well becomes, particularly well becomes, this enterprising town, this little world of labour, that she should stand out foremost in the foremost rank in such a cause. It well becomes her, that, among her numerous and noble public institutions, she should have a splendid temple sacred to the education and improvement of a large class of those who, in their various useful stations, assist in the production of our wealth, and in rendering her name famous through the world. I think it is grand to know, that, while her factories re-echo with the clanking of stupendous engines, and the whirl and rattle of machinery, the immortal mechanism of God's own hand, the mind, is not forgotten in the din and uproar, but is lodged and tended in a palace of its own. That it is a structure deeply fixed and rooted in the public spirit of this place, and built to last, I have no more doubt, judging from the spectacle I see before me, and from what I know of its brief history, than I have of the reality of these walls that hem us in, and the pillars that spring up about us.

You are perfectly well aware, I have no doubt, that the Athenæum was projected at a time when commerce was in a vigorous and flourishing condition, and when those classes of society to which it particularly addresses itself were fully employed, and in the receipt of regular incomes. A season of depression almost without a parallel ensued, and large numbers of young men employed in warehouses and offices suddenly found their occupation gone, and themselves reduced to very straitened and penurious circumstances. This altered state of things led, as I am told, to the compulsory withdrawal of many of the members, to a proportionate decrease in the expected funds, and to the incurrence of a debt of £3,000. By the very great zeal and energy of all concerned, and by the liberality of those to whom they applied for help, that debt is now in rapid course of being discharged. A little more of the same indefatigable exertion on the one hand, and a little more of the same community of feeling upon the other, and there will be no such thing; the figures will be blotted out for good and all, and, from that time, the Athenæum may be said to belong to you, and to your heirs for ever.

But, ladies and gentlemen, at all times, now in its most thriving, and in its least flourishing condition—here, with its cheerful rooms, its pleasant and instructive lectures, its improving library of 6,000 volumes, its classes for the study of the foreign languages, elocution, music; its opportunities of discussion and debate, of healthful bodily exercise, and, though last not least—for by this I set great store, as a very novel and excellent provision—its opportunities of blameless, rational enjoyment, here it is, open to every youth and man in this great town, accessible to every bee in this vast hive, who, for all these benefits,

and the inestimable ends to which they lead, can set aside one sixpence weekly. I do look upon the reduction of the subscription, and upon the fact that the number of members has considerably more than doubled within the last twelve months, as strides in the path of the very best civilization, and chapters of rich promise in the history of mankind.

I do not know whether, at this time of day, and with such a prospect before us, we need trouble ourselves very much to rake up the ashes of the dead-and-gone objections that were wont to be urged by men of all parties against institutions such as this, whose interests we are met to promote ; but their philosophy was always to be summed up in the unmeaning application of one short sentence. How often have we heard from a large class of men wise in their generation who would really seem to be born and bred for no other purpose than to pass into currency counterfeit and mischievous scraps of wisdom, as it is the sole pursuit of some other criminals to utter base coin—how often have we heard from them, as an all-convincing argument, that “ a little learning is a dangerous thing ? ” Why, a little hanging was considered a very dangerous thing, according to the same authorities, with this difference, that, because a little hanging was dangerous, we had a great deal of it ; and, because a little learning was dangerous, we were to have none at all. Why, when I hear such cruel absurdities gravely reiterated, I do sometimes begin to doubt whether the parrots of society are not more pernicious to its interests than its birds of prey. I should be glad to hear such people’s estimate of the comparative danger of “ a little learning ” and a vast amount of ignorance ; I should be glad to know which they consider the most prolific parent of misery and crime. Descending a little lower in the social scale, I should be glad to assist them in their calculations, by carrying them into certain gaols and nightly refuges I know of, where my own heart dies within me, when I see thousands of immortal creatures condemned, without alternative or choice, to tread, not what our great poet calls the “ primrose path to the everlasting bonfire,” but one of jagged flints and stones, laid down by brutal ignorance, and held together, like the solid rocks, by years of this most wicked axiom.

Would we know from any honourable body of merchants, upright in deed and thought, whether they would rather have ignorant or enlightened persons in their own employment ? Why, we have had their answer in this building ; we have it in this company ; we have it emphatically given in the munificent generosity of your own merchants of Manchester, of all sects and kinds, when this establishment was first proposed. But are the advantages derivable by the people from institutions such as this, only of a negative character ? If a little learning

be an innocent thing, has it no distinct, wholesome, and immediate influence upon the mind? The old doggerel rhyme, so often written in the beginning of books, says that

“ When house and lands are gone and spent,
Then learning is most excellent ; ”

but I should be strongly disposed to reform the adage, and say that

“ Though house and lands be never got,
Learning can give what they cannot.”

And this I know, that the first unpurchasable blessing earned by every man who makes an effort to improve himself in such a place as the Athenæum, is self-respect—an inward dignity of character, which, once acquired and righteously maintained, nothing—no, not the hardest drudgery, nor the direst poverty—can vanquish. Though he should find it hard for a season even to keep the wolf—hunger—from his door, let him but once have chased the dragon—ignorance—from his hearth, and self-respect and hope are left him. You could no more deprive him of those sustaining qualities by loss or destruction of his worldly goods, than you could, by plucking out his eyes, take from him an internal consciousness of the bright glory of the sun.

The man who lives from day to day by the daily exercise in his sphere of hands or head, and seeks to improve himself in such a place as the Athenæum, acquires for himself that property of soul which has in all times upheld struggling men of every degree, but self-made men especially and always. He secures to himself that faithful companion which, while it has ever lent the light of its countenance to men of rank and eminence who have deserved it, has ever shed its brightest consolations on men of low estate and almost hopeless means. It took its patient seat beside Sir Walter Raleigh in his dungeon study in the Tower ; it laid its head upon the block with More ; but it did not disdain to watch the stars with Ferguson, the shepherd’s boy ; it walked the streets in mean attire with Crabbe ; it was a poor barber here in Lancashire with Arkwright ; it was a tallow-chandler’s son with Franklin ; it worked at shoemaking with Bloomfield in his garret ; it followed the plough with Burns ; and, high above the noise of loom and hammer, it whispers courage even at this day in ears I could name in Sheffield and in Manchester.

The more the man who improves his leisure in such a place learns, the better, gentler, kinder man he must become. When he knows how much great minds have suffered for the truth in every age and time,

and to what dismal persecutions opinion has been exposed, he will become more tolerant of other men's belief in all matters, and will incline more leniently to their sentiments when they chance to differ from his own. Understanding that the relations between himself and his employers involve a mutual duty and responsibility, he will discharge his part of the implied contract cheerfully, satisfactorily, and honourably ; for the history of every useful life warns him to shape his course in that direction.

The benefits he acquires in such a place are not of a selfish kind, but extend themselves to his home, and to those whom it contains. Something of what he hears or reads within such walls can scarcely fail to become at times a topic of discourse by his own fireside, nor can it ever fail to lead to larger sympathies with man, and to a higher veneration for the great Creator of all the wonders of this universe. It appeals to his home and his homely feeling in other ways ; for at certain times he carries there his wife and daughter, or his sister, or, possibly some bright-eyed acquaintance of a more tender description. Judging from what I see before me, I think it is very likely ; I am sure I would if I could. He takes her there to enjoy a pleasant evening, to be gay and happy. Sometimes it may possibly happen that he dates his tenderness from the Athenæum. I think that is a very excellent thing, too, and not the least among the advantages of the institution. In any case, I am sure the number of bright eyes and beaming faces which grace this meeting to-night by their presence, will never be among the least of its excellences in my recollection.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall not easily forget this scene, the pleasing task your favour has devolved upon me, or the strong and inspiring confirmation I have to-night, of all the hopes and reliances I have ever placed upon institutions of this nature. In the latter point of view—in their bearing upon this latter point—I regard them as of great importance, deeming that the more intelligent and reflective society in the mass becomes, and the more readers there are, the more distinctly writers of all kinds will be able to throw themselves upon the truthful feeling of the people, and the more honoured and the more useful literature must be. At the same time, I must confess that, if there had been an Athenæum, and if the people had been readers, years ago, some leaves of dedication in your library, of praise of patrons which was very cheaply bought, very dearly sold, and very marketably haggled for by the groat, would be blank leaves, and posterity might probably have lacked the information that certain monsters of virtue ever had existence. But it is upon a much better and wider scale, let me say it once again—it is in the effect of such institutions upon the great social system, and the peace and

happiness of mankind, that I delight to contemplate them ; and, in my heart, I am quite certain that long after your institution, and others of the same nature, have crumbled into dust, the noble harvest of the seed sown in them will shine out brightly in the wisdom, the mercy, and the forbearance of another race.

EDUCATION AND PROGRESS

(Inaugural Address on the Opening of the Winter Session of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, September 27th, 1869).

WE often hear of our common country that it is an over-populated one, that it is an over-pauperized one, that it is an over-colonizing one, and that it is an over-taxed one. Now, I entertain, especially of late times, the heretical belief that it is an over-talked one, and that there is a deal of public speech-making going about in various directions which might be advantageously dispensed with. If I were free to act upon this conviction, as president for the time being of the great institution so numerously represented here, I should immediately and at once subside into a golden silence, which would be of a highly edifying, because of a very exemplary, character. But I happen to be the institution's willing servant, not its imperious master, and it exacts tribute of mere silver or copper speech—not to say brazen—from whomsoever it exalts to my high office. Some African tribes—not to draw the comparison disrespectfully—some savage African tribes, when they make a king require him perhaps to achieve an exhausting foot-race under the stimulus of considerable popular prodding and goading, or perhaps to be severely and experimentally knocked about the head by his Privy Council, or perhaps to be dipped in a river full of crocodiles, or perhaps to drink immense quantities of something nasty out of a calabash—at all events, to undergo some purifying ordeal in presence of his admiring subjects.

I must confess that I became rather alarmed when I was duly warned by your constituted authorities that whatever I might happen to say here to-night would be termed an inaugural address on the entrance upon a new term of study by the members of your various classes ; for, besides that the phrase is something high-sounding for my taste, I avow that I do look forward to that blessed time when every man shall inaugurate his own work for himself, and do it. I believe that we shall then have inaugurated a new era indeed, and one in which the Lord's Prayer will become a fulfilled prophecy upon this earth. Remembering,

however, that you may call anything by any name without in the least changing its nature—bethinking myself that you may, if you be so minded, call a butterfly a buffalo, without advancing a hair's breadth towards making it one—I became composed in my mind, and resolved to stick to the very homely intention I had previously formed. This was merely to tell you, the members, students, and friends of the Birmingham and Midland Institute—firstly, what you cannot possibly want to know (this is a very popular oratorical theme) ; secondly, what your institution has done ; and, thirdly, what, in the poor opinion of its President for the time being, remains for it to do and not to do.

Now, first, as to what you cannot possibly want to know. You cannot need from me any oratorical declamation concerning the abstract advantages of knowledge or the beauties of self-improvement. If you had any such requirement you would not be here. I conceive that you are here because you have become thoroughly penetrated with such principles, either in your own persons or in the persons of some striving fellow-creatures, on whom you have looked with interest and sympathy. I conceive that you are here because you feel the welfare of the great chiefly adult educational establishment, whose doors stand really open to all sorts and conditions of people, to be inseparable from the best welfare of your great town and its neighbourhood. Nay, if I take a much wider range than that, and say that we all—every one of us here—perfectly well know that the benefits of such an establishment must extend far beyond the limits of this midland county—its fires and smoke—and must comprehend, in some sort, the whole community, I do not strain the truth. It was suggested by Mr. Babbage, in his ninth "Bridgewater Treatise," that a mere spoken word—a single articulated syllable thrown into the air—may go on reverberating through illimitable space for ever and for ever, seeing that there is no rim against which it can strike—no boundary at which it can possibly arrive. Similarly it may be said—not as an ingenious speculation, but as a steadfast and absolute fact—that human calculation cannot limit the influence of one atom of wholesome knowledge patiently acquired, modestly possessed, and faithfully used.

As the astronomers tell us that it is probable that there are in the universe innumerable solar systems besides ours, to each of which myriads of utterly unknown and unseen stars belong, so it is certain that every man, however obscure, however far removed from the general recognition, is one of a group of men impressible for good, and impressible for evil, and that it is in the eternal nature of things that he cannot really improve himself without in some degree improving other men. And observe, this is especially the case when he has improved himself

in the teeth of adverse circumstances, as in a maturity succeeding to a neglected or an ill-taught youth, in the few daily hours remaining to him after ten or twelve hours' labour, in the few pauses and intervals of a life of toil ; for then his fellows and companions have assurance that he can have known no favouring conditions, and that they can do what he has done, in wrestling some enlightenment and self respect from what Lord Lytton finely calls—

“ Those twin gaolers of the daring heart,
Low birth and iron fortune.”

As you have proved these truths in your own experience or in your own observation, and as it may be safely assumed that there can be very few persons in Birmingham, of all places under heaven, who would contest the position that the more cultivated the employed the better for the employer, and the more cultivated the employer the better for the employed ; therefore, my references to what you do not want to know shall here cease and determine.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, I come at length to what, in the humble opinion of the evanescent officer before you, remains for the institution to do, and not to do. As Mr. Carlyle has it towards the closing pages of his grand history of the French Revolution, “ This we are now with due brevity to glance at ; and then courage, oh listener, I see land ! ” I earnestly hope—and I firmly believe—that your institution will do henceforth as it has done hitherto ; it can hardly do better. I hope and believe that it will know among its members no distinction of persons, creed, or party, but that it will conserve its place of assemblage as a high, pure ground, on which all such considerations shall merge into the one universal, heaven-sent aspiration of the human soul to be wiser and better. I hope and believe that it will always be expansive and elastic ; for ever seeking to devise new means of enlarging the circle of its members, of attracting to itself the confidence of still greater and greater numbers, and never evincing any more disposition to stand still than time does, or life does, or the seasons do. And above all things, I hope, and I feel confident from its antecedents, that it will never allow any consideration on the face of the earth to induce it to patronise or to be patronised, for I verily believe that the bestowal and receipt of patronage in such wise has been a curse in England, and that it has done more to prevent really good objects, and to lower really high character, than the utmost efforts of the narrowest antagonism could have effected in twice the time.

I have no fear that the walls of the Birmingham and Midland Institute will ever tremble responsive to the croakings of the timid opponents

of intellectual progress ; but in this connection generally I cannot forbear from offering a remark which is much upon my mind. It is commonly assumed—much too commonly—that this age is a material age, and that a material age is an irreligious age. I have been pained lately to see this assumption repeated in certain influential quarters for which I have a high respect, and desire to have a higher. I am afraid that by dint of constantly being reiterated, and reiterated without protest, this assumption—which I take leave altogether to deny—may be accepted by the more unthinking part of the public as unquestionably true ; just as caricaturists and painters professedly making a portrait of some public man, which was not in the least like him to begin with, have gone on repeating and repeating it until the public came to believe that it must be exactly like him, simply because it was like itself, and really have at last, in the fullness of time, grown almost disposed to resent upon him their tardy discovery—really to resent upon him their late discovery—that he was not like it. I confess, standing here in this responsible situation, that I do not understand this much-used and much-abused phrase—the “material age.” I cannot comprehend—if anybody can I very much doubt—its logical signification. For instance, has electricity become more material in the mind of any sane or moderately insane man, woman, or child, because of the discovery that in the good providence of God it could be made available for the service and use of man to an immeasurably greater extent than for his destruction ? Do I make a more material journey to the bedside of my dying parent or my dying child when I travel there at the rate of sixty miles an hour, than when I travel thither at the rate of six ? Rather, in the swiftest case, does not my agonised heart become over-fraught with gratitude to that Supreme Beneficence from whom alone could have proceeded the wonderful means of shortening my suspense ? What is the materiality of the cable or the wire compared with the materiality of the spark ? What is the materiality of certain chemical substances that we can weigh or measure, imprison or release, compared with the materiality of their appointed affinities and repulsions presented to them from the instant of their creation to the day of judgment ? When did this so-called material age begin ? With the use of clothing ; with the discovery of the compass ; with the invention of the art of printing ? Surely, it has been a short time about ; and which is the more material object, the farthing tallow candle that will not give me light, or that flame of gas which will ?

No, ladies and gentlemen, do not let us be discouraged or deceived by any fine, vapid, empty words. The true material age is the stupid Chinese age, in which no new or grand revelations of nature are granted,

because they are ignorantly and insolently repelled, instead of being diligently and humbly sought. The difference between the ancient fiction of the mad braggart defying the lightning and the modern historical picture of Franklin drawing it towards his kite, in order that he might the more profoundly study that which was set before him to be studied (or it would not have been there), happily expresses to my mind the distinction between the much-maligned material sages—material in one sense, I suppose, but in another very immaterial sages—of the Celestial Empire school. Consider whether it is likely or unlikely, natural or unnatural, reasonable or unreasonable, that I, a being capable of thought, and finding myself surrounded by such discovered wonders on every hand, should sometimes ask myself the question—should put to myself the solemn consideration—can these things be among those things which might have been disclosed by divine lips nigh upon two thousand years ago, but that the people of that time could not bear them? And whether this be so or not, if I am so surrounded on every hand, is not my moral responsibility tremendously increased thereby, and with it my intelligence and submission as a child of Adam and of the dust, before that Shining Source which equally of all that is granted and all that is withheld holds in His mighty hands the unapproachable mysteries of life and death?

To the students of your industrial classes generally I have had it in my mind, first, to commend the short motto, in two words, "Courage—Persevere." This is the motto of a friend and worker. Not because the eyes of Europe are upon them, for I don't in the least believe it; nor because the eyes of even England are upon them, for I don't in the least believe it; not because their doings will be proclaimed with blast of trumpet at street corners, for no such musical performances will take place; not because self-improvement is at all certain to lead to worldly success, but simply because it is good and right of itself, and because, being so, it does assuredly bring with it its own resources and its own rewards. I would further commend to them a very wise and witty piece of advice on the conduct of the understanding which was given more than half a century ago by the Rev. Sydney Smith—wisest and wittiest of the friends I have lost. He says—and he is speaking, you will please understand, as I speak, to a school of volunteer students—he says: "There is a piece of foppery which is to be cautiously guarded against, the foppery of universality, of knowing all sciences and excelling in all arts—chymistry, mathematics, algebra, dancing, history, reasoning, riding, fencing, Low Dutch, High Dutch, and natural philosophy. In short, the modern precept of education very often is 'Take the admirable Crichton for your model, I would have you ignorant of nothing.'

“ Now,” says he, “ my advice, on the contrary, is to have the courage “ to be ignorant of a great number of things, in order that you may “ avoid the calamity of being ignorant of everything.”

To this I would superadd a little truth, which holds equally good of my own life and the life of every eminent man I have ever known. The one serviceable, safe, certain, remunerative, attainable quality in every study and in every pursuit is the quality of attention. My own invention or imagination, such as it is, I can most truthfully assure you, would never have served me as it has, but for the habit of commonplace, humble, patient, daily, toiling, drudging attention. Genius, vivacity, quickness of penetration, brilliancy in association of ideas—such mental qualities, like the qualities of the apparition of the externally armed head in *Macbeth*, will not be commanded ; but attention, after due form of submissive service, always will. Like certain plants which the poorest peasant may grow in the poorest soil, it can be cultivated by any one, and it is certain in its own good season to bring forth flowers and fruit. I can most truthfully assure you by-the-by, that this eulogium on attention is so far quite disinterested on my part as that it has not the least reference whatever to the attention with which you have honoured me.

HENRY DRUMMOND

(1851-1897).

PROFESSOR HENRY DRUMMOND'S address, "The Greatest Thing in the World," has probably been circulated more extensively than any other address of the nineteenth century, and its place as one of the great classics of the language is already assured. This is partly due to the masterly simplicity of its style, but there is a deeper reason. After a quarter of a century of wrangling between the "dons" of science and the doctors of theology, Drummond came to "speak with authority and not as the scribes." From the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species,' until Drummond, as thorough going an evolutionist as Darwin himself, published his 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World,' not a few supposed that a great conflict was in progress between Religion and Science. Under the influence of Drummond's work, this idea lost its popularity, and when, some time after its delivery, his address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' was published, it had an unprecedented circulation,—a circulation which resulted in quieting the fears of the religious world, until then greatly apprehensive of what was called "Darwinism."

Drummond was born at Stirling, Scotland, in 1851. As professor of biology in the Free Church College of Glasgow, he was brought into close touch with such great evolutionists as Spencer and Huxley; and as fully as they, he accepted the conclusion that all the forces of nature work continually to develop the higher forms of life from the lower. This central thought of evolution seemed to him to be in the fullest harmony with the central thought of Christianity, and he found in it an inspiration which gave him an almost prophetic earnestness in pleading with his generation to hold to its old ideals and realize them through what he looked on as the new manifestations of their power in controlling the human mind and bringing it into closer touch with the order and harmony of nature.

Professor Drummond diversified his work as a scientist by not less zealous work as an evangelist. He was a friend and pupil of Moody, but his greatest work has been in influencing the intellect of those who had become sceptical because changes in language and habits of expression had made unintelligible or even repulsive to them what their

ancestors had regarded with veneration as the deepest truths the human mind is capable of conceiving. It was in translating into modern forms these antique expressions of principle that Drummond most excelled. The ability to do this and at the same time to translate "scientific ideas into common English" was, without doubt, the chief source of his power. His address, 'The Greatest Thing in the World,' is by some considered the masterpiece of its class.

THE GREATEST THING IN THE WORLD

EVERYONE has asked himself the great question of antiquity as of the modern world: What is the *summum bonum*—the supreme good? You have life before you. Once only you can live it. What is the noblest object of desire, the supreme gift to covet?

We have been accustomed to be told that the greatest thing in the religious world is Faith. That great word has been the keynote for centuries of the popular religion, and we have easily learned to look upon it as the greatest thing in the world. Well, we are wrong. If we have been told that, we may miss the mark. I have taken you, in the chapter which I have just read, to Christianity at its source, and there we have seen "The greatest of these is love." It is not an oversight. Paul was speaking of faith just a moment before. He says: "If I have all faith, so that I can remove mountains, and have not love, I am nothing." So far from forgetting, he deliberately contrasts them, "Now abideth Faith, Hope, Love," and without a moment's hesitation the decision falls: "The greatest of these is Love."

And it is not prejudice. A man is apt to recommend to others his own strong point.

Love was not Paul's strong point. The observing student can detect a beautiful tenderness growing and ripening all through his character as Paul gets old; but the hand that wrote: "The greatest of these is Love," when we meet it first, is stained with blood.

Nor is this letter to the Corinthians peculiar in singling out love as the *summum bonum*. The Masterpieces of Christianity are agreed about it. Peter says, "Above all things have fervent love among yourselves." Above all things. And John goes further, "God is Love." And you remember the profound remark which Paul makes elsewhere, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." Did you ever think what he meant by that? In those days men were working their passage to Heaven by keeping the Ten Commandments and the hundred and ten other

commandments which they had manufactured out of them. Christ said, I will show you a more simple way. If you do one thing you will do these one hundred and ten things without ever thinking about them. If you love, you will unconsciously fulfil the whole law. And you can readily see for yourselves how that must be so. Take any of the commandments: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." If a man love God, you will not require to tell him that. Love is the fulfilling of that law. "Take not his name in vain." Would he ever dream of taking his name in vain, if he loved him? "Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy." Would he not be too glad to have one in seven to dedicate more exclusively to the object of his affection? Love would fulfil all these laws regarding God. And so, if he loved man, you would never think of telling him to honour his father and mother. He could not do anything else. It would be preposterous to tell him not to kill. You could only insult him if you suggested that he should not steal—how could he steal from those he loved? It would be superfluous to beg him not to bear false witness against his neighbour. If he loved him, it would be the last thing he would do.

And you would never dream of urging him not to covet what his neighbours had. He would rather they possessed it than himself. In this way, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." It is the rule for fulfilling all rules, the new commandment for keeping all the old commandments, Christ's one secret of the Christian life.

Now Paul had learned that; and in this noble eulogy he has given us the most wonderful and original account extant of the *summum bonum*. We may divide it into three parts: In the beginning of the short chapter we have Love contrasted; in the heart of it we have Love analyzed; toward the end we have Love defended as the supreme gift.

Paul begins by contrasting Love with other things that men in those days thought much of. I shall not attempt to go over those things in detail. Their inferiority is already obvious.

He contrasts it with eloquence. And what a noble gift it is, the power of playing upon the souls and wills of men, and rousing them to lofty purposes and holy deeds. Paul says: "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not love, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal." And we all know why. We have all felt the brazenness of words without emotion, the hollowness, the unaccountable unpersuasiveness, of eloquence behind which lies no Love.

He contrasts it with prophecy. He contrasts it with mysteries. He contrasts it with faith. He contrasts it with charity. Why is Love greater than faith? Because the end is greater than the means. And why is it greater than charity? Because the whole is greater than the

part. Love is greater than faith, because the end is greater than the means. What is the use of having faith? It is to connect the soul with God. † And what is the object of connecting man with God? That he may become like God. But God is Love. Hence Faith, the means, is in order to Love, the end. Love, therefore, obviously is greater than the faith. It is greater than charity, again, because the whole is greater than a part. Charity is only a bit of Love, one of the innumerable avenues of Love, and there may even be, and there is, a great deal of charity without Love. It is a very easy thing to toss a copper to a beggar in the street; it is generally an easier thing than not to do it. Yet Love is just as often in the withholding. We purchase relief from the sympathetic feelings roused by the spectacle of misery, at the copper's cost. It is too cheap—too cheap for us, and often too dear for the beggar. If we really loved him, we would either do more for him, or less.

Then Paul contrasts it with sacrifice and martyrdom. And I beg the little band of would-be missionaries—and I have the honour to call some of you by this name for the first time—to remember that though you give your bodies to be burned, and have not Love, it profits nothing—nothing! You can take nothing greater to the heathen world than the impress and reflection of the Love of God upon your own character. That is the universal language. It will take you years to speak in Chinese, or in the dialects of India. From the day you land, that language of Love, understood by all, will be pouring forth its unconscious eloquence. It is the man who is the missionary, it is not his words. His character is his message. In the heart of Africa, among the great lakes, I have come across black men and women who remembered the only white man they ever saw before—David Livingstone; and as you cross his footsteps in that dark continent, men's faces light up as they speak of the kind doctor who passed there years ago. They could not understand him; but they felt the Love that beat in his heart. Take into your new sphere of labour, where you also mean to lay down your life, that simple charm, and your lifework must succeed. You can take nothing greater, you need take nothing less. It is not worth while going if you take anything less. You may take every accomplishment; you may be braced for every sacrifice; but if you give your body to be burned, and have not Love, it will profit you and the cause of Christ nothing.

After contrasting Love with these things, Paul, in three verses, very short, gives us an amazing analysis of what this supreme thing is. I ask you to look at it. It is a compound thing, he tells us. It is like light. As you have seen a man of science take a beam of light and pass it through a crystal prism, as you have seen it come out on the other side of the prism broken up into its component colours—

red and blue and yellow and violet and orange, and all the colours of the rainbow—so Paul passes this thing, Love, through the magnificent prism of his inspired intellect, and it comes out on the other side broken up into its elements. And in these few words we have what one might call the Spectrum of Love, the analysis of Love. Will you observe what its elements are? Will you notice that they have common names; that they are virtues which we hear about every day; that they are things which can be practised by every man in every place in life; and how, by a multitude of small things and ordinary virtues, the supreme thing, the *summum bonum*, is made up?

The Spectrum of Love has nine ingredients:—

Patience, "Love suffereth long."

Kindness, "And is kind."

Generosity, "Love envieth not."

Humility, "Love vaunteth not itself. is not puffed up."

Courtesy, "Doth not behave itself unseemly."

Unselfishness, "Seeketh not her own."

Good Temper, "Is not easily provoked."

Guilelessness, "Thinketh no evil."

Sincerity, "Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."

Patience; kindness; generosity; humility; courtesy; unselfishness; good temper; guilelessness; sincerity—these make up the supreme gift, the stature of the perfect man. You will observe that all are in relation to men, in relation to life, in relation to the known to-day and the near to-morrow, and not to the unknown eternity. We hear much of love to God; Christ spoke much of love to man. We make a great deal of peace with heaven; Christ made much of peace on earth. Religion is not a strange or added thing, but the inspiration of the secular life, the breathing of an eternal spirit through this temporal world. The supreme thing, in short, is not a thing at all, but the giving of a further finish to the multitudinous words and acts which make up the sum of every common day.

There is no time to do more than make a passing note upon each of these ingredients. Love is *Patience*. This is the normal attitude of Love; Love passive, Love waiting to begin; not in a hurry; calm; ready to do its work when the summons comes, but meantime wearing the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit. Love suffers long; beareth all things; believeth all things; hopeth all things. For Love understands, and therefore waits.

Kindness. Love active. Have you ever noticed how much of Christ's life was spent in doing kind things—in merely doing kind things? Run over it with that in view, and you will find that he spent a great proportion of his time simply in making people happy, in doing good turns to people. There is only one thing greater than happiness in the world, and that is holiness; and it is not in our keeping, but what God has put in our power is the happiness of those about us, and that is largely to be secured by our being kind to them.

"The greatest thing," says some one, "a man can do for his Heavenly Father is to be kind to some of his other children." I wonder why it is that we are not all kinder than we are? How much the world needs it. How easily it is done. How instantaneously it acts. How infallibly it is remembered. How superabundantly it pays itself back—for there is no debtor in the world so honourable, so superbly honourable, as Love. "Love never faileth." Love is success. Love is happiness. Love is life. "Love," I say with Browning, "is energy of life."

"For life, with all it yields of joy or woe
And hope and fear,
Is just our chance o' the prize of learning love,—
How love might be, has been indeed, and is."

Where Love is, God is. He that dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God. God is Love. Therefore love. Without distinction, without calculation, without procrastination, love. Lavish it upon the poor, where it is very easy; especially upon the rich, who often need it most; most of all upon our equals, where it is very difficult, and for whom, perhaps, we each do least of all. There is a difference between trying to please and giving pleasure. Give pleasure. Lose no chance of giving pleasure. For that is the ceaseless and anonymous triumph of a truly loving spirit. "I shall pass through this world but once. Any good thing therefore that I can do, or any kindness that I can show to any human being, let me do it now. Let me not defer it or neglect it, for I shall not pass this way again."

Generosity. "Love envieth not." This is Love in competition with others. Whenever you attempt a good work, you will find other men doing the same kind of work, and probably doing it better. Envy them not. Envy is a feeling of ill-will to those who are in the same line as ourselves, a spirit of covetousness and detraction. How little Christian work even is a protection against un-Christian feeling. That most despicable of all the unworthy moods which cloud a Christian's soul assuredly waits for us on the threshold of every work, unless we are

fortified with this grace of magnanimity. Only one thing truly need the Christian envy, the large, rich, generous soul which "envieth not."

And then, after having learned all that, you have to learn this further thing, *Humility*—to put a seal upon your lips and forget what you have done. After you have been kind, after Love has stolen forth into the world and done its beautiful work, go back into the shade again, and say nothing about it. Love hides even from itself. Love waives even self-satisfaction. "Love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up."

The fifth ingredient is a somewhat strange one to find in this *summum bonum*: *Courtesy*. This is Love in society, Love in relation to etiquette. "Love doth not behave itself unseemly." Politeness has been defined as love in trifles. Courtesy is said to be love in little things. And the one secret of politeness is to love. Love cannot behave itself unseemly. You can put the most untutored persons into the highest society, and if they have a reservoir of Love in their hearts, they will not behave themselves unseemly. They simply cannot do it. Carlyle said of Robert Burns that there was no truer gentleman in Europe than the ploughman-poet. It was because he loved everything—the mouse, and the daisy, and all the things, great and small, that God had made. So with this simple passport he could mingle with any society, and enter courts and palaces from his little cottage on the banks of the Ayr. You know the meaning of the word "gentleman." It means gentle man—a man who does things gently with Love. And that is the whole art and mystery of it. The gentle man cannot, in the nature of things, do an ungentle and ungentlemanly thing. The ungentle soul, the inconsiderate, unsympathetic nature cannot do anything else. "Love doth not behave itself unseemly."

Unselfishness. "Love seeketh not her own." Observe: Seeketh not even that which is her own. In Britain, the Englishman is devoted, and rightly, to his rights. But there come times when a man may exercise even the higher right of giving up his rights. Yet Paul does not summon us to give up our rights. Love strikes much deeper. It would have us not seek them at all, ignore them, eliminate the personal element altogether from our calculations. It is not hard to give up our rights. They are often external. The difficult thing is to give up ourselves. The more difficult thing still is not to seek things for ourselves at all. After we have sought them, bought them, won them, deserved them, we have taken the cream off them for ourselves already. Little cross, then, to give them up. But not to seek them, to look every man not on his own things, but on the things of others—*id opus est*. "Seekest thou great things for thyself"? said the prophet; "seek them not." Why? Because there is no greatness in things. Things cannot be great. The

only greatness is unselfish love. Even self-denial in itself is nothing, is almost a mistake. Only a great purpose or a mightier love can justify the waste. It is more difficult, I have said, not to seek our own at all, than, having sought it, to give it up. I must take that back. It is only true of a partly selfish heart. Nothing is a hardship to Love, and nothing is hard. I believe that Christ's "yoke" is easy. Christ's "yoke" is just his way of taking life. And I believe it is an easier way than any other. I believe it is a happier way than any other. The most obvious lesson in Christ's teaching is that there is no happiness in having and getting anything, but only in giving. I repeat, there is no happiness in having or in getting but only in giving. And half the world is on the wrong scent in pursuit of happiness. They think it consists in having and getting, and in being served by others. It consists in giving, and in serving others. He that would be great among you, said Christ, let him serve. He that would be happy, let him remember that there is but one way—it is more blessed, it is more happy, to give than to receive.

The next ingredient is a very remarkable one: *Good Temper*. "Love is not easily provoked." Nothing could be more striking than to find this here. We are inclined to look upon bad temper as a very harmless weakness. We speak of it as a mere infirmity of nature, a family failing, a matter of temperament, not a thing to take into very serious account in estimating a man's character. And yet here, right in the heart of this analysis of Love, it finds a place; and the Bible again and again returns to condemn it as one of the most destructive elements in human nature.

The peculiarity of ill-temper is that it is the vice of the virtuous. It is often the one blot on an otherwise noble character. You know men who are all but perfect, and women who would be entirely perfect, but for an easily ruffled, quick tempered, or "touchy" disposition. This compatibility of ill temper with high moral character is one of the strangest and saddest problems of ethics. The truth is there are two great classes of sins—sins of the Body, and sins of the Disposition. The Prodigal Son may be taken as a type of the first, the Elder Brother of the second. Now, society has no doubt whatever as to which of these is the worse. Its brand falls, without a challenge, upon the Prodigal. But are we right? We have no balance to weigh one another's sins, and coarser and finer are but human words; but faults in the higher nature may be less venial than those in the lower, and to the eye of him who is Love, a sin against Love may seem a hundred times more base. No form of vice, not worldliness, not greed of gold, not drunkenness itself, does more to un-Christianize society than evil temper. For embittering life, for breaking up communities, for destroying the most sacred relationships, for devastating

homes, for withering up men and women, for taking the bloom off childhood, in short, for sheer gratuitous misery-producing power, this influence stands alone. Look at the Elder Brother, moral, hard-working, patient, dutiful—let him get all credit for his virtues—look at this man, this baby, sulking outside his own father's door. "He was angry," we read, "and would not go in." Look at the effect upon the father, upon the servants, upon the happiness of the guests. Judge of the effect upon the Prodigal—and how many prodigals are kept out of the Kingdom of God by the unlovely character of those who profess to be inside? Analyze, as a study in Temper, the thunder-cloud itself as it gathers upon the Elder Brother's brow. What is it made of? Jealousy, anger, pride, uncharity, cruelty, self-righteousness, touchiness, doggedness, sullenness—these are the ingredients of this dark and loveless soul. In varying proportions, also, these are the ingredients of all ill-temper. Judge if such sins of the disposition are not worse to live in, and for others to live with, than sins of the body. Did Christ, indeed, not answer the question himself when he said: "I say unto you that the publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of Heaven before you." There is really no place in Heaven for a disposition like this. A man with such a mood could only make Heaven miserable for all the people in it. Except, therefore, such a man be born again, he cannot, he simply cannot, enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For it is perfectly certain—and you will not misunderstand me—that to enter Heaven a man must take it with him.

You will see, then, why temper is significant. It is not in what it is alone, but in what it reveals. This is why I take the liberty now of speaking of it with such unusual plainness. It is a test for love, a symptom, a revelation of an unloving nature at bottom. It is the intermittent fever which bespeaks unintermittent disease within; the occasional bubble escaping to the surface which betrays some rottenness underneath; a sample of the most hidden products of the soul dropped involuntarily when off one's guard; in a word, the lightning form of a hundred hideous and un-Christian sins. For a want of patience, a want of kindness, a want of generosity, a want of courtesy, a want of unselfishness, are all instantaneously symbolized in one flash of temper.

Hence it is enough to deal with the temper. We must go to the source and change the inmost nature, and the angry humours will die away of themselves. Souls are made sweet not by taking the acid fluids out, but by putting something in—a great Love, a new spirit, the spirit of Christ. Christ, the spirit of Christ interpenetrating ours, sweetens purifies, transforms all. This only can eradicate what is wrong, work a chemical change, renovate and regenerate and rehabilitate the inner

man. Will power does not change men. Time does not change men. Christ does. Therefore, "Let that mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus." Some of us have not much time to lose. Remember, once more, that this is a matter of life or death. I cannot help speaking urgently, for myself, for yourselves. "Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." That is to say, it is the deliberate verdict of the Lord Jesus that it is better not to live than not love. It is better not to live than not to love.

Guilelessness and *Sincerity* may be dismissed almost with a word. Guilelessness is the grace for suspicious people. And the possession of it is the great secret of personal influence. You will find, if you think for a moment, that the people who influence you are people who believe in you. In an atmosphere of suspicion men shrivel up; but in that atmosphere they expand, and find encouragement and educative fellowship. It is a wonderful thing that here and there in this hard, uncharitable world there should still be left a few rare souls who think no evil. This is the great unworldliness. Love "thinketh no evil," imputes no motive, sees the bright side, puts the best construction on every action. What a delightful state of mind to live in! What a stimulus and benediction even to meet with it for a day! To be trusted is to be saved. And if we try to influence or elevate others, we shall soon see that success is in proportion to their belief of our belief in them. For the respect of another is the first restoration of the self-respect a man has lost; our ideal of what he is becomes to him the hope and pattern of what he may become.

"Love rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." I have called this Sincerity from the words rendered in the Authorised Version by "rejoiceth in the truth." And, certainly, were this the real translation, nothing could be more just. For he who loves will love truth not less than men. He will rejoice in the truth—rejoice not in what he has been taught to believe; not in this church's doctrine or in that; not in this ism or in that ism; but "in the Truth." He will accept only what is real; he will strive to get at facts; he will search for truth with a humble and unbiased mind, and cherish whatever he finds at any sacrifice. But the more literal translation of the Revised Version calls for just such a sacrifice for truth's sake here. For what Paul really meant is, as we there read, "Rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth," a quality which probably no one English word—and certainly not Sincerity—adequately defines. It includes, perhaps more strictly, the self-restraint which refuses to make capital out of others'

faults ; the charity which delights not in exposing the weakness of others but "covereth all things" ; the sincerity of purpose which endeavours to see things as they are, and rejoices to find them better than suspicion feared or calumny denounced.

So much for the analysis of love. Now the business of our lives is to have these things fitted into our characters. That is the supreme work to which we need to address ourselves in this world, to learn Love. Is life not full of opportunities for learning Love ? Every man and woman every day has a thousand of them. The world is not a playground ; it is a school-room. Life is not a holiday, but an education. And the one eternal lesson for us all is how better we can love. What makes a man a good cricketer ? Practice. What makes a man a good artist, a good sculptor, a good musician ? Practice. What makes a man a good linguist, a good stenographer ? Practice. What makes a man a good man ? Practice. Nothing else. There is nothing capricious about religion. We do not get the soul in different ways, under different laws, from those in which we get the body and the mind. If a man does not exercise his arm, he develops no biceps muscle ; and if a man does not exercise his soul, he acquires no muscle in his soul, no strength of character, no vigour of moral fibre, nor beauty of spiritual growth. Love is not a thing of enthusiastic emotion. It is a rich, strong, manly, vigorous expression of the whole round Christian character—the Christlike nature in its fullest development. And the constituents of this great character are only to be built up by ceaseless practice.

What was Christ doing in the carpenter's shop ? Practising. Though perfect, we read that he learned obedience, and grew in wisdom and in favour with God. Do not quarrel therefore with your lot in life. Do not complain of its never ceasing cares, its petty environment, the vexations you have to stand, the small and sordid souls you have to live and work with. Above all, do not resent temptation ; do not be perplexed because it seems to thicken round you more and more, and ceases neither for effort nor for agony nor prayer. That is your practice. That is the practice which God appoints you ; and it is having its work in making you patient, and humble, and generous, and unselfish, and kind, and courteous. Do not grudge the hand that is moulding the still too shapeless image within you. It is growing more beautiful, though you see it not, and every touch of temptation may add to its perfection. Therefore keep in the midst of life. Do not isolate yourself. Be among men, and among things, and among troubles, and difficulties, and obstacles. You remember Goethe's words : "*Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille, Doch ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.*" (Talent develops itself in solitude ; character in the stream of life.) Talent develops

itself in solitude—the talent of prayer, of faith, of meditation, of seeing the unseen ; character grows in the stream of the world's life. That chiefly is where men are to learn love.

How ? Now, how ? To make it easier, I have named a few of the elements of Love. But these are only elements. Love itself can never be defined. Light is a something more than the sum of its ingredients—a glowing, dazzling, tremulous ether. And Love is something more than all its elements—a palpitating, quivering, sensitive, living thing. By synthesis of all the colours, men can make whiteness, they cannot make light. By synthesis of all the virtues, men can make virtue, they cannot make Love. How, then, are we to have this transcendent living whole conveyed into our souls ? We brace our wills to secure it. We try to copy those who have it. We lay down rules about it. We watch. We pray. But these things alone will not bring Love into our nature. Love is an effect. And only as we fulfil the right condition can we have the effect produced. Shall I tell you what the cause is ?

If you turn to the Revised Version of the first Epistle of John, you will find these words : “ We love because he first loved us.” “ We love,” not “ We love him.” That is the way the old version has it, and it is quite wrong. “ We love—because he first loved us.” Look at that word “ because.” It is the cause of which I have spoken. “ Because he first loved us,” the effect follows that we love, we love him, we love all men. We cannot help it. Because he loved us, we love, we love everybody. Our heart is slowly changed. Contemplate the love of Christ, and you will love. Stand before that mirror, reflect Christ's character, and you will be changed into the same image from tenderness to tenderness. There is no other way. You cannot love to order. You can only look at the lovely object, and fall in love with it, and grow into likeness to it. And so look at this perfect character, this perfect life. Look at the great Sacrifice as he laid down himself, all through life, and upon the Cross of Calvary, and you must love him. And loving him, you must become like him. Love begets love. It is a process of induction. Put a piece of iron in the presence of an electrified body, and that piece of iron for a time becomes electrified. It is changed into a temporary magnet in the mere presence of a permanent magnet, and as long as you leave the two side by side, they are both magnets alike. Remain side by side with him who loved us, and gave himself for us, and you, too, will become a permanent magnet, a permanently attractive force ; and like him you will draw all men unto you, like him you will be drawn unto all men. That is the inevitable effect of Love. Any man who fulfils that cause must have that effect produced in him. Try to give up the idea that religion comes

to us by chance, or by mystery, or by caprice. It comes to us by natural law, or by supernatural law, for all law is Divine. Edward Irving went to see a dying boy once, and when he entered the room he just put his hand on the sufferer's head, and said, "My boy, God loves you," and went away. And the boy started from his bed, and called out to the people in the house, "God loves me! God loves me!" It changed that boy. The sense that God loved him overpowered him, melted him down, and began the creating of a new heart in him. And that is how the love of God melts down the unlovely heart in man, and begets in him the new creature, who is patient and humble and gentle and unselfish. And there is no other way to get it. There is no mystery about it. We love others, we love everybody, we love our enemies, because he first loved us.

Now I have a closing sentence or two to add about Paul's reason for singling out Love as the supreme possession. It is a very remarkable reason. In a single word it is this: it lasts. "Love," urges Paul, "never faileth." There he begins again one of his marvellous lists of the great things of the day, and exposes them one by one. He runs over the things that men thought were going to last, and shows that they are all fleeting, temporary, passing away.

"Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail." It was the mother's ambition for her boy in those days that he should become a prophet. For hundreds of years God had never spoken by means of any prophet, and at that time the prophet was greater than the King. Men waited wistfully for another messenger to come, and hung upon his lips when he appeared as upon the very voice of God. Paul says: "Whether there be prophecies, they shall fail." This book is full of prophecies. One by one they have "failed"; that is, having been fulfilled, their work is finished; they have nothing more to do now in the world except to feed a devout man's faith.

Then Paul talks about tongues. That was another thing that was greatly coveted. "Whether there be tongues, they shall cease." As we all know, many, many centuries have passed since tongues have been known in this world. They have ceased. Take it in any sense you like. Take it, for illustration merely, as languages in general—a sense which was not in Paul's mind at all, and which, though it cannot give us the specific lesson, will point the general truth. Consider the words in which these chapters were written—Greek. It has gone. Take the Latin—the other great tongue of those days. It ceased long ago. Look at the Indian language. It is ceasing. The language of Wales, of Ireland, of the Scottish Highlands, is dying before our eyes. The most popular book in the English tongue at the present time, except the Bible, is one of Dickens's works—his 'Pickwick Papers.' It is largely

written in the language of London street life, and experts assure us that in fifty years it will be unintelligible to the average English reader.

Then Paul goes further, and with even greater boldness adds : " Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." The wisdom of the ancients, where is it ? It is wholly gone. A school boy to-day knows more than Sir Isaac Newton knew. His knowledge has vanished away. You put yesterday's newspaper in the fire. Its knowledge has vanished away. You buy the old editions of the great encyclopædias for a few pence. Their knowledge has vanished away. Look how the coach has been superseded by the use of steam. Look how electricity has superseded that, and swept a hundred almost new inventions into oblivion. One of the greatest living authorities, Sir William Thomson, said the other day : " The steam engine is passing away." " Whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away." At every workshop you will see, in the back yard, a heap of old iron, a few wheels, a few levers, a few cranks, broken and eaten with rust. Twenty years ago that was the pride of the city. Men flocked in from the country to see the great invention ; now it is superseded, its day is done. And all the boasted science and philosophy of this day will soon be old. But yesterday, in the University of Edinburgh, the greatest figure in the faculty was Sir James Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform. The other day his successor and nephew, Professor Simpson, was asked by the librarian of the University to go to the library and pick out the books on his subject that were no longer needed. And his reply to the librarian was this : " Take every text-book that is more than ten years old, and put it down in the cellar." Sir James Simpson was a great authority only a few years ago ; men came from all parts of the earth to consult him ; and almost the whole teaching of that time is consigned by the science of to-day to oblivion. And in every branch of science it is the same. " Now we know in part. We see through a glass darkly."

Can you tell me anything that is going to last ? Many things Paul did not condescend to name. He did not mention money, fortune, fame ; but he picked out the great things of his time, the things the best men thought had something in them, and brushed them peremptorily aside. Paul had no charge against these things in themselves. All he said about them was that they would not last. They were great things, but not supreme things. There were things beyond them. What we are stretches past what we do, beyond what we possess. Many things that men denounce as sins are not sins ; but they are temporary. And that is a favourite argument of the New Testament. John says of the world, not that it is wrong, but simply that it " passeth away." There is a great deal in the world that is delightful and beautiful ; there is a great

deal in it that is great and engrossing ; but it will not last. All that is in the world, the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, are but for a little while. Love not the world therefore. Nothing that it contains is worth the life and consecration of an immortal soul. The immortal soul must give itself to something that is immortal. And the only immortal things are these : " Now abideth faith, hope and love, but the greatest of these is love."

Some think the time may come when two of these three things will also pass away—faith into sight, hope into fruition. Paul does not say so. We know but little now about the conditions of the life that is to come. But what is certain is that Love must last. God, the eternal God, is Love. Covet, therefore, that everlasting gift, that one thing which it is certain is going to stand, that one coinage which will be current in the universe when all the other coinages of all the nations of the world shall be useless and unhonoured. You will give yourselves to many things, give yourself first to love. Hold things in their proportion. Let at least the first great object of our lives be to achieve the character defended in these words, the character—and it is the character of Christ—which is built round Love.

I have said this thing is eternal. Did you ever notice how continually John associates love and faith with eternal life ? I was not told when I was a boy that " God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in him should have everlasting life." What I was told, I remember, was, that God so loved the world that if I trusted in him I was to have a thing called peace, or I was to have rest, or I was to have joy, or I was to have safety. But I had to find out for myself that whosoever trusteth in him—that is, whosoever loveth him, for trust is only the avenue to Love—hath everlasting life. The Gospel offers a man life. Never offer men a thimbleful of Gospel. Do not offer them merely joy, or merely peace, or merely rest, or merely safety ; tell them how Christ came to give men a more abundant life than they have, a life abundant in love and, therefore, abundant in salvation for themselves, and large in enterprise for the alleviation and redemption of the world. Then only can the Gospel take hold of the whole of a man, body and spirit, and give to each part of his nature its exercise and reward. Many of the current Gospels are addressed only to a part of man's nature. They offer peace, not life ; faith, not Love ; justification, not regeneration. And men slip back again from such religion because it has never really held them. Their nature was not all in it. It offered no deeper and gladder life-current than the life that was lived before. Surely it stands to reason that only a fuller love can compete with the love of the world.

To love abundantly is to live abundantly, and to love forever is to live forever. Hence eternal life is inextricably bound up with Love. We want to live forever for the same reason that we want to live to-morrow. Why do you want to live to-morrow? It is because there is some one who loves you, and whom you want to see to-morrow, and be with, and love back. There is no other reason why we should live on than that we love and are beloved. It is when a man has no one to love him that he commits suicide. So long as he has friends, those who love him and whom he loves, he will live, because to live is to love. Be it but the love of a dog, it will keep him in life; but let that go and he has no contact with life, no reason to live. He dies by his own hand. Eternal life also is to know God, and God is Love. That is Christ's own definition. Ponder it. "This is the life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Love must be eternal. It is what God is. On the last analysis, then, Love is life. Love never faileth, and life never faileth, so long as there is Love. That is the philosophy of what Paul is showing us; the reason why, in the nature of things, Love should be the supreme thing—because it is going to last; because, in the nature of things, it is an eternal life. It is a thing that we are living now, not that we get when we die; that we shall have a poor chance of getting when we die, unless we are living now. No worse fate can befall a man in this world than to live and grow old alone, unloving and unloved. To be lost is to live in an unregenerate condition, loveless and unloved; and to be saved is to love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth already in God. For God is Love.

Now I have all but finished. How many of you will join me in reading this chapter once a week for the next three months? A man did that once, and it changed his whole life. Will you do it? It is for the greatest thing in the world. You might begin by reading it every day, especially the verses which describe the perfect character. "Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself." Get these ingredients into your life. Then everything that you do is eternal. It is worth doing. It is worth giving time to. No man can become a saint in his sleep; and to fulfil the condition required demands a certain amount of prayer and meditation and time, just as improvement in any direction, bodily or mental, requires preparation and care. Address yourselves to that one thing; at any cost have this transcendent character exchanged for yours. You will find as you look back upon your life that the moments that stand out, the moments when you have really lived, are the moments when you have done things in a spirit of love. As memory scans the past, above and beyond all the transitory pleasures of life, there leap forward those supreme hours when you have been

enabled to do unnoticed kindnesses to those round about you, things too trifling to speak about, but which you feel have entered into your eternal life. I have seen almost all the beautiful things God has made ; I have enjoyed almost every pleasure that he has planned for man ; and yet as I look back I see standing out above all the life that has gone, four or five short experiences when the love of God reflected itself in some poor imitation, some small act of love of mine, and these seem to be the things which alone of all one's life abide. Everything else in all our lives is transitory. Every other good is visionary. But the acts of Love which no man knows about, or can ever know about—they never fail.

In the book of Matthew, where the Judgment Day is depicted for us in the imagery of one seated upon a throne and dividing the sheep from the goats, the test of a man then is not, " How have I believed ? " but " How have I loved ? " The test of religion, the final test of religion is not religiousness, but Love. I say, the final test of religion at that great day is not religiousness, but Love ; not what I have done, not what I have believed, not what I have achieved, but how I have discharged the common charities of life. Sins of commission in that awful indictment are not even referred to. By what we have not done, by sins of omission, we are judged. It could not be otherwise. For withholding of love is the negation of the spirit of Christ, the proof that we never knew him, that for us he lived in vain. It means that he suggested nothing in all our thoughts, that he inspired nothing in all our lives, that we were not once near enough to him to be seized with the spell of his compassion for the world. It means that—

" I lived for myself, I thought for myself.
For myself, and none beside—
Just as if Jesus had never lived,
As if He had never died."

It is the Son of Man before whom the nations of the world shall be gathered. It is in the presence of Humanity that we shall be charged. And the spectacle itself, the mere sight of it, will silently judge each one. Those will be there whom we have met and helped ; or there, the unpitied multitude whom we neglected or despised. No other witness need be summoned. No other charge than lovelessness shall be preferred. Be not deceived. The words which all of us shall one day hear sound not of theology, but of life ; not of churches and saints, but of the hungry and the poor ; not of creeds and doctrines, but of shelter and clothing ; not of Bibles and prayer-books, but of cups of cold water in the name of

Christ. Thank God the Christianity of to-day is coming nearer the world's need. Live to help that on. Thank God, men know better, by a hair's breadth, what religion is, what God is, who Christ is, where Christ is. Who is Christ? He who fed the hungry, clothed the naked, visited the sick. And where is Christ? Where?—"whoso shall receive a little child in my name receiveth me." And who are Christ's? Every one that loveth is born of God.

PREPARATION FOR LEARNING

BEFORE an artist can do anything, the instrument must be tuned. Our astronomers at this moment are preparing for an event which happens only once or twice in a lifetime; the total eclipse of the sun in the month of August. They have begun already. They are making preparations. At chosen stations, in different parts of the world, they are spending all the skill that science can suggest upon the construction of their instruments; and up to the last moment they will be busy adjusting them; and the last day will be the busiest of all, because then they must have the glasses and the mirrors polished to the last degree. They have to have the lenses in place and focussed upon this spot before the event itself takes place.

Everything will depend upon the instruments which you bring to this experiment. Everything will depend upon it; and therefore fifteen minutes will not be lost if we each put our instrument into the best working order we can. I have spoken of lenses, and that reminds me that the instrument which we bring to bear upon truth is a compound thing. It consists of many parts. Truth is not a product of the intellect alone; it is a product of the whole nature. The body is engaged in it, and the mind and the soul.

The body is engaged in it. Of course, a man who has his body run down or who is dyspeptic, or melancholy, sees everything black, and distorted, and untrue. But I am not going to dwell upon that. Most of you seem in pretty fair working order, so far as your bodies are concerned; only it is well to remember that we are to give our bodies a living sacrifice—not a half dead sacrifice, as some people seem to imagine. There is no virtue in emaciation. I don't know if you have any tendency in that direction in America, but certainly we are in danger of dropping into it now and then in England, and it is just as well to bear in mind our part of the lens—a very compound and delicate lens—with which we have to take in truth.

Then comes a very important part : the intellect—which is one of the most useful servants of truth ; and I need not tell you as students, that the intellect will have a great deal to do with your reception of truth. I was told that it was said at these conferences last year, that a man must crucify his intellect. I venture to contradict the gentlemen who made that statement. I am quite sure no such statement could ever have been made in your hearing—that we were to crucify our intellects. We can make no progress without the full use of all the intellectual powers that God has endowed us with.

But more important than either of these is the moral nature—the moral and spiritual nature. Some of you remember a sermon of Robertson of Brighton entitled, ‘Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge.’ A very startling title!—‘Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge.’ The Pharisees asked about Christ : “How knoweth this man letters, never having learned ?” How knoweth this man, never having learned ? The organ of knowledge is not nearly so much mind as the organ that Christ used, namely, obedience ; and that was the organ which he himself insisted upon when he said : “He that willeth to do his will shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.” You have all noticed, of course, that the words in the original are : “If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine.” It doesn’t read : “If any do his will,” which no man can do perfectly ; but if any man be simply willing to do his will,—if he has an absolutely undivided mind about it,—that man will know what truth is and know what falsehood is ; a stranger will he not follow. And that is by far the best source of spiritual knowledge on every account—obedience to God—absolute sincerity and loyalty in following Christ. “If any man do his will, he shall know”—a very remarkable association of knowledge, a thing which is usually considered quite intellectual, with obedience, which is moral and spiritual.

But even although we use all these three different parts of the instrument, we have not at all got at the complete method of learning. There is a little preliminary that the astronomer has to do before he can make his observation. He has to take the cap off his telescope. Many a man thinks he is looking at truth when he is only looking at the cap. Many a time I have looked down my microscope and thought I was looking at the diatom for which I had long been searching, and found I had simply been looking at a speck of dust upon the lens itself. Many a man thinks he is looking at truth, when he is only looking at the spectacles he has put on to see it with. He is looking at his own spectacles. Now, the common spectacles that a man puts on,—I suppose the creed in which he has been brought up,—if a man looks at that, let him remember that he is not looking at truth ; he is looking at his own spectacles. There is no

more important lesson that we have to carry with us than that truth is not to be found in what I have been taught. That is not truth. Truth is not what I have been taught. If it were so, that would apply to the Mormon, it would apply to the Brahman, it would apply to the Buddhist. Truth would be to everybody just what he had been taught. Therefore, let us dismiss from our minds the predisposition to regard that which we have been brought up in as being necessarily the truth. I must say it is very hard to shake oneself free altogether from that. I suppose it is impossible.

But you see the reasonableness of giving up that as your view of truth when you come to apply it all around. If that were the definition of truth, truth would be just what one's parents were—it would be a thing of hereditary transmission and not a thing absolute in itself. Now, let me venture to ask you to take that cap off. Take that cap off now and make up your minds you are going to look at truth naked—in its reality, as it is, not as it is reflected through other minds, or through any theology, however venerable.

Then there is one thing I think we must be careful about, and that is, besides having the cap off and having all the lenses clean and in position, to have the instrument rightly focussed. Everything may be right and yet when you go and look at the object, you see things altogether falsely. You see things not only blurred, but you see things out of proportion. And there is nothing more important we have to bear in mind in running our eye over successive theological truths, or religious truths, than that there is a proportion in those truths, and that we must see them in their proportion, or we see them falsely. A man may take a dollar or a half-dollar and hold it in his eye so closely that he will hide the sun from him. Or he may, so focus his telescope that a fly or a boulder may be as large as a mountain. A man may hold a certain doctrine very intensely—a doctrine which has been looming upon his horizon for the last six months, let us say, and which has thrown everything else out of proportion, it has become so big itself. Now, let us beware of distortion in the arrangement of the religious truths which we hold. It is almost impossible to get things in their true proportion and symmetry, but this is the thing we must be constantly aiming at. We are told in the Bible to "add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge balance," as the word literally means—"balance." It is a word taken from the orchestra, where all the parts—the sopranos, the basses, the altos, and the tenors, and all the rest of them—must be regulated. If you have too much of the bass, or too much of the soprano, there is want of harmony. That is what I mean by the want of proper focus—by the want of proper balance—in the truths

which we all hold. It will never do to exaggerate one truth at the expense of another, and a truth may be turned into a falsehood very, very easily, by simply being either too much enlarged or too much diminished. I once heard of some blind men who were taken to see a menagerie. They had gone round the animals, and four of them were allowed to touch an elephant as they went past. They were discussing afterward what kind of a creature the elephant was. One man, who had touched its tail, said the elephant was like a rope. Another of the blind men, who had touched his hind limb, said: "No such thing! the elephant is like the trunk of a tree." Another, who had felt its sides, said: "That is all rubbish. An elephant is a thing like a wall." And the fourth who had felt its ear, said that an elephant was like none of those things; it was like a leather bag. Now, men look at truth at different bits of it, and they see different things, of course, and they are very apt to imagine that the thing which they have seen is the whole affair—the whole thing. In reality, we can only see a very little bit at a time, and we must, I think, learn to believe that other men can see bits of truth as well as ourselves. Your views are just what you see with your own eyes; and my views are just what I see; and what I see depends on just where I stand, and what you see depends on just where you stand; and truth is very much bigger than an elephant, and we are very much blinder than any of those blind men, as we come to look at it.

Christ has made us aware that it is quite possible for a man to have ears and hear nothing, and to have eyes and see not. One of the disciples saw a great deal of Christ, and he never knew him. "Have I been so long time with you, Philip, and yet hast thou not known me?" "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father also." Philip had never seen him. He had been looking at his own spectacles, perhaps, or at something else, and had never seen him. If the instrument had been in order, he would have seen Christ. And I would just add this one thing more: the test of value of the different verities of truth depends upon one thing: whether they have or have not a sanctifying power. That is another remarkable association in the mind of Christ—of sanctification with truth—thinking and holiness—not to be found in any of the sciences or in any of the philosophies. It is peculiar to the Bible. Christ said, "Sanctify them through thy truth. Thy Word is truth." Now, the value of any question—the value of any theological question—depends upon whether it has a sanctifying influence. If it has not, don't bother about it. Don't let it disturb your minds until you have exhausted all truths that have sanctification within them. If a truth make a man a better man, then let him focus his instrument upon it and get all the acquaintance with it he can. If it is the profane babbling of science,

falsely so called, or anything that has an injurious effect upon the moral and spiritual nature of a man, it is better let alone. And above all, let us remember to hold the truth in love. That is the most sanctifying influence of all. And if we can carry away the mere lessons of toleration, and leave behind us our censoriousness, and criticalness, and harsh judgments upon one another, and excommunicating of everybody except those who think exactly as we do, the time we shall spend here will not be the least useful part of our lives.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

(1803-1882).

THE profoundest thinker of the America of his day, Ralph Waldo Emerson is, by that right, one of its greatest orators. It is doubtful if any one else has spoken in America, in whose sentences ideas crowd each other as they do in his. His training as an orator preceded the practice which made him a great essayist; and though, for the most part, he gave up professional public speaking on leaving the pulpit, his addresses and lectures express his lofty genius better, perhaps, than it is expressed in any equal number of his essays. He is a genuine poet, as well as an orator and essayist, but his eloquence is that of the great thinker rather than of the great poet. He does not amplify under the influence of his ear for melody. His address on the death of Lincoln is a model of brevity as it is of condensed and compacted truthfulness. Instead of putting Lincoln in "apotheosis," he humanizes him. The Lincoln of Beecher and of Phillips Brooks might have come from Utopia. Emerson's Lincoln certainly came from Illinois, and Emerson demonstrates him a greater man than any Utopia has yet produced.

Born in Boston, May 25th, 1803, Emerson graduated at Harvard in 1821, and from 1827 to 1832 filled the pulpit of a Unitarian Church in Boston. In 1833 he began lecturing and producing the works which immortalized him. He has been charged with having a defective ear as a poet, but if so, the defect is in his sense of metre, rather than of melody. His oratory, though completely dominated by idea, is always melodious in tone, and it is not necessarily to its discredit that it will not break up into blank verse. Emerson died at Concord, April 27th, 1882. His was the greatest mind of New England. The world has produced few greater.

THE GREATNESS OF LINCOLN

(Delivered at Concord, Massachusetts, on the Occasion of the Funeral Services in Honour of Lincoln, 1865).

WE meet under the gloom of a calamity which darkens down over the minds of good men in all civilized society, as the fearful tidings travel over sea, over land, from country to country, like the

shadow of an uncalculated eclipse over the planet. Old as history is, and manifold as are its tragedies, I doubt if any death has caused so much pain to mankind as this has caused, or will cause, on its announcement ; and this not so much because nations are by modern arts brought so closely together, as because of the mysterious hopes and fears which, in the present day, are connected with the name and institutions of America. In this country, on Saturday, every one was struck dumb, and saw, at first, only deep below deep, as he meditated on the ghastly blow. And, perhaps, at this hour, when the coffin which contains the dust of the President sets forward on its long march through mourning States, on its way to his home in Illinois, we might well be silent, and suffer the awful voices of the time to thunder to us.

Yes, but that first despair was brief ; the man was not so to be mourned. He was the most active and hopeful of men, and his work had not perished, but acclamations of praise for the task he had accomplished burst out into a song of triumph, which even tears for his death cannot keep down. The President stood before us a man of the people. He was thoroughly American, had never crossed the sea, had never been spoiled by English insularity or French dissipation ; a quiet, native, aboriginal man, as an acorn from the oak ; no aping of foreigners, no frivolous accomplishments ; Kentuckian born, working on a farm, a flatboatman, a captain in the Blackhawk War, a country lawyer, a representative in the rural legislature of Illinois—on such modest foundations the broad structure of his fame was laid. How slowly, and yet by happily prepared steps, he came to his place !

All of us remember—it is only a history of five or six years—the surprise and disappointment of the country at his first nomination at Chicago. Mr. Seward, then in the culmination of his good fame, was the favourite of the Eastern States. And when the new and comparatively unknown name of Lincoln was announced (notwithstanding the report of the acclamations of that convention), we heard the result coldly and sadly. It seemed too rash, on a purely local reputation, to build so grave a trust, in such anxious times ; and men naturally talked of the chances in politics as incalculable. But it turned out not to be chance. The profound good opinion which the people of Illinois and of the West had conceived of him, and which they had imparted to their colleagues, that they also might justify themselves to their constituents at home, was not rash, though they did but begin to know the richness of his worth. A plain man of the people, an extraordinary fortune attended him. Bacon says : “ Manifest virtues procure reputation ; occult ones, fortune.” He offered no shining qualities at the first encounter ; he did not offend by superiority.

He had a face and manner which disarmed suspicion, which inspired confidence, which confirmed goodwill. He was a man without vices. He had a strong sense of duty which it was very easy for him to obey. Then he had what farmers call a long head ; was excellent in working out the sum for himself, in arguing his case and convincing you fairly and firmly. Then it turned out that he was a greater worker, and that, having prodigious faculty of performance, he worked easily. A good worker is so rare ; everybody has some one disabling quality. But this man was found to the very core cheerful, persistent, all right for labour, and he liked nothing so well.

Then he had a vast good nature, which made him tolerant and accessible to all ; fair-minded, leaning to the claim of the petitioner, affable, and not sensible of the affliction which the innumerable visits paid to him, when President, would have brought to anyone else. And how this good nature became a noble humanity in many a tragic case which the events of the war brought to him, everyone will remember, and with what increasing tenderness he dealt when a whole race was on his compassion. The poor negro said to him, on an impressive occasion, " Massa Linkum am eberywhere." Then his broad good humour, running easily into jocular talk, in which he delighted and in which he excelled, was a rich gift to this wise man. It enabled him to keep his secret, to meet every kind of man and every rank in society, to take off the edge of the severest decisions, to mask his own purpose and sound his companion, and to catch with true instinct the temper of each company he addressed. And, more than all, such good nature is to a man of severe labour, in anxious and exhausting crises, the natural restorative, good as sleep, and is the protection of the overdriven brain against rancour and insanity. He is the author of a multitude of good sayings, so disguised as pleasantries that it is certain that they had no reputation at first but as jests ; and only later, by the acceptance and adoption they find in the mouths of millions, turn out to be the wisdom of the hour.

I am sure if this man had ruled in a period of less facility of printing, he would have become mythological in a few years, like Æsop or Pilpay, or one of the Seven Wise Masters, by his fables and proverbs. But the weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches, hidden now by the very closeness of their application to the moment, are destined hereafter to wide fame. What pregnant definitions ; what unerring common sense ; what foresight ; and on great occasions, what lofty and more than natural, what humane tone ! His occupying the chair of State was a triumph of the good sense of mankind and of the public confidence.

This middle-class country has got a middle-class President at last. Yes in manners, sympathies, but not in powers, for his powers were superior. His mind mastered the problem of the day ; and, as the problem grew, so did his comprehension of it. Rarely was man so fitted to the event. In the midst of fears and jealousies, in the babel of counsels and parties, this man wrought incessantly with all his might and all his honesty, labouring to find what the people wanted, and how to obtain that. It cannot be said there is any exaggeration of his worth. If ever a man was fairly tested, he was. There was no lack of resistance, nor of slander, nor of ridicule. The times have allowed no State secrets ; the nation has been in such a ferment, such multitudes had to be trusted, that no secret could be kept. Every door was ajar, and we know all that befell. Then what an occasion was the whirlwind of the war ! Here was place for no holiday magistrate, no fair-weather sailor ; the new pilot was hurried to the helm in a tornado. In four years—the four years of battle days—his endurance, his fertility of resources, his magnanimity, were sorely tried and never found wanting. There, by his courage, his justice, his even temper, his fertile counsel, his humanity, he stood, an heroic figure, in the centre of an heroic epoch.

He is the true history of the American people in his time. Step by step, he walked before them ; slow with their slowness, quickening his march by theirs ; the true representative of this continent ; an entirely public man ; father of his country, the pulse of twenty millions throbbing in his heart, the thought of their minds articulated by his tongue. Adam Smith remarks that the axe which in Houbraken's portraits of British kings and worthies is engraved under those who have suffered at the block adds a certain lofty charm to the picture. And who does not see, even in this tragedy so recent, how fast the terror and ruin of the massacre are already burning into glory around the victim ? Far happier this fate than to have lived to be wished away ; to have watched the decay of his own faculties ; to have seen—perhaps, even he—the proverbial ingratitude of statesmen ; to have seen mean men preferred.

Had he not lived long enough to keep the greatest promise that ever man made to his fellow-men—the practical abolition of slavery ? He had seen Tennessee, Missouri, and Maryland emancipate their slaves. He had seen Savannah, Charleston, and Richmond surrendered ; had seen the main army of the Rebellion lay down its arms. He had conquered the public opinion of Canada, England, and France. Only Washington can compare with him in fortune. And what if it should turn out, in the unfolding of the web, that he had reached the term ; that this heroic deliverer could no longer serve us ; that the rebellion had touched its

natural conclusion, and what remained to be done required new and uncommitted hands—a new spirit born out of the ashes of the war ; and that Heaven, wishing to show the world a completed benefactor, shall make him serve his country even more by his death than his life. Nations, like kings, are not good by facility and complaisance. “ The kindness of kings consists in justice and strength.” Easy good nature has been the dangerous foible of the Republic, and it was necessary that its enemies should outrage it, and drive us to unwonted firmness, to secure the salvation of this country in the next ages.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

(Delivered August 31st, 1837, at Cambridge, Mass).

I HEAR with joy whatever is beginning to be said of the dignity and necessity of labour to every citizen. There is virtue yet in the hoe and the spade, for learned as well as for unlearned hands. And labour is everywhere welcome ; always we are invited to work ; only be this limitation observed, that a man shall not for the sake of wider activity sacrifice any opinion to the popular judgments and modes of action.

I have spoken of the education of the scholar by nature, by books, and by action. It remains to say somewhat of his duties.

They are such as become Man Thinking. They may all be comprised in self-trust. The office of the scholar is to cheer, to raise, and to guide men by showing them facts amidst appearances. He plies the slow, unhonoured, and unpaid task of observation. Flamsteed and Herschel, in their glazed observatories, may catalogue the stars with the praise of all men, and, the results being splendid and useful, honour is sure. But he, in his private observatory, cataloguing obscure and nebulous stars of the human mind, which as yet no man has thought of as such,—watching days and months, sometimes, for a few facts ; correcting still his old records,—must relinquish display and immediate fame. In the long period of his preparation, he must betray often an ignorance and shiftlessness in popular arts, incurring the disdain of the able who shoulder him aside. Long he must stammer in his speech ; often forego the living for the dead. Worse yet, he must accept,—how often ! poverty and solitude. For the ease and pleasure of treading the old road, accepting the fashions, the education, the religion of society, he takes the cross of his own making, and, of course, the self-accusation, the faint heart, the frequent uncertainty and loss of time, which are the nettles and tangling vines in the way of the self-relying and self-

directed ; and the state of virtual hostility in which he seems to stand to society, and especially to educated society. For all this loss and scorn, what offset ? He is to find consolation in exercising the highest functions of human nature. He is one who raises himself from private considerations and breathes and lives on public and illustrious thoughts. He is the world's eye. He is the world's heart. He is to resist the vulgar prosperity that retrogrades ever to barbarism, by preserving and communicating heroic sentiments, noble biographies, melodious verse, and the conclusions of history. Whatsoever oracles the human heart, in all emergencies, in all solemn hours, has uttered as its commentary on the world of actions,—these he shall receive and impart. And whatsoever new verdict Reason from her inviolable seat pronounces on the passing men and events of to-day,—this he shall hear and promulgate.

These being his functions, it becomes him to feel all confidence in himself, and to defer never to the popular cry. He, and he only, knows the world. The world of any moment is the merest appearance. Some great decorum, some fetish of a government, some ephemeral trade, or war, or man, is cried up by half mankind and cried down by the other half, as if all depended on this particular up or down. The odds are that the whole question is not worth the poorest thought which the scholar has lost in listening to the controversy. Let him not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honourable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom. In silence, in steadiness, in severe abstraction, let him hold by himself ; add observation to observation, patient of neglect, patient of reproach ; and bide his own time,—happy enough, if he can satisfy himself alone, that this day he has seen something truly. Success treads on every right step. For the instinct is sure that prompts him to tell his brother what he thinks. He then learns that, in going down into the secrets of his own mind, he has descended into the secrets of all minds. He learns that he who has mastered any law in his private thoughts is master to that extent of all men whose language he speaks, and of all into whose language his own can be translated. The poet, in utter solitude remembering his spontaneous thoughts and recording them, is found to have recorded that which men in crowded cities find true for them also. The orator distrusts at first the fitness of his frank confessions,—his want of knowledge of the persons he addresses,—until he finds that he is the complement of his hearers ; that they drink his words because he fulfils for them their own nature ; the deeper he dives into his privatest, secretest presentment, to his wonder he finds this is the most acceptable, most public, and universally true. The people delight in it ; the better part of every man feels, This is my music, this is myself.

In self-trust, all the virtues are comprehended. Free should the scholar be,—free and brave. Free even to the definition of freedom, “without any hindrance that does not arise out of his own constitution.” Brave; for fear is a thing which a scholar, by his very function, puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance. It is a shame to him if his tranquillity, amid dangerous times, arise from the presumption that, like children and women, his is a protected class; or if he seek a temporary peace by the diversion of his thoughts from politics or vexed questions, hiding his head like an ostrich in the flowering bushes, peeping into microscopes, and turning rhymes, as a boy whistles to keep his courage up. So is the danger a danger still; so is the fear worse. Manlike let him turn and face it. Let him look into its eye and search its nature, inspect its origin,—see the whelping of this lion, which lies no great way back; he will then find in himself a perfect comprehension of its nature and extent; he will have made his hands meet on the other side, and can henceforth defy it, and pass on superior.

MAN THE REFORMER

(Address before the Mechanics' Apprentices' Library Association, Boston,
January 25th, 1841).

WHAT is a man born for but to be a Reformer, a Re-maker of what man has made: a renouncer of lies; a restorer of truth and good, imitating that great Nature which embosoms us all, and which sleeps no moment on an old past, but every hour repairs herself, yielding us every morning a new day, and with every pulsation a new life? Let him renounce everything which is not true to him, and put all his practices back on their first thoughts, and do nothing for which he has not the whole world for his reason. If there are inconveniences, and what is called ruin, in the way, because we have so enervated and maimed ourselves, yet it would be like dying of perfumes to sink in the effort to reattach the deeds of every day to the holy and mysterious recesses of life.

The power, which is at once spring and regulator in all efforts of reform, is the conviction that there is an infinite worthiness in man which will appear at the call of worth, and that all particular reforms are the removing of some impediment. Is it not the highest duty that man should be honoured in us? I ought not to allow any man, because he has broad lands, to feel that he is rich in my presence. I ought to make him feel that I can do without his riches, that I cannot be bought,—neither by comfort, neither by pride,—and though I be utterly penniless, and receiving bread from him, that he is the poor man beside me. And

if, at the same time, a woman or a child discover sentiment of piety, or a juster way of thinking than mine, I ought to confess it by my respect and obedience, though it go to alter my whole way of life.

The Americans have many virtues, but they have not Faith and Hope. I know no two words whose meaning is more lost sight of. We use these words as if they were as obsolete as *Selah* and *Amen*. And yet they have the broadest meaning, and the most cogent application to Boston in 1841. The Americans have no faith. They rely on the power of a dollar; they are deaf to a sentiment. They think you may talk the north wind down as easily as raise society; and no class more faithless than the scholars or intellectual men. Now, if I talk with a sincere, wise man, and my friend with a poet, with a conscientious youth who is still under the dominion of his own wild thoughts, and not yet harnessed in the team of society to drag with us all in the ruts of custom, I see at once how paltry is all this generation of unbelievers, and what a house of cards their institutions are, and I see what one brave man, what one great thought executed might effect. I see that the reason of the distrust of the practical man in all theory is his ability to perceive the means whereby we work. Look, he says, at the tools with which this world of yours is to be built. As we cannot make a planet, with atmosphere, rivers, and forests, by the means of the best carpenter's or engineer's tools, with chemist's laboratory and smith's forge to boot, so neither can we ever construct that heavenly society you prate of out of foolish, sick, selfish men and women, such as we know them to be. But the believer not only beholds his heaven to be possible, but already to begin to exist,—not by the men or materials the statesman uses, but by men transfigured and raised above themselves by the power of principles. To principles something else is possible that transcends all the power of expedients.

Every great and commanding moment in the annals of the world is the triumph of some enthusiasm. The victories of the Arabs after Mahomet, who, in a few years, from a small and mean beginning, established a larger empire than that of Rome, is an example. They did they knew not what. The naked Derar, horsed on an idea, was found an overmatch for a troop of Roman cavalry. The women fought like men, and conquered the Roman men. They were miserably equipped, miserably fed. They were Temperance troops. There was neither brandy nor flesh needed to feed them. They conquered Asia and Africa and Spain on barley. The Caliph Omar's walking-stick struck more terror into those who saw it than another man's sword. His diet was barley bread; his sauce was salt; and oftentimes, by way of abstinence, he ate his bread without salt. His drink was water; his palace was built of mud; and

when he left Medina to go to the conquest of Jerusalem, he rode on a red camel, with a wooden platter hanging at his saddle, with a bottle of water and two sacks, one holding barley and the other dried fruits.

But there will dawn ere long on our politics, on our modes of living, a nobler morning than that Arabian faith, in the sentiment of love. This is the one remedy for all ills, the panacea of nature. We must be lovers, and at once the impossible becomes possible. Our age and history, for these thousand years, has not been the history of kindness but of selfishness. Our distrust is very expensive. The money we spend for courts and prisons is very ill laid out. We make by distrust the thief and burglar and incendiary, and by our court and jail we keep him so. An acceptance of the sentiment of love throughout Christendom for a season would bring the felon and the outcast to our side in tears, with the devotion of his faculties to our service.

See this wide society of labouring men and women. We allow ourselves to be served by them, we live apart from them, and meet them without a salute in the streets. We do not greet their talents, nor rejoice in their good fortune, nor foster their hopes, nor in the assembly of the people vote for what is dear to them. Thus we enact the part of the selfish noble and king from the foundation of the world. See, this tree always bears one fruit. In every household the peace of a pair is poisoned by the malice, slyness, indolence, and alienation of domestics. Let any two matrons meet, and observe how soon their conversation turns on the troubles from their "help," as our phrase is. In every knot of labourers, the rich man does not feel himself among his friends,—and at the polls he finds them arrayed in a mass in distinct opposition to him. We complain that the politics of masses of the people are controlled by designing men, and led in opposition to manifest justice and the common weal, and to their own interest. But the people do not wish to be represented or ruled by the ignorant and base. They only vote for these because they were asked with the voice and semblance of kindness. They will not vote for them long. They inevitably prefer wit and probity. To use an Egyptian metaphor, it is not their will for any long time "to raise the nails of wild beasts, and to depress the heads of the sacred birds."

Let our affection flow out to our fellows ; it would operate in a day the greatest of all revolutions. It is better to work on institutions by the sun than by the wind. The State must consider the poor man, and all voices must speak for him. Every child that is born must have a just chance for his bread. Let the amelioration in our laws of property proceed from the concession of the rich, not from the grasping of the poor. Let us begin by habitual imparting. Let us understand that the equitable

rule is, that no one should take more than his share, let him be ever so rich. Let me feel that I am to be a lover. I am to see to it that the world is the better for me and to find my reward in the act. Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long, and it would warm the heart to see how fast the vain diplomacy of statesmen, the impotence of armies and navies and lines of defence would be superseded by the unarmed child. Love will creep where it cannot go, will accomplish that by imperceptible methods,—being its own lever, fulcrum, and power,—which force could never achieve. Have you not seen in the woods, in the late autumn morning, a poor fungus or mushroom,—a plant without any solidity, nay, that seemed nothing but a soft mush or jelly,—by its constant, total, and inconceivably gentle pushing, manage to break its way up through the frosty ground, and actually to lift a hard crust on its head? It is the symbol of the power of kindness. The virtue of this principle in human society in application to great interests is obsolete and forgotten. Once or twice in history it has been tried in illustrious instances, with signal success. This great, overgrown, dead Christendom of ours still keeps alive at least the name of a lover of mankind. But one day all men will be lovers; and every calamity will be dissolved in the universal sunshine.

Will you suffer me to add one trait more to this portrait of man the reformer? The mediator between the spiritual and the actual world should have a great prospective prudence. An Arabian poet describes his hero by saying:—

“Sunshine was he
 In the winter day;
 And in the midsummer
 Coolness and shade.”

He who would help himself and others should not be a subject of irregular and interrupted impulses of virtue, but a continent, persisting, immovable person,—such as we have seen a few scattered up and down in time for the blessing of the world; men who have in the gravity of their nature a quality which answers to the fly-wheel in a mill, which distributes the motion equably over all the wheels, and hinders it from falling unequally and suddenly in destructive shocks. It is better that joy should be spread over all the day in the form of strength than that it should be concentrated into ecstasies, full of danger and followed by reactions. There is a sublime prudence which is the very highest that we know of man, which, believing in the vast future,—sure of more to come than

is yet seen,—postpones always the present hour to the whole life ; postpones talent to genius, and special results to character. As the merchant gladly takes money from his income to add to his capital, so is the great man very willing to lose particular powers and talents, so that he gain in the elevation of his life. The opening of the spiritual senses disposes men ever to greater sacrifices, to leave their signal talents, their best means and skill of procuring a present success, their power and their fame,—to cast all things behind, in the insatiable thirst for divine communications. A purer fame, a greater power rewards the sacrifice. It is the conversion of our harvest into seed. As the farmer casts into the ground the finest ears of his grain, the time will come when we, too, shall hold nothing back, but shall eagerly convert more than we now possess into means and powers, when we shall be willing to sow the sun and the moon for seeds.

USES OF GREAT MEN

(The First of a Series of Seven Addresses on Representative Men).

IT is natural to believe in great men. If the companions of our childhood should turn out to be heroes, and their condition regal, it would not surprise us. All mythology opens with demigods, and in the circumstances is high and poetic ; that is, their genius is paramount. In the legends of the Gautama the first men ate the earth, and found it deliciously sweet.

Nature seems to exist for the excellent. The world is upheld by the veracity of good men ; they make the earth wholesome. They who lived with them found life glad and nutritious. Life is sweet and tolerable only in our belief in such society ; and actually or ideally we manage to live with superiors. We call our children and our lands by their names. Their names are wrought into the verbs of language, their works and effigies are in our houses, and every circumstance of the day recalls an anecdote of them.

The search after the great is the dream of youth, and the most serious occupation of manhood. We travel into foreign parts to find his works,—if possible, to get a glimpse of him. But we are put off with fortune instead. You say the English are practical ; the Germans are hospitable ; in Valencia the climate is delicious ; and in the hills of the Sacramento there is gold for the gathering. Yes, but I do not travel to find comfortable, rich and hospitable people, or clear sky, or ingots that cost too much. But if there were any magnet that would point

to the countries and houses where are the persons who are intrinsically rich and powerful, I would sell all and buy it and put myself on the road to-day.

The rate goes with us on their credit. The knowledge that in the city is a man who invented the railroad raises the credit of all the citizens. But enormous populations, if they be beggars, are disgusting, like moving cheese, like hills of ants, or of fleas—the more, the worse.

Our religion is the love and cherishing of these patrons. The gods of fable are the shining moments of great men. We run all our vessels into one mould. Our colossal theologies of Judaism, Christism, Buddhism, Mahometism, are the necessary and structural action of the human mind. The student of history is like a man going into a warehouse to buy clothes or carpets. He fancies he has a new article. If he go to the factory, he shall find that his new stuff still repeats the scrolls and rosettes which are found on the interior walls of the pyramids of Thebes. Our Theism is the purification of the human mind. Man can paint, or make, or think nothing but man. He believes that the great material elements had their origin from his thought. And our philosophy finds one essence collected or distributed.

If now we proceed to inquire into the kinds of service we derive from others, let us be warned of the danger of modern studies, and begin low enough. We must not contend against love, or deny the substantial existence of other people. I know not what would happen to us. We have social strengths. Our affection towards others creates a sort of vantage or purchase, which nothing will supply. I can do that by another which I cannot do alone. I can say to you what I cannot first say to myself. Other men are lenses through which we read our own minds. Each man seeks those of different quality from his own, and such as are good of their kind ; that is, he seeks other men, and the *otherest*. The stronger the nature, the more it is reactive. Let us have the quality pure. A little genius let us leave alone. A main difference betwixt men is, whether they attend their own affair or not. Man is that noble endogenous plant which grows, like the palm, from within, outward. His own affair, though impossible to others, he can open with celerity and in sport. It is easy to sugar to be sweet, and to nitre to be salt. We take a great deal of pains to waylay and entrap that which of itself will fall into our hands. I count him a great man who inhabits a higher sphere of thought, into which other men rise with labour and difficulty ; he has but to open his eyes to see things in a true light, and in large relations ; whilst they must make painful corrections, and keep a vigilant eye on many sources of error. His service to us is of like sort. It costs a beautiful person no exertion to paint her image on our eyes ; yet how

splendid is that benefit! It costs no more for a wise soul to convey his quality to other men. And every one can do his best thing easiest. *Peu de moyens, beaucoup d'effét*. He is great who is what he is from nature, and who never reminds us of others.

But he must be related to us, and our life receive from him some promise of explanation. I cannot tell what I would know; but I have observed there are persons who, in their character and actions, answer questions which I have not skill to put. One man answers some question which none of his contemporaries put, and is isolated. The past and passing religions and philosophies answer some other question. Certain men affect us as rich possibilities, but helpless to themselves and to their times,—the sport, perhaps, of some instinct that rules in the air; they do not speak to our want. But the great are near; we know them at sight. They satisfy expectation, and fall into place. What is good is effective, generative; makes for itself room, food, and allies. A sound apple produces seed; a hybrid does not. Put a man in his place, he is constructive, fertile, magnetic, inundating armies with his purpose, which is thus executed. The river makes its own shores, and each legitimate idea makes its own channels and welcome,—harvests for food, institutions for expression, weapons to fight with, and disciples to explain it. The true artist has the planet for his pedestal; the adventurer, after years of strife, has nothing broader than his own shoes.

Our common discourse respects two kinds of use of service from superior men. Direct giving is agreeable to the early belief of men; direct giving of material or metaphysical aid, as of health, eternal youth, fine senses, arts of healing, magical power, and prophecy. The boy believes there is a teacher who can sell him wisdom. Churches believe in imputed merit. But, in strictness, we are not much cognizant of direct serving. Man is endogenous, and education is his unfolding. The aid we have from others is mechanical, compared with the discoveries of nature in us. What is thus learned is delightful in the doing, and the effect remains. Right ethics are central, and go from the soul outward. Gift is contrary to the law of the universe. Serving others is serving us. I must absolve me to myself. "Mind thy affair," says the spirit; "coxcomb, would you meddle with the skies, or with other people?" Indirect service is left. Men have a pictorial or representative quality, and serve us in the intellect. Behmen and Swedenborg saw that things were representative. Men are also representative—first, of things and secondly, of ideas.

As plants convert the minerals into food for animals, so each man converts some raw material in nature to human use. The inventors of fire, electricity, magnetism, iron, lead, glass, linen, silk, cotton; the

makers of tools ; the inventor of decimal notation ; the geometer ; the engineer ; the musician,—severally make an easy way for all, through unknown and impossible confusions. Each man is, by secret liking, connected with some district of nature, whose agent and interpreter he is, as Linnæus, of plants ; Huber, of bees ; Fries, of lichens ; Van Mons, of pears ; Dalton, of atomic forms ; Euclid, of lines ; Newton, of fluxions.

A man is a centre for nature, running out threads of relation through everything, fluid and solid, material and elemental. The earth rolls ; every clod and stone comes to the meridian ; so every organ, function, acid, crystal, grain of dust, has its relation to the brain. It waits long, but its turn comes. Each plant has its parasite, and each created thing its lover and poet. Justice has already been done to steam, to iron, to wood, to coal, to loadstone, to iodine, to corn, and cotton ; but how few materials are yet used by our arts ! The mass of creatures and of qualities are still hid and expectant. It would seem as if each waited, like the enchanted princess in fairy tales, for a destined human deliverer. Each must be disenchanting and walk forth to the day in human shape. In the history of discovery, the ripe and latent truth seems to have fashioned a brain for itself. A magnet must be made man, in some Gilbert, or Swedenborg, or Oersted, before the general mind can come to entertain its powers.

If we limit ourselves to the first advantages ;—a sober grace adheres to the mineral and botanic kingdoms which, in the highest moments, comes up as the charm of nature,—the glitter of the spar, the sureness of affinity, the veracity of angles. Light and darkness, heat and cold, hunger and food, sweet and sour, solid, liquid, and gas, circle us around in a wreath of pleasures, and, by their agreeable quarrel, beguile the day of life. The eye repeats every day the first eulogy on things—“ He saw that they were good.” We know where to find them ; and these performers are relished all the more after a little experience of the pretending races. We are entitled, also, to higher advantages. Something is wanting to science until it has been humanized. The table of logarithms is one thing, and its vital play in botany, music, optics, and architecture, another. There are advancements to numbers, anatomy, architecture, astronomy, little suspected at first, when, by union with intellect and will, they ascend into the life, and reappear in conversation, character, and politics.

But this comes later. We speak now only of our acquaintance with them in their own sphere, and the way in which they seem to fascinate and draw to them some genius who occupies himself with one thing all his life long. The possibility of interpretation lies in the identity

of the observer with the observed. Each material thing has its celestial side—has its translation, through humanity, into the spiritual and necessary sphere, where it plays a part as indestructible as any other. And to these their ends, all things continually ascend. The gases gather to the solid firmament : the chemic lump arrives at the plant and grows ; arrives at the quadruped, and walks ; arrives at the man, and thinks. But also the constituency determines the vote of the representative. He is not only representative, but participant. Like can only be known by like. The reason why he knows about them is that he is of them ; he has just come out of nature, or from being a part of that thing. Animated chlorine knows of chlorine, and incarnate zinc of zinc. Their quality makes his career, and he can variously publish their virtues because they compose him. Man, made of the dust of the world, does not forget his origin ; and all that is yet inanimate will one day speak and reason. Unpublished nature will have its whole secret told. Shall we say that quartz mountains will pulverize into innumerable Werners, Von Buchs, and Beaumonts, and the laboratory of the atmosphere holds in solution I know not what Berzeliuses and Davys ?

Thus we sit by the fire and take hold on the poles of the earth. This *quasi* omnipresence supplies the imbecility of our condition. In one of those celestial days when heaven and earth meet and adorn each other, it seems a poverty that we can only spend it once ; we wish for a thousand heads, a thousand bodies, that we might celebrate its immense beauty in many ways and places. Is this fancy ? Well, in good faith, we are multiplied by our proxies. How easily we adopt their labours ! Every ship that comes to America got its chart from Columbus. Every novel is a debtor to Homer. Every carpenter who shaves with a fore-plane borrows the genius of a forgotten inventor. Life is girt all round with a zodiac of sciences—the contributions of men who have perished to add their point of light to our sky. Engineer, broker, jurist, physician, moralist, theologian, and every man, in as much as he has any science, is a definer and map-maker of the latitudes and longitudes of our condition. These road-makers on every hand enrich us. We must extend the area of life, and multiply our relations. We are as much gainers by finding a new property in the old earth as by acquiring a new planet.

We are too passive in the reception of these material or semi-material aids. We must not be sacks and stomachs. To ascend one step we are better served through our sympathy. Activity is contagious. Looking where others look, and conversing with the same things, we catch the charm which lured them. Napoleon said : “ You must not fight too often with one enemy, or you will teach him all your art of war.”

Talk much with any man of vigorous mind, and we acquire very fast the habit of looking at things in the same light, and on each occurrence we anticipate his thought.

Men are helpful through the intellect and the affections. Other help, I find a false appearance. If you affect to give me bread and fire, I perceive that I pay for it the full price, and at last it leaves me as it found me, neither better nor worse. But all mental and moral force is a positive good. It goes out from you whether you will or not, and profits me whom you never thought of. I cannot even hear of personal vigour of any kind, great power of performance, without fresh resolution. We are emulous of all that man can do. Cecil's saying of Sir Walter Raleigh, "I know that he can toil terribly," is an electric torch. So are Clarendon's portraits,—of Hampden, "who was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed on by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts,"—of Falkland, "who was so severe an adorer of truth that he could as easily have given himself leave to steal as to dissemble." We cannot read Plutarch without a tingling of the blood, and I accept the saying of the Chinese Mencius: "A sage is the instructor of a hundred ages. When the manners of Loo are heard of, the stupid become intelligent, and the wavering determined."

This is the moral of biography; yet it is hard for departed men to touch the quick like our own companions, whose names may not last as long. What is he whom I never think of? whilst in every solitude are those who succour our genius and stimulate us in wonderful manners. There is a power in love to divine another's destiny better than that other can, and, by heroic encouragements, hold him to his task. What has friendship so signal as its sublime attraction to whatever virtue is in us? We will never more think cheaply of ourselves or of life. We are piqued to some purpose, and the industry of the diggers on the railroad will not again shame us.

Under this head, too, falls that homage, very pure, as I think, which all ranks pay to the hero of the day, from Coriolanus and Gracchus down to Pitt, Lafayette, Wellington, Webster, Lamartine. Hear the shouts in the streets! The people cannot see him enough. They delight in a man. Here is a head and a trunk! What a front! what eyes! Atlantean shoulders, and the whole carriage heroic, with equal inward force to guide the great machine! This pleasure of full expression to that which, in their private experience, is usually cramped and obstructed, runs, also, much higher, and is the secret of the reader's joy in literary genius. Nothing is kept back. There is fire enough to fuse the mountain

of ore. Shakespeare's principal merit may be conveyed in saying that he, of all men, best understands the English language, and can say what he will. Yet these unchoked channels and floodgates of expression are only health or fortunate constitution. Shakespeare's name suggests other and purely intellectual benefits.

Senates and sovereigns have no compliment, with their medals, swords, and armorial coats, like the addressing to a human being thoughts out of a certain height, and presupposing his intelligence. This honour, which is possible in personal intercourse scarcely twice in a lifetime, genius perpetually pays; contented, if now and then, in a century, the proffer is accepted. The indicators of the values of matter are degraded to a sort of cooks and confectioners, on the appearance of the indicators of ideas. Genius is the naturalist or geographer of the supersensible regions, and draws their map; and, by acquainting us with new fields of activity, cools our affection for the old. These are at once accepted as the reality, of which the world we have conversed with is the show.

We go to the gymnasium and the swimming-school to see the power and beauty of the body; there is the like pleasure, and a higher benefit, from witnessing intellectual feats of all kinds; as feats of memory, of mathematical combination, great power of abstraction, the transmutings of the imagination, even versatility, and concentration, as these acts expose the invisible organs and members of the mind, which respond, member for member, to the parts of the body. For we thus enter a new gymnasium, and learn to choose men by their truest marks, taught, with Plato, "to choose those who can, without aid from the eyes, or any other sense, proceed to truth and to being." Foremost among these activities are the somersaults, spells, and resurrections, wrought by the imagination. When this wakes, a man seems to multiply ten times or a thousand times his force. It opens the delicious sense of indeterminate size, and inspires an audacious mental habit. We are as elastic as the gas of gunpowder, and a sentence in a book or a word dropped in conversation sets free our fancy, and instantly our heads are bathed with galaxies, and our feet tread the floor of the pit. And this benefit is real, because we are entitled to these enlargements, and, once having passed the bounds, shall never again be quite the miserable pedants we were.

The high functions of the intellect are so allied that some imaginative power usually appears in all eminent minds, even in arithmeticians of the first class, but especially in meditative men of an intuitive habit of thought. This class serves us, so that they have the perception of identity and the perception of reaction. The eyes of Plato, Shakes-

peare, Swedenborg, Goethe, never shut on either of these laws. The perception of these laws is a kind of metre of the mind. Little minds are little through failure to see them.

Even these feats have their surfeit. Our delight in reason degenerates into idolatry of the herald. Especially when a mind of powerful method has instructed men, we find the examples of oppression. The dominion of Aristotle, the Ptolemaic astronomy, the credit of Luther, of Bacon, of Locke,—in religion, the history of hierarchies, of saints, and the sects which have taken the name of each founder, are in point. Alas! every man is such a victim. The imbecility of men is always inviting the impudence of power. It is the delight of vulgar talent to dazzle and to blind the beholder. But true genius seeks to defend us from itself. True genius will not impoverish, but will liberate, and add new senses. If a wise man should appear in our village, he would create in those who conversed with him a new consciousness of wealth by opening their eyes to unobserved advantages; he would establish a sense of immovable equality, calm us with assurances that we could not be cheated, as every one would discern the checks and guaranties of condition. The rich would see their mistakes and poverty, the poor their escapes and their resources.

But nature brings all this about in due time. Rotation is her remedy. The soul is impatient of masters, and eager for change. Housekeepers say of a domestic who has been valuable, "She had lived with me long enough." We are tendencies, or, rather, symptoms, and none of us complete. We touch and go, and sip the foam of many lives. Rotation is the law of nature. When nature removes a great man, people explore the horizon for a successor; but none comes, and none will. His class is extinguished with him. In some other and quite different field, the next man will appear: not Jefferson, not Franklin, but now a great salesman; then a road-contractor; then a student of fishes; then a buffalo-hunting explorer, or a semi-savage western general. Thus we make a stand against our rougher masters; but against the best there is a finer remedy. The power which they communicate is not theirs. When we are exalted by ideas, we do not owe this to Plato, but to the idea, to which, also, Plato was debtor.

I must not forget that we have a special debt to a single class. Life is a scale of degrees. Between rank and rank of our great men are wide intervals. Mankind have, in all ages, attached themselves to a few persons who, either by the quality of that idea they embodied, or by the largeness of their reception, were entitled to the position of leaders and law-givers. These teach us the qualities of primary nature,—admit us to the constitution of things. We swim, day by day, on a river of delusions,

and are effectually amused with houses and towns in the air, of which the men about us are dupes. But life is a sincerity. In lucid intervals we say : " Let there be an entrance opened for me into realities ; I have worn the fool's cap too long." We will know the meaning of our economies and politics. Give us the cipher, and, if persons and things are scores of a celestial music, let us read off the strains. We have been cheated of our reason ; yet there have been sane men, who enjoyed a rich and related existence. What they know, they know for us. With each new mind, a new secret of nature transpires ; nor can the Bible be closed, until the last great man is born. These men correct the delirium of the animal spirits, make us considerate, and engage us to new aims and powers. The veneration of mankind selects these for the highest place. Witness the multitude of statues, pictures, and memorials which recall their genius in every city, village, house, and ship :—

“ Ever their phantoms arise before us,
Our loftier brothers, but one in blood ;
At bed and table they lord it o'er us,
With looks of beauty, and words of good.”

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE

(1818-1894).

HISTORIAN and man of letters, was born at Dartington Rectory, in Devonshire, April 1818. That part of the country was evidently in a primitive state during the early 19th century, as Froude records that his father was once called upon by a distressed parishioner to lay a ghost! In 1830 Froude entered Westminster School but was unhappy there, and in 1833 he left and had some private tuition. Finally he went up to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1835. In a book called "The Shadows of the Clouds," written by Froude about 1847, he tells the story of a boy's unhappiness during his school years at Westminster. This is to some extent veiled autobiography. He graduated M.A. in 1843, and the next year he took Deacon's orders, a necessary step in order to hold a fellowship. Before this, however, he had fallen under the influence of Carlyle and the German historians. He gradually became sceptical in his thinking on theological questions, and in 1849, he made a complete breach with orthodoxy by publishing the story of the shipwreck of a young man's religious faith. This was the notorious "Nemesis of Faith." By this act, Froude definitely ranked himself among the agnostics, and as soon as the Act for the Relief of Clergy Disabilities was passed, he divested himself of his cassock. After this break in his life—it was of course necessary to resign his Fellowship—he migrated to London and supported himself by writing for Reviews like "Frazer's" and "The Westminster." The great work of his life, "The History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada," began to appear in 1856 and was steadily continued until the concluding volume appeared in 1870. This history, although exciting great criticism, established Froude's fame as a master of English prose. In 1868 he was elected Rector of St. Andrew's, beating Disraeli by fourteen votes.

In addition to all these varied labours as author and lecturer, he became Carlyle's literary executor. This position proved a veritable hornet's nest to Froude, as it involved him in endless disputes over the domestic relations of those Swinburne irreverently called

“Tammis Carlyle and his Goody.” The “Reminiscences” and the “Memorials” revealed disharmony in the Carlyle household, but Froude can hardly be held responsible.

Froude was active in other fields besides that of literature. In 1874-5 he travelled as a Government Commissioner in South Africa to enquire into the question of federation ; and in 1884-5 he visited Australia, publishing the results of his observations in “Oceana” (1886). During 1886-7, he travelled in the West Indies to which we owe “The English in the West Indies” (1888).

The year 1892 saw his appointment to the chair of Modern History at Oxford in the place of his ancient rival and critic, Professor Freeman.

After a long life of literary labour, his health began to fail in the summer of 1894, and he died in the October of that year at the age of seventy-six.

EDUCATION

(An Address delivered to the Students of St. Andrew's, March 19th, 1869).

MY first duty, in the observations which I am about to address to you is to make my personal acknowledgments on the occasion which has brought me to this place. When we begin our work in this world, we value most the approbation of those older than ourselves. To be regarded favourably by those who have obtained distinction, bids us hope that we too, by-and-by, may come to be distinguished in turn. As we advance in life, we learn the limits of our abilities. Our expectations for the future shrink to modest dimensions. The question with us is no longer what we shall do, but what we have done. We call ourselves to account for the time and talents which we have used or misused, and then it is that the good opinion of those who are coming after us becomes so peculiarly agreeable. If we have been roughly handled by our contemporaries, it flatters our self-conceit to have interested another generation. If we feel that we have before long to pass away, we can dream of a second future for ourselves in the thoughts of those who are about to take their turn upon the stage. Therefore it is that no recognition of efforts of mine which I have ever received has given me so much pleasure as my election by you as your rector, an honour as spontaneously and generously bestowed by you as it was unlooked for, I may say undreamt of, by me.

Many years ago, when I was first studying the history of the Reformation in Scotland, I read a story of a slave in a French galley who was one

morning bending wearily over his oar. The day was breaking, and, rising out of the grey waters, a line of cliffs was visible, and the white houses of a town and a Church tower. The rower was a man unused to such service, worn with toil and watching, and likely, it was thought, to die. A companion touched him, pointed to the shore, and asked him if he knew it. "Yes," he answered, "I know it well. I see the steeple of that place where God opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I know, how weak soever I now appear, I shall not depart out of this life till my tongue glorify His name in the same place." Gentlemen, that town was St. Andrews, that galley slave was John Knox; and we know that he came back and did "glorify God" in this place and others to some purpose.

Well, if anybody had told me, when I was reading about this, that I also should one day come to St. Andrews and be called on to address the university, I should have listened with more absolute incredulity than John Knox's comrade listened to that prophecy. Yet, inconceivable as it would then have seemed, the unlikely has become fact. I am addressing the successors of that remote generation of students whom John Knox, at the end of his life, "called round him," in this very university, "and exhorted them," as James Melville tells us, "to know God and stand by the good cause, and use their time well." It will be happy for me if I can read a few words to you out of the same lesson book: for to make us know our duty and do it, to make us upright in act and true in thought and word, is the aim of all instruction which deserves the name, the epitome of all purposes for which education exists. Duty changes, truth expands, one age cannot teach another either the details of its obligations or the matter of its knowledge, but the principle of obligation is everlasting. The consciousness of duty, whatever its origin, is to the moral nature of man what life is in the seed-cells of all organised creatures—the condition of its coherence, the elementary force in virtue of which it grows.

Everyone admits this in words. Rather it has become a cant nowadays to make a parade of noble intentions. But when we pass beyond the verbal proposition our guides fail us, and we are left in practice to grope our way or guess it as we can. So far as our special occupations go, there is no uncertainty. Are we traders, mechanics, lawyers, doctors?—we know our work. Our duty is to do it as honestly and as well as we can. When we pass to our larger interests, to those which concern us as men—to what Knox meant "by knowing God and standing by the good cause"—I suppose there has been rarely a time in the history of the world when intelligent people have held more opposite opinions. The Scots to whom Knox was speaking knew well

enough. They had their Bibles as the rule of their lives. They had broken down the tyranny of contemptible superstition. They were growing up into yeomen, farmers, artisans, traders, scholars, or ministers, each with the business of his life clearly marked out before him. Their duty was to walk uprightly by the light of the Ten Commandments, and to fight with soul and body against the high-born scoundrelism and spiritual sorcery which were combining to make them again into slaves. I will read you a description of the leaders of the great party in Scotland against whom the Protestants and Knox were contending. I am not going to quote any fierce old Calvinist who will be set down as a bigot and a liar. My witness is M. Fontenay, brother of the secretary of Mary Stuart, who was residing here on Mary Stuart's business. The persons of whom he was speaking were the so-called Catholic lords; and the occasion was in a letter to herself: "The Sirens," wrote this M. Fontenay, "which bewitch the lords of this country are money and power. If I preach to them of their duty to their sovereign—if I talk to them of honour, of justice, of virtue, of the illustrious actions of their forefathers, and of the example which they should themselves bequeath to their posterity—they think me a fool. They can talk of these things themselves—talk as well as the best philosophers in Europe. But, when it comes to action, they are like the Athenians, who knew what was good, but would not do it. The misfortune of Scotland is that the noble lords will not look beyond the points of their shoes. They care nothing for the future, and less for the past." To free Scotland from the control of an unworthy aristocracy, to bid the dead virtues live again, and plant the eternal rules in the consciences of the people—this, as I understand it, was what Knox was working at, and it was comparatively a simple thing. It was simple, because the difficulty was not to know what to do, but how to do it. It required no special discernment to see into the fitness of government of lords like those described by Fontenay; or to see the difference as a rule of life between the New Testament and a creed that issued in Jesuitism and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The truth was as plain as the sun. The thing then wanted was *courage*, courage in common men to risk their persons, to venture the high probability that before the work was done they might have their throats cut, or see their houses burned over their heads. Times are changed; we are still surrounded by temptations, but they no longer appear in the shape of stake and gallows. They come rather as intellectual perplexities, on the largest and gravest questions which concern us as human creatures; perplexities with regard to which self-interest is perpetually tempting us to be false to our real convictions. The best that we can do for one another is to exchange our thoughts freely; and that, after all, is but

little. Experience is no more transferable in morals than in art. The drawing master can direct his pupil generally in the principles of art, he can teach him here and there to avoid familiar stumbling-blocks, but the pupil must himself realise every rule which his master gives him. Action is the real teacher. Instruction does not prevent waste of time or mistakes ; and mistakes themselves are often the best teachers of all in every accomplishment, every mastery of truth, moral, spiritual, or mechanical.

Our acquirements must grow into us in marvellous ways—marvellous as anything connected with man has been, is, and will be.

I have but the doubtful advantage, in speaking to you, of a few more years of life ; and even whether the years bring wisdom or do not bring it is far from certain. The fact of growing older teaches many of us to respect notions which we once believed to be antiquated. Our intellectual joints stiffen, and our father's crutches have attractions for us. You must therefore take the remarks I am going to make at what appears to you their intrinsic value. Stranger as I am to all of you, and in a relation with you which is only transient, I can but offer you some few general conclusions which have forced themselves on me during my own experience, in the hope that you may find them not wholly useless. And as it is desirable to give form to remarks which might otherwise be desultory, I will follow the train of thought suggested by our presence at this place and the purpose which brings you here. You stand on the margin of the great world, into which you are about to be plunged, to sink or swim. You will consider the stock-in-trade, the moral and mental furniture, with which you will start upon your journey. In the first place, you are Scots ; you come of a fine stock, and much will be expected of you. If we except the Athenians and the Jews, no people so few in number have scored so deep a mark in the world's history as you have done. No people have a juster right to be proud of their blood. I suppose if any one of you were asked whether he would prefer to be the son of a Scotch peasant or to be the heir of an Indian rajah with twenty lacs of rupees, he would not hesitate about his answer : we should none of us object to the rupees, but I doubt if the Scot ever breathed who would have sold his birthright for them. Well, then, *Noblesse oblige* ; all blood is noble here, and a noble life should go along with it. It is not for nothing that you here and we in England come, both of us, of our respective races ; we inherit honourable traditions and memories ; we inherit qualities inherent in our bone and blood, which have been earned for us, no thanks to ourselves, by twenty generations of ancestors ; our fortunes are now linked together for good and evil never more to be divided, but when we examine our several contributions

to the common stock, the account is more in your favour than ours. More than once you saved English Protestantism, you may have to save it again, for all that I know, at the rate at which our English parsons are now running. You gave us the Stuarts, but you helped us to get rid of them. Even now you are teaching us what, unless we saw it before our eyes, no Englishman would believe to be possible, that a Member of Parliament can be elected without bribery. For shrewdness of head, thorough-going completeness, contempt of compromise, and moral back-bone, no set of people were ever started into life more generously provided. You did not make these things ; it takes many generations to breed high qualities either of mind or body ; but you have them ; they are a fine capital to commence business with, and, as I said, *Noblesse oblige*.

So much for what you bring with you into the world. And the other part of your equipment is only second in importance to it ; I mean your education. There is no occasion to tell a Scotchman to value education. On this, too, you have set us an example which we are beginning to imitate ; I only wish our prejudices and jealousies would let us imitate it thoroughly. In the form of your education, whether in the parish school or here at the university, there is little to be desired. It is fair all round to poor and rich alike. You have broken down, or you never permitted to rise, the enormous barrier of expense which makes the highest education in England a privilege of the wealthy. The subject matter is another thing. Whether the subjects to which, either with you or with us, the precious years of boyhood and youth continue to be given are the best in themselves, whether they should be altered or added to, and if so, in what direction and to what extent, are questions which all the world is busy with. Education is on everybody's lips. Our own great schools and colleges are in the middle of a revolution, which, like most revolutions, means discontent with what we have, and no clear idea of what we would have. You yourselves cannot here have wholly escaped the infection, or if you have, you will not escape it long. The causes are not far to seek. On the one hand there is the immense multiplication of the subjects of knowledge, through the progress of science, and the investigation on all sides into the present and past condition of this planet and its inhabitants ; on the other, the equally increased range of occupations among which the working part of mankind are now distributed, and for one or other of which our education is intended to qualify us. It is admitted by every one that we cannot any longer confine ourselves to the learned languages, to the grammar and logic and philosophy which satisfied the seventeenth century. Yet if we try to pile on the top of these the

histories and literatures of our own and other nations, with modern languages and sciences, we accumulate a load of matter which the most ardent and industrious student cannot be expected to cope with.

It may seem presumptuous in a person like myself, unconnected as I have been for many years with any educational body, to obtrude my opinion on these things. Yet outsiders, it is said, sometimes see deeper into the game than those who are engaged in playing it. In everything that we do or mean to do the first condition of success is that we understand clearly the result which we desire to produce. The house-builder does not gather a mass of bricks and timber and mortar and trust that somehow a house will shape itself out of its materials. Wheels, springs, screws, and dial-plate, will not constitute a watch, unless they are shaped and fitted with the proper relations to one another. I have long thought that, to educate successfully you should first ascertain clearly, with sharp and distinct outline, what you mean by an educated man.

Now our ancestors, whatever their other short-comings, understood what they meant perfectly well. In their primary education and in their higher education they knew what they wanted to produce, and they suited their means to their ends. They set out with the principle that every child born into the world should be taught his duty to God and man. The majority of people had to live, as they always must, by bodily labour ; therefore, every boy was as early as was convenient set to labour. He was not permitted to idle about the streets or lanes. He was apprenticed to some honest industry. Either he was sent to a farm, or, if his wits were sharper, he was allotted to the village carpenter, bricklayer, tailor, shoe-maker, or whatever it might be. He was instructed in some positive calling by which he could earn his bread and become a profitable member of the commonwealth. Besides this, but not, you will observe, independent of it, you had in Scotland, established by Knox, your parish schools where he was taught to read, and, if he showed special talent that way, he was made a scholar of and trained for the ministry. But neither Knox nor anyone in those days thought of what we call enlarging the mind. A boy was taught reading that he might read his Bible and learn to fear God, and be ashamed and afraid to do wrong.

An eminent American was once talking to me of the school system in the United States. The boast and glory of it, in his mind, was that every citizen born had a fair and equal start in life. Every one of them knew that he had a chance of becoming president of the republic, and was spurred to energy by the hope. Here too, you see, is a distinct object. Young Americans are all educated alike. The aim put before them is to get on. They are like runners in a race, set to push and shoulder for the best places ; never to rest contented, but to struggle forward

in never-ending competition. It has answered its purpose in a new and unsettled country, where the centre of gravity has not yet determined into its place ; but I cannot think that such a system as this can be permanent, or that human society, constituted on such a principle, will ultimately be found tolerable. For one thing, the prizes of life so looked at are at best but few, and the competitors many. " For myself," says the great Spinoza, " I am certain that the good of human life cannot lie in the possession of things which, for one man to possess, is for the rest to lose, but rather in things which all can possess alike, and where one man's wealth promotes his neighbour's." At any rate, it was not any such notion as this which Knox had before him when he instituted your parish schools. We had no parish schools in England for centuries after he had gone, but the object was answered by the Church catechising and the Sunday School. Our boys, like yours, were made to understand that they would have to answer for the use that they made of their lives. And, in both countries, they were put in the way of leading useful lives if they would be honest, by industrial training. The essential thing was, that everyone that was willing to work should be enabled to maintain himself and his family in honour and independence.

Pass to the education of a scholar, and you find the same principle otherwise applied. There are two ways of being independent. If you require much, you must produce much. If you produce little, you must require little. Those whose studies added nothing to the material wealth of the world were taught to be content to be poor. They were a burden on others, and the burden was made as light as possible. The thirty thousand students who gathered out of Europe to Paris to listen to Abélard, did not travel in carriages, and they brought no portmanteaus with them. They carried their wardrobes on their backs. They walked from Paris to Padua, to Salamanca, and they begged their way along the roads. The laws against mendicancy in all countries were suspended in favour of scholars wandering in pursuit of knowledge, and formal licences were issued to them to ask alms. At home, at his college, the scholar's fare was the hardest, his lodging was the barest. If rich in mind he was expected to be poor in body ; and so deeply was this theory grafted into English feeling that earls and dukes, when they began to frequent universities, shared the common simplicity. The furniture of a noble earl's room at an English university at the present may cost, including the pictures of opera-dancers and race-horses, and such like, perhaps five hundred pounds. When the magnificent Earl of Essex was sent to Cambridge, in Elizabeth's time, his guardians provided him with a deal table covered with green baize, a truckle bed,

half a dozen chairs, and a washhand basin. The cost of all, I think, was five pounds. You see what was meant. The scholar was held in high honour; but his contributions to the commonwealth were not appreciable in money, and were not rewarded with money. He went without what he could not produce, that he might keep his independence and his self respect unharmed. Neither scholarship nor science starved under this treatment; more noble souls have been smothered in luxury than were ever killed by hunger. Your Knox was brought up in this way. Buchanan was brought up in this way. Luther was brought up in this way, and Tyndale, who translated the Bible, and Milton and Kepler and Spinoza, and your Robert Burns. Compare Burns, bred behind the plough, and our English Byron! This was the old education which formed the character of the English and Scotch nations. It is dying away at both extremities, as no longer suited to what is called modern civilization. The apprenticeship as a system of instruction is gone. The discipline of poverty—not here as yet, I am happy to think, but in England—is gone also; and we have got instead what are called enlarged minds. I ask a modern march-of-intellect man what education is for; and he tells me it is to make educated men. I ask, what an educated man is: he tells me it is a man whose intelligence has been cultivated, who knows something of the world he lives in—the different races of men, their languages, their histories, and the books they have written; and again, modern science, astronomy, geology, physiology, political economy, mathematics, mechanics—everything, in fact, which an educated man ought to know.

Education, according to this, means instruction in everything which human beings have done, thought, or discovered; all history, all languages, all sciences. The demands which intelligent people imagine that they can make on the minds of students in this way are something amazing. I will give you a curious illustration of it. When the competitive examination system was first set on foot, a board of examiners met to draw up their papers of questions. The scale of requirement had first to be settled. Among them a highly distinguished man who was to examine in English history announced that, for himself he meant to set a paper for which Macaulay might possibly get full marks, and he wished the rest of the examiners to imitate him in the other subjects. I saw the paper which he set. I could myself have answered two questions out of the dozen. And it was gravely expected that ordinary young men of twenty-one, who were to be examined also in Greek and Latin, in moral philosophy, in ancient history, in mathematics, and in two modern languages, were to show a proficiency in each and all of these subjects which a man of mature age and extraordinary

talents, like Macaulay, who had devoted his whole time to that special study, had attained in only one of them. Under this system teaching becomes cramming; an enormous accumulation of propositions of all sorts and kinds is thrust down the students' throats, to be poured out again, I might say vomited out, into examiners' laps; and this when it is notorious that the sole condition of making progress in any branch of art or knowledge is to leave on one side everything irrelevant to it and to throw your undivided energy on the special thing you have in hand. Our old universities are struggling against these absurdities. Yet, when we look at the work which they on their side are doing, it is scarcely more satisfactory. A young man going to Oxford learns the same things which were taught there two centuries ago; but, unlike the old scholars, he learns no lessons of poverty along with it. In his three years' course he will have tasted luxuries unknown to him at home, and contracted habits of self-indulgence which make subsequent hardships unbearable; while his antiquated knowledge, such as it is, has fallen out of the market; there is no demand for him; he is not sustained by the respect of the world, which finds him ignorant of everything in which it is interested. He is called educated; yet, if circumstances throw him on his own resources, he cannot earn a sixpence for himself. An Oxford education fits a man extremely well for the trade of a gentleman. I do not know for what other trade it does fit him as at present constituted. More than one man who has taken high honours there, who has learnt faithfully all that the university undertakes to teach him, has been seen in these late years breaking stones upon a road in Australia. That was all which he was found to be fit for when brought into contact with the primary realities of things.

It has become necessary to alter all this; but how, and in what direction? If I go into modern model schools, I find first of all the three R's, about which we are all agreed; I next find the old Latin and Greek which the schools must keep to while the universities confine their honours to these; and then, by the way of keeping up with the times, "abridgments," "textbooks," "elements," or whatever they are called, of a mixed multitude of matters, history, natural history, physiology, geology, political economy, and I know not what besides; general knowledge which, in my experience, means knowledge of nothing: stuff arranged admirably for one purpose, and for one purpose only—to make a show in examinations. To cram a lad's mind with definite names of things which he never handled, places he never saw or will see, statements of facts which he cannot possibly understand, and must remain merely words to him—this, in my opinion, is like loading his stomach with marbles. It is wonderful what a quantity of things

of this kind a quick boy will commit to memory, how smartly he will answer questions, how he will show off in school inspection and delight the heart of his master. But what has been gained for the boy himself, let him carry this kind of thing as far as he will, if, when he leaves school, he has to make his own living? Lord Brougham once said he hoped a time would come when every man in England would read Bacon. William Cobbett, whom you may have heard of, said he would be contented if a time came when every man in England would eat bacon. People talk about enlarging the mind. Some years ago I attended a lecture on education in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester. Seven or eight thousand people were present, and among the speakers was one of the most popular orators of the day. He talked in the usual way of the neglect of past generations, the benighted peasant, in whose besotted brain even thought was extinct, and whose sole spiritual instruction was the dull and dubious parson's sermon. Then came the contrasted picture: the broad river of modern discovery flowing through town and hamlet, science shining as an intellectual sun, and knowledge and justice as her handmaids redressing the wrongs and healing the miseries of mankind. Then, wrapt with inspired frenzy the musical voice, thrilling with transcendent emotion—"I seem," the orator said—"I seem to hear again the echo of that voice which rolled over the primeval chaos, saying, 'Let there be light.'" As you may see a breeze of wind pass over standing corn, and every stalk bends, and a long wave sweeps across the field, so all that listening multitude swayed and wavered under the words. Yet, in plain prose, what did this gentleman definitely mean? First and foremost, a man has to earn his living, and all the ologies will not of themselves enable him to earn it. Light! yes, we want light, but it must be light which will help us to work and find food and clothes and lodging for ourselves. A modern school will undoubtedly sharpen the wits of a clever boy. He will go out into the world with the knowledge that there are a great many good things in it which will be highly pleasant to get hold of; able as yet to do no one thing for which anybody will pay him, yet bent on pushing himself forward into the pleasant places somehow. Some intelligent people think that this is a promising state of mind, that an ardent desire to better our position is the most powerful incentive that we can feel to energy and industry. A great political economist has defended the existence of the luxuriously-living idle class as supplying a motive for exertion to those who are less highly favoured. They are like Olympian gods, condescending to show themselves in their empyrean, and saying to their worshippers, "Make money, make money enough, and you and your descendants shall become as we are, and shoot grouse and drink champagne all the days of your lives."

No doubt this would be a highly influential incitement to activity of a sort, only it must be remembered that there are many sorts of activity, and short smooth cuts to wealth as well as long hilly roads. In civilized and artificial communities there are many ways, where fools have money and rogues want it, of effecting a change of possession. The process is at once an intellectual pleasure, extremely rapid, and every way more agreeable than dull mechanical labour. I doubt very much indeed whether the honesty of the country has been improved by this substitution so generally of mental education for industrial; and the three R's if no industrial training has gone along with them, are apt, as Miss Nightingale observes, to produce a fourth R of rascaldom.

But it is only fair, if I quarrel alike with those who go forward and those who stand still, to offer an opinion of my own. If I call other people's systems absurd, in justice I must give them a system of my own to retort upon. Well, then, to recur once more to my question. Before we begin to build let us have a plan of the house we would construct. Before we begin to train a boy's mind, I will try to explain what I, for my part, would desire to see done with it. I will take the lowest scale first. I accept without qualification the first principle of our forefathers, that every boy born into the world should be put in the way of maintaining himself in honest independence. No education which does not make this its first aim is worth anything at all. There are but three ways of living, as some one has said—by working, by begging, or by stealing. Those who do not work, disguise it in whatever pretty language we please, are doing one of the other two. A poor man's child is brought here with no will of his own. We have no right to condemn him to be a mendicant or a rogue; he may fairly demand, therefore, to be put into the way of earning his bread by labour. The practical necessities must take precedence of the intellectual. A tree must be rooted in the soil before it can bear flowers and fruit. A man must learn to stand upright upon his own feet, to respect himself, to be independent of charity or accident. It is on this basis only that any superstructure of intellectual cultivation worth having can possibly be built. The old apprenticeship, therefore, was, in my opinion, an excellent system, as the world used to be. The Ten Commandments and a handicraft made a good and wholesome equipment to commence life with. Times are changed. The apprentice plan broke down; partly because it was abused for purposes of tyranny; partly because employers did not care to be burdened with boys whose labour was unprofitable; partly because it opened no road for exceptionally clever lads to rise into higher positions. They were started in a groove from which they could never afterwards escape. Yet the original necessities remain

unchanged. The Ten Commandments are as obligatory as ever ; and practical ability, the being able to do something and not merely to answer questions, must still be the backbone of the education of every boy who has to earn his bread by manual labour. And knowledge afterwards as much as you will, but let it be knowledge which will lead to the doing better each particular work which a boy is practising ; every fraction of it will thus be useful to him ; and if he has it in him to rise, there is no fear but he will find opportunity. The poet Coleridge once said that every man might have two versions of his Bible ; one the book that he read, the other the trade that he pursued, where he would find perpetual illustrations of every Bible truth in the thoughts which his occupation might open to him. I would say, less fancifully, that every honest occupation to which a man sets his hand would raise him into a philosopher if he mastered all the knowledge that belonged to his craft. Every occupation, even the meanest—I don't say the scavenger's or the chimney-sweep's—but every productive occupation which adds anything to the capital of mankind, if followed assiduously, with a desire to understand everything connected with it, is an ascending stair whose summit is nowhere, and from the successive steps of which the horizon of knowledge perpetually enlarges. Take the lowest and most unskilled labour of all—that of the peasant in the field. The peasant's business is to make the earth grow food ; the elementary rules of his art are the simplest, and the rude practice of it the easiest ; yet between the worst agriculture and the best lies agricultural chemistry, the application of machinery, the laws of the economy of force, and the most curious problems of physiology. Each step of knowledge gained in these things can be immediately applied and realized. Each point of the science which the labourer masters will make him not only a wiser man but a better workman ; and will either lift him if he is ambitious, to a higher position, or make him more intelligent and more valuable if he remains where he is. If he be one of Lord Brougham's geniuses, he need not go to the " *Novum Organum* ; " there is no direction in which his own subject will not lead him, if he cares to follow it, to the furthest boundary of thought. Only I insist on this, that information shall go along with practice, and the man's work become more profitable while he himself becomes wiser. He may then go far, or he may stop short ; but whichever he do, what he has gained will be real gain, and become part and parcel of himself. It sounds like mockery to talk thus of the possible prospects of the toil-worn drudge who drags his limbs at the day's end to his straw pallet, sleeps heavily, and wakes only to renew the weary round. I am but comparing two systems of education, from each of which the expected results may be equally extravagant. I mean only

that if there is to be this voice rolling over chaos again, ushering in a millennium, the way of it lies through industrial teaching, where the practical underlies the intellectual. The millions must ever be condemned to toil with their hands, or the race will cease to exist. The beneficent light, when it comes will be a light which will make labour more productive by being more scientific ; which will make the humblest drudgery not unworthy of a human being, by making it at the same time an exercise to his mind. I spoke of the field labourer. I might have gone through the catalogue of manual craftsmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, cobblers, fishermen, what you will. The same rule applies to them all. Detached facts on miscellaneous subjects, as they are taught at a modern school, are like separate letters of endless alphabets. You may load the mechanical memory with them till it becomes a marvel of retentiveness. Your young prodigy may amaze examiners, and delight inspectors. His achievements may be emblazoned in blue books and furnish matter for flattering reports on the excellence of our educational system ; and all this while you have been feeding him with chips of granite. But arrange your letters into words, and each becomes a thought, a symbol waking in the mind an image of the real thing. Group your words into sentences, and thought is married to thought and produces other thoughts and the chips of granite become soft bread, wholesome, nutritious, and invigorating. Teach your boys subjects which they can only remember mechanically, and you teach them nothing which it is worth their while to know. Teach them facts and principles which they can apply and use in the work of their lives ; and, if the object be to give your clever working lads a chance of rising to become presidents of the United States, or millionaires with palaces and powdered footmen, the ascent into those blessed conditions will be easier and healthier, along the track of an instructed industry, than by the paths which the most keenly sharpened wits would be apt to choose for themselves. To pass to the next scale, which more properly concerns us here. As the world requires handicraft, so it requires those whose work is with the brain, or with brain and hand combined—doctors, lawyers, engineers, ministers of religion. Bodies become deranged, affairs become deranged, sick souls require their sores to be attended to ; and so arise the learned professions, to one or other of which I presume that most of you whom I am addressing intend to belong. Well, to the education for the professions I would apply the same principle. The student should learn at the university what will enable him to earn his living as soon after he leaves it as possible. I am well aware that a professional education cannot be completed at a university ; but it is true also that with every profession there is a theoretic or scientific ground-work which can be learnt nowhere so well,

and, if those precious years are wasted on what is useless, will never be learnt properly at all. You are going to be a lawyer ; you must learn Latin, for you cannot understand the laws of Scotland without it ; but if you must learn another language, Norman French will be more useful to you than Greek, and the Acts of Parliament of Scotland more important reading than Livy or Thucydides. Are you to be a doctor ?—you must learn Latin too, but neither Thucydides nor the Acts of Parliament will be of use to you—you must learn chemistry ; and if you intend hereafter to keep on a level with your science, you must learn modern French and German, and learn them thoroughly well, for mistakes in your work are dangerous.

Are you to be an engineer ? You must work now, when you have time, at mathematics. You will make no progress without it. You must work at chemistry ; it is the grammar of all physical sciences, and there is hardly one of the physical sciences with which you may not require to be acquainted. The world is wide, and Great Britain is a small crowded island. You may wait long for employment here. Your skill will be welcomed abroad ; therefore, now also, while you have time, learn French or German, or Russian or Chinese, or Turkish. The command of any one of these languages will secure to an English or Scotch engineer instant and unbounded occupation.

The principle that I advocate is of earth, earthy. I am quite aware of it. We are ourselves made of earth ; our work is on the earth ; and most of us are commonplace people, who are obliged to make the most of our time. History, poetry, logic, moral philosophy, classical literature, are excellent as ornament. If you care for such things, they may be the amusement of your leisure hereafter ; but they will not help you to stand on your feet and walk along ; and no one is properly a man till he can do that. You cannot learn everything ; the objects of knowledge have multiplied beyond the powers of the strongest mind to keep pace with them all. You must choose among them, and the only reasonable guide to choice in such matters is utility. The old saying, *Non multa sed multum*, becomes every-day more pressingly true. If we mean to thrive, we must take one line, and rightly and sternly confine our energies to it. Am I told that it will make men into machines ? I answer that no men are machines who are doing good work conscientiously and honestly with the fear of their Maker before them. And if a doctor or a lawyer has it in him to become a great man, he can ascend through his profession to any height to which his talents are equal. All that is open to the handicrafts-man is open to him, only that he starts a great many rounds higher up the ladder.

What I deplore in our present higher education is the devotion of so much effort and so many precious years to subjects which have no practical bearing upon life. We had a theory at Oxford that our system, however defective in many ways, yet developed in us some especially precious qualities. Classics and philosophy are called there *litera humaniores*. They are supposed to have an effect on character, and to be especially adapted for creating ministers of religion. The training of clergymen is, if anything, the special object of Oxford teaching. All arrangements are made with a view to it. The heads of colleges, the resident fellows, tutors, professors are, with rare exceptions, ecclesiastics themselves. Well, then, if they have hold of the right idea, the effect ought to have been considerable. We have had thirty years of unexampled clerical activity among us; churches have been doubled; theological books, magazines, reviews, newspapers have been poured out by the hundreds of thousands; while by the side of it there has sprung up an equally astonishing development of moral dishonesty. From the great houses in the city of London to the village grocer the commercial life of England has been saturated with fraud. So deep has it gone that a strictly honest tradesman can hardly hold his ground against competition. You can no longer trust that any article that you buy is the thing which it pretends to be. We have false weights, false measures, cheating and shoddy everywhere. Yet the clergy have seen all this grow up in absolute indifference; and the great question which at this moment is agitating the Church of England, is the colour of the ecclesiastical petticoats. Many a hundred sermons have I heard in England, many a dissertation on the mysteries of the faith, on the divine mission of the clergy, on the apostolical succession, on bishops, and justification, and the theory of good works, and verbal inspiration, and the efficacy of the sacraments; but never, during those thirty wonderful years, never one that I can recollect on common honesty, or those primitive commandments, Thou shalt not lie, and Thou shalt not steal.

The late Bishop Bloomfield used to tell a story of his having been once late in life at the University Church at Cambridge, and of having seen a verger there whom he remembered when he was himself an undergraduate. The Bishop said he was glad to see him looking so well at such a great age. "Oh yes, my Lord," the fellow said, "I have much to be grateful for. I have heard every sermon which has been preached in this church for fifty years, and, thank God, I am a Christian still."

Classical philosophy, classical history and literature, taking, as they do, no hold upon the living hearts and imaginations of men in this modern age, leave their working intelligence a prey to wild imaginations, and make them incapable of really understanding the world in which they

live. If the clergy knew as much of the history of England and Scotland as they knew about Greece and Rome—if they had been ever taught to open their eyes and see what is actually round them, instead of groping among books to find what men did or thought at Alexandria or Constantinople fifteen hundred years ago, they would grapple more effectively with the moral pestilence which is poisoning all the air. What I insist upon is, generally, that in a country like ours, where each child that is born among us finds every acre of land appropriated, a universal “Not yours” set upon the rich things with which he is surrounded, and a Government which, unlike those of old Greece or modern China, does not permit superfluous babies to be strangled—such a child, I say, since he is required to live, has a right to demand such teaching as shall enable him to live with honesty, and take such a place in society as belongs to the faculties which he has brought with him. It is a right which was recognised in one shape or another by our ancestors, must be recognised now and always, if we are not to become a mutinous rabble. And it ought to be the guiding principle of all education, high and low. We have not to look any longer to this island only. There is an abiding place now for Englishmen and Scots wherever our flag is flying. This narrow Britain, once our only home, has become the breeding place and nursery of a race which is spreading over the world. Year after year we are swarming as the bees swarm; and year after year, and I hope more and more, high-minded young men of all ranks will prefer free air and free elbow room for mind and body to the stool and desk of the dingy office, the ill-paid drudgery of the crowded ranks of the professions, or the hopeless labour of our home farmsteads and workshops.

Education always should contemplate this larger sphere, and cultivate the capacities which will command success there. Britain may have yet a future before it grander than its past: instead of a country standing alone, complete in itself, it may become the metropolis of an enormous and coherent empire; but on this condition only, that her children, when they leave her shores, shall look back upon her, not—like the poor Irish when they fly to America—as a step-mother who gave them stones for bread, but as a mother to whose care and nurture they shall owe their after-prosperity. Whether this shall be so, whether England has reached its highest point of greatness, and will now descend to a second place among the nations, or whether it has yet before it another era of brighter glory, depends upon ourselves, and depends more than anything on the breeding which we give to our children. The boy that is kindly nurtured, and wisely taught and assisted to make his way in life, does not forget his father and his mother. He is proud of his family, and jealous for the honour of the name that he bears. If the million lads

that swarm in our towns and villages are so trained that at home or in the colonies they can provide for themselves, without passing first through a painful interval of suffering, they will be loyal wherever they may be ; good citizens at home, and still Englishmen and Scots on the Canadian lakes or in New Zealand. Our island shores will be stretched till they cover half the globe. It was not so that we colonised America, and we are reaping now the reward of our carelessness. We sent America our convicts. We sent America our Pilgrim Fathers, flinging them out as worse than felons. We said to the Irish cottar—You are a burden upon the rates, go find a home elsewhere. Had we offered him a home in the enormous territories that belong to us, we might have sent him to places where he would have been no burden, but a blessing. But we bade him carelessly go where he would, and shift as he could for himself ; he went with a sense of burning wrong, and he left a festering sore behind him. Injustice and heedlessness have borne their proper fruits. We have raised up against us a mighty empire to be the rival, it may be the successful rival, of our power. Loyalty, love of kindred, love of country, we know not what we are doing when we trifle with feelings the most precious and beautiful that belong to us—most beautiful, most enduring, most hard to be obliterated—yet feelings which, when they are obliterated, cannot change to neutrality and cold friendship. Americans still, in spite of themselves, speak of England as home.

I shall be asked whether, after all, this earning our living, this getting on in the world, are not low objects for human beings to set before themselves. Is not spirit more than matter ? Is there no such thing as pure intellectual culture ? “ Philosophy,” says Novalis, “ will bake no bread, but it gives us our souls ; it gives us heaven ; it gives us knowledge of those grand truths which concern us as immortal beings.” Was it not said, “ Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink, or wherewithal ye shall be clothed ? Your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. Behold the lilies of the field, they toil not, neither do they spin. Yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.” This is not entirely a dream. But such high counsels as these are addressed only to few ; and perhaps fewer still have heart to follow them. If you choose the counsels of perfection, count the cost and understand what they mean. I knew a student once from whose tongue dropped the sublimest of sentiments ; who was never weary of discoursing on the beauty and truth of lofty motives ; who seemed to be longing for some gulf to jump into, like the Roman Curtius—some “ fine opening for a young man ” into which to plunge and devote himself for the benefit of mankind. Yet he was running all the while into debt, squandering the money on idle luxuries which his father was sparing

out of a narrow income to give him a college education ; dreaming of martyrdom, and unable to sacrifice a single pleasure ! The words which I quoted were not spoken to all the disciples, but to the apostles who were about to wander over the world as barefoot missionaries. High above all occupations which have their beginning and end in the seventy years of mortal life stand undoubtedly the unproductive callings which belong to spiritual culture. Only let not those who say we will devote ourselves to truth, to wisdom, to science, to art, expect to be rewarded with the wages of the other professions. University education in England was devoted to spiritual culture, and assumed its present character in consequence ; but as I told you before, it taught originally the accompanying necessary lesson of poverty. The ancient scholar lived, during his course, upon alms—alms either from living patrons, or founders and benefactors. But the scale of his allowance provided for no indulgences ; either he learned something besides his Latin, or he learned to endure hardship. And if a university persists in teaching nothing but what it calls the humanities, it is bound to insist also on rough clothing, hard beds, and common food. For myself, I admire that ancient rule of the Jews, that every man, no matter of what grade or calling, shall learn some handicraft ; that the man of intellect, while like St. Paul he is teaching the world, yet like St. Paul may be burdensome to no one. A man was not considered entitled to live if he could not keep himself from starving. Surely those university men who had taken honours, breaking stones on an Australian road, were sorry spectacles ; and still more sorry and disgraceful is the outcry coming by every mail from our colonies : “ Send us no more of what you call educated men ; send us smiths, masons, carpenters, day labourers ; all of those will thrive, will earn their eight, ten or twelve shilling a day ; but your educated man is a log on our hands ; he loafes in uselessness till his means are spent, he then turns billiard-marker, enlists as a soldier, or starves.” It hurts no intellect to be able to make a boat, or a house, or a pair of shoes, or a suit of clothes, or hammer a horse-shoe ; and if you can do either of these you have nothing to fear from fortune. “ I will work with my hands, and keep my brain for myself,” said some one proudly, when it was proposed to him that he should make a profession of literature. Spinoza the most powerful intellectual worker that Europe has produced during the last two centuries, waiving aside the pensions and legacies that were thrust upon him, chose to maintain himself by grinding object-glasses for microscopes and telescopes. If a son of mine told me that he wished to devote himself to intellectual pursuits I would act as I should act if he wished to make an imprudent marriage. I would absolutely prohibit him for a time, till the firmness of his purpose had been tried. If he stood the

test, and showed real talent, I would insist that he should in some way make himself independent of the profits of intellectual work for subsistence. Scholars and philosophers were originally clergymen. Nowadays a great many people whose tendencies lie in the clerical direction yet for various reasons shrink from the obligations which the office imposes. They take, therefore, to literature, and attempt and expect to make a profession of it.

Without taking a transcendental view of the matter, literature happens to be the only occupation in which the wages are not in proportion to the goodness of the work done. It is not that they are generally small, but the adjustment of them is awry. It is true that in all callings nothing great will be produced if the first object be what you can make by them. To do what you do well should be the first thing, the wages the second; but except in the instance of which I am speaking, the rewards of a man are in proportion to his skill and industry. The best carpenter receives the highest pay. The better he works the better for his prospects. The best lawyer, the best doctor, commands most practice and make the largest fortune. But with literature, a different element is introduced into the problem. The present rule on which authors are paid is by the page and sheet; the more words the more pay. It ought to be exactly the reverse. Great poetry, great philosophy, great scientific discovery, every intellectual production which has genius, worth and permanence in it, is the fruit of long thought and patient and painful elaboration. Work of this kind, done hastily, is better not done at all. When compelled it will be small in bulk; it will address itself for a long time to the few and not to the many. The reward for it will not be measurable and not obtainable in money except after many generations, when the brain out of which it was spun has long returned to its dust. Only by accident is the work of genius immediately popular in the sense of being widely bought. No collected edition of Shakespeare's plays was demanded in Shakespeare's life. Milton received five pounds for "Paradise Lost." The distilled essence of the thought of Bishop Butler, the greatest prelate that the English church ever produced, fills a moderate sized octavo volume; Spinoza's works, including his surviving letters, fill but three; and though they have revolutionised the philosophy of Europe, have no attractions for the multitude. A really great man has to create the taste with which he is to be enjoyed. There are splendid exceptions of merit eagerly recognised and early rewarded—our honoured English laureate, for instance, Alfred Tennyson, or your own countryman Thomas Carlyle. Yet even Tennyson waited through ten years of depreciation before poems which are now on everyone's lips passed into a second edition. Carlyle, whose

transcendent powers were welcomed in their infancy by Goethe, who long years ago was recognised by statesmen and thinkers in both hemispheres as the most remarkable of living men ; yet, if success be measured by what has been paid him for his services, stands far below your Belgravian novelist. A hundred years hence, perhaps, people at large will begin to understand how vast a man has been among them.

If you make literature a trade to live by, you will be tempted always to take your talents to the most profitable market ; and the most profitable market will be no assurance to you that you are making a noble or even a worthy use of them. Better a thousand times, if your object is to advance your position in life, that you should choose some other calling, of which making money is a legitimate aim, and where your success will vary as the goodness of your work ; better for yourselves, for your consciences, for your own souls, as we used to say, and for the world you live in. Therefore, I say, if any of you choose this mode of spending your existence, choose it deliberately, with a full knowledge of what you are doing. Reconcile yourselves to the condition of the old scholars. Make up your minds to be poor—care only for what is true and right and good. On those conditions you may add something real to the intellectual stock of mankind, and mankind in return may perhaps give you bread enough to live upon, though bread extremely thinly spread with butter.

We live in times of change—political change, intellectual change, change of all kinds. You whose minds are active, especially such of you as give yourselves much to speculation, will be drawn inevitably into profoundly interesting yet perplexing questions, of which our fathers and grandfathers knew nothing. Practical men engaged in business take formulas for granted. They cannot for ever be running to first principles. They hate to see established opinions disturbed. Opinions, however, will and must be disturbed from time to time. There is no help for it. The minds of ardent and clever students are particularly apt to move fast in these directions ; and thus, when they go out into the world, they find themselves exposed to one of two temptations, according to their temperament ; either to lend themselves to whatever is popular and plausible, to conceal their real convictions to take up with that which we call in England humbug to humbug others, or perhaps, to keep matters still smoother, to humbug themselves ; or else to quarrel violently with things which they imagine to be passing away, and which they consider should be quick in doing it, as having no basis in truth. A young man of ability nowadays is extremely likely to be tempted into one or other of these lines, the first is the more common on my side of the Tweed ; the harsher and more thorough-

going perhaps, on yours. Things are changing, and have to change ; but they change very slowly. The established authorities are in possession of the field, and are naturally desirous to keep it. And there is no kind of service which they more eagerly reward than the support of clever fellows who have dipped over the edge of latitudinarianism, who profess to have sounded the disturbing currents of the intellectual seas, and discovered that they are accidental or unimportant. On the other hand, men who cannot do away with this kind of thing are likely to be exasperated into unwise demonstrativeness, to become Radicals in politics and Radicals in thought. Their private disapprobation bursts into open enmity ; and this road, too, if they continue long upon it, leads to no healthy conclusions. No one can thrive upon denials ; positive truth of some kind is essential as food for both mind and character. Depend upon it, that in all long-established practices or spiritual formulas there has been some living truth ; and if you have not discovered and learned to respect it, you do not yet understand the questions which you are in a hurry to solve. And again, intellectually impatient people should remember the rules of social courtesy which forbid us in private to say things, however true, which can give pain to others. These rules forbid us equally in public to obtrude opinions which offend those who do not share them, yet require us to pause and consider. Our thoughts and our conduct are our own. We may say justly to anyone, you shall not make me profess to think true what I believe to be false—you shall not make me do what I do not think just ; but there our natural liberty ends. Others have as good a right to their opinion as we have to ours. To anyone who holds what are called advanced views on serious subjects, I recommend a long suffering reticence and the reflection that, after all, he may possibly be wrong. Whether we are Radicals or Conservatives, we require to be often reminded that truth or falsehood, justice and injustice, are no creatures of our own belief. We cannot make true things false, or false things true, by choosing to think them so. We cannot vote right into wrong, or wrong into right. The eternal truths and rights of things exist, fortunately, independent of our thoughts or wishes, fixed as mathematics, inherent in the nature of man and the world. They are no more to be trifled with than gravitation. If we discover and obey them, it is well with us ; but that is all that we can do. You can no more make a social regulation work well which is not just than you can make water run uphill. I tell you, therefore, who take up with plausibilities, not to trust your weight too far upon them, and not to condemn others for having misgivings which at the bottom of your own minds, if you look so deep, you will find that you share yourselves with them. You, who believe that you have hold of newer and wider truths,

show it, as you may and must show it, unless you are misled by your own dreams, in leading wider, simpler and nobler lives. Assert your own freedom if you will, but assert it modestly and quietly ; respecting others as you wish to be respected yourselves. Only, and especially I would say this ; be honest with yourselves whatever the temptation ; say nothing to others that you do not think, and play no tricks with your own minds. Of all the evil spirits abroad at this hour in the world, insincerity is the most dangerous.

“ This above all. To your own selves be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
You cannot then be false to any man.”

SIR GEORGE GREY, K.C.B.

(1812-1898).

COLONIAL statesman, was the son of a military officer, born at Lisbon in 1812. Young Grey adopted the profession of arms, and after a successful career at Sandhurst, he received his commission in 1829. Ten years after, he left the army with the rank of captain.

In 1837, the Royal Geographical Society employed him to explore part of the then unknown regions of West Australia, in the course of which he came into conflict with a tribe of natives and received a severe spear wound. Undaunted by this experience, he resumed exploration the next year ; but this time met with a series of disasters which so changed his appearance, that on his return to Perth, his friends failed to recognise him.

One year later, in 1839, he was appointed Governor of Albany, and during this year he wrote the story of his travels, afterwards published in two volumes. Further promotion awaited him the succeeding year, when he became Governor of South Australia ; a colony which was then suffering from the depression arising from mismanagement and wild speculation.

Grey attacked the economic problem with characteristic energy, and by exercising rigid economy of the country's resources, he succeeded in restoring normal conditions. His marked success received official acknowledgment, and led to his transference to New Zealand in 1845. At this time the islands were on the verge of financial ruin, complicated with the fact that the colonists were also embroiled with the native Maoris. He flung himself into the struggle, and his efforts finally brought about renewed peace and prosperity.

After a rule of eight years he was transferred to Cape Colony and knighted for his services in New Zealand. In South Africa his firm and just policy won him golden opinions from British settlers, Boers and natives alike.

The culmination of his career would now have been reached, if his project of a Federated South Africa had not been frustrated by officials at home. But he was, in this respect, a long way in front of his generation. The Colonial Office of that day disapproved of Federation ; and Grey, after several repulses, was finally instructed to let the matter drop.

In 1861, he again undertook the Governorship of New Zealand, but during the following two years his popularity waned, and he became engaged in a contest with the Home Government over the question of the confiscation of three million acres of land belonging to the tribes. This led to his resignation and return to England.

A pension of £1,000 a year was conferred upon him in 1872, when he returned once more to New Zealand, settling down near Auckland. Three years after his return from England, he was chosen as a Member of the New Zealand House of Representatives. Here his 'forward' policy soon brought him the leadership of the Radicals, and he became Premier in 1877. It is of interest to note that the leading points in his policy—adult suffrage, triennial parliaments, and a land tax, all became law during his lifetime.

In 1894, when he finally quitted New Zealand for England, his reputation as a great Imperialist had preceded him. He was received with great honour, presented to Queen Victoria, and made a Privy Councillor. He died in September, 1898, and received a public funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral, where his ashes mingle with those of many great Empire-builders of the past.

THE FOUNDATION OF A FEDERAL INSTITUTION

(Delivered at the National Australian Convention, held at Sydney in March and April, 1891).

IT is with feelings almost of awe that I rise to speak before an assembly gathered from all parts of Australia, upon so vast and important a subject as that which occupies our attention this day. I think that our proper duty in forming a representative constitution is to begin at the lowest body from which that constitution is to be built up—that is, the people at large. I think our duty is first rather to consider the constitutions of the several colonies of Australia, and to devise from those a perfect form of constitution for such states as may join the general government. It is only by winning over persons to a consciousness that great advantages will accrue to them from entering into a confederation of this kind, that we can possibly hope to attract colonies of diverse views to join in a great confederation, which will render the whole one of the most important bodies in the world. I was very much struck lately when Sir Henry Loch, the new Governor, visited all the states in South Africa, and amongst others he visited British Kaffraria, and

there he found a strong desire for a federation, throughout not only Kaffirland, but all the European States ; but great difficulties presented themselves in bringing this about. What struck me as really admirable was that the Kaffirs gave an account of how they were drawn on gradually to like the British Crown and the British Government. For years they had been the greatest enemy of Great Britain ; for years they had waged wars with us, subjecting the Empire to a vast expense. But they met Sir Henry Loch and they told him : " We cherish great expectations from meeting with your Excellency in this way ; for on the last occasion we stood before a governor in this manner, that meeting was followed by pleasant repose, by blessings, and other privileges, which went far to open the eyes of many, who behold things, as it were, with a clearer vision. Thus were the native people drawn more towards Her Majesty's beneficent sway. We receive you therefore with hopes and with joy." And they went on to say that the blessings they had received from the Queen had made the South African natives generally, not only in Kaffraria, but in every part of the Colony, feel for Her Majesty devotion and affection, which devotion and affection they would transfer for the time being to her governor.

That address was delivered by 8,000 Kaffirs, 3,000 of whom were mounted men. They pledged their faith to the British Government, and why ?—because they had derived great benefits from it. And I believe that it is only by holding out such inducements to the various states of Australia that we can possibly lead them all to join in one great and strong confederation. Well, then, we have to consider what are the blessings we should obtain for them, and the first thing I say is this, that I believe it is the duty of this Convention to see that the states get a Constitution, which will enable them, whenever they please, to reform their own constitution, and to create it for themselves. That is really the main point, and that is very simply done. If we give them first an elective lieutenant governor, and then see that their two houses of legislature are each made elective and responsible to the people, they then can frame precisely what constitution they please from time to time, and in that respect exercise the privileges enjoyed by the United States of North America. These may seem very wide privileges to give, but I have only to say this, that those who will study the original constitution of New Zealand will find that in point of fact each one of the Provinces had in law, granted by the British Parliament, the right to make its own constitution of exactly the nature it pleased, and to vary it from time to time. It will be very easy, therefore, for us to see that like privileges are conferred upon the Australian States, and I have no hesitation in saying that if we do not do that,

even if they join you, some of them will have years of conflict before they will obtain a Constitution suited to their wishes—they have had nothing hitherto to do with framing their own Constitutions. These rest on acts of a distant parliament; their voice was but little heard. For example, in New Zealand, we had promised to us by one Ministry a Constitution of the utmost liberality. The states elected their own superintendents, who were virtually lieutenant governors. But the simple name of superintendent being given disarmed Parliament at home and they did not hesitate to give to the superintendents chosen by the people powers which they would not give to Canada or did not give to Canada when the superintendents were called lieutenant governors, without having the great powers which the superintendents in New Zealand had. But the lieutenant governors were not allowed to be elected by the people of Canada. Now, I say that on the present great and momentous occasion which has brought us here, we have the power of giving to the states a Constitution of the kind which I speak of. I think we ought to give them that, and then let them frame their own Constitution as they please from time to time, so that they will possess all the powers of local self government, which men could possibly desire to have. Then you have this to guide you; the British Parliament has already consented, and in one instance for nearly twenty years, I think, those powers were exercised and were never abused. You thus see that not only can you get the right from the same Parliament which gave it before, but there is every possibility and every probability, that powers so given will not be abused in Australia any more than they remained safe and intact from all abuse when intrusted to the people of New Zealand.

Now, proceeding from that point to the question of the Constitution we are required to frame and to submit for the consideration of the people of Australia, we are met at first, perhaps, apparently by greater difficulties—that is, we have to define what are to be the powers of the states, and what are to be the powers of the Federal Government. We have two bodies to deal with. But I think we can very easily overcome these difficulties. First, I think that this must inevitably be done—we must not imitate the United States in saying that the states are to be paramount—that they are to be the sole possessors of power, and that then they, from those paramount powers which they possess, are to delegate such powers as they please to the general assembly, or congress, or senate, or whatever you may please to term it, because the inevitable result of that will probably be, that the time will arrive in which there will be some question, such as slavery was in the United States, which will disturb the minds of the people at large. Perhaps the great majority of the states may desire to have a general law, either to regulate, or

to abolish an institution of the kind, or some similar institution, and the minority of the states may refuse to agree to that, and thereupon a deadlock would take place and nothing could be done. At last the majority would determine that the majority should prevail ; but then the difficulty would be that the majority could only prevail by breaking the law. In the minds of all English-speaking people, there is a respect for the law which makes them hate to see it violently broken or set aside. In that manner to the minority of states would become attracted a part of those who might think with the majority upon the general subject but who would not join in what they conceived to be an unlawful attack upon the Constitution of the country. The result would be that parties would become more equal and, probably, nothing less than a civil war would end a question which might easily, perhaps, have been settled by different legal arrangements. I think, therefore, it will be our bounden duty to see that the general assembly is not only endowed with certain powers which the states cannot exercise, but also that an addition be made as was done in the New Zealand Constitution, to this effect, that whatever the general assembly of the country, or the Congress of the country, chooses to legislate upon any subject, that subject is added to those subjects which have been withdrawn from the power of the different states.

Mr. Fitz-Gerald : No !

Sir George Grey : If that is not done, of course, we act against experience. I hear honourable gentlemen say ' No ! ' but they must recollect that it was foreseen that dire results would follow from the adoption of another system, and that those dire results did follow, and with that example before us, it appears very doubtful if we ought not, pursuing the course of wisdom, to take steps which will prevent a repetition of the disaster which took place in the United States. Some other plan of doing it may be devised ; but the object should be attained in some way or other, without subjecting ourselves to the chances of great disaster. I need not go at length into the different subjects which I think should be submitted to the power of the general assembly, or the Congress. These can be easily adjusted, I think, probably without any great dissension amongst ourselves. I believe that no trouble at all will arise upon that head ; but it will be essentially necessary that the point should be considered with very great care. Now, it may be said, perhaps, that in England they are little prepared to consider this subject for us, if it is to be carried out by Act of Parliament, but I should tell honourable gentlemen that they little know the care which British Statesmen have in some instances bestowed upon the consideration of the affairs of these colonies. For instance, we had the Premier of Great Britain, the Marquis

of Salisbury, when a younger son of the late Marquis, out in New Zealand, studying our Constitution there with the greatest care—not the one that was then perfected, but the one which it was thought would be bestowed upon New Zealand. He lived with me for several months, and the business that had been transacted in the day was gone through by him and myself in the evenings that we spent together. Every matter was discussed, the reasons for each step taken were examined, arguments were held upon both sides, and he devoted his mind as carefully to the study of those questions, as if he had been a New Zealander, and the Member of the Government who had to consider what was best to be done for the country. And his was not a solitary instance in that respect. Other British Statesmen have been out here directing their attention to these very questions. Only recently you have had here a young man, now a member of the House of Peers, who spent at least one year and a half studying every question connected with New Zealand, who then came on to Australia, and visited every one of these colonies, and devoted considerable care and attention to their exact position, the state of their legislation, and all that they had acquired; and who, then, went on to the United States and Canada, and repeated the same thing there, and when perfectly educated upon all these points, returned home to take his seat in the House of Peers, and to stand the friend of these communities whenever difficult questions arose. Now, with men of that kind to take our part, I think there is great safety for us in reference to the steps which the British Parliament will take in regard to our requests. And that brings me to another point which, I fear, will give rise to some difference of opinion in this great assembly, and in which I may not carry people with me; but I believe in my own mind that it is essential to you that every one of your officers should be elected by the people of this country. Even in the case of your governor-general I believe the people ought to have the right of choosing who that man shall be. Let them choose him from England if they please; let them choose him from any part of the world, I would almost say, if they pleased. They will choose well, they will choose wisely, and no nation can be perfect—unless an Imperial nation—a young offset, as we should be, of an Imperial nation, we should not be perfect unless the people had every office open to their ambition, and unless it were known that the really great and good men of the country could rise to the highest position, and exercise the highest duties in it. Why, if, as is the doctrine of the present time, and I admit that it has been successfully exercised—very successfully exercised as regards these colonies—if the doctrine is that as far as possible the sons of Peers should be sent out here to be educated as to the affairs of the colonies in order that they may act

wisely in the legislative body at home—I say that if such an education is necessary and of great advantage, then to shut out our own people from an education of the kind, and to say that no man in Australia shall have an advantage of the sort, is an act of absolute cruelty to the people of Australia—it is to cramp their energies, it is to deprive them of the highest education of all, and it is an act of which we ought not to be guilty towards our fellow countrymen. Then I would say to this assembly, do not be led away by the idea that the nomination of governor is the only tie which binds us to Great Britain. If we send over a great portion of our laws for the Queen's assent, is not that to bind us to Great Britain in the most solemn way? Is not that to say that the Sovereign of Great Britain is as absolutely a member of our legislature here as she is of the legislature at home? Her representative, who would be chosen by the people, would in her name open and close the Parliaments and perform all those functions, but he would be a man chosen by ourselves, and our own people would be educated in the highest possible manner to discharge their duty to their country. For it is not only the man who is fortunate enough to attain the highest position who will educate himself to the greatest point that he can, but everyone who aimed at the office would be endeavouring to prepare himself for it—numbers of men would be educated to a point to which they never would otherwise be educated, unless you opened such objects to their ambition.

If it were thought necessary to bind us still further to Great Britain I do not see why we, instead of having Agents-general, should not have members of the Privy Council at home. I do not at all know why we should not send home an officer who would conduct our business with the Queen directly, exactly as the Secretary of State for Ireland conducts the business of Ireland with the Queen, or as that officer in the House of Commons, who really manages Scotch affairs, and who manages them as if he were a Secretary of State, conducts the business of Scotland. I believe it would be of the greatest possible advantage to the Colonies that such an officer should reside in England instead of having Agents-general there, because he would become personally known to his Sovereign, and to the leading men in England, and friendships would be formed, and an education given from time to time as these men were changed. I apprehend that they would probably only fill the office for two or three years. There would be a constant change, and I believe that in that way a large proportion of your population would be again educated in the best possible manner. These must seem almost too daring speculations; but in point of fact, we are marching on to an altogether new epoch, to new times, and the very essence of the Constitution must be this. I heard one honourable gentleman here state that

we must remember that we are legislating for the future, and I agree with him, if he meant that we are legislating in such a manner as to enable the future to legislate for itself—that it is our object that freedom in every respect should be given, so that as each generation comes on they shall say : “ Blessed be those ancestors of ours who have left us this freedom, so that nothing can take place—no changes in the state of the world—but we possess all powers to define the measures most necessary to bring peace and tranquillity at every epoch as it comes on.”

That is the real duty which we should aim to fulfil ; and it is only by allowing the people to speak and at all times to declare their views and wishes and to have them carefully considered that we can insure peace, tranquillity and prosperity to each country in each successive epoch of time as it arrives. Now, having given these general views upon your general assembly, I need go no further. It does not much matter in what kind of way on the first occasion you allow elections to take place, if the people have the power of altering that whenever they like. All these things become quite minor questions if you just hold in view these several matters—that the states—each state—shall have the power of modifying its form of government whenever it likes ; that, for instance, neither the states nor the general body is to be told that—“ you must conduct your form of government according to the principles of what they call a responsible ministry.”

Why should that be told to them ?

Why not let them conduct their form of government precisely as each age chooses ? Who can tell what political inventions are yet to be made ? Why, the principle of representation as we enjoy it, is, comparatively speaking, a modern discovery and the principle of federation has not developed yet. We are the people for the first time to give it a new form, if we please. We can develop it to a higher point than it has ever been reached to yet. It is an invention ; but as is the case with electricity, day by day better modes will be found for administering it—better means for making it more useful to men. We now, as I say, take one step, and in taking that step let us open the road to all future steps. Let that be our care to lead on ; let us march into the wide track of improving all these institutions ; let us lead on, and you will find that grateful nations will follow, and we shall discover that we had known nothing, although we now think we know so much—so great will be the changes which will occur—so great will be the inventions which will be made. Then there is one thing which lies very near my mind. Let us remember this. In my youth it was said that men of different religious faiths could not sit in the same legislature together,

and they were excluded—Jews, Catholics, Nonconformists. Nobody, it was thought, but members of the Church of England could form a legislative body that was of any use at all. To leaven them with other material was to spoil the whole thing. But it was found that that was a great mistake ; that men of different religious faiths could sit side by side in the same legislature ; that talent and ability can be drawn forth from any religious opinions whatever. The nation has progressed more than ever it has done before in so short a period of time ; and its happiness and tranquillity are greater. Now, I think we should establish this principle in reference to federation. Let us say that if the English-speaking people choose to federate in one great body, we shall not ask what that form of government is. In the same body could sit men who hail from a republic, and men who hail from a monarchy. Take the case of South Africa where there are two republics. We might have federation in a wonderful degree if that rule were laid down ; and surely, if seven or eight states there met together to consult for the common good of South Africa and to make a law which would be beneficial to the whole of them, it could matter very little whether the representatives of two states came from republics instead of from a monarchy as in the case of the other states. Equally well can they advise upon that which is good for the whole—equally well can they care for their fellow countrymen, speaking the same language, with laws identical in all respects, equally well can they care for them, whether the head of the government is called a president, or whether as in our case, we rejoice to live under so great and good a Queen. What difference can it make ? We should be the first to lead on in that great improvement and to say this : “ Now, the federation of all English-speaking people may take place ; the United States can come in with us ; all men speaking the common tongue can meet to debate upon what is necessary for the common benefit.”

I think honourable gentlemen will feel, however crude these doctrines may be, that there is much in them. Remember this : that America must have a great deal to say in regard to the Pacific Ocean. The last speaker alluded very kindly to the idea, that was entertained years ago, of federating with all the islands of the South Pacific, and arrangements were made by which that might be carried out. But what was the feeling in England ?

Directly it was known that we thought of common customs duties for all the islands—all the islands, as well as these larger places—the moment that was thought of, and it was seen that it afforded the means of paying one or two European officers for the purpose of guiding and directing the natives in the line of duty which they should follow, the

British Government became alarmed, and there was a peremptory order sent out which prevented that plan being continued. It was finished at once. Well, not only was that the case, but so strong was the desire then to break up the Empire—and this is a good illustration of the kind of changes that you may have to meet, changes of human thought—that it was determined, if possible, to get rid of the out-lying dependencies, and to reduce the dominions of Great Britain. The Orange River sovereignty was first thrown off. Then it was contemplated to throw other places off, and force them to become republics. It was said that England was too large; that what you wanted was a nation—not thinking of all these distant places—with their minds fixed upon manufacture and commerce, manufacturing for the world; it was sufficient to breed up in your great cities a population in the last depths of misery, but always ready to rush into manufactures at the lowest rate of wages, whenever an improvement of trade took place. It was said that Britain should confine herself to her manufactures, and to her own immediate territories, and leave the rest of the world to itself. But what thought other people, and what thought England? Let me just give one illustration of this.

I was arranging for the federation of South Africa—triumphantly arranging it—certainly all the states, I believe, but one would have joined, and that one would almost immediately afterwards have probably come in—but when it was heard of, the government then in power, and the opposition at home, were alike filled with dread at such a federation as was contemplated. It was said that the man who contemplated that was a dangerous man, and he must be got rid of, and without a moment's warning I was dismissed from office as Governor and High Commissioner of the Cape. Well, there was one person in the realm who thought differently. Afterwards, within a few days the Ministry were put out in consequence of a quarrel with Lord Palmerston—I think it was within twelve days—and the first thing that was said to the new Ministry was: "That man is right, you will yet long to do what he could have done, and you will be sorry that it was not done; re-instate him in his position." It was the Queen who spoke, and what was her feeling towards her people at large? As the Prince Consort explained the matter to myself, they felt the necessity of openings for the poor, for the adventurous. They thought no wrongful efforts should ever be made to extend an empire, that so long as the people of Great Britain, urged by their indomitable energy, kept pushing on themselves, winning new races, winning new countries to join the great confederation of English people, so long would it be wrong for the Sovereign to injure her people by saying they should not go to these new homes, they

should not open these new places for commerce, that they must remain shut up in a small and continually decreasing empire at home, as it would have been if the policy had been acted upon, of striking off place after place. Well, I maintain that the hearts which conceived that conception—that love for the English race—represented the true feeling of the nation, and experience has shown that such was the case. There we are in New Zealand in spite of the government of the day. They tried to stop the foundation of the Colony: There they are at the Cape of Good Hope, spreading over the whole of the country, although the earlier settlers were punished, if they attempted to pass the Orange River. No further spread of territory there was to be allowed. And now you have Great Britain grasping immense territories in Africa, probably going even beyond her strength—such has been the change of public opinion upon this subject. I ask you, therefore, whether we, in providing for the spread of the Empire in the Pacific, whether we, in providing for all English-speaking races, coming into the one great confederation, shall not equally now be doing our duty to the future, as I believe that our noble Queen, and those who thought with her—there were really but few—thought rightly, thought well, when they determined that the energies of the British race should spread exactly as their instincts moved them, and, provided they committed no wrong upon others, should be allowed to go in and replenish and fill up all the waste places of the earth. These are the points which appear to me so essentially necessary for our guidance—this policy of letting all English-speaking people into the confederation, of not attempting to fetter our posterity by any peculiar laws, of simply giving them power to enable them to determine what laws they would live under themselves. Holding those two main points in view, we should, I think, accomplish all we could possibly desire.

With reference to the subject of defence, I do not like to say much. I am very adverse to seeing a large force raised in this country; I am very adverse to seeing a military spirit created, which should long for war. I would rather see a small—a very small—force, sufficient for all purposes which can possibly occur; because I do not believe, if we enter into this confederation we shall ever be molested. Let me state one point. There is intense jealousy amongst the European nations themselves. At one time it was thought it was better to set up the old world in this new world. The whole efforts of the people were to form off-shoots of British societies, as they said. Why, here, even in this colony of New South Wales, when you were offered free and liberal institutions, some of your first men wanted to set up peerages. The papers and documents will show that. I know that in New Zealand,

in the minds of many men, similar thoughts were entertained. A nobility was to be set up there, in the south of New Zealand, just as much as it was at home, in England ; but in spite of all that could be done, this one feeling always pervaded these new countries, that they would have nothing whatever to do with those institutions of the old world ; and I say, that if once you get up great military bodies here, the whole world will, by degrees, become a series of standing camps, as it is in Europe at the present day. Now, look how we stand. From the Atlantic, on the one side, back again to the same ocean really, I may say, upon the other side, there lies a great space in the world in which there is no standing army at the present day, no preparation made for military attacks, for military defence—the United States—with, I believe, 12,000 men to keep the Indian population down, and the whole is at peace and repose ; her young men are not drawn into conscription, not prepared to be fit victims for slaughter, not certain to be slaughtered in some few years' time in some obscure corner or other, but all devoting their energies to the development of the country, marrying, becoming farmers, or filling different trades and professions ; not shut up in barracks excluded from knowing what the affection of a wife and the love of children really is. Here, all are totally different, and for heaven's sake let us keep in our present position and not go off into the mania which has made Europe the nations of standing camps, which it is. I hope that that is one thing we shall hold in view—in fact, one of the main things almost before every other. I will not detain honourable gentlemen longer. I have given what I believe to be an outline of a proper plan of proceeding. I will do my best to bring the points forward in Committee, as these questions arise. I entertain in my own mind a confident belief of this—that what I have asked for, whether it is done now or not, will be done in Australasia,—I will not say in my lifetime, although I have seen great changes—but I believe it will be done in Australasia in a very short period of time. If it is done I have a confident belief, founded upon a long experience, that either a nation, educated in public schools first, then educated in public life afterwards in the world, so that the thought and care of their fellow-man is continually before their minds—I believe that such a nation will attain to higher prosperity than any other people have yet attained, because in the United States still are many of those things wanting in that degree of perfection in which we may have them here :—from the full exercise of the faculties of self-government, and of the management of the nation, will certainly spring prosperity and happiness of a kind hitherto unknown.

CHARLES KINGSLEY

(1819-1875).

CHARLES KINGSLEY, celebrated in literature as the author of 'Hypatia,' 'Alton Locke,' and other widely-read novels, was even more celebrated during his lifetime for addresses and sermons which made him one of the great forces of English industrial reform. He attempted to compel the well-fed and well-satisfied commercial element of England to so much discontent with itself and with existing conditions as would render it merciful and helpful to the helpless. He was born at Holne, in Devonshire, June 12th, 1819. After graduation at Cambridge, he entered the ministry of the Established Church, and after a number of years of service in Hampshire he was made Canon of Middleham and afterwards of Chester and Westminster. At different periods of his life he was Professor of English in Queen's College in London, and of Modern History in Cambridge. He wrote a number of poems of great power, notably the 'Three Fishers,' one of the most remarkable lyrics of the century, embodying in a few stanzas of verse the same spirit which inspired his address on 'Human Soot.' He died January 23rd, 1875.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

THE education which I set before you is not to be got by mere hearing of lectures or reading books ; for it is an education of your whole character ; a self-education ; which really means a committing of yourself to God, that He may educate you. Hearing lectures is good, for it will teach you how much there is to be known, and how little you know. Reading books is good, for it will give you habits of regular and diligent study. And therefore I urge on you strongly private study, especially in case a library should be formed here, of books on those most practical subjects of which I have been speaking. But, after all, both lectures and books are good, mainly in as far as they furnish matter for reflection ; while the desire to reflect and the ability to reflect must come, as I believe, .

from above. The honest craving after light and power, after knowledge, wisdom, active usefulness, must come—and may it come to you—by the inspiration to the Spirit of God.

Let me ask women to educate themselves, not for their own sakes merely, but for the sake of others. For, whether they will or not, they must educate others. I do not speak merely of those who may be engaged in the work of direct teaching ; that they ought to be well taught themselves, who can doubt ? I speak of those—and in so doing I speak of every woman, young and old—who exercises as wife, as mother, as aunt, as sister, or as friend, an influence, indirect it may be, and unconscious, but still potent and practical, on the minds and characters of those about them, especially of men. How potent and practical that influence is, those know best who know most of the world and most of human nature. There are those who consider—and I agree with them—that the education of boys under the age of twelve years ought to be entrusted as much as possible to women. Let me ask—of what period of youth and of manhood does not the same hold true ? I pity the ignorance and conceit of the man who fancies that he has nothing left to learn from cultivated women. I should have thought that the very mission of woman was to be, in the highest sense, the educator of man from infancy to old age ; that that was the work towards which all the God-given capacities of women pointed, for which they were to be educated to the highest pitch. I should have thought that it was the glory of woman, that she was sent into the world to live for others, rather than for herself ; and therefore I should say—Let her smallest rights be respected, her smallest wrongs redressed ; but let her never be persuaded to forget that she is sent into the world to teach man—what, I believe she has been teaching him all along, even in the savage state—namely that there is something more necessary than the claiming of rights, and that is, the performing of duties ; to teach him specially, in these so called intellectual days, that there is something more than intellect, and that is—purity and virtue. Let her never be persuaded to forget that her calling is not the lower and more earthly one of self-assertion, but the higher and the diviner calling of self-sacrifice ; and let her never desert that higher life, which lives in others and for others, like her Redeemer and her Lord.

And, if any should answer, that this doctrine would keep woman a dependent and a slave, I answer—Not so ; it would keep her what she should be—the mistress of all around her, because mistress of herself. And more, I should express a fear that those who made that answer had not yet seen into the mystery of true greatness and true strength ; that they did not yet understand the true magnanimity, the true royalty

of that spirit, by which the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many.

Surely that is woman's calling—to teach man : and to teach him what ? To teach him, after all, that his calling is the same as hers, if he will but see the things which belong to his peace. To temper his fiercer, coarser, more self-assertive nature, by the contact of her gentleness, purity, self-sacrifice. To make him see that not by blare of trumpets, not by noise, wrath, greed, ambition, intrigue, puffery, is good and lasting work to be done on earth ; but by wise self-distrust, by silent labour, by lofty self-control, by that charity which hopeth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things ; by such an example, in short, as women now in tens of thousands set to those around them ; such as they will show more and more, the more their whole womanhood is educated to employ its powers without waste and without haste in harmonious unity.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

(1841-1920).

SIR WILFRID LAURIER is perhaps the most notable orator the Dominion has produced. The Toronto *Globe* said when he entered the Canadian House of Commons that he "produced a sensation, not more by the finished grace of his oratory than by the boldness and authority with which he handled the deepest political problems." In politics, he has described himself as a "Liberal of the English school, a pupil of Charles James Fox, Daniel O'Connell, and greatest of them all—William Ewart Gladstone!" His admiration for Gladstone inspired the well known oration of May 26th, 1898, in the Canadian House of Commons—one of the best of all recorded characterizations of Gladstone.

Born November 20th, 1841, at St. Lin, he was educated at L'Assomption College and at the Law School of McGill University. He was called to the bar in 1864, and after practising for several years went to L'Avenir for his health, editing while there a reform newspaper, *Le Défricheur*, and identifying himself with the "advanced Liberals" of that period. Recovering his health, he resumed the practice of the law, settling at St. Christophe, now Arthabaskaville. In 1868, he entered public life as a member of the Quebec Assembly, and in 1874 was elected to the Canadian House of Commons. Under the McKenzie administration in 1876 he became Minister of Internal Revenue, and when the Liberals were forced into opposition, where they remained eighteen years, he became one of their acknowledged leaders. When they regained power in 1896, he became Premier, and in 1899 attracted international attention by the vigour of his speech on the Alaska boundary treaty. When he visited England to be present at the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, his reception is described as "almost regal." He was made a knight of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George, received degrees from Oxford and Cambridge, and was voted a gold medal by the Cobden Club. On visiting France he was made a grand officer of the Legion of Honour, and in Italy the Pope showed him special honour. A volume of his speeches was published in 1890.

Between 1900 and 1914 he met issues arising during his service as Premier of Canada in speeches which increased his already great reputation as an orator and statesman.

THE CHARACTER AND WORK OF GLADSTONE

(Delivered in the Canadian House of Commons, May 26th, 1898).

EVERYBODY in this House will, I think, agree that it is eminently fitting and proper that in the universal expression of regret which ascends towards heaven from all parts of the civilized world we also should join our voice and testify to the very high sense and respect, admiration, and veneration which the entire people of Canada, irrespective of creed, or race, or party, entertain for the memory of the great man who has just closed his earthly career.

England has lost the most illustrious of her sons ; but the loss is not England's alone, nor is it confined to the great empire which acknowledges England's suzerainty, nor even to the proud race which can claim kinship with the people of England. The loss is the loss of mankind. Mr. Gladstone gave his whole life to his country ; but the work which he did for his country was conceived and carried out on principles of such high elevation, for purposes so noble and aims so lofty that not his country alone, but the whole of mankind, benefited by his work. It is no exaggeration to say that he has raised the standard of civilization, and the world to-day is undoubtedly better for both the precept and the example of his life. His death is mourned, not only by England, the land of his birth, not only by Scotland, the land of his ancestors, not only by Ireland, for whom he did so much, and attempted to do so much more ; but also by the people of the two Sicilies, for whose outraged rights he once aroused the conscience of Europe ; by the people of the Ionian Islands, whose independence he secured ; by the people of Bulgaria and the Danubian provinces, in whose cause he enlisted the sympathy of his own native country. Indeed, since the days of Napoleon, no man has lived whose name has travelled so far and so wide over the surface of the earth ; no man has lived whose name alone so deeply moved the hearts of so many millions of men. Whereas Napoleon impressed his tremendous personality upon peoples far and near by the strange fascination which the genius of war has always exercised over the imagination of men in all lands and in all ages, the name of Gladstone had come to be, in the minds of all civilized nations, the living incarnation of right against might—the champion, the dauntless, tireless champion, of the oppressed against the oppressor. It is, I believe, equally true to say that he was the most marvellous mental organization which the world has seen since Napoleon—certainly the most compact, the most active, and the most universal.

This last half century in which we live has produced many able and strong men, who, in different walks of life, have attracted the attention of the world at large ; but of the men who have illustrated this age, it seems to me that in the eyes of posterity four will outlive and outshine all others—Cavour, Lincoln, Bismarck, and Gladstone. If we look simply at the magnitude of the results obtained, compared with the exiguity of the resources at command—if we remember that out of the small kingdom of Sardinia grew United Italy, we must come to the conclusion that Count Cavour was undoubtedly a statesman of marvellous skill and prescience. Abraham Lincoln, unknown to fame when he was elected to the presidency, exhibited a power for the government of men which has scarcely been surpassed in any age. He saved the American Union, he enfranchised the black race, and for the task he had to perform he was endowed in some respects almost miraculously. No man ever displayed a greater insight into the motives, the complex motives, which shape the public opinion of a free country, and he possessed almost to the degree of an instinct the supreme quality in a statesman of taking the right decision, taking it at the right moment, and expressing it in language of incomparable felicity. Prince Bismarck was the embodiment of resolute common sense, unflinching determination, relentless strength, moving onward to his end, and crushing everything in his way as unconcerned as fate itself. Mr. Gladstone undoubtedly excelled every one of these men. He had in his person a combination of varied powers of the human intellect rarely to be found in one single individual. He had the imaginative fancy, the poetic conception of things, in which Count Cavour was deficient. He had the aptitude for business, the financial ability which Lincoln never exhibited. He had the lofty impulses, the generous inspirations which Prince Bismarck always discarded, even if he did not treat them with scorn. He was at once an orator, a statesman, a poet, and a man of business. As an orator he stands certainly in the very front rank of orators of his country or any country, of his age or any age. I remember when Louis Blanc was in England, in the days of the Second Empire, he used to write to the press of Paris, and in one of his letters to *Le Temps* he stated that Mr. Gladstone would undoubtedly have been the foremost orator of England if it were not for the existence of Mr. Bright. It may be admitted, and I think it is admitted generally, that on some occasions Mr. Bright reached heights of grandeur and pathos which even Mr. Gladstone did not attain. But Mr. Gladstone had an ability, a vigour, a fluency which no man in his age, or any age, ever rivalled, or even approached. That is not all. To his marvellous mental powers he added no less marvellous physical gifts. He had the eye of a god ; the voice of a silver bell ; and the very fire of his eye, the

very music of his voice, swept the hearts of men even before they had been dazzled by the torrents of his eloquence.

As a statesman, it was the good fortune of Mr. Gladstone that his career was not associated with war. The reforms which he effected, the triumphs which he achieved, were not won by the supreme arbitrament of the sword. The reforms which he effected and the triumphs which he achieved were the result of his power of persuasion over his fellow-men. The reforms which he achieved in many ways amounted to a revolution. They changed, in many particulars, the face of the realm. After Sir Robert Peel had adopted the great principle which eventually carried England from protection to free trade, it was Mr. Gladstone who created the financial system which has been admitted ever since by all students of finance as the secret of Great Britain's commercial success. He enforced the extension of the suffrage to the masses of the nation, and practically thereby made the Government of monarchical England as democratic as that of any republic. He disestablished the Irish Church; he introduced reform into the land tenure, and brought hope into the breasts of those tillers of the soil in Ireland who had for so many generations laboured in despair. And all this he did, not by force or violence, but simply by the power of his eloquence and the strength of his personality.

Great, however, as were the acts of the man, after all he was of the human flesh, and for him, as for everybody else, there were trivial and low duties to be performed. It is no exaggeration to say that even in those low and trivial duties he was great. He ennobled the common realities of life. His was above all things a religious mind,—essentially religious in the highest sense of the term. And the religious sentiment which dominated his public life and his speeches, that same sentiment, according to the testimony of those who knew him best, also permeated all his actions, from the highest to the humblest. He was a man of strong and pure affections, of long and lasting friendship, and to describe the beauty of his domestic life no words of praise can be adequate. It was simply ideally beautiful, and in the latter years of his life as touching as it was beautiful. May I be permitted, without any impropriety, to recall that it was my privilege to experience and to appreciate that courtesy, made up of dignity and grace, which was famous all over the world, but of which no one could have an appropriate opinion unless he had been the recipient of it? In a character so complex and diversified, one may be asked what was the dominant feature, what was the supreme quality, the one characteristic which marked the nature of the man. Was it his incomparable genius for finance? Was it his splendid oratorical powers? Was it his marvellous fecundity of mind?

In my estimation, it was not any one of those qualities. Great as they were, there was one still more marked, and if I have to give my own impression, I would say that the one trait which was dominant in his nature, which marked the man more distinctly than any other, was his intense humanity, his paramount sense of right, his abhorrence of injustice, wrong, and oppression wherever to be found or in whatever shape they might show themselves. Injustice, wrong, oppression, acted upon him, as it were, mechanically, and aroused every fibre of his being, and from that moment, to the repairing of the injustice, the undoing of the wrong, and the destruction of the oppression, he gave his mind, his heart, his soul, his whole life, with an energy, with an intensity, with a vigour paralleled in no man unless it be the first Napoleon. There are many evidences of this in his life. When he was travelling in southern Italy, as a tourist, for pleasure, and for the benefit of the health of his family, he became aware of the abominable system which was there prevailing under the name of constitutional government. He left everything aside, even the object which had brought him to Italy, and applied himself to investigate and to collect evidence, and then denounced the abominable system in a trumpet blast of such power that it shook to its very foundation the throne of King Ferdinand and sent it tottering to its fall. Again, when he was sent as High Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, the injustice of keeping this Hellenic population separated from the rest of Greece, separated from the kingdom to which they were adjacent and towards which all their aspirations were raised, struck his generous soul with such force that he became practically their advocate and secured their independence. Again, when he had withdrawn from public life, and when, in the language of Thiers, under somewhat similar circumstances, he had returned to "*ses chères études*," the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks on the people of Rumania brought him back to public life with a vehemence, an impetuosity, and a torrent of fierce indignation that swept everything before it. If this be, as I think it is, the one distinctive feature of his character, it seems to explain away what are called the inconsistencies of his life. "Inconsistencies"—there were none in his life. He had been brought up in the most unbending school of Toryism. He became the most active Reformer of our own times. But whilst he became the leader of the Liberal party and an active Reformer, it is only due to him to say that in his complex mind there was a vast space for what is known as conservatism. His mind was not only liberal, but conservative as well, and he clung to the affections of his youth until, in questions of practical moment, he found them clashing with that sense of right and abhorrence of injustice, of which I have spoken. But the moment he found his conservative

affections clash with what he thought right and just, he did not hesitate to abandon his former convictions and go the whole length of the reforms demanded. Thus he was always devoutly, filially, lovingly attached to the Church of England. He loved it, as he often declared. He had adhered to it as an establishment in England, but the very reasons and arguments which, in his mind, justified the establishment of the church in England compelled him to a different course, as far as that church was concerned in Ireland. In England the church was the church of the majority, of almost the unanimity of the nation. In Ireland it was the church of the minority, and therefore he did not hesitate. His course was clear ; he removed the one church and maintained the other. So it was with Home Rule, but coming to the subject of Home Rule, though there may be much to say, perhaps this is neither the occasion nor the place to say it. The Irish problem is dormant, but not solved, but the policy proposed by Mr. Gladstone for the solution of this question has provoked too much bitterness, too deep division, even on the floor of this House, to make it advisable to say anything about it on this occasion.

I notice it, however, simply because it is the last and everlasting monument of that high sense of justice which, above all things, characterized him. When he became convinced that Home Rule was the only method whereby the insoluble problem could be solved, whereby the long open wound could be healed, he did not hesitate one moment, even though he were to sacrifice friends, power, popularity. And he sacrificed friends, power, popularity, in order to give that supreme measure of justice to a long-suffering people. Whatever may be the views which men entertain upon the policy of Home Rule, whether they favour that policy or whether they oppose it ; whether they believe in it or whether they do not believe in it, every man, whether friend or foe of that measure, must say that it was not only a bold, but it was a noble thought,—that of attempting to cure discontent in Ireland by trusting to Irish honour and Irish generosity.

Now, sir, he is no more. England is to-day in tears ; but fortunate is the nation which has produced such a man ! His years are over, but his work is not closed ; his work is still going on. The example which he gave to the world shall live for ever, and the seed which he has sown with such a copious hand shall still germinate and bear fruit under the full light of heaven.

LORD LYNDHURST

(1772-1863).

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY, Baron Lyndhurst and Lord Chancellor of England, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, in 1772. He was the son of the Boston painter, Copley, who settled in London a few years before the rebellion of the American colonies. The future Lord Lyndhurst was educated at Cambridge. After beginning the practice of law, he showed such marked ability as to attract the attention of Castlereagh and other Tory leaders, who converted him from his "Jacobin" theories, elected him to Parliament, made him Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and in 1827 Lord Chancellor with the title of Baron Lyndhurst. He was Lord Chancellor during four Tory administrations, from 1827 to 1846, holding that office for the last time in the Peel Administration. In 1853 and 1854 his speeches on Russia and the Crimean War attracted the attention of Europe, and sometimes caused great excitement. He continued to take an interest in public affairs until after his eightieth year. He died October 12th, 1863.

RUSSIA AND THE CRIMEAN WAR

(Delivered in the House of Lords, June 19th, 1854).

FROM the earliest period, from the time of the Empress Catherine down to the present day, Russia has considered Turkey as her destined prey. Every war between these powers has ended in the steady advance of Russia towards the accomplishment of her purpose, and we now know, from what has lately come to light, that she considers the victim to be almost within her grasp, and it is evident she will persevere with the constancy habitual to her in endeavours to seize and secure it. But, my lords, if the situation of Russia is to undergo no change at the termination of the present contest, what will be her actual position with respect to Turkey? I do not wish upon this point that you should rely upon any opinion or statement of mine, but will refer to an authority above all exception, that of Count Nesselrode himself.

Some time after the conclusion of the treaty of Adrianople, Count Nesselrode wrote to the Grand Duke Constantine, at Warsaw, to give an account of the particulars of that treaty, and of the relative situation of Russia and Turkey in consequence of it. A reference to that despatch will place before you in a striking manner the future position of Turkey if the *status quo* should be adopted. He expresses himself in these terms :—

“ The Turkish monarchy is reduced to such a state as to exist only under the protection of Russia, and must comply in future with her wishes.”

Then, adverting to the Principalities, he says :—

“ The possession of these Principalities is of the less importance to us as, without maintaining troops there, which would be attended with considerable expense, we shall dispose of them at our pleasure, as well during peace as in time of war. We shall hold the keys of a position from which it will be easy to keep the Turkish Government in check, and the Sultan will feel that any attempt to brave us again must end in his certain ruin.”

If this description be correct (and who can question its accuracy ?) Turkey will thus be left at the mercy of Russia, whenever the state of Europe shall be such as to enable that power to avail herself of the advantage of her position, either for further encroachment or for the attainment of the ultimate object of her ambition—the entire subjugation of the European dominions of the Sultan. In what manner Russia is likely to act under such circumstances, I might, perhaps, safely leave your lordships to conclude, and certainly will not trouble you with any observations of my own respecting it, but refer you, as I have before done, to approved Russian authority—to that of Prince Lieven, for many years the representative of Russia at this court. In answer to a letter from Count Nesselrode, who had consulted him by command of the Emperor upon his projected attack upon Turkey, he expresses himself thus :—

“ Our policy must be to maintain a reserved and prudent attitude until the moment arrives for Russia to vindicate her rights, and for the rapid action which she will be obliged to adopt. The war ought to take Europe by surprise. Our movements must be prompt, so that the other powers should find it impossible to be prepared for the blow that we are about to strike.”

But Prince Lieven was one only of the persons consulted upon this occasion. The Emperor was desirous of knowing what opposition he

was likely to meet with from the other powers individually, and what chance there was of a combination against him should he persevere in the execution of his design. The most detailed, and at the same time the most able, of the secret despatches transmitted to St. Petersburg upon the occasion was from Count Pozzo di Borgo, an adopted Russian, not an over-scrupulous, but a very keen and subtle diplomatist. He was intimately acquainted with this country and its policy, and was at that time the representative of Russia at Paris.

This paper cannot be read at the present time without a feeling of curiosity and deep interest. He adverts to the different powers in succession, beginning with this country :—

“England,” he says, “has recovered from her commercial and financial crisis, and is in a condition to oppose us, and possibly may take that course. She may, in that event, do us considerable injury, but of not such a nature as to be wholly irremediable. She cannot, however, alone obstruct our designs or oppose the march of our armies.”

His conclusion, therefore, is that the single opposition of this country could not stand in the way of the accomplishment of the Emperor’s designs.

He then comes to France, and, after some curious and amusing comments upon Monsieur de Villele, the minister of that country, considers what would be the probable effect of the union of France and England in opposition to the projected enterprise. “Whatever,” he says, “can be done by a superior naval force can be effected by England alone; the addition, therefore, of the maritime means of France will not be material; and as to her military power, she will be prevented from using it with any effect against us by reason of her geographical, moral, and political position. Where,” he observes, “is she to find a field of battle to oppose us; and,” he adds, with an expression of triumph, “her armies well know what they have to expect if they come in collision with ours.” What is to be the result of that collision at the present day must soon appear, and may, and I trust will, disappoint the confident anticipations of the Russian diplomatist.

Having thus disposed of England and France, he proceeds next to consider whether anything is to be apprehended from Austria. Prince Metternich, that experienced, sagacious, and clear-sighted statesman, had endeavoured, but without success, to awaken attention to the designs of Russia, and to form some sort of union against her. The attempt had excited the strongest feeling of resentment and indignation against that eminent person. Accordingly his policy was decried, his schemes ridiculed, and the power of Austria treated with contempt. One short

sentence disposed of the whole : " To every country," said the Russian diplomatist, " war is a calamity ; to Austria it would be certain ruin." Thus far then, according to this statement, there appeared to be no serious impediment to the aggressive designs of Russia.

I hear it whispered near me : You have forgotten Prussia. Far from it ! I have reserved her as a pattern of constancy in political connection, and which would be most praiseworthy in connections of a different description. My noble friend opposite must possess some powerful attractive force to have torn asunder, or dissolved the strong cohesion between these two powers, Russia and Prussia. Read what Pozzo di Borgo says of Prussia. With what an affectionate sneer he treats that Government. It can scarcely be considered as irony, it is so broad and undisguised.—

' Prussia being less jealous, and consequently more impartial, has constantly shown by her opinions that she has a just idea of the nature and importance of the affairs of the East, and if the Court of Vienna had shared her views and her good intentions, there can be no doubt that the plan of the Imperial Cabinet would have been accomplished."

Fortunate it is for Europe and the world that she has not shared her views upon the present occasion, but, on the contrary, has persuaded Prussia to adopt a more wise and generous policy.

At a subsequent period Count Nesselrode, in the despatch to which I have already referred, speaking of what I may call Prussia's subserviency to the Emperor, expresses himself in these terms :—

" The Count Alopeus transmits to us the most positive assurances, which leave no doubt touching the favourable dispositions on which Russia may reckon on the part of Prussia, whatever may be the ultimate course of events."

These passages present a striking picture of the cautious policy, and at the same time of the industry, unwearied activity, and energy, of the Russian Government. Acting upon these opinions, the invasion of the Principalities, after a short but necessary interval, was decided upon, and the armies of Russia, without opposition from any European power, passed the Balkan, and dictated the degrading and disastrous terms of the treaty of Adrianople.

Place Russia there upon the termination of the present war in the position she then held, and which is so forcibly described by Count Nesselrode in his secret despatch to the Grand Duke, and what can you reasonably expect, when a convenient opportunity occurs, but further encroachments on the Sultan, and, ultimately, the entire subjugation of the European portion of his empire ?

But then this paper refers to some projected guarantee—some treaty, to which the four powers and Russia are to be parties, for the maintenance of the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Now, my lords, I fully admit, as to the four powers, that as long as they continue united in friendship and policy, such a guarantee might afford effectual security against the ambitious designs of Russia ; but, if circumstances should occur to disturb this union, and, in the ever-varying events of the world, to create rival or hostile feelings among them, there would at once be an end of this security. And as to the guarantee of Russia, or the obligation of any treaty into which she might enter, who is to be found so weak, so credulous, as to place the least reliance upon it ? It would be utterly valueless ; not worth the paper upon which it was written.

As to trusting in this power, whether we look to recent or more remote events, we come to the same conclusion. Sir Hamilton Seymour, our able and observant minister at St. Petersburg, had learned, from various authentic sources, that large bodies of Russian troops were moving towards the Turkish frontiers. In communicating upon this matter with Count Nesselrode, he was told by that minister that he must have been misinformed ; that these movements were nothing more than a change of quarters, usual at that season of the year. In commenting upon this statement, Sir Hamilton Seymour observes, in his despatch to my noble friend, that he found it impossible to reconcile the facts which had come to his knowledge with the assurances of the Russian minister. The result abundantly proved the correctness of the information.

In the course of an interesting conversation that occurred in this House some weeks since, a noble friend of mine on the cross-bench, enlarged, with much eloquence, and in a strain of high feeling, upon the unworthiness of entertaining doubts of the integrity and honour of illustrious persons with whom we were negotiating in matters of public and national interest. I listened with pleasure to the charms of his brilliant declamation, which reminded me forcibly of former days, but remained unconvinced by his reasoning.

In the intercourse of private life, liberal confidence in those with whom we converse and associate is the characteristic of a gentleman ; but in the affairs of nations, where the interests and welfare of millions are at stake, where the rise or fall of empires may depend upon the issue, those who are intrusted with the conduct of such negotiations must be guided by a different and a stricter rule. Their duty in such a position is to exercise caution, vigilance, jealousy. “ Oh, for the good old parliamentary word ‘ jealousy,’ ” exclaimed Mr. Fox, in one of those bursts of feeling so usual with him, “ instead of its modern substitute, ‘ con-

fidence.' " And if such be the true policy, which I think it is as between Parliament and the ministers of the Crown, how much more ought it to prevail in the conflicting affairs of nations, where such mighty interests are concerned? If confidence, with its natural tendency, should sink into credulity, to what disastrous results might it not lead?

But, in the case of Russia, in particular, and in negotiations with that Government, nothing but the extreme of blindness and credulity could lead to a departure from these principles. The whole series of her history, from the earliest period to the present day, has been one long-continued course of fraud and perfidy, of stealthy encroachment, or open and unblushing violence—a course, characteristic of a barbarous race, and, whether at St. Petersburg or Tobolsk, marking its Asiatic origin. To go back to the reign of the Empress Catherine, we find her policy in one striking particular corresponding with that of the present Emperor, which policy may in truth be traced back to the Czar Peter. She ostentatiously proclaimed herself the Protector of the Greek Church in Poland, fomented religious dissensions among the people, and, under pretence of putting an end to disorders which she herself had created, sent a large military force into the country, and gradually stripped it of some of its fairest possessions. I need not add a word as to the ultimate and disastrous issue of these intrigues—the impression they created is strong and will be lasting.

With a like policy in the Crimea, the independence of which country had been settled by treaty, she set up a prince whom she afterwards deposed, and, amidst the confusion thus created, entered the country with an army under the command of one of the most brutal and sanguinary of her commanders, and, having slaughtered all who opposed her, annexed this important district permanently to the Russian Empire. While these proceedings were going on, she prevented, by means of her fleet, all communication with Constantinople, being at peace with the Sultan, with whom she was at that time negotiating a treaty of commerce.

I pass over the extensive conspiracy in which Russia was engaged with Persia and other powers in the East in the years 1834 and 1835 against this country, while she professed to be on terms of the closest friendship with us. These scandalous transactions were strenuously denied by Count Nesselrode to our minister at St. Petersburg, but were afterwards conclusively established by Sir Alexander Burnes and by our consul at Candahar. To enter into details upon this complicated subject would lead me too far from my present object.

But I cannot forbear adverting to the designs of Russia upon Khiva, an inconsiderable place in the desert, east of the Caspian. I recollect the expressions of Mr. Pitt, in alluding to Bonaparte, who, after taking posses-

sion of Malta, seized a barren rock in the Mediterranean on his passage to Egypt. "Nothing," he exclaimed, "is too vast for the temerity of his ambition, nothing too small for the grasp of his rapacity"—expressions no less applicable to the restless and insatiable ambition of Russia. Russia sacrificed two armies in endeavouring to reach this remote place. For what purpose? Not with a view to any beneficial trade, but evidently as a convenient centre from which to form combinations and carry on intrigues for the disturbance of our Eastern empire. She has at length, by sending an expedition in a different direction, succeeded in obtaining a footing in that district, the preparations for the enterprise having been made while she was in apparent friendship with our Government.

As to Turkey, it is now known from recent disclosures that, while the Emperor Nicholas was amusing the Sultan with smooth words, and expressing the strongest desire to maintain her independence, he was secretly plotting her destruction and the partition of her empire.

Again, my lords, assurances were given that Prince Menchikoff's mission related solely to the settlement of the question of the Holy Places; but while thus engaged, he endeavoured by menaces to force the Turkish Government into a secret convention, the effect of which would have been to make the Emperor joint sovereign with the Sultan. It was afterwards admitted by Count Nesselrode, in contradiction to what he had before stated, that the Emperor regarded this as the most important object of the mission.

After this review of the deceptive policy of Russia, and these instances of her total disregard of national faith, instances which might have been carried to a much greater extent, I ask with confidence what reliance can be placed upon any engagement or guarantee into which she may enter, should it at any moment become her interest, or should she consider it her interest, to disregard it.

But Russia, carrying diplomacy to the extremest point of refinement, has introduced a new and significant term into that mysterious science, namely, the term, "material guarantee." If the Emperor will give a guarantee of this description, something solid and substantial, as a pledge of his fidelity,—something that he would be unwilling to forfeit,—such a guarantee might enable us to hope for a secure and lasting peace; but to rely upon a mere paper guarantee,—a mere pledge of his Imperial word,—would, your lordships must feel, be the extreme of folly and weakness.

I may possibly be asked: What are your views, what do you look forward to as the results of this great struggle? My answer is, that I cannot, in my position, presume to offer an opinion upon such a subject. It is obvious that these results must depend upon the events, the contingencies

of the war. But I may venture to say negatively that, unless compelled by the most unforeseen and disastrous circumstances, we ought not to make peace until we have destroyed the Russian fleet in the Black Sea and razed the fortifications by which it is protected. As long as Russia possesses that fleet, and retains that position, it will be idle to talk of the independence of the Sultan—Russia will continue to hold Turkey in subjection, and compel her to yield obedience to her will.

What course Austria will finally pursue, however I may hope, I will not venture to predict. She has far more at stake in this conflict than either England or France. Should Russia succeed in retaining the Principalities, and in increasing her influence on the southern frontier of Austria, the independence of that Empire will be at an end. If this overgrown and monstrous power, extending over so many thousand miles from west to east, pressing, as it does, on the northern boundary of Austria, should coil itself round her eastern and southern limits, she must yield to its movements or be crushed in its folds.

What Russia may further attempt, if successful in her present efforts, time alone can disclose. That she will not remain stationary we may confidently predict. Ambition, like other passions, grows by what it feeds upon. Prince Lieven, in the despatch to Count Nesselrode, to which I before alluded, says :—

“Europe contemplates with awe this colossus, whose gigantic armies wait only the signal to pour like a torrent upon her kingdoms and states.”

If this semi-barbarous people, with a government of the same character, disguised under the thin cover of a showy but spurious refinement—a government opposed to all beneficial progress and improvement, and which prohibits by law the education of the great body of its subjects—a despotism the most coarse and degrading that ever afflicted mankind—if this power with such attributes should establish itself in the heart of Europe (which may Heaven in its mercy avert !) it would be the heaviest and most fatal calamity that could fall on the civilized world.

CARDINAL MANNING

(1808-1892).

THE address on the two thousand six hundred and fifteenth anniversary of the foundation of Rome probably did more than any other single discourse to give Cardinal Manning his promotion, and it no doubt expresses more fully than any other the feeling which had influenced him in leaving the Church of England for that of Rome.

Manning was born at Totteridge, Hertfordshire, July 15th, 1808. His father, a wealthy East India merchant, educated him carefully. At Oxford where he graduated, he had Gladstone as a companion and Charles Wordsworth as a tutor. Entering the Church of England, he was made Archdeacon of Chichester in 1840. Ten years later he resigned, and leaving the Church of England was ordained a Roman Catholic priest. He was steadily advanced by the Pope, who made him Archbishop of Westminster in 1865 and Cardinal in 1875. He died January 14th, 1892. His published sermons, addresses, and other works are numerous. As a writer and public speaker, he illustrates the best traditions of the English language, in purity of diction, in directness of movement, and in strength of construction.

“ROME THE ETERNAL”

(Discourse delivered before the Academia Quiriti, in Rome, on the Two Thousand Six Hundred and Fifteenth Anniversary of the City, April 21st, 1863).

I KNOW of no point of view in which the glory of Rome is more conspicuous than in its civil mission to the races of the world. When the seat of Empire was translated from Rome to Constantinople, all the culture and civilization of Italy seemed to be carried away to enrich and to adorn the East. It seemed as if God had decreed to reveal to the world what his Church could do without the world, and what the world could not do without the Church. A more melancholy history than that of the Byzantine Empire is nowhere to be read. It is one long narrative of the usurpation and insolent dominion of the world over the Church, which, becoming schismatical and isolated,

fell easily under its imperial masters. With all its barbaric splendour and its imperial power, what has Constantinople accomplished for the civilization or the Christianity of the East? If the salt had kept its savour, it would not have been cast out and trodden under the foot of the Eastern Antichrist.

While this was accomplishing in the East, in the West a new world was rising, in order, unity, and fruitfulness, under the action of the Pontiffs. Even the hordes which inundated Italy were changed by them from the wildness of nature to the life of Christian civilization. From St. Leo to St. Gregory the Great, Christian Europe may be said not to exist! Rome stood alone under the rule of its Pontiffs, while as yet empires and kingdoms had no existence. Thus, little by little, and one by one, the nations which now make up the unity of Christendom were created, trained, and formed to political societies. First Lombardy, then Gaul, then Spain, then Germany, then Saxon England; then the first germs of lesser States began to appear. But to whom did they owe the laws, the principles, and the influences which made their existence possible, coherent, and mature? It was to the Roman Pontiffs that they owed the first rudiments of their social and political order. It was the exposition of the Divine law by the lips of the Vicar of Jesus Christ that founded the Christian policy of the world.

This the Church has been able to do without the world and even in spite of it. Nothing can be conceived more isolated, more feeble, or more encompassed with peril, than the line of the Roman Pontiffs; nevertheless, they have maintained inviolate their independence with their sacred deposit of faith and of jurisdiction, through all ages and through all conflicts, from the beginning to this hour. It seemed as if God willed to remove the first Christian emperor from Rome in the early fervour of his conversion, lest it should seem as if the sovereignty of the Church were in any way the creation of his power. God is jealous of his own kingdom and will not suffer any unconsecrated hand to be laid upon his ark, even for its support.

The "stone cut out without hands," which became a great mountain and filled the whole earth, is typical, not only of the expansion and universality of the Church, but of its mysterious and supernatural character. No human hand has accomplished its greatness. The hand of God alone could bring it to pass. What is there in the history of the world parallel to the Rome of the Christians? The most warlike and imperial people of the world gave place to a people unarmed and without power. The pacific people arose from the Catacombs and entered upon the possession of Rome as their inheritance. The existence of Christian Rome, both in its formation, and next in its perpetuity, is a miracle of Divine

power. God alone could give it to his people ; God alone could preserve it to them and them in it. What more wonderful sight than to see a Franciscan monk leading the Via Crucis in the Flavian Amphitheatre, or the Passionist missionaries conversing peacefully among the ilexes and the vaults where the wild beasts from Africa thirsted for the blood of Christians ? Who has prevailed upon the world for one thousand five hundred years to fall back as Attila did from Christian Rome ? Who has persuaded its will, and paralyzed its ambitions and conflicting interests ? Such were my thoughts the other day when the Sovereign Pontiff, surrounded by the princes and pastors of the Church, was celebrating the festival of the Resurrection over the Confession of Saint Peter. I thought of the ages past, when in the amphitheatre of Nero, within which we stood, thousands of martyrs fell beneath the arms of the heathen. And now, the Rex Pacificus, the vicar of the Prince of Peace, there holds his court and offers over the tomb of the Apostle the unbloody sacrifice of our redemption. The legions of Rome have given way before a people who have never lifted a hand in war. They have taken the city of the Cæsars, and hold it to this day. The more than imperial court which surrounded the Vicar of Jesus Christ surpassed the glories of the Empire. " This is the victory which overcometh the world, even our Faith." The noblest spectacle upon earth is an unarmed man, whom all the world cannot bend by favour or by fear. Such a man is essentially above all worldly powers. And such, eminent among the inflexible, is he, the Pontiff and King, who, in the midst of the confusions and rebellions of the whole earth, bestowed that day his benediction upon the city and the world.

It is no wonder to me that Italians should believe in the primacy of Italy. Italy has, indeed, a primacy, but not that of which some have dreamed. The primacy of Italy is the presence of Rome ; and the primacy of Rome is in its apostleship to the whole human race, in the science of God with which it has illuminated mankind, in its supreme and world-wide jurisdiction over souls, in its high tribunal of appeal from all the authorities on earth, in its inflexible exposition of the moral law, in its sacred diplomacy, by which it binds the nations of Christendom into a confederacy of order and of justice,—these are its true, supreme, and—because God so has willed—its inalienable and incommunicable primacy among the nations of the earth. Take these away, and Rome becomes less than Jerusalem, and Italy one among the nations, and not the first. The world does not return upon its path, nor reproduce its past. Time was when Rome wielded an irresistible power by its legions and its armies throughout the world. The nations of Europe and of the East were then barbarous or unorganized, without cohesion and without unity

of will or power. Those uncivilized and dependent provinces are now kingdoms and empires, wielding each a power, in peace and in war, mature and massive as the power of Rome in its ripest season. It is a delirium of the memory for Italy to dream now of empire and of supremacy in the order of nature—that is, of war and conquest. The primacy of Italy is Christian and Catholic, or it has none. Alas for your fair land and for your noble race, if, forgetting its true greatness, it covet false glory which is not its own! In that hour it abdicates its mission—the greatest a people ever had—and descends from its primacy among the nations of the world. A vocation lost is prelude to a fall. This is not to increase, but to decrease before God and man.

I do not remember in the history of the world any example of the permanent union of temporal splendour with spiritual fruitfulness and power. The sceptre had departed from Judah when the waters of eternal life flowed from Jerusalem throughout the world. Rome had ceased to be the seat of empire when it became the mother of Christian nations. When Constantinople became imperial, it began to fail in its witness for the faith and unity of Jesus Christ. The kingdoms and empires of Christian Europe have been faithful to the Holy See in their depression, and rebellious in their prosperity. The two nations most Catholic, most Christian, most filial in their love of the kingdom of God, are Ireland and Poland. Rome, I may say, because it is the seat of the Vicar of our crucified Lord, is supreme in the spiritual order, feeble in the natural and political. "It always bears about in the body the mortification of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be manifested in its body." Such is its normal state. Let it be recognized as the law of its existence and of its sovereignty, lest the incantations of the tempter steal away the hearts of men with visions of unity and empire and splendour in this world. It is a severe vocation to be the crossbearers in the procession of the Vicars of our crucified Master. But to this you are called. Romans, if you would renew your courage for this conflict, lift up your eyes to the cloud of witnesses which hover above your heads; to the martyrs and confessors, the Pontiffs and Levites, the virgins and saints, who on this soil, by tears and by blood, have overcome the world and are now before the throne. Look, too, at the Catholic unity upon earth, which but the other day flew hither on the wings of faith and love and filial devotion to surround the Vicar of Christ; look at the frontiers of the Holy Church, which are flowing outwards with ever-expanding force, conquering, and embracing the conquered in the unity of the true fold; look at the circuit of the kingdom of God, which rests upon the sunrise and the sunset, upon the farthest north and upon the islands of the southern seas. It was never yet so vast or widespread;

never did the ends of the earth lift up their heads towards the Vicar of the Incarnate Word so universally as at this hour. In the moment of its anguish and its affliction, when the world believes it to be in feebleness and decline, the Holy See is putting forth mightier powers, and reigning over wider realms than ever till now.

But if this be not enough, learn of the world, of its miseries and its anguish. Rome laid the foundations of Christian Europe on the basis of a supernatural unity ; and, with all its revolutions and inundations of evil, it abides to this day. England laid the foundations of North America upon the basis of natural society ; and the lifetime of one man is long enough to touch the beginning and the ending of its political unity. The unity of faith, and filial obedience to the unity of the Church in the person of its head, in ages past fused the discordant races of England, France, and Spain, and made of them kingdoms and monarchies, which endure, in their massive consolidation and unity of mind and will, unto this hour. So God has ever brought social and political unity out of the chaos of disorder. They who begin by contending against the fountain and law of unity doom themselves to division and confusion. They are wrestling with necessity ; and he who contends with necessity must fail : " Whoso shall fall upon that stone shall be broken, and on whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder."

SIR GEORGE NEWMAN

(1870-).

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FIFTY YEARS' PROGRESS IN PUBLIC HEALTH

THIS meeting of the Royal Sanitary Institute celebrates the Jubilee of the great Public Health Act, which passed Parliament in July of 1875, and though this Conference has for consideration some urgent and deeply interesting questions of modern methods of Preventive Medicine, I venture to think we shall do well to ponder for a few minutes upon some of the first principles of our work.

Let us consider the forces which led to the Public Health Act of 1875, for they may be found to cast light on the path of the future. And first there is a general influence at work. Redlich has drawn attention to "the working of a hidden law of politics, a law of universal operation, but at no time or place more evident than in the recent history of England. Each success of the democracy in widening the Parliamentary franchise has been closely followed by a period of

administrative reform, during which democratic ideas are transferred from the formal sphere of political rights into the actual service of the State and the practical work of government. Hence the thoroughly organic character of English democracy." There have been four great extensions of the franchise. Thus the enfranchisement of 1832 was followed by the reform of the Poor Law, and of borough government in England and Scotland, by slavery abolition, and by an extended Factory Act. The enfranchisement of the town labourer in 1867 was followed by Gladstone's first ministry, from which was demanded religious equality, educational opportunity, reform of the Civil Service and the army, and the formulation and establishment of a national policy in public health. The Reform Act of 1884 extending the franchise to agricultural labourers was followed by the fundamental Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894. The former created the County Councils, and the latter made Urban and Rural District Councils popularly elected bodies charged with health services under central control. In 1918 came the Representation of the People Act which nearly trebled the number of Parliamentary voters, and included women. It remains to be seen what the results will be. Early aspirations for reform were checked by the need for drastic economy, but already insurance, housing, old age pensions, and public health have made insistent claims. So, first among the forces which produced public health reform, must be placed the democratic and social aspiration of the people.

This aspiration had its source in discontent and alarm. The English people became discontented with the disease and despair which followed in the train of the industrial revolution, with grinding poverty, with the labour exploitation of women and children, and, after the middle of the century, with the cruelty and waste of the Crimean War; and they became alarmed at the ravages of the cholera and of smallpox. It was Chadwick's monumental "survey" into the sanitary condition of the people in 1842, his magnum opus, which led to the Royal Commission on the health of towns, and ultimately the Public Health Act of 1848. This last great effort of Chadwick had its source in his work first as a Poor Law Commissioner, and then as Secretary of the Poor Law Commission. Our public health service is the direct offspring of the original Poor Law service, and sprang out of the fuller appreciation of the relationship between the life and occupation of the poor, and their disease and early mortality. Such was the ground of their discontent. But alarm also played its part. For the ravages of cholera in its four principal invasions of this country in 1831, 1848, 1853 and 1866, had proved a solemn warning to all men that unless greater attention was

given to sanitation, the country was unsafe. This feeling was increased by the epidemic of smallpox in 1871-72.

There was yet another influence which led to action, and that was the influence of Bentham upon Chadwick and of Owen, Cobbett and the Chartists on the leaders of public opinion. Bentham not only indoctrinated his disciples with a utilitarian philosophy, and the "sanitary idea," but he indicated both the sound methods of inquiry and the correct formulation of the draft of the necessary Bills.

Lastly, there was being provided by Parliamentary Committees, Commissions and individual investigators, an enormous volume of medical evidence as to the poor physical condition of the people and the means of prevention or remedy. Thackrah produced his book on the effect of occupation on Health in 1831. The Poor Law Commissioners drew public attention to preventable disease as a cause of pauperism. Arnott, Kay, Southwood Smith, and Greenhow, were turning out their stimulating reports on the incidence of disease. An excellent example may be found in the famous report to the City of Edinburgh in 1865 by Sir Henry Littlejohn. Simon began his series of reports on the distribution of disease in England in 1859, and in his eleventh report to the Privy Council, in 1868, his proposals for consolidation of public health law were set out. The chaos and "formlessness" of the sanitary law then current was, in his view, the explanation of its ineffectiveness. Above all, in 1841, began the cold and certain stream of vital statistics by Farr, which for a wonderful series of years brought conviction to the mind of Parliament.

When we come to analyse these secular changes and movements we shall find that the two ideas which stirred men's minds, and which culminated in the great Public Health Act of 1875, were utilitarianism and the effect of environment. They were not only ideas which were postulated, but the value of them at that particular time was actually proved before men's eyes. They became established not as doctrines only, but as practice. They continued to play a significant part in the next half century, and they must always remain potential forces in public health action; new times have brought new applications of them, because of new knowledge, but the last fifty years have proved themselves a golden age of Medicine, with which no previous similar period in the history of man can compare, and they have laid some new foundations of Preventive Medicine. Let us consider three points by way of illustration. The first is Infection. The modern history of infection is usually dated from Fracastorius of Padua in the sixteenth century, and Athanasius Kircher in the seventeenth. But the proofs and agents of infection were only ascertained within the last fifty years,

and principally by the epoch-making work of Pasteur, Koch, and their disciples. Two years after the passing of the Public Health Act of 1875, Pasteur had proved transmission of disease by infective virus, and Koch was already at work on the manufacture of solid culture media, a laboratory method which made possible many investigations. In the one generation thus begun we had the discovery of the bacterial cause of a dozen of the great diseases, actinomycosis, gonorrhœa, typhoid, suppuration, tuberculosis, glanders, cholera, diphtheria, tetanus, rabies, Malta fever and plague. Before half of that amazing twenty-five years had passed, we had in our hands for prophylactic and therapeutic use, the antitoxins of anthrax, diphtheria, and tetanus; and they were quickly followed by anti-typhoid and anti-cholera sera. It is now twenty years since we knew both the cause and cure of syphilis, and forty-five since the general introduction of antiseptic surgery. It is this glorious chapter of quest and conquest which moved the centre of gravity from environment to infection, and not only to the agents of infection, but to the conditions of person and environment, the lack of resistance, which favoured those agents. There had been two hundred years' study of the outward circumstances and characteristics of epidemic disease since Thomas Sydenham had permeated English Medicine with the value of clinical field observation, and John Graunt, the Cornhill draper, had laid the foundation of vital statistics. Simon and his investigators became the modern prototype of Sydenham, and Farr and his successors of Graunt. But it was the new ideas of infection which gave meaning to the methods of the public health service. Pure water-supplies, effective sewerage, removal of refuse, fresh air, wholesome milk and other foods, the reduction of overcrowding, clean streets and dwelling houses, and epidemic regulations which were the principal items in the grand inventory of the Royal Commission of 1869, became not less, but more, important. They acquired a new meaning and a new vitality, even as the infectious patient as a germ distributor called for new organisation of isolation, disinfection and treatment.

Alongside the study of Infection, and concurrently with the opening of the new book of pathology, there was a rapidly growing knowledge and sense of Physiology. Sir Michael Foster has told us in his *History of Physiology* how exact knowledge of the functioning of the body arose. But his story does not include the nineteenth century, which gave us Muller, Ludwig, Schwann, Claude Bernard, and the new school of British physiologists. It was an Edinburgh graduate, Sharpey, who became the father of that school, and his followers included Huxley, Burdon, Sanderson, Foster, Schafer, Bayliss and Sherrington. The expanding knowledge of physiology in the last fifty years is exerting an

effect on the whole outlook of Preventive Medicine. Fresh light has been shed on the blood and its circulation, and the relation to it of respiration, the purposive integration of the central nervous system, the nervous regulation of the body, the chemical regulation of function, endocrinology (hormones), biochemistry (vitamins), and standards and norms both of capacity and of resistance. Something of the significance of this new knowledge has entered into the common possession of men, and the results have been twofold. First, it is now known that the chief defence against disease is not changed environment, but the body of man; secondly, that obedience to the laws of physiology is necessary both for the maintenance of the body in health and for its full capacity and effective use. These are two very simple, yet revolutionary, and far-reaching conceptions, and they make the subject of physiology in its widest meaning not only the principal subject of the medical curriculum, but of primary and vital concern in regard to the efficiency of the whole nation. For, observe what is happening. The last half century, as we have seen, has brought fuller knowledge of pathology and of infection to the expert, but it has brought the elements of practical physiology into the life of millions. The food of the people has undergone a profound change for the better—it is more nutritious and more varied—meat, fruits, vegetables, fats, sugars; the importance of fresh, cool, moving air is widely accepted and more largely secured; sunlight is appreciated and less shut out, indeed, every day it is more applied and even harnessed to man's benefit; water is more used for body cleanliness, in millions of gallons daily, as compared with two generations ago; regular physical exercise is recognised as essential to health and has become for every child an integral part of the school curriculum; adolescence is trained as a matter of economics to gauge its capacity for work, both mental and manual; the body faculties are measured, its output assessed, its fatigue avoided; even error and crime are adjudicated on a psychological basis; the physiology of reproduction has become the talk of the town, and child-birth is no longer looked upon as a morbid condition; the physical character of every school child is supervised under statute; and there is a wholly new understanding of personal hygiene. Of course, in all these directions there is still much ignorance to overcome, but the change which has passed over us is profound.

There is a third aspect of our problem to bear in mind. Whilst during the last fifty years the Industrial Revolution has continued—and it is important to remember that it is still in progress though different in form—we have been living in a period of remarkable Social Emancipation. Twice within that time there has been extension of the

franchise and seventeen million people now have the Parliamentary vote, including seven million women. Wages have risen, relatively and absolutely, hours of labour have been reduced, and conditions of labour have been greatly improved. This has entailed, and perhaps encouraged, increased claims on the State. The service of the individual to the State during the European war stimulated a reciprocal contribution from the State to the individual, and the pendulum has swung a long way in a short period of time. Then, in 1870, came the Education Act, and we are now reaping its harvest, and hungry for more. The intellectual aspirations of the people do not indeed pursue the ordinary lines of elementary education, but nevertheless, there is hunger to know. The enormous development and use of the press, of cheap literature, of cinemas, and of "wireless," are unmistakable indications; and social evolution and practical psychology in various unprescribed unorthodox forms are advancing apace. Accompanying these two changes of emancipation and education, and in part resulting from them, has been a rapidly arising standard of comfort. The English people are now vastly more intercommunicable; they are happily living more in the open air and sharing more widely in games and sports; they are better and more suitably dressed and fed; they are practising sobriety, though insufficiently; they are cultivating their leisure (at the rather high cost of diminished production, which, if we are to advance, it is imperative to increase); on the whole, there is a wide estimation of the importance and advantage of personal health which, in 1875, was appreciated by the few.

Now these characteristics of the period under consideration—utilitarianism, sanitary environment, infection, physiology and social emancipation—have altered the whole outlook for Preventive Medicine. They have exerted an active influence on the period itself, and are likely to achieve even more in the immediate future. The use of anæsthesia, antiseptics and various physico-therapeutic methods has revolutionised Surgery; the applications of the new physiology and pathology have expanded Medicine. In the body politic both have found expression in the ever-widening adoption of public medical services. The hospital system, the poor law service and factory inspection began long before 1875; concurrently with their development the State has since embarked upon a public health service (including an organised attack on infectious diseases, tuberculosis and venereal disease, provision of municipal midwives, and maternity and child welfare service), and there have come into existence a school medical service, a health insurance system and a national scheme of medical research.

Looking back from 1925, we may well ask: What has been the result? Well, first there has been a decline in the death-rate. In 1871-80 it was 21, and in 1924 it was 12; in the same period the infant mortality rate, a most sensitive index of national health, was brought down from 149 per thousand born to 75. Expressed in another way, the expectation of life for every child born in Britain to-day is approximately twelve years longer than that of its grandfather.

Mr. William Jones, the Secretary of the Public Health Department of Glasgow, has recently shown that in 1870-72, the male infant born in that city had an "expectation" of 31 years, which in 1920-22 had been raised to 48 years, and the female infant had risen from 33 to 52 in the same period. It is significant that the "expectation" of life was better in Glasgow in 1821-27 than in 1870-72.

Then in the second place, there has been a reduction in sickness and invalidity from certain diseases. In 1875 Enteric Fever accounted for 370 deaths in each million, last year the 370 had fallen to twelve. Its incidence in the South African War was 28.5 per cent. of troops, in the European War, 1 per cent. In 1875, there were 1,500 deaths attributed to Typhus in England and Wales (which had been differentiated from Enteric in 1850); in 1924 there were only five. But one hundred years ago, in London and Edinburgh, Typhus was endemic, with periodic epidemic outbursts. "The disappearance of Typhus and Relapsing Fevers from the observation of all but a few medical practitioners in England, Scotland and Ireland," says Creighton, "is one of the most certain and most striking facts in our epidemiology," and he attributes their disappearance to better housing, cheap food, and increased wages. The Tuberculosis death rate is declining rapidly and with increasing velocity. In 1847 the death rate per million from consumption was 3,189, in 1875 it was 2,313, and in 1924 it had fallen to 801. It is hardly too much to say that if this decline should continue more or less along the line it has followed, Tuberculosis will have become a rare disease before the end of the present century. Smallpox was a national scourge a century ago; to-day it is the perquisite of those who elect to have it. Last year Sir Clifford Allbutt declared that the almost complete abolition of cholertic anæmia of young women is one of the most remarkable issues of a single generation of modern preventive medicine. All this has meant an immense saving of human life, an increase of human capacity and national wealth, an incalculable extension and enlargement of happiness and contentment.

But there is another epoch-making effect. The preventive medicine of fifty years has, in the words of Rudyard Kipling,

“ Smote for us a pathway
To the ends of all the earth.”

In some ways the most wonderful medical triumph of the past half-century has been the discovery of the means of the control of the tropics. It is true that we are yet a long way off complete control, but the causes of disease have been found and the means of stamping them out demonstrated. Famine stands in the front line of the captains of the men of death—and the advance in methods of irrigation and transport of food has greatly reduced it and played a prominent part in the establishment of public health. Close behind famine follows disease. The discovery of the causes of malaria, of yellow fever, of plague, of cholera, and of sleeping sickness, is common knowledge. Yet all these discoveries belong to the period since the Public Health Act of 1875.

Malcolm Watson demonstrated the possibility of preventing malaria in the Federated Malay States by banishing the anopheles' breeding places by the clearance of the coastal forest and subsoil and surface drainage. In India and elsewhere this technique may prove inexpedient or insufficient, unless supplemented by a direct attack on the mosquito in its larval or adult stage, or screening habitations or persons from its invasion, or treating cases or carriers. Indeed, the recent Malaria Commission of the League of Nations in Italy, Russia and Eastern Europe, has recommended for countries with incomplete public health services and limited funds, the urgent necessity of abstaining from “ radical ” engineering measures and adopting “ primary ” public health measures of ascertainment of infection, treatment and after treatment of patients and carriers, and dealing directly with infected houses and mosquitoes—in a word, quinine, the attack on the mosquito, the protection of the individual, and general sanitation.

The work of Gorgas in stamping out Yellow Fever in Havana and on the Panama Isthmus is well known. By a strict discipline of quarantine, hospital isolation, drainage, sanitation, and mosquito screening and destruction, he was able to eliminate this disease, even though an immigration of non-immune population was continually occurring.

Practical measures against sleeping sickness have been taken effectually in the Cameroons, the Congo, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. They consist of the systematic surveys (clinical and bacteriological) of the infected population followed by curative and prophylactic use of atocyl in large doses ; the separation of the healthy from the infected, with the isolation, if necessary, of whole villages or the migration of sections of the population from areas or streams

affected with the tsetse fly; sanitation of villages and improvement of diet; the clearance of banks of water-courses, paths, roads and settlements of all brushwood, and their proper drainage; and lastly, fly destruction by means of bird lime or otherwise. These methods have completely suppressed sleeping sickness in the Portuguese Island of Principe, off the west coast of Africa, and proved effective in terminating recent disastrous epidemics on Lake Victoria Nyanza, and elsewhere in Equatorial Africa. In this way hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved and the way in which the Tropics can be brought under control has been demonstrated. This problem of the tsetse fly is in the opinion of the East African Commission (1925), "probably the most serious threat to the population in our East African territories We regard the tsetse domination as constituting a menace not merely to East Africa, but to all those countries which look to East Africa as the source of supply of food and raw materials."

All this can mean only one thing. The last half century has proved beyond doubt, that nationally and imperially, Preventive Medicine has now become practical politics. The trail has been blazed. It remains for this country to use it, apply it, and extend it—and all of it—with courage and wisdom, to its national and imperial problems as the sound and economic policy. A stunt here, and a stunt there, will not suffice—it should be organised as a whole, as an integral factor in statecraft.

Let us turn to the future. Much remains to be done. For whilst progress has overcome many diseases, others remain prevalent and destructive. In 1924, in England and Wales, respiratory diseases caused 82,000 deaths, diseases of the heart and circulation 79,000, cancer 50,000, nervous diseases 47,000, tuberculosis, 41,000, and influenza 19,000. These are very formidable enemies, responsible for 65 per cent. of our mortality, and we cannot yet defeat them. We still lose nearly 3,000 mothers in childbirth, and more than 50,000 infants before they have completed their first year, and in both categories the maimed far outnumber the dead. We still have 40 per cent. of the deaths occurring under 50 years of age. In 1924 the sickness among insured persons only, entailed more than 23 million weeks of lost work, equivalent to 447,000 years, or to 447,000 persons off work for a year. It is a very serious, and largely a preventable, drain upon national resources, costly and wasteful in many ways. In a word, national ill-health loses time and reduces production, as well as resulting in suffering, discontent, and premature death.

The history of the evolution of our system of Public Health since 1875 and its effects reveals, as we have seen, some of the chief influences which have played a predominant part. We must continue to be

utilitarian in the best sense of the term. We must also be more economical. Our financial resources must be husbanded and our revenue not mis-spent or frittered away. I am convinced that the rate-payer is reasonable when he asks for equally good results at less total cost. In fact it is now a national necessity that money must be saved and not wasted ; production must be increased and not diminished ; personal responsibility stimulated and not weakened.

But the past teaches us we must still build upon a sanitary foundation ; we must, like Harvey, " search and study out the secrets of Nature by way of experiment," and by research learn more of the hidden paths of infective processes ; we must teach and practise physiology ; and above all, we must understand the social habits, aspirations and psychology of the people. Yet for public practitioners of the science and art of Preventive Medicine, all this is not enough ; it is not close enough down to the business we have in hand. These high things must be harnessed in the statesmanship and technique of health administration, and there seem to me to be three main lines along which there is urgent need to advance.

The present system of local health government in England is like an Egyptian palimpsest, composed of several layers of design lying one upon the other. At the bottom there are the Poor Law Unions, next above them and three times more numerous are the Local Sanitary Authorities, superimposed upon which come the Local Education Authorities (318), then the Insurance Committees numbering 145. Thus the whole country is mapped out four times over, but the charting has been done by different hands, at different times, and for different purposes, and hence arises duplication, overlapping and confusion. There is confusion in areas and authorities, but there is no less confusion in the family. There are four local authorities concerned with maternity and infancy ; three with children of school age ; five authorities deal with persons of unsound mind or mental deficiency ; four authorities are concerned with " sick persons " ; three with the aged poor ; and four with the able-bodied poor. It is all anomalous, extravagant and redundant, with a result which is ineffective and financially wasteful.

What we seem to need is, first, a single unit of health government with necessary sub-committees, for particular purposes. The principles which should guide us in devising such a local authority are (a) the concentration, as far as practicable, in one authority in each area, of the responsibility for all administration of health services from local rates, with or without Exchequer grant in aid ; (b) the association of the work of the Poor Law and Insurance with the public health service, and the use by that service for the whole community of co-ordinated

medical institutions, both voluntary and municipal; and (c) the unification in appropriate committees of the local authority for all public medical provision for the sick and infirm of all ages. Clearly, there would be advantage in thus having one authority for all health purposes—and towards unification of this nature many are looking. But the question is large and complex, and there are many considerations to which regard must be paid in prescribing a unit of sanitary government, including its history, size, population, urbanization, character of industry and society, intercommunication, rating, relation to local and central government, and so forth. If a large local unit be contemplated, it would be necessary to provide for the encouragement of a consciousness of community of interest and aim in the smaller contributory or constituent divisions, with appropriate delegation of powers or functions in accordance with services to be rendered. The large autonomous body might in that way delegate some of the actual detail work to the more local bodies. There is a second, somewhat similar, common-sense requirement, namely, uniformity of administration, in all comparable areas. All through the country, and in all departments of State Medicine, there is need for introduction of accepted standards, and a larger measure of equalization and uniformity of central and local action, yet with ample opportunity for variety dependent on local needs and circumstances. There remains a third principle which the profession must not allow itself to forget, namely, that the local unit of health government must be representative of the will of the people as a whole. It cannot be wholly medical in personnel or in purpose. It must be comprehensive and disinterested. "Our trade our politics," is never sound state-craft.

Now, in devising this reform the medical profession must, in the interest of the State, not less than the profession, take their share, exchanging with the layman their views on many points—the nature of the authority, its membership, the question of the co-option of experts, finance, medical participation, the respective functioning of the different local committees, the use and adaptation of existing institutions, and their economical arrangement, and the place and character of the domiciliary medical services.

The present scheme of local sanitary authorities was conceived as far back as the Royal Sanitary Commission of 1843, was actually recommended by the Commission of 1869 and legislated for in the Public Health Act of 1872, which established as many as 1,539 local sanitary authorities in England and Wales, which now number 1,857 (excluding the 63 counties). Experience in health administration and other forms of governance have proved the grave disadvantages of small units of

local government, and the trend has been to enlarge them. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 reduced the units of poor law administration from 16,500 to 660; the Education Act of 1902 reduced the unit of education administration from 2,469 School Boards to 318 local education authorities; the new Rating and Valuation Bill would reduce the units of local rating from 12,882 to 648. These reductions unquestionably make for efficiency and economy. The next step, and of its urgency there is general agreement, is to reduce the 1,900 Local Health Authorities, in a similar drastic way, co-ordinating the duties of the smaller ones with those of the larger ones. We must not forget that the present scheme of local sanitary authorities (now fifty years old) has rendered great pioneer service and has given sanitation an invaluable local setting. But under modern conditions, the disadvantages are overwhelming. In the smaller bodies there is all too often incompetency both of personnel and officers, combined with inadequacy of remuneration of the officers; there is duplication of officers and institutions leading to extravagances, waste and confusion; local and personal considerations predominate, with the result that self-interest is cultivated, vested interest created, and public interest neglected; and there is lack of uniformity and equality in the administration of sanitary law common to the whole State. Yet epidemic disease spreads through large communities rather than small, and is not confined by parochial boundaries, *e.g.*, it is impossible to grapple with smallpox or typhoid fever if one small area differs from another in the practice or neglect of essential methods. Water-supply, sewerage, river pollution, and hospital provision must also be dealt with on a general, and not a particular scale. It is true, of course, that these features are characteristic of some of the smaller authorities only, but these smaller authorities are upwards of 1,000 in number, and their disabilities are injuriously affecting the entire public health service of the nation. There are 1,455 posts of Medical Officer of Health, but only 350 of them are whole-time, so that 1,105 Medical Officers of Health are medical practitioners who, with all their good will, can only devote part of their time and energy to the public health service. Efficiency which is dependent upon the effect of divided loyalties or personal good nature, can never be efficiency. In fact, it can only be, as Sir Lyon Playfair told the House of Commons in 1888, "desperately inefficient." "Wise men," said Sir John Simon long ago, "will not expect that a great national reform shall be achieved by casualties of good nature."

I suggest that the second step in the future reform is the effective bringing together in each sanitary area of the various branches or forms of public medical service in such a way as to make them work as one

connected and co-operative scheme. In science, as in war or in football, team work is the condition of success. We must not only build on the foundations of others, but join hands with our own contemporaries. We have seen that historically the existing public medical services are the hospital, the poor law, factory supervision, the public health service (sanitary environment, infectious diseases, food supply, and maternity), the school medical service and national health insurance. The problem of the complete physical supervision of a people is thus met or nearly met. Maternity, infancy, the school child, the worker, the insured person; poverty, sickness, and old age; and all through life the essentials of a healthy environment—these things are now all separately provided for. But there are three outstanding defects. First, the provision made is as yet incomplete and inadequate; secondly, no effective organisation exists for children between infancy and school age, or for adolescents from 14 to 16 years of age (between the end of school life and the beginning of insurance); and thirdly, though we have six public medical services, there is not a sanitary area in the country in which we are at present getting full inter-co-ordination or even unification of administration. There is far too much of the water-tight compartment, and too many different authorities working the services. Yet until there is linking up and concentration of all forces on the focal point, it is idle to expect full effect. Though we have in England and Wales upwards of 3,400 hospital institutions with 350,000 beds, there is but little correlation between poor law, isolation, voluntary or special diseases hospitals. Yet in each district there should be close association under one authority between voluntary and State institutions. Though the Poor Law is now so largely medical, it is still administered on a relief basis, and by bodies which are not health authorities. The factory service and the school medical service are still insufficiently connected with the local work of the sanitary authority; and above all, there is much to be done to give health insurance its rightful place as an integral factor in Preventive Medicine.

The great triumphs of public health work in the last century were for the most part won in the field of environmental hygiene, and it must always remain our foundation. With the new century, however, there came a remarkable development. A direct frontal attack was made upon tuberculosis, a comprehensive system of school hygiene was introduced and rapidly developed, maternity and child welfare work was widely undertaken, the new knowledge of the diagnosis and treatment of venereal disease was applied gratuitously for the alleviation of sufferers all over the country, and by the establishment of the Insurance Medical Service the State made the family doctor an integral part of

our system of public health administration. It may well be that from a public health point of view it would have been more convenient if poor law reform had preceded the establishment of national health insurance, and if the latter had been anchored in a reorganised sanitary authority closely associated with clinics and hospital institutions. But there it is, in Britain we are not deductive philosophers, and we proceed, from precedent to precedent, "to take occasion by the hand." The fundamental fact and common ground is this, that we have in Great Britain 15,000 insurance practitioners who have entered the Service of the State to care for the health of upwards of 14,000,000 insured persons in the interest of Preventive Medicine in its broadest meaning. The reform which our fore-runners desired has come to pass, the workers have ready access to the doctor at the earliest stage of disease, with the result that the medical supervision of them is actually threefold greater than before the Insurance Act was passed. There is more careful diagnosis ; there is earlier treatment ; there is better knowledge of the incidence and distribution of disease, and at a stage when it can be cured or prevented ; there is, for the first time, a measurement of the relation between sickness and capacity to work. No doubt there are still many defects and inequalities in the administration of so novel a scheme. But the scheme is here ; and it is for us all to make it work by integrating it with the other public medical services. If in every district medical practitioners and the Medical Officer of Health will co-operate cordially an immeasurable advance will be made forthwith.

The third reform which is needed seems to be proceeding apace, namely, the education of the people in hygiene. One thing is quite certain. We have reached a stage in the evolution of the Public Health when it is a necessity of further progress that we should create an enlightened public opinion, and carry it with us. This is necessary, first, because there is need of an "impulse" behind sanitary legislation and effective administration of it, and secondly, because the public health is dependent upon personal hygiene and the day by day individual practice of the principles of Preventive Medicine. We must do more ourselves.

All local authorities are indirectly engaged in educational health work in so far as they discharge effectually their statutory duties under the Public Health Acts, and this aspect of their work is exerting, as a study of the history of the past fifty years will show, a paramount influence on the community. It is on the whole the most effective and far-reaching form of health education. Some local authorities and many voluntary societies are undertaking supplementary educational work of a more direct nature, and under the new Public Health Bill of this year,

all authorities outside London are to be given definite and wide powers to develop this service. Section 67 is as follows :—

“ Any local authority or county council may arrange for the publication within their area of information on questions relating to health or disease, and for the delivery of lectures and the display of pictures in which such questions are dealt with, and may defray the whole or a portion of expenses incurred for any of the purposes of this section.”

It will no doubt be necessary before long to consider whether this work should be included in the grant-earning services, and if so, whether, and on what terms, voluntary societies engaged in health propaganda should be similarly assisted. As we are evidently on the brink of a widening system of popular health instruction, I may express the considered opinion that it is the local authorities who should be mainly responsible for undertaking systematic educational health work, direct as well as indirect, suitable to their own district, circumstances and needs, with such supplementary assistance as the voluntary societies concerned may find themselves able to furnish.

It is important that information thus afforded should be appropriate, correct and timely. Some medical knowledge should be imparted, some knowledge of the ways and means of sanitary government, and much advice as to personal hygiene—but not one of these three should be overloaded. Exceptional facilities now exist, and the people should be encouraged to use them. Instruction should be given as to the effect of social habits and conditions on health, and that it is won by a way of life rather than a bottle of medicine. Above all, we must all learn to think of public health, not only in terms of the individual, the home or the parish, but nationally, imperially, and even internationally. The world is both larger and smaller than in 1875, and the capacities and opportunities of human life and endeavour have been greatly and hopefully expanded.

PUBLIC OPINION IN PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

SOME kind of public opinion has no doubt existed in the world from the earliest history of mankind. Yet it is only in recent times that such opinion has become influential on a large scale. Sir Robert Peel described it in 1820 as consisting of a “ great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong feeling, right feeling, obstinacy and newspaper paragraphs.” Whilst we may not be disposed to assent to

all the terms of this definition, it contains certain ideas which are characteristic of public opinion in our own day. For when we come to analyse it we shall find that, like the history of the English race, it is a mosaic, an amalgam, of sentiment and of reasoning on available data. Lord Bryce has furnished an instructive discussion on the nature and action of public opinion, in which he suggests that sentiment is contributed most largely by the mass of the people, and that reasoning on available data combined with self-interest is characteristic of the more educated classes. No doubt also we must add to these two elements a certain amount of prejudice, of respect for authority and of facilities for expression. Indeed it is probable that from the time of the Reform Bill of 1832 public opinion in England has been awakened, kindled and become operative by means of public agitation, the enormous development of public speaking, the freedom of the press, and the ever widening education of the individual. It is not the local Council, it is not Parliament, it is not even Government that is the ultimate authority, for that rests with the aggregate of individual citizens. They are master—Government is their servant. Whatever be the factors, and they are numerous and complex, the world is moved to-day, as never before, by the indefinable power of public opinion, and governments, as well as habit and custom, are impelled or moulded by "the man in the street." All through the broad territories of the British Empire public opinion is paramount, and government is by the people.

The practice of Preventive Medicine in its modern meaning rests upon the growth of medical science and the application of that knowledge to the problems of disease. During the last half century the increase of physiological and pathological knowledge, including that of infection, has been one of the outstanding features of the age in which we live. We now know two certain facts about disease: first, that it is not something arbitrary, capricious, occult or accidental, but an effect of definite causes and condition; and secondly, that these causes and conditions are in large and increasing measure controllable by man. Fifty years ago we did not know the cause of leprosy, typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, cholera or plague, and the process of their control had no basis in etiological fact. To-day we know the fundamental truths of causation, and therefore for the first time public and personal health has become purchasable—but the purchase involves desire to purchase, understanding of what is to be bought, and adequate resources of knowledge and of money. There are two things we desire to purchase, a healthy life and a long one. In other words, we seek to reduce, and if possible abolish, invalidism and physical disability, and to postpone the event of death. This, in a word, is the business of Preventive

Medicine. It is to make human life better, larger, more capable and useful, happier—and it is to prolong our days. Its purpose is to make the time in which we live, and the future, a better time for all men. Thucydides believed that the Golden Age in the world's history was in Greece in the fifth century B.C. So great had been the achievements of the Athenian City-State that he could say "truth will put to shame imaginings of our deeds." Gibbon claimed the Age of the Antonines in the second century A.D. as "the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous. The vast extent of the Roman Empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom," and he adds, "the happiness of a great people was the sole object of government." In spite of these two historic testimonies we can, using the plumb-line of a single criterion, say, with truth and without boastfulness, that human life is more valuable to-day than then. It is ours to increase that value. Among many factors in that behalf—apart from the influence of heredity and environment—a sound mind in a sound body stands first. Yet when we consider the present age we shall see amid much that is full of promise in this regard some things which, unless they be remedied, have in them the seeds of doom.

Our problem can be stated in a word. The English people are suffering from impaired physique. There are three principal sources of evidence on this point: the School Medical Service, the National Health Insurance Scheme and the returns of the Ministry of National Service.

(a) As a result of ten years' school medical inspection in the Public Elementary Schools of England and Wales we know that not less than a million children of school age are so physically or mentally retarded, defective or diseased as to be unable to derive reasonable benefit from the education which the State provides. We know that of the children who left school—that is, the final product of our educational system—in 1914, the last normal year before the War, in the healthiest areas of the country, 10 per cent. had grave physical disability, 20 per cent. were defective in vision, and upwards of 60 per cent. suffered from serious dental caries.

(b) From the insurance returns for 1914-1916 we know that more than half the insured persons in England and Wales claim and receive medical treatment every year; and that amongst these persons alone there are upwards of 14 million weeks of registered sickness per annum. This is equal to a loss of working time amounting to 270,000 years per annum—all of it due to sickness and most of it due to preventable sickness.

An examination of 5,000 average insurance patients in five representative cities of England in 1916 led to the conclusion that the conditions which brought those patients to the doctor were principally three in number—respiratory disease, indigestion, and those general minor ailments which form the great group of physical debility, malnutrition and anæmia.

(c) Between November 1, 1917, and October 31, 1918, there were 2,425,184 medical examinations of recruits for the last lap of the War. Of this number 36 per cent. only were found to be of full normal standard of health and strength and judged to be capable of enduring physical exertion suitable to their age. The remaining 64 per cent. amounting in all to a million and a half in the aggregate, did not attain this standard and upwards of 40 per cent. presented marked physical disabilities and were described as C3. This physical record means that of every nine men of this group of two and a half million recruits from all parts of Great Britain, "three were perfectly fit and healthy; two were upon a definitely infirm plane of health and strength, whether from some disability or some failure in development; three were incapable of undergoing more than a very moderate degree of physical exertion and could almost (in view of their age) be described with justice as physical wrecks; and the remaining man as a chronic invalid with a precarious hold upon life."

If we ask what the "causes of rejection" were in the large body of men found unfit, the answer is briefly that from a quarter to a third of the disabled men suffered from poor physique and physical defect (curvature, deformity, rickets, ankylosed joints, atrophied limbs, flat foot, hammer toe, hernia, defective teeth, etc.), and that the other principal forms of invalidity were tuberculosis, valvular disease of the heart, pulmonary disease, defective vision and varicose veins.

Now here we have the three available bodies of facts with regard to invalidity and physical incapacity in this country. They do not constitute a complete survey of the physical condition of the English people or of any group of them, but together they form a review as complete as can be obtained, and they furnish at least a substantial indication of the condition of things. It will be observed that in each of the three groups the last or most critical stage of disease is absent. The hospital patient is not included. We are excluding all that group of disease. We are dealing only with impaired physique.

When we turn to consider the bills of mortality we find that the death-rate of the City of London was at the rate of 80 per 1,000 in the latter half of the seventeenth century and 50 in the eighteenth. In the last seventy-five years the death-rate for England and Wales has fallen

from 22.4 per 1,000 (1846-50) to 13.5 (1917), which represents a saving on the present population of 300,000 lives per annum. But notwithstanding, there are features of the present English Death Return which call for consideration. It should be noticed that 47 per cent. of the deaths occur under 50 years of age ; next, only some 6 per cent. of the deaths are attributed to old age ; again, about a quarter of the deaths are due to certain infective diseases (measles, whooping cough, diphtheria, influenza, tuberculosis and pneumonia). In summary, it may be said that infective disease, respiratory disease and disease of the alimentary system are the cause of half the total death-rate. There is one other significant feature of the Death Return in 1917, and that is the low infant mortality rate. In 1846-50, 157 of every 1,000 children born died under one year of age ; in 1917 that figure had been reduced to 96—a very remarkable result of preventive medicine. The recent decline in the infant death-rate (1913-1917) has taken place throughout the first year but least of all in the first month (at which time convulsions, congenital malformations, premature birth and atrophy are the four chief causes of death). On the other hand, respiratory and alimentary diseases, the chief causes of death in infancy after the first month, have yielded substantially to preventive measures. Death-rates are difficult figures to realize. When it is reported that the death-rate is low or declining we are apt to forget that there are 1,000 funerals per week in this country of persons who have died of tuberculosis, 1,200 more funerals per week of dead infants, 800 more due to cancer, and that in 1918 alone 100,000 people died from influenza.

Whilst some of these records of sickness and mortality reveal much wrong with the health of the community, there are not wanting hopeful signs. The awful scourges of past centuries—the black death, leprosy, typhus, gaol fever, and the gross forms of smallpox—have either disappeared or are greatly reduced, the sanitary condition of the environment is enormously improved, medical treatment has developed and is more available, the service of the State on behalf of the individual is the common possession of all citizens, and the expectation of life at birth has risen during the last half century from 41 years to 51 years for men and from 44 years to 55 years for women. These are five very substantial gains.

The coming of the Ministry of Health means a new sort of attack on the strongholds of disease and what John Bunyan called the “captains of the men of death.” It means, of course, increased intervention by the State, the betterment of the environment, a higher degree of co-ordination of national and municipal agencies, improved organisation central and local, a bolder and a nearer policy, a further step in

unification. This is good and desirable. But there is a further factor, in some ways more important than all these, namely, the slow emergence of an educated community and an enlightened public opinion. Mazzini, the son of a physician, wrote in 1844, "Education teaches in what the social weal consists." That is the kind of educated opinion we need. As the science of Medicine becomes more internal and more closely integrated, revealing more of the inner workings of the body autonomy, so also its application to disease becomes more personal and intimate. As the science of Government becomes more representative of the aspirations of the people as a whole, so also its practice is more dependent upon their education and equipment. Only an educated people is an effective and healthy people. But the education which is required is not technical instruction in hygiene only, but an informed humanism, which welcomes and understands the growth of Medicine and accepts its results, boldly and gladly, on behalf of all mankind. We shall not get much further in perfecting our national health organisation until the average citizen has been educated to think, both quickly and accurately, and to act as knowledge demands. Nor is it only a matter of knowledge or of opinion. Eight years ago Lord Morley, speaking as Chancellor of the University of Manchester, declared that :—

"What matters more than logic, or dialectical cut and thrust, is history—relation of present to past, leading antecedents, external forces, incidents, and the long tale of consummating circumstances. How often do miscalculations in the statesman, like narrowness and blunder in the historian, spring from the neglect of the pregnant and illuminating truth that deeper than men's opinions are the sentiment and circumstances by which opinion is predetermined. 'What it is important for us to know with respect to our own age, and every age, is not its peculiar opinions, but the complex element of that moral feeling and character, in which as in their congenial soil opinions grow.' In these words you have a truth, abounding in enrichment, power, insight, and self-collection, for every patient student of mankind—such a student as in our better hours of the diviner mind it is the business of us all to try to be."

These are Viscount Morley's wise and timely words, and their application to education in the ever-widening subject of personal and national health is obvious. The way of health is not hidden in abstruse science. For wisdom and understanding in this subject grows and develops, partly it is true out of the growth of Medicine, but partly also—and in no mean degree—out of experiences, habits, aspirations, and

morals of the people as a whole, evolving slowly out of their communal consciousness rather than being superimposed, ready made, from above. For Medicine is human in application as well as technical ; it is social in purpose as well as scientific in method ; it is moral in claim as well as intellectual. Only a people clean in mind and body, within and without, can withstand " the pestilence which walketh in darkness " ; and thus the social and moral standard of a people, its national character, bears relation to its health, and that, and not the medical issue alone, is the decisive factor.

The elements of health for the body are nutrition, fresh air, and exercise. Cleanliness, warmth and rest are also necessary, but they are secondary and consequent upon the other three factors. The fundamental requirements out of which emerge all other necessities are these three. If these are present and adequate we have something approximating to full life ; if they are absent or inadequate, we have insufficiency, poor physique, disease and even death. Though this knowledge is as old as the history of the human family, it is still only partially applied to the building of men or the rearing of a race. For though the general proposition is simple, its application is complex. What is the ideal form of nutrition in any given climate or for any given age of life ? How can we live in the open air if we also live in houses and in cities ? By what means can we secure sufficient exercise, and of what nature should it be, and how can we escape the condemnation by Galen of the over-specialisation of Greek physical culture ? The answer to these questions comes only by knowledge. For, given a " living wage " and given a sufficient yield of the proper food necessary to man's health—and, speaking generally, these desiderata are available in this country—there can be but one answer : People do not live the healthy life because they lack knowledge. It is ultimately a matter of experience and of knowledge. As a nation we shall never win through to a high physical standard until the great mass of the people are educated sufficiently to be able to choose the way of health. It is a practice and not a theory.

Let us consider this issue for a moment. It is common knowledge that man's diet should be mixed, varied, sound in quality and sufficient in quantity, consumed at fairly regular intervals, and appetising and digestible. It should contain an adequate supply of protein, fat, carbohydrate, inorganic salts and water—and these substances are represented in greater or less degree in the common articles of diet, meat, milk, bread, sugar, starch, rice, oatmeal, etc. Further, it is now established that in addition to these necessary constituents certain unidentified living principles, known as accessory food factors or

“vitamins,” must be present in the diet to ensure health and nutrition. These bodies are contained in peas, beans, eggs, animal fats, milk, butter, cod-liver oil, green vegetables, potatoes, fruits, lemon juice, and so on. If a chemically ideal and model food be prepared in the laboratory with the proper amounts of each essential constituent, and then it be sterilized, dried or otherwise “preserved,” it may be deprived of some or all of its vital principles. Hence, dried foodstuffs, preserved vegetables and tinned meats, though possessing some practical advantages, are reduced in value as complete foods. They become auxiliary only, for they are deprived in some measure of their vital elements. Moreover, nutrition does not consist only of pabulum, the food. There must be healthy activity of those physiological processes which have to do with mastication and preparation, with absorption and assimilation, metabolism and excretion. Healthy and complete nutrition is infinitely more comprehensive than mere feeding, mere filling of the stomach. It connotes a healthy body in all respects, a brain and nervous system in tone, a healthy muscular and digestive system, circulation of blood and lymph. Now, when we turn to the dietetic conditions of the great mass of the workers we find a tale of beer and bread, of tea and pickles, of tinned meat and cakes, of a bit of bacon and a piece of cheese—and of an unstable digestive system and an impaired physique. Variety, appetizing cookery, freshly-prepared food, the healthy conditions of sound digestion—these essential things are often absent.

“Experience in Manchester teaches that the most fertile cause of ‘poor physique’ in children is the gross ignorance of the simplest form of domestic economy and cookery amongst the mothers. . . . The difficulty was not due to poverty (except in a practically negligible number of cases), but to the lack of knowledge of the mothers (who could have afforded to buy the necessary food) as to how to cook it. It would appear that the scientific method to deal with the question of ‘poor physique’ is to begin by due instruction of the elder girls in the schools and of the young women in the continuation classes in artisan domestic economy.”

Medical officers have been saying this for a generation, and happily the provision of school meals by Local Education Authorities, the canteen movement in factories, and the national movement for a reformed milk supply are at last beginning to have effect. But the real issue is still the education of the people. By our ignorance and our willingness to be ignorant, both in theory and in practice, we provide the conditions which inevitably lead to the growth of an enfeebled race.

All this applies equally to the necessary conditions of health in respect of fresh air and exercise.

“The national adoption of the open-air school,” wrote Dr. Leonard Hill, “the garden city, the open-air factory, and open-air exercises, cannot fail immeasurably to improve the health and the enjoyment of life of all concerned. There could be no more far-reaching or beneficial reconstruction work done at the present time, both for the health of the child and the adult, than the introduction of what I may call the practice of the open-air life both in school and in factory. . . . It is sunlight, coolness, dryness, diversity of cooling effect and movement of the air which will exert a health-giving effect.”

The physiological advantages of adequate and continuous oxygenation of the blood are incalculable—it is the essential condition of conveying life-giving oxygen to all parts of the body—but these advantages are not secured by ill-ventilated schools and factories or by stuffy dwelling-rooms. With few exceptions, the means of ventilation are there; what is lacking is the maintenance of the means by the individual; and neglect of maintenance is due to lack of knowledge and to the dominance of bad habit.

In order to build up a sound physique the nation also needs to have available a complete scheme of educational and recreative gymnastics, that is, a system of carefully-chosen, graduated exercises, designed on physiological principles, to train both body and brain, and combined with games, swimming, field sports, and dancing. A beginning has been made, and the new Syllabus of Physical Training issued by the Board of Education (1919) contains material for national adoption. But more time and attention must be given to the matter in every district of England if it is to have any real effect on the physique of the child and adolescent population. Any schemes adopted must be elastic and recreative. The work of the Army Gymnastic Staff in England and in France during the War, will, undoubtedly, have far-reaching results on the recreative side of physical training for children and adolescents as well as for soldiers. The playing of games in a comprehensive and organised way for their mental and physical effect has never before been fully attempted as an integral part of any national scheme of physical training. The overwhelming success which has attended the general introduction of games behind the lines in France suggests that we have made far too little use of our characteristic aptitude and love for games in the education and training of the young and as a means of wholesome recreation for the adult.

It is not enough for 40,000 youths to watch a football match or a boxing competition or a horse race. They also must play the game. It is not enough to make provision for organised games and physical development in the schools for children up to the age of 14 only. It is necessary to carry this on right through adolescence and into adult life. What was done for the soldiers in France can equally well be made available for the industrial workers at home. The evidence before the Ministry of National Service was cumulative and convincing that hundreds of thousands of the men rejected for military training on grounds of ill-health had been debarred by social circumstances from any recreational exercise whatever. "The health-giving recreations of the industrial classes are almost nil," said the Ministry of National Service, "their spare time being taken up in parading the city streets, attending picture-houses, and watching certain games instead of taking part in them." There are few problems more pressing in this country at the present moment than the provision of facilities for games, athletics, baths, swimming and all forms of healthy physical recreation. If we do not solve this problem, at least for the great industrial towns, we must not expect anything but low physique in the population. Nor can we afford to forget the women—the source of the new race. If music and dancing, golf, hockey and tennis, and recreation in the open air be good for any young women, they are good for all. We do not want to train our people as acrobats for the prize ring or the Olympic contest, but it is imperative that we should equip them for an all-round healthy life. When as a nation we secure for the people as a whole the simple elements of nutrition, of the open-air life, and of adequate exercise—so profound will be the effect and so great the example—a new day will have dawned for mankind.

The second reason for education of the public is the prevention of disease. Clearly one of the essential methods of prevention is a high standard of personal health, for sound physique is more resistant to infection and the onset of disease than poor physique. Everything therefore which tends to personal health is a factor in prevention. But more than this is required.

As we have seen, invalidism, disease and premature death are due to a relatively small number of morbid conditions. Respiratory disease, indigestion, and general minor ailments (debility, neuralgia, lumbago, septic conditions, minor injuries and accidents, skin disease, anæmia, etc.), constitute 70 per cent. of insurance cases, more than a third of hospital cases and more than a third of the total deaths. The zymotic diseases, tuberculosis, much of the pneumonia and much of the heart disease are infective in origin. Here, then, we have four types of disease,

respiratory disease, the dyspepsias, general minor ailments and the infective diseases, and to these we must add infant mortality. Now, a large proportion of these conditions are directly preventable, that is, we have the knowledge of causation and the potential power of prevention. Further, it is known that the chief hindrance to the practice of prevention is lack of knowledge on the part of the public. Some illustrations may be named.

Through this one channel of infection it is now known that five principal diseases are conveyed, namely: pulmonary tuberculosis, pneumonia, influenza, poliomyelitis and cerebro-spinal fever—diseases which in 1917 were responsible for one in five of all the deaths in England and Wales. These diseases are conveyed from person to person by the inhalation of the casual microbe. Protection cannot be secured by the application of sanitary measures to extraneous circumstances; it is alone to be attained by methods of personal hygiene, applied on the individual scale of safeguarding one person from another. There is no other way. From dried expectoration, cough spray or the breath, the infection is conveyed. The infecting microbe may thus be carried directly from one person to another, or, as in pneumonia, it may be a normal inhabitant of the mouth, fauces or nose which takes on a virulent form; indeed, pneumonia is frequently an "autogenic" infection, due to the invasion of the lung by pneumococci present in the mouth of an apparently healthy person. Various conditions, such as cold, exposure, alcoholism, fatigue or starvation diminish the vitality and power of resistance of the lung and the pneumococcus obtains its foothold. Similarly, a lowered condition of vitality, or some acute disease such as measles or influenza, may call into activity the tubercle bacillus which might otherwise have lain quiescent in the body of the individual. From these facts it is obvious that serious disease and even death may result (a) indirectly from dental caries, oral sepsis, sore throat, inflammation of the fauces and similar conditions; (b) directly from persons coughing or shouting at other persons or breathing in their faces. The proposition seems a very simple one, but the fact is that a clean mouth and clear respiratory passages, with a complete abstinence from spitting and from sneezing, cough-spraying, shouting or breathing at other people, would go a long way towards the complete prevention of the five diseases named.

Here is another large group of maladies, responsible for a high percentage of present physical impairment. The disabling indigestion and dyspepsia which brings patients in tens of thousands daily to the doctors and to the out-patient departments of the hospitals consists of indisposition which is at first of a functional nature. It is due partly

to constitutional and atonic conditions of the alimentary tract and partly to mistakes in hygiene. "More than one-half of the chronic complaints which embitter the middle and latter part of life," said Sir Henry Thompson, "is due to avoidable errors in diet." One cause of error is lack of knowledge in the choice of good and evil in regard to food—its selection, nutritive value, preparation and consumption. But there are other aspects of the dietetic habit which have a large share in the production of disease: (a) irregularity of meals and the consumption of food or drink in between them; (b) the unvaried monotony of the average dietary; (c) the failure to masticate food owing to defective teeth or the habit of bolting food; (d) drinking too much with meals; (e) bad teeth; (f) chronic constipation; (g) swallowing air at the time of eating; and (h) the abuse of tea, spices and alcoholic beverages. These seem to be trivial matters, but it is out of the smaller habits and neglectfulness of men and women that disease is born. Again, there are the group of deficiency diseases, rickets, scurvy and beri-beri, due in part to ignorance in dietetics. Perhaps the most serious of these four types of disease in this country is rickets, partly because of its prevalence in many of our great cities, partly because of the life-long deformities which it may create, and partly because it lowers the process of resistance to disease in childhood. Its cause is twofold: lack of fresh air, sunlight and exercise and absence or deficiency of certain accessory foods in the presence of excess of carbohydrates. It is thus an almost typical "nutritional" disease. It is usually preventable by a careful and well-informed mother.

How grave is the amount of disablement caused by injuries and accidents in this industrial country is shown by the fact that though only accidents of a certain degree of severity are notifiable under the Factory Acts, the number certified annually amounts to over 150,000. To these must be added a vast number of minor injuries and accidents which in the aggregate cause, perhaps, an even larger amount of interruption to work. The Health of Munition Workers Committee found that for 1,543 men examined (over 41 years of age) the lost time on medical grounds amounted in one year to 12,964 days, of which 20 per cent. was due to accidents; 1,509 boys (under 18) showed lost time of 6,934 days of which 47 per cent. was due to accidents. In regard to eye injuries and accidents to the limbs the chief danger and lost time was shown to be due to sepsis owing to neglect. It has been estimated that from 25 to 40 per cent. of all industrial accidents are preventable. It has been stated that in America 30 per cent. of the accidents are due to illness or to imperfection of machinery, and 60 per cent. are due to apathy, lack of appreciation of danger or carelessness, and 10 per cent. to

unpreventable causes. No doubt there are many factors—including fatigue and alcoholism—which bring about accidents in factories, the principal point to which attention is drawn here is that lack of knowledge of the importance of prompt and antiseptic treatment, even of slight injuries, greatly prolongs the period of disablement. The State which desires maximum output, the employer who pays compensation, the Approved Society which subsidizes the absentee, and the worker himself who undergoes suffering and crippling are alike concerned in the reduction of accidents, in their immediate and adequate treatment and in the health welfare of the industrial worker.

But early treatment does not apply only to injuries or septic wounds. It applies to the beginning of all disease—measles, bronchitis, ophthalmia, suppuration of the ear, indigestion, neuralgia, mental fatigue, venereal—turn where we will, disease is most curable and its disablement most preventable if it be dealt with at its beginning. People find it hard to learn the lesson, that much of the serious and fatal disease under 50 years of age is due either to neglect at its commencement or to ignorance of the far-reaching issues to the individual and to the race which spring from thoughtlessness and carelessness. The prevalence of venereal disease is a stain upon our civilisation—and education, enlightenment, early and skilled treatment and a wholesome public opinion form the anchor of our hope.

The story of the new knowledge with regard to infection constitutes one of the great romances of modern scientific achievement, a record which has made bright and immortal the times in which we live. It is a story, wonderful as regards attack, still more wonderful as regards defence, of those unseen friends and foes within the human body. It is a story of the infinitely little but with issues infinitely great, and which affect no less a question than man's life upon the earth. Always there are three factors in infection, the seed or infecting agent, the soil or body of the patient, and the sower or external circumstance which scatters the seed and prepares the soil—all those various external conditions which convey and influence the seed or affect the local or general vitality of the person (cold, fatigue, alcoholic excess, industrial surroundings, malnutrition, etc., and the age, sex, physique and idiosyncrasy of the individual). In the middle of the sixteenth century Fracaster and Cardan first foretold the existence of germs of infection, and exactly three hundred years later Louis Pasteur demonstrated their relation to disease. From 1870 to 1905 there followed the wonderful succession of discoveries which made known to us the causal microbes of the principal infective diseases. They may enter the body through four channels: by the alimentary canal through contaminated food,

milk or water, as in typhoid or tubercle ; by the respiratory tract in influenza, diphtheria, pneumonia and tubercle ; by direct contact, as in smallpox, scarlet fever or venereal disease ; or by inoculation through the skin by the bite of a louse or a mosquito. One of the most devastating of the diseases of the European War was trench fever, at one time responsible for 60 per cent. of all cases of sickness. The British and American Trench Fever Commissions found that this mysterious malady which disabled vast numbers of soldiers is a specific and infectious disease caused by a virus in the blood and that this virus is transmitted from man to man by the bite of the louse and that the means of prevention is the avoidance of infestation with lice. Typhus is spread in Russia and Poland through the same medium of lice on the human body or clothing. Again, the bacillus of plague was discovered by Kitasato in 1894, and ten years later the Indian Plague Commission found that the ordinary mode of skin infection by this bacillus in man was by means of the bites of fleas, which had obtained the plague bacilli from rats. The grey rat of the sewers of the oriental city abounds in fleas, and maintains the plague bacillus from season to season ; his cousin, the black house rat, frequents the dwelling-houses and is responsible for transmitting the disease to man. The death of rats from plague is thus the advent of its occurrence in man. But lice and fleas are not alone concerned in the spread of disease. There are sand flies, tsetse flies, and house flies. There is also the mosquito. Forty years ago Laveran discovered that malaria was due to a protozoon in the blood of the patient, and Manson and Ross showed that this parasite had a cycle of existence outside the human body in the mosquito, and that bites by a malaria-infected anopheles produced the disease in man. It is now known also that yellow fever is spread by another form of mosquito (*stegomyia*). Thus here we have lice, fleas, flies, and mosquitoes brought, in a handful of years, into a new, intimate and profound relationship in our minds to the health of man. We may summarize the position in a sentence. The use of uncontaminated food, water and milk ; breathing through the nose, and the avoidance of respiratory infection, of dried sputum and of cough spray ; the shunning of contagious diseases ; and no lice, no fleas, no rats, no mosquitoes : and we are on the high road to the abolition of some of the principal forms of human disease.

But the rest of the story is no less astonishing. The attack of these unseen foes in food, water, milk, dust, and in lice, fleas and mosquitoes, is counteracted by the amazing resources of the human body—resources only now coming to the light of day. We now know that the defence of the body is fourfold. There is—

First, the resistant power arising from the physiological reserve of health, the power of hypertrophy and of increased functioning and metabolism in emergency.

Secondly, there is the control by the vaso-motor nerve system which regulates the blood supply of any given part of the body, flushing it with the refreshing current of the blood stream ;

Thirdly, there is a defence established by means of the cells in the blood, the lymph and the tissues, which have the remarkable power of first catching and then absorbing into their own substance any invading germ or foreign element with which they come into contact : and

Lastly, there is the newly-discovered bio-chemical power represented partly by the normal secretions of the ductless glands (hormones), which stimulate into action the nervous system and the functions of various protective organs, and partly by the group of anti-toxins which follow in the wake of toxins and are the direct reaction of the healthy body to their presence.

These four separate lines of defence are powerful, but it must be remembered that they never act in isolation. They are mutually inter-related, they co-operate together under a unified command, and they depend for their very existence upon a healthy and well-nourished state of the body. When, therefore, an infecting bacillus attacks man, it sets up, automatically, a chain of natural defences—(a) increased functional activity ; (b) a fuller blood supply ; (c) the stimulation of the catching and absorbing cells (phagocytosis) and the excitor secretions (hormones), and (d) a new formation of cells and substances antagonistic to, or assimilative of, the toxic products of the bacillus. When we ponder upon this array of defences called into operation by the act of infection, we cannot be surprised that one attack of a disease is not followed by another, and that a natural immunity against certain diseases is established. We begin to see the true philosophy of the action of anti-toxins and vaccines ; we understand a little better the survival of man's body in Nature ; and we learn once and for all the necessity of bodily health as the strong and primary foundation of Preventive Medicine.

The last illustration which may be taken is the prevention of the death of infants under one year of age. The main facts regarding this subject are well known. We lose every year in abortions, miscarriages, still-births and dead infants a substantial portion of the incoming race. It is of national importance that these lives should be saved. The issue

is even wider than that, for the causes of a high death-rate affect the health of the survivors and lie near to the roots of our social life.

A correct understanding depends upon a knowledge of the principal facts concerning infant mortality, which are these: that its incidence falls chiefly in the first three months and in the first week of the first three months; that in this country it is higher in urban than rural areas and higher in the north than in the south; that it is higher among illegitimate than legitimate children; that it is related to the age of the mother and the number of her children; that its incidence is dependent not upon density of population but upon local and domestic conditions characteristic of limited industrial areas or social classes of the community; that it is high among the poor and low among a better social class (in 1911 in England and Wales the infant mortality of all classes was 132 per 1,000 births, of unskilled workers 152—rising in costermongers to 196—of the intermediate class 106, of the middle and upper classes 76, and in the families of doctors only 39); that the three chief causes of death in infancy are developmental conditions (immaturity, prematurity, debility, wasting and atrophy), diarrhoeal disease and respiratory disease; that there has been a significant decline affecting the whole of the first year, but particularly in regard to deaths due to diarrhoeal disease, then to respiratory disease and only much less so in respect of developmental disease.

It is these facts which indicate appropriate measures of prevention. Improved sanitary circumstances, attention to domestic and municipal cleanliness, education of girls and mothers in personal hygiene, sound and effective midwifery, the care, management and feeding of infants, and, above all, attention to the physique of the mother—these are the essential steps. The group of problems concerned with infant mortality will be solved only in so far as the whole function of maternity is safeguarded and fulfilled under favourable conditions—industrial and domestic. I do not think it is open to doubt that much of the remarkable decline in infant mortality, now lower (89 per 1,000 in 1919) than it has ever been before in the history of death registration, is due to the awakening of public opinion which has taken place in the last ten or fifteen years. Here, then, are five illustrations—and they are only illustrations—of the spheres of Preventive Medicine where Nature invites our intelligent co-operation rather than our ignorant or prejudiced opposition. Medical knowledge and advice is necessary, but equally necessary is the assistance and understanding of the patient. In order to prevent disease we must all, and not medical men only, become students of the laws of Nature, obedient to her ways, and responsive to our own experience. "Argument may conclude a

question," said Roger Bacon nearly seven hundred years ago, "but it cannot make us feel certain, except the truth be also found to be so by experience."

The third purpose of an enlightened public opinion in regard to Preventive Medicine is that the assent of the community may be won for sanitary reform and its consent secured for sanitary government, imperial and local, for there can be no true reform and no sound government apart from this assent and consent of the people as a whole—either in a nation or in the area of a local authority. Impulse is required, an understanding co-operation of all classes of the community, and money. "The great work of sanitary reform," wrote Lecky, "has been, perhaps, the noblest legislative achievement of our age, and if measured by the suffering it has diminished has probably done far more for the real happiness of mankind than all the many questions that make and unmake ministries." Whilst it is true that the State has not in this country been the pioneer of social reform but has followed on the demand of organised public opinion, it is also true that the State can give statutory recognition to accomplished facts and establish and make good the ground gained by voluntary enterprise. It can aid medical research, it can raise the standard of medical knowledge and practice and restrain quackery, it can bring adequate medical treatment within reach of the whole people, and it can improve the environment of man—his housing, his food and milk, his water supply, and his industrial circumstances. But this communal hygiene can only become an expression of the national life if the people consent and are willing to advocate and to carry out its reform. Mere legislation in this as in other fields will prove abortive unless it is continuously and steadily supported by an intelligent and well-informed public opinion.

SIR ARTHUR NEWSHOLME

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THE MORAL ASPECTS OF SOCIAL HYGIENE

LIKE many other words, the term "social hygiene" in the course of time is tending to become specialized and consequently limited in its significance, although still employed in its wider sense. In this sense it means the entire range of social activities which can be brought to bear to improve national or personal health; and it thus embraces, for instance, the problems of ignorance, of destitution, of housing, and of alcoholism. In recent practice, however, the term has been employed to denote the special problems of health connected with sexual life in civilized communities; and thus used, it is concerned with illegitimacy, with divorce, with mental deficiency, and with allied difficulties of family life, as well as with the study of the causation and means of prevention of venereal diseases.

In the present communication the term "social hygiene" is used with special reference to the problems involved in the control of venereal diseases. Of the three chief enemies in temperate climates to life and health—venereal diseases, cancer, and tuberculosis—it is probable that venereal diseases are the most lethal. Unlike cancer, venereal diseases are entirely preventable, given the adoption of measures immediately within the competence of mankind; and in this respect they differ from tuberculosis, the control over which, although steadily increasing, necessarily is slower and necessitates more complex measures.

The history of the conquest of man over disease is profoundly interesting not only to the hygienist but also to all social workers, for the success of their work and the further success of the hygienist are closely inter-dependent. Past success in public-health work has been secured in the main by discovery of the sources of mischief, and by application of all measures available for their control and their prevention. The greatest triumphs of preventive medicine have been in respect of those diseases, like typhus, typhoid fever, yellow fever, and malaria, in which the carriers of infection have been inhibited from action, and in which active preventive work on the part of a limited portion of the community has been competent to influence the fate of the multitude. When, as in the special case of smallpox, it has been possible to combine the inhibition of infection by means of active sanitary administration with the immunization of all willing to be vaccinated, it has been possible to forecast the extinction of a given disease ; and there is hope that ere long diphtheria may be classed with smallpox in this respect.

There remain, however, great sources of disease, which we know, and which are removable, but the removal of which is delayed and very partial, owing to ignorance on the part of many, and unwillingness on the part of many more to act on the knowledge they already possess.

The indifference and incompetence of sanitary authorities in the control of controllable diseases, for example, typhoid fever or malaria, may result from ignorance ; but the ignorance is seldom complete. It is oftener a parsimonious refusal to accept the conclusions of science and the recommendations of skilled advisers, because of the immediate expense needing to be faced ; and in this attitude it is often difficult to determine where ignorance ends and refusal to carry out an obvious duty begins.

In the prevention of preventable diseases, not hitherto prevented, we are largely concerned with moral factors, some of which are considered in this contribution.

Among such factors alcoholism in most countries stands highest. It is a chief cause of disease, of vice, of crime, and of destitution. The United States have set an example to the world in making this in their own country a minor source of these terrible social ills. In so doing they have greatly facilitated all other measures calculated to diminish the incidence of venereal diseases. In other countries alcoholism and venereal diseases are so closely related that in large measure the action required to reduce one will lessen the other ; and together these two evils form the greatest obstacle in our midst to health, happiness, and

prosperity. It is, therefore, incumbent on all social reformers increasingly to devise and advocate measures for their restriction and control. That this control, especially of venereal diseases, must be on the moral plane, is the contention which is emphasized in this article.

In respect of most problems the best cure for pessimism is a careful study of their history; and the history of the control of venereal diseases forms an adequate answer to those who suggest that ideals of sexual morality have not improved. Behind these diseases, and forming for practical purposes their sole source, is the practice of sexual promiscuity, and especially of prostitution, *i.e.*, sexual vice either directly commercialized or in which forms of payment other than monetary are made. Struggles to satisfy the two great passions of humanity—food hunger and sexual hunger—occupy a large space in the history of the world, and communal history consists largely in the settlement of complications arising out of these passions, including the enforcement of restrictions on sexual license, just as in the world of production and of barter and sale increasing efforts have been necessitated for diminishing the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

In primeval times incest was tabooed, and general promiscuity gave way to polygamy. Among the ancient Jews the ritual prostitution prevalent among surrounding nations was forbidden, and polygamy, with rigid enforcement of the chastity of women, was practised. The Greek civilization was characterized by the institution of monogamy, which whether viewed in the interest of society or from the standpoint of purity, was a notable advance in humanity. But although Greek literature contains some of the most beautiful instances extant of virgin modesty and conjugal fidelity, the implied inferiority of women continued, the courtesan and the concubine entered largely into social life, and the worse conditions enumerated in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans were rife, as they were later in imperial Rome.

Running through the story is the influence of the Neo-Platonic and Pythagorean philosophies, which appear to have agreed in regarding the body with its passions as essentially evil. The teaching of post-apostolic Christians was imbued with these doctrines. Marriage, for instance, was regarded by Jerome as praiseworthy merely because it produced virgins, the end of the saint being to "cut down by the axe of Virginité the wood of Marriage."

Prostitution was commonly regarded as a necessary evil, St. Augustine holding that if it were abolished greater evils would spring up. The ascetic ideal stressed by early theologians had a noxious influence on the sanctity of marriage; and the implication that marriage is

impure persisted in the clerical history of the Middle Ages. In the sixth century, in one province, women were forbidden to receive the eucharist with their naked hands, an indication of the extent to which the belittlement of women by priests would go under the influence of a false doctrine of purity.

While fully appreciating the great possibilities of extending good work on present lines, there remains a sphere of preventive work, which, although both medical and hygienic in the highest sense of these words, transcends the general scope of present work, and is supremely important.

This is no less than the creation of a higher general conception of sexual morality than is generally held. As matters now stand, and even more so in past ages, the prostitute, as Lecky has phrased it, "herself the supreme type of vice, is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. . . . She remains, while creeds and civilisations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of the people." The partial protection of the purity of family life by the prostitute is adequately recognized; and in Mrs. L. Creighton's words: "It has been said with justice that if it be true that the prostitute must exist in order to preserve the purity of other women, then she should be given a highly honoured place as one who sacrifices her very self for the good of society." It is intolerable, especially to women, that a social system should continue which rests on the degradation of some of its members, and which incidentally destroys the health and happiness of innumerable families; and the present high position of women in our national life embodies our greatest hope of purification. The steady uplifting of women must help to consolidate and maintain the purity of the family as the central unity of the State.

The gradations from promiscuity to polygamy, from monogamy with open concubinage to a reduced amount of this, on to our present position of general monogamy with frequent thinly veiled concubinage and prostitution, are well known. The need for preserving the integrity of the family gave some surface justification for the anomaly in moral history which visited the frailty of women with extreme severity, while the frailty of men was regarded with levity; but the difference between the sexes in sexual passion, pleaded in extenuation of this difference, is probably less than is alleged.

Medical and public opinion in civilized communities concur in the conclusion that the life-long union of one man and one woman as a rule is the most conducive to the happiness and the moral elevation of the partners and of their children. For many, the decay of dogmatic theology has removed the arguments for monogamy which were regarded

as authoritative ; but there can be no doubt, whether from the Christian or from the independent standpoint, that whatever diminishes monogamy and deteriorates the family life based on monogamy is anti-social and anarchic in its trend.

It must be confessed that modern conditions of life have increased the difficulty in maintaining the integrity of married family life. Marriage is increasingly delayed by a large portion of the community, without pre-marital chastity on the male side, and the increasing limitation of number of children may operate to some extent in the same direction. An increasing proportion of women are earning their independent livelihood ; and modern progress has diminished the need for women in domestic life. Machinery has destroyed many former domestic industries of women, replacing them by factory employment. The needle and the distaff have been replaced by the factory ; and in many circles it has become difficult to secure adequate female domestic service. We may hope that earlier marriages will again become more common, and that to this end young women will be willing to accept simpler conditions of life than at present they demand. But in view of the magnitude of the evil wrought by promiscuity and especially by prostitution, there is, whether earlier marriages are secured or not, urgent need for fortification of the motives to sexual restraint.

We need not and should not minimize the value of the active propaganda directed to acquainting the public with the evils of venereal disease and with the elements of sex hygiene, and of the active measures to secure disinfection and cure of patients already suffering from these diseases. All this is to the good, and its benefits are already visible. But we need to consider whether on the psychological, including the moral side, all is being done that can be done, and whether by improved methods of training and education the position may not be greatly improved. The diminishing hold of the Churches on the moral instruction of the people, and especially of the young, obliges one to look to parents, to elementary and secondary school teachers, and to the press and allied agencies for possible improvement in the near future. That their teaching will, in the main, be the same as the non-dogmatic element in the teaching of Churches is undoubted, but it is necessary to note the change in the centre of responsibility, although the Churches still hold in their hands a largely undeveloped and supremely important rôle in the same sphere.

The object in respect of each child is the formation of character competent to secure the moral inhibitions which are necessary in a civilized and Christian community. What has modern psychology to say on this ? If there is no hope of increased control over irregular

sexual passion, then preventive medicine must necessarily fall back on disinfection to diminish the present gigantic toll of disease due to promiscuity and prostitution. Even in present circumstances disinfection is preferable to the propagation of disease, and no physician when advising a patient in his personal capacity would feel justified in withholding from a dissolute person information, action on which might prevent him from acquiring and subsequently transmitting disease. But to spread such information, and especially to make it available generally for adolescents, not only means creating a sense of security from consequences often not justified, but also must tend to increase promiscuity and to weaken and debase still further the higher motives and restraints on which ultimately we must depend for the abolition of these social diseases.

The real remedies consist in an altered environment for the adolescent and adult, and in fortification of the moral self-control of the child.

The need for a changed public opinion in this respect is urgent. Public opinion can produce moral miracles, as seen by its effect on lying and thieving and by its increasing potency against drunkenness; and there is evidence that unchastity can be reduced by the force of public opinion. Backed by public opinion, the more rigorous enforcement of laws against brothels and against procuration, the increased guardianship over persons with mental and moral defect, the abolition of alcoholism, and improvements in housing and in the industrial circumstances of women, all may be made to help to the desired end.

We can take courage from the facts of history. In the last century the slave problem has been settled, and we now see the alcoholic problem in process of solution. Can we not hope that similar though slower success may attend efforts to reduce sexual irregularity? We were told that a people cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament: but the history of Great Britain during the Great War demonstrated that statutory regulations can be made to produce an enormous reduction of drunkenness and the evils associated with it. And similarly, an improved social environment, including public opinion and judicious training of the young, can be made to reduce unchastity within narrow limits. We can scarcely hope to stop sexual vice entirely; but the trade of prostitution can be made infinitely more difficult, our literature can be purified, intelligent instruction in sex hygiene and ethics can be given, and in various ways the influence of "good form" as well as of Christian principle can be invoked on the side of chastity.

A more permanently effective means of preventing venereal diseases is open to us, a measure which has the further advantage of not being

a means *ad hoc*, but one which is equally potent in preventing other diseases resulting from self-indulgence and in elevating character—an even higher end than the prevention of disease. This consists in the building up of character in such a way that it becomes easier to resist the impulses of the storms of passion to which all more or less are exposed.

In work to this end we at once face the problem of the child's possibilities as influenced by the frequently assumed fixity of inherited character on the one hand, and his plasticity to environment on the other hand. Either of these opposed views involves an enslavement, incompatible with its opposites, and neither of them permits, for the mass of mankind, scope for the individual's own acquisition of moral character. When a broader view is taken, however, it is seen that in moral as well as in physical matters, in respect of character as well as of health, each of us in large measure selects his own environment, the product of this (in part) personally selected environment being limited by the initial potentialities at birth. The idealist standpoint, which is that of the hygienist and the social reformer, is that the higher parts of human nature are comprised in and can be developed from the lower, and that the impulse and direction of evolution of character is personal in its origin.

The chief fault of scholastic education as commonly practised is its neglect of the emotional side of human nature and its mainly intellectual appeal. In the building up of character we know that emotion is the chief spring of character, and that the power to govern emotion is determined chiefly by training in early life.

In the growth of individual character, as McDougall has suggested, there are three levels of conduct, successive stages needing to be traversed. In the first stage the infant acts instinctively, any modification in action being influenced only by pleasures or pains. This is the stage of barbarism.

With development of the child, and similarly in the history of civilized communities, the influence of the social environment and of religious beliefs comes into play, and rewards and punishments begin to modify and control instinctive action. It is difficult to estimate to what extent in past times the fear of punishment in a future life has been an effective check on immorality; but even when it was potent, it had, like whipping for a wayward child, relatively little moral effect. Like other forms of moral coercion it "involved a certain moral pauperization"; and in building up character a higher method and nobler motives are needed. Control by fear is necessary in some stages of civilization, and for some men in all stages of civilization; and for

this reason, and apart from it, it is desirable to disseminate information as to the maleficent effects of venereal disease. Similarly, in the regulation of society, the fear of punishment for crimes against the person or against property must continue to be important.

To attain the third level of conduct, in which the best personal behaviour and social attitude are secured, conduct must be directed, controlled, and modified by an ideal, towards which the intellect is steadily directed, and to the attainment of which the fundamental human instincts interacting with the intellect are trained.

Selfish, personal, and, therefore, anti-social conduct is on the plane of the instincts. In the second and still more in the highest plane intellect is in process of conquering instinct; and the great object of education of each child is systematically to influence his instinctive tendencies by means of his social environment, thus shaping unselfish out of selfish conduct.

The instinctive love of the mother for her child is invaluable for moral training when she is imbued with the right ideals and can intelligently train her child in their cultivation.

Sexual morality is not a thing apart. Neither hygiene nor morality can be kept in water-tight compartments. From the standpoint of both hygiene and morality the great lesson is that control over vice in time of stress is gained by the systematic exercise of control in less significant times. The ideal needed is that of religion, including education spiritually in an ideal of social responsibility. The sense of social responsibility is outside the range of instinct, though for each individual it has to be constructed from the basis of elementary instincts by means of home and school education, aided by the invaluable social inheritance of organized society from generation to generation. Such an ideal strikes at the root of selfishness, which is the chief cause of loss of health. It is on a higher plane and infinitely more effective than the self-centred appeal directed solely to the prevention of disease, whether this be syphilis, tuberculosis, or alcoholism—three of the greatest banes of humanity. And this idea of social responsibility is biologically true, for it arises out of the nature of life, and it is essentially Christian. For each of us forms a link in the chain of life; a beneficiary, biologically and socially, through his inheritance of life; and a trustee, who is responsible for the continued integrity and quality of the life received, and for giving to it such a social environment as shall conduce to the passing on of possibilities of health and usefulness.

We are thus led to consider the dynamics of character. How is it formed? This is the real problem to which the previous paragraphs are preliminary, and for the solution of which we look to the balanced

psychologist and educator. We require, in Bain's words, a man who is "capable in a crisis of mobilizing his whole strength without conflict of motive or failure of control"; and we need, perhaps more urgently than any other need in modern life, knowledge and appreciation of the possibilities of character-training in the light of knowledge of child psychology.

The infant is entirely governed by instinct; but those inhibitions to instinctive action out of which character grows can be, and commonly are, developed earlier in life than is generally recognized. The excretory functions form a familiar example: in early infancy they can be brought within limits of time and space. An example of development of inhibitory power in even earlier infancy consists in the training of the infant to wait for three or four hourly meals. If crying is followed indiscriminately by the offer of the mother's breast, frequent crying is ensured; but if crying fails to secure a too hurried meal, the infant quickly learns to wait the normal time. Thus in earliest infancy the judicious mother is giving to her child the first lessons of postponement of pleasure, *i.e.*, of self-control, on which character is based.

In the next two or three years of life self-centred attempts to monopolize every toy, or action in some other direction which, in the adult, would be described as selfish and anti-social, can similarly be controlled by the parent in a manner which serves to build up a socially tolerable character. It is at this time of life that trails are being blazed, and the initial direction is being given to the motive forces of adult character; and as the child learns to practise self-control in childish life he is making straight his adult path of chastity and sobriety. It is by the power acquired through persistent practice in minor matters that temptation can be resisted when it comes as a whirlwind.

In thus forming the character of the young child, it is the daily influence of the parent, and especially of the mother which counts most. Not direct teaching, but indirect teaching, especially by example, ensures success, trial and effort, failure and success, all being made to conduce to the same end.

Altruistic action, which makes communal life tolerable, is made possible by suppression of the baser auto-centric instincts and their replacement by emotions which are hetero-centric. Action at any given time is conditioned by the historic past of each individual, hence the limited utility of auto-suggestion in the moral life. Psycho-analysis is self-centred and largely anarchic in its influence, and it leaves out of the problem of human conduct its most important element, *viz.*, the ideal which reaches towards the fulfilment of the two Great Commandments, on which the highest character is based.

Much of the success in child-training consists in surrounding children with stimuli—physical, biological, moral—which will serve to build up reactions able to carry over the child safely into adult life ; and the most important stimuli to this end are supplied by the conduct, more than by the direct teaching of mother and nurse, of father and older brothers and sisters, and of school teachers and associates.

Play is among the most valuable means to moral discipline. The unregulated play of childhood is an important factor in the growth of the will. Thus physical education is a mental discipline ; and it is in the family group and in the play group in childhood that the springs of right action are dealt with at their source. Play has been well described as the nursery of virtue. The child is imitative and absorptive of the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others. Imitation leads to functioning ; and functions being repeated, prejudices, habits, ideals, good or bad, are formed. Do we sufficiently realise that thus the moral character of our children is continuously being framed, and the traditions and culture of the community are being handed on, as the result of the impressionableness, the sympathy, and the imitativeness of the children ?

The exposition of this subject in detail demands the skill of the teacher who is a psychologist. It is through repeated practice that the complex adjustments of life are perfected or perverted ; and there is no magic in Freudian philosophy or psycho-analysis, or otherwise, which can replace the slow and steady upbuilding of character, begun at birth and almost complete when adolescence is reached.

With puberty, and often earlier, the individual becomes the battleground of an additional set of forces. The sex-instinct becomes the greatest of driving forces in shaping the personal destiny ; and the need for control is even more urgent than in the ego-centric instincts of earlier life. In earlier life repression is brought into play, and barriers against untimely actions are erected. It has been well said that "civilisation, like education, depends in no small measure upon the ability to postpone the satisfaction of desires to appropriate times and places, a postponement which recedes more and more as the cultural demands of the herd make themselves felt." The development and organization of interests aid postponement of sex-impulses, but the self-control gained before adolescence is the best safeguard of rational conduct and against the slavery of blind impulse.

In the formation of good habits, judicious instruction in the facts of life can be brought in aid. It is regrettable that in the past all sexual knowledge has been regarded as "nasty," and that the enlightenment of the adolescent has been from tainted sources. The remedy for this is not class instruction, but individual counsel and advice, preferably

by the parent, if she or he has the intelligence and tact to satisfy the questionings of children as they arise, consistently with modest reticence. To assume, however, that knowledge in itself will have much effect in diminishing venereal disease is contrary to wisdom. Improvement must come in the main through influences which strengthen character and not by the imparting of scientific information.

In the preceding discussion of the psychical basis of moral control the case of the normal child has been considered. There are, however, children of exceptional types, whose training—and, when this has been neglected, their reclamation—presents exceptional difficulties. Intelligence may be high and the elements of character deficient, or, conversely, with a high character there may be a low order of intelligence, and such children present problems of difficulty. These conditions may be innate or the result of defective environment. Each difficult case requires a separate analysis, and the social treatment of children with intellectual or moral defect must be based on accurate knowledge if moral hygiene is to be successfully applied.

SIR RONALD ROSS

(For Biographical Note see Section i.).

THE VALUE OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

I ARGUED years ago, that the time had already come when medical science could revolutionise the tropics ; when it could render them worth living in by banishing the great endemic diseases that overshadowed them ; when it could assist civilisation (coming from the temperate regions of the earth) to conquer the rich regions of the Sun and of the Palm. I even dared to quote the great words of the poet regarding Columbus, that he

“ Gave to man the godlike gift of half a world ” ;

and I hoped that we should be able to do the same. This had been the faith which had compelled us—others besides myself—for many years : not to add to abstract science, not merely for the sake of parasitology or entomology, not to compile text-books or to fill libraries ; but to help the sick and the dying—millions of them—and so to open up the world. When I last spoke to you I hoped that all this was going to be done in a year or two ! I am wiser now. Kipling says that we must not try to hustle the East ; so, I have found, we must not try to hustle the West either ! Men think slowly. It requires a new generation to understand a new idea, even the simplest one.

Some notable advances have, however, been made. Mosquito-reduction against malaria was first urged and defined by us in Sierra Leone in 1899 ; and was commenced there by Logan Taylor and myself two years later in 1901, and, almost simultaneously, by the Americans under W. C. Gorgas in Havana, and by Malcolm Watson in the Federated Malay States. In 1902 Sir William MacGregor and I visited Ismailia on the Suez Canal—with the result that malaria was banished from that town within a few months. Then the Americans commenced the construction of the Panama Canal, with Gorgas as chief of their sanitary staff, and kindly asked me to visit Panama in order to see them at work in 1904. The result is well known—the Canal is now finished, with a minimum loss of life. But you are probably not so familiar with the equally great work of Malcolm Watson in the Federated Malay

States—because it is merely a British achievement! For more than twenty years he and his friends have fought on against King Malaria and all his allies—rain, heat, jungle, marsh, and ignorance—and is gradually winning forward, step by step. While Gorgas had behind him the full official support of the wealthy American nation, Watson and other British workers in this line have been mostly obliged to rely upon private initiative and such small funds as they could rake together for their purpose. Not less important has been the work of the entomologists, from F. V. Theobald onwards; but I am not now narrating the history of this movement, or I could speak of many other brave efforts made during these last twenty years. Not perhaps quite as much as I had hoped for, but still something. What may be called “economic sanitation” among our troops, our officials, and our large and numerous plantations, has been greatly improved, and thousands of lives and thousands upon thousands of cases of sickness have been saved. Perhaps, even already, we may echo the words of Southey: “Yes, ’twas a famous victory.”

During the same period science has won or is winning many other victories as great. As regards tropical medicine, we have been advancing against plague, cholera, typhoid, sleeping-sickness, kala-azar, hook-worm, beri-beri, bilharzia, and leprosy; and as regards the diseases of temperate climates, we have diminished child-mortality, diphtheria, tuberculosis, numerous ailments due to local infections or to physiological insufficiencies, such as myxœdema, and, quite recently, have inflicted a defeat upon diabetes. We are getting on. How? By patient, obstinate, and ineluctable investigation—not in the fields of medicine only, but also in those of physics, chemistry, and zoology. Finally, it is just here that we have scored our greatest victory—against our own stupidity. We, or let us say the public outside these walls, are at last beginning to learn that investigation really matters; we are discovering discovery.

It has taken us centuries to free ourselves from the serpentine coils of this prejudice and to reach our present position—where investigation is the key-industry of all industries. The evolution of this revolution is interesting. The ancient Greeks certainly valued, not only practice and teaching, but also discoveries when made; yet we are not aware that they ever explicitly organised or encouraged research. Readers of the history of science often wonder how the old philosophers and geometers managed to live at all—probably by teaching and possibly on patronage or charity. They were private enthusiasts, and their fundamental discoveries do not appear to have been rewarded in any way. I am told that it is not known whether Plato demanded fees, as

well as a knowledge of mathematics, for admission into his Academy ; and the same may be said, I understand, regarding Aristotle's Lyceum. Several of the mathematicians, such as Eudoxus of Cnidos, appear also to have been practising physicians. It is to be presumed that the Museum at Alexandria was in essential particulars like a modern university, where teaching is the official duty of the staff, but where research and practice may be conducted at option between the lectures and classes, often with the assistance of students. We are told that after the collapse of the ancient empires and about the time of William the Conqueror, when Europe was plunged in darkness, the Arabs in Spain possessed a library of 600,000 volumes, an academy, and a fund for the endowment of learned men, probably employed for teaching.

Europe did not advance so far as this for centuries, but the monasteries maintained many learned monks, such as Roger Bacon, with whom the new dawn of science commenced. The great Italian anatomists of the sixteenth century were either practising physicians or members of universities. I think that the first real "research institute," subsidised by public and private funds for pure investigation only, was the famous Uraniborg of Tycho Brahe, founded in Denmark in 1576. It well subserved the proper purpose of such institutes, which is the collection of numerous and exact observations and measurements that are beyond the power of private investigators. Tycho Brahe brought no new integration into astronomy, and even opposed the fundamental theory of Copernicus ; but his data enabled Kepler and Newton to revolutionise the science. It is interesting to note that Copernicus himself was only a "private enthusiast," a man of affairs, and a physician ; and also that after twenty-one years the politicians stopped their subsidy for Uraniborg, as Mr. Alfred Noyes has described so pathetically in his fine epic of science, "The Torch Bearers." In those days the greatest men were often obliged to pick up a living as best they could—even by the use of alchemy and astrology. Kepler said sarcastically that "Mother Astronomy would surely starve but for the earnings of her daughter Astrology." Even in the observatories and museums which began to be founded after Uraniborg, official duties must have greatly interrupted investigations.

Thus we see that at all times, as often to-day, science has been compelled to get her living by more lucrative but less important pursuits, especially teaching and professional practice. Last century, however, the idea of special research institutes was taken up again with vigour, and the Pasteur Institute in Paris, the Jenner Institute in London, and a score or more similar foundations were established in most of the world's great cities, sometimes by private benefactions or bequests,

sometimes by State subsidies, and often by both. Here we find a new principle at work—that of maintaining skilled investigators for research only, apart from teaching and practice. Allied to these, we now possess numbers of industrial research laboratories employed by commercial companies on the improvement of agriculture or of manufactures—and we know what America and Germany have done in this line. Then, again, our hospitals now possess laboratories both for clinical pathology and for research ; while the professional laboratories in all departments of science at our universities have been greatly enlarged and improved though teaching is still, and quite properly, a part of their duties. Yet another advance is that of research scholarships, by which numbers of promising students are now employed for a few years on such investigations as attract them.

Lastly, and at very long last, the State itself has now joined in the pursuit of truth by means of large annual subsidies, such as those which are distributed in Great Britain by the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and the Medical Research Council. It would be a difficult task to form even a rough estimate of the world's present expenditure on subsidised research. I think it must reach quite a million pounds a year. This is a small sum compared with the world's expenditure on armaments or education ; but it is an improvement on the time when Socrates was obliged to argue in the market place or Diogenes to fulminate psycho-analysis from a tub.

Regarding medical research there are two schools of opinion, which we may call the Bulls and the Bears. One school, the Bulls, say : " We must spend every penny we can raise on constant investigations managed by capital committees and carried on by trained research workers, maintained if possible for life in order to be sheltered from the necessity of teaching or practice, and provided with the most up-to-date laboratories, plenty of materials, and easy access to scientific literature. It is true that some money may thus be wasted, that some of the results may prove wrong, that some of the workers may not turn out so capable as they were thought to be ; no matter. A single great success will be worth all the money that is likely to be spent in this way. Pour out the cash, catch all the young men you can and set them at their measurements and microscopes, and keep them at it as long as they are willing to stay. The larger the number of seekers the larger the number of finders. Drop the failures, cut the losses, and think only of the profits." To them the other party, the Bears, reply : " You can spend what money you like but you cannot buy discovery. All that your managing committees and trained investigators are likely to do or achieve will be the study of detail along already well-trodden paths. They will

inoculate legions of rats and guinea-pigs, and will publish profound but incomplete papers every quarter, which will be of little or no use in practice. They will carry out researches—yes, academic researches, and too many of them! But the world does not ask for researches; it asks for discoveries—not for the incomplete but for the complete article. Has a single great medical discovery been made by managing committees and subsidised investigators? Discoveries are made by genius—and that you cannot buy.”

Such are the opinions which one hears on both sides. Personally I agree and yet disagree with both. There is only one way to decide. Research and discovery are themselves natural phenomena, and we should study them scientifically. I said we have discovered discovery: let us also investigate investigation. How? By consulting the great and triumphant history of science, particularly the stories of the chief advances. If we do so we shall see that the two parties are merely quarrelling over the two faces of the same coin. Science proceeds, not in one, but in two ways: first by collecting facts and then by basing inductions upon them. Thus, in the classical example already cited, it was Tycho Brahe who spent his life in collecting trustworthy observations regarding the positions of the heavenly bodies, but it was his pupil Kepler who after twenty-five years' study established the great induction that all the planets move in similar elliptical orbits round the sun; and it was Isaac Newton who, eighty years later, explained all those orbits by the single law of universal gravitation. That is, one man collected the facts, but other men explained them. For a second example: by the middle of last century numbers of workers, including Buffon and Linnæus and a host of private enthusiasts and amateurs, had observed, distinguished, and described innumerable kinds of plants and animals; then came Darwin, who explained these facts—much more numerous than he could ever have collected single-handed—by his theory of natural selection. For a third example: think of the host of physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries who have studied and described the characters and symptoms of human maladies without being able to explain them. Then came Semmelweis, Pasteur, Lister, and Koch, who created bacteriology.

Certainly observation and induction have often worked together in the same research, with brilliant results. More often they pull different ways and break down. Every one knows the man who begins with his induction and then fits his facts to it—or he thinks he does. On the other hand, the “working hypothesis” frequently suggests invaluable, though possibly negative, experiments. Then we have the men—generally young men—who make a new generalisation with every new

observation : I was one of them once. Often, however, observation and induction require very different faculties, which belong to different men, often living in different ages. If we were all Newtons there would be no problems left to solve.

Science has indeed measured the stars and the atoms, has knit together the corners of the earth, and has enabled us to fly over oceans and deserts ; but her greatest victory remains to be won. Why should we men, heirs of all the ages, continue to suffer from such mean things as diseases ? Are you going to be defeated any longer by bacilli, rat-fleas, and mosquitoes ? It is for you to conquer them ; and remember that every gift of science is a gift not to one country or to two countries, not only for to-day or for to-morrow, but also to the whole world and for all time, until, as the poet said,

“The future dares forget the past.”

RICHARD BRINSLEY SHERIDAN

(1751-1816).

(*For Biographical Note see Section ii.*)

LIKE Burke, Sheridan was thoroughly roused by the operations of Warren Hastings while empire-building in India. He was a constant attendant at the committee meetings, where witnesses were examined, and when the articles of indictment were prepared he was entrusted with the task of getting assent to those recording the spoliation of the Begums of Oudh, a spoliation effected by the son of one of those ladies, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, at the instigation of Hastings, then pressed for money, the pretext being that the Begums had no title to the treasure and had been engaged in the rebellion of Chai Singh.

Sheridan's speech occupied over five hours, and at the conclusion the whole house, members, peers and strangers burst into a tumult of applause, the chamber ringing with the unaccustomed sound of hand-clapping, as if the place had been a theatre and Charles Surface engaged in borrowing Joseph's morality. So great was its effect that Pitt moved the adjournment of the debate. He acknowledged that it "surpassed all the eloquence of ancient or modern times, and possessed everything that genius or art could furnish to agitate and control the human mind." Fox said that "all he had ever heard—all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vanished like vapour before the sun." Burke declared it to be "the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit, united, of which there was any record or tradition."

ROBBERY OF THE BEGUMS OF OUDH

(Delivered February 7th, 1787).

WAS Parliament mis-spending its time, by enquiring into the oppressions practised on millions of unfortunate persons in India, and endeavouring to bring the daring delinquent, who had been guilty of the most flagrant acts of enormous tyranny and rapacious peculation, to exemplary and condign punishment?

Was it a misuse of their functions to be diligent in attempting by the most effectual means to wipe off the disgrace affixed to the British name in India, and to rescue the national character from lasting infamy? Surely no man who felt for either the one or the other would think a business of greater moment or magnitude could occupy his attention; or that the House could, with too much steadiness, too ardent a zeal, or too industrious a perseverance, pursue its object. Their conduct in this respect, during the course of the preceding year, had done them immortal honour, and proved to all the world, that however degenerate an example of Englishmen some of the British subjects had exhibited in India, the people of England collectively, speaking and acting by their representatives, felt as men *should* feel on such an occasion, and they were anxious to do justice, by redressing injuries, and punishing offenders, however high their rank, however elevated their station.

The House had set up a beacon, which, whilst it served to guide their own way, would also make their motions more conspicuous to the world which surrounded and beheld them. He had no doubt but in their manly determination to go through the whole of the business with the same steadiness which gave such sterling brilliancy of character to their outset, they might challenge the world to observe and judge of them by the result. Impossible was it for such men to become improperly influenced by a paper, bearing the signature of Warren Hastings, and put, not many minutes before, into their hand, as well as his own, on their entrance into the House. The insidious paper he felt himself at liberty to consider as a second defence, and a second answer to the charge he was about to bring forward; a charge replete with proof of criminality of the blackest die—of tyranny the most vile and premeditated—of corruption the most open and shameless—of oppression the most severe and grinding—of cruelty the most hard and unparalleled. But he was far from meaning to rest the charge on assertion or on any warm expressions which the impulse of wounded feelings might produce. He would establish every part of the charge, by the most unanswerable proof, and the most unquestionable evidence; and the witness whom he would bring forth to support every fact which he would state, should be, for the most part, one whom no man would venture to contradict—Warren Hastings himself. Yet this *character* had friends—nor were they blamable. They might believe him guiltless, because he asserted his integrity. Even the partial warmth of friendship, and the emotions of a good, admiring, and unsuspecting heart, might not only carry them to such lengths, but incite them to rise with an intrepid confidence in his vindication. Again would he repeat that the vote of the last session wherein the conduct of this pillar of India, this corner-stone of our strength

in the East, this talisman of the British territories in Asia, was censured, did honour to the House, as it must be the forerunner of speedy justice.

. There were questions on which party conviction was supposed to be a matter of easy acquisition ; and if this enquiry was to be considered merely as a matter of party, he should regard it as very trifling indeed ; but he professed to God, that he felt in his own bosom the strongest personal conviction ; and he was sensible that many other gentlemen did the same. It was on that conviction that he believed the conduct of Mr. Hastings in regard to the Nawab of Oudh and the Begums, comprehended every species of human offence. He had proved himself guilty of rapacity at once violent and insatiable—of treachery cool and premeditated—of oppression useless and unprovoked—of breach of faith unwarrantable and base—of cruelty unmanly and unmerciful. These were the crimes of which, in his soul and conscience, he arraigned Warren Hastings ; and of which he had the confidence to say he should convict him. Treasure, which was the source of all the cruelties, was the original pretence which Mr. Hastings had made to the Company for the proceeding ; and through the whole of his conduct he had alleged the principles of Mahomedanism in mitigation of the severities he had sanctioned ; as if he meant to insinuate that there was something in Mahomedanism which rendered it impious in a son not to plunder his mother.

[The speaker then explained the principle of Mahomedan law by which the property or treasure contained in the Zenana, or women's quarter, belonged to the wife solely on the death of the husband. The Begums of Oudh had considerable property, and Mr. Hastings set about acquiring it by a charge of "rebellion" against the protective British government, to which Shujah-ud-Dowlah had been most friendly. The tool was her own son.]

Mr. Hastings left Calcutta in 1781 and proceeded to Lucknow, as he said himself, with two great objects in his mind, Benares and Oudh. What was the nature of these boasted resources?—that he should plunder one or both—the equitable alternative of a highwayman, who in going forth in the evening hesitates which of his resources to prefer—Bagshot or Hounslow. In such a state of generous irresolution did Mr. Hastings proceed to Benares and Oudh. At Benares he failed in his pecuniary object. Then, and not till then—not on account of any ancient enmities shown by the Begums—not in resentment of any old disturbances, but because he had failed in one place, and had but two in his prospect, did he conceive the base expedient of plundering

these aged women. He had no pretence, he had no excuse—he had nothing but the arrogant and obstinate determination to govern India by his own corrupt will to plead for his conduct. Inflamed by disappointment in his first project, he hastened to the fortress of Chunar, to meditate the more atrocious design of instigating a son against his mother, of sacrificing female dignity and distress to parricide and plunder. At Chunar was that infamous treaty concerted with the Nawab Vizier, to despoil the Begums of Oudh of their hereditary possessions ;—there it was that Mr. Hastings had stipulated with one, whom he called an independent prince, “ that as great distress had arisen to the Nawab’s government from the military power and dominion assumed by the Jagirdars, he be permitted to resume such as he may find necessary ; with a reserve, that all such, for the amount of whose Jagirs the company are guarantees, shall in case of the resumption of their lands, be paid the amount of their net collections, through the resident, in ready money—and that no English resident be appointed at Furruckabad.”

No sooner was this foundation of inquiry thus instantly established, in violation of the pledged faith and solemn guarantee of the British Government ; no sooner had Mr. Hastings determined to invade the substance of justice, than he resolved to avail himself of her judicial forms ; and accordingly despatched a messenger for the Chief Justice of India to assist him in perpetrating the violations he had projected. Sir Elijah having arrived, Mr. Hastings, with much art, proposed a question of opinion, involving an unsubstantiated fact, in order to obtain even a surreptitious approbation of the measure he had predetermined to adopt. “ The Begums being in actual rebellion, might not the Nawab confiscate their property ? ” “ Most undoubtedly,” was the ready reply of the friendly judge. Not a syllable of inquiry intervened, as to the existence of the imputed rebellion ; nor a moment’s pause as to the ill purposes to which the decision of a chief justice might be perverted. It was not the office of a friend to mix the grave caution and cold circumspection of a judge, with an opinion taken in such circumstances, and Sir Elijah had previously declared, that he gave his advice, not as a judge, but as a friend ; a character he equally preferred, in the strange office which he undertook of collecting defensive affidavits on the subject of Benares.

It was curious to reflect on the whole of Sir Elijah’s circuit at that perilous time. Sir Elijah had stated his desire of relaxing from the fatigues of office, and unbending his mind in a party of health and pleasure yet wisely apprehending that very sudden relaxation might defeat its object, he had contrived to mix some matters of business, to be interspersed with his amusements. He had, therefore, in his little airing

of nine hundred miles, great part of which he went past, escorted by an army, selected those very situations where insurrection subsisted, and rebellion was threatened, and had not only delivered his deep and curious researches into the laws and rights of nations and of treaties, in the capacity of the Oriental Grotius, whom Warren Hastings was to study, but likewise in the humbler and more practical situation of a collector of *ex parte* evidence. In the former quality, his opinion was the premature sanction for plundering the Begums—in the latter character, he became the posthumous supporter of the expulsion and pillage of the Rajah Chai Singh. Acting on an unproved fact, on a position as a datum of the Duke of Richmond's fabrication, he had not hesitated, in the first instance, to lend his authority as a license for unlimited persecution. In the latter, he did not disdain to scud about India like an itinerant informer, with a pedlar's pack of garbled evidence and surreptitious affidavits. What pure friendship, what a voucher of unequivocal attachment from a British judge to such a character as Warren Hastings ! With a generous oblivion of duty and of honour, with a proud sense of having authorised all future rapacity, and sanctioned all past oppression, this friendly judge proceeded on his circuit of health and ease ; and whilst the Governor-General, sanctioned by this solemn opinion, issued his orders to plunder the Begums of their treasure, Sir Elijah pursued his progress, and passing through a wide region of distress and misery, explored a country that presented a speaking picture of hunger and nakedness, in quest of objects best suited to his feelings, in anxious search of calamities most kindred to his invalid imagination.

Under such circumstances did Mr. Hastings complete the treaty of Chunar ;—a treaty which might challenge all the treaties that ever subsisted, for containing in the smallest compass the most extensive treachery. Mr. Hastings did not conclude that treaty till he had received from the Nawab a present, or rather a bribe, of £100,000. . . . What was the consideration for this extraordinary bribe ? No less than the withdrawing from Oudh not only all the English gentlemen in official situations, but the whole also of the English army ; and that too at the very moment when he himself had stated the whole country of Oudh to be in open revolt and rebellion. Other very strange articles were contained in the same treaty, which nothing but this infamous bribe could have occasioned, together with the reserve which he had in his own mind of treachery to the Nawab ; for the only part of the treaty which he ever attempted to carry into execution was to withdraw the English gentlemen from Oudh. The Nawab, indeed, considered this as essential to his deliverance ; and his observation on the circumstance was curious—for though Major Palmer, said he, has not yet asked any-

thing, I observe it is the custom of the English gentlemen constantly to ask for something from me before they go. . . . This was the only part of the treaty which he even affected to fill in all its other parts ; we learn from himself that at the very moment he made it he intended to deceive the Nawab. . . and instead of giving instant and unqualified assent to all the articles of the treaty, he perpetually qualified, explained, and varied them with new diminutions and reservations.

He heard it advanced by some of those admirers of Mr. Hastings, who were not so implicit as to give unqualified applause to his crimes, that they found an apology for the atrocity of them, in the greatness of his mind. To estimate the solidity of such a defence, it would be sufficient merely to consider in what consisted this prepossessing distinction, this captivating characteristic of greatness of mind. Is it not solely to be traced in great actions directed to great ends ? In them, and them alone, we are to search for true estimable magnanimity. To them only can we justly affix the splendid title and honours of real greatness. There was indeed another species of greatness, which displayed itself in boldly conceiving a bad measure, and undauntedly pursuing it to its accomplishment. But had Mr. Hastings the merit of exhibiting either of these descriptions of greatness ;—even of the latter ? He saw nothing great—nothing magnanimous—nothing open—nothing direct in his measures, or in his mind ;—on the contrary, he had too often pursued the worst objects by the worst means. His course was an eternal deviation from rectitude. He either tyrannised or deceived ; and was by turns a Dionysius and a Scapin. As well might the writhing obliquity of the serpent be compared to the swift directness of the arrow, as the duplicity of Mr. Hastings' ambition to the simple steadiness of genuine magnanimity. In his mind all was shuffling, ambiguous, dark, insidious, and little ; nothing simple, nothing unmixed : all affected plainness, and actual dissimulation ; a heterogeneous mass of contradictory qualities, with nothing great but his crimes ; and even these contrasted by the littleness of his motives, which at once denoted both his baseness and his meanness, and marked him for a traitor and a trickster. . . . He remembered to have heard an honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. Dundas) remark, that there was something in the first frame and constitution of the Company which extended the sordid principles of their origin over all their successive operations ; connecting with their civil policy, and even with their boldest achievements, the meanness of a pedlar, and the profligacy of pirates. Alike in the political and the military line, could be observed auctioneering ambassadors and trading generals ;—and thus we saw a revolution brought about by affidavits ; an army employed in executing an arrest ;

a town besieged on a note of hand ; a prince dethroned for the balance of an account. Thus it was they exhibited a government which united the mock majesty of a bloody sceptre, and the little traffic of a merchant's counting-house wielding a truncheon with one hand, and picking a pocket with the other.

[Sheridan then went into the various charges of inciting the peasantry to revolt, resisting the authority of the Nawab, aiding the insurrection at Benares, and then pointed out their real crime.]

It was incontrovertible that the Begums were not concerned either in the rebellion of Bulbudder, or the insurrection of Benares, nor did Mr. Hastings ever seriously believe them guilty. Their treasures were their treasons, and Asaf-ud-Dowlah thought like an unwise prince when he blamed his father for leaving him so little wealth. His father, Shujah-ud-Dowlah, acted wisely in leaving his son with no temptation about him, to invite acts of violence from the rapacious. He clothed him with poverty as with a shield, and armed him with necessity as with a sword. . . . The Begums were by their condition, their age and their infirmities, almost the only souls in India who could not have a thought of distressing that government by which alone they could hope to be protected ; and to charge them with a design to depose their nearest and dearest relation was equally absurd.

The simple fact was, their treasure was their treason. But " they complained of the injustice." God of Heaven, had they not a right to complain ! After a solemn treaty violated ;—plundered of all their property, and on the eve of the last extremity of wretchedness, were they to be deprived of the last resource of impotent wretchedness, complaint and lamentation ! Was it a crime that they should crowd together in fluttering trepidation like a flock of resistless birds on seeing the felon kite, who, having darted at one devoted bird, and missed his aim, singled out a new object, and was springing on his prey with redoubled vigour in his wing, and keener vengeance in his eye.

[Here he would pause a moment, and particularly address himself to one description of gentlemen, those of the learned profession, within those walls.]

Within those walls, they saw that that House was the path to fortune in their profession ; that they might soon expect that some of them were to be called to a dignified situation, where the great and important trust would be reposed in them of protecting the lives and fortunes of

their fellow-subjects. One right honourable and learned gentleman in particular (Sir Lloyd Kenyon), if rumour spoke right, might suddenly be called to succeed that great and venerable character, who long had shone the brightest luminary of his profession, whose pure and steady light was clear even to its latest moment, but whose last beam must now too soon be extinguished. He would ask the supposed successor to Lord Mansfield calmly to reflect on these extraordinary depositions, and solemnly to declare, whether the mass of affidavits taken at Lucknow would be received by him as evidence to convict the lowest object in this country? If he said it would, he declared to God he would sit down and not add a syllable more to the too long trespass which he had made on the patience of the committee.

Mr. Hastings had once remarked, that a mind touched with superstition might have contemplated the fate of the Rohillas with peculiar impressions. But if, indeed, his mind could yield to superstitious imagination; if his fancy could suffer any disturbance, and even in vision image forth the proud spirit of Shujah Dowlah, looking down upon the ruin and devastation of his family, and beholding that palace which he had first wrested from his hand, and afterwards restored, plundered by that very army with which he himself had vanquished the Mahrattas; seizing on the very plunder which he had ravaged from the Rohillas; that Middleton, who had been engaged in managing the previous violations, most busy to perpetrate the last; that very Hastings, whom, on his deathbed, he had left the guardian of his wife and mother and family, turning all those dear relations, the objects of his solemn trust, forth to the merciless seasons, and to a more merciless soldiery! A mind touched with superstition must indeed have cherished such a contemplation with peculiar impressions! That he was regularly acquainted with all the enormities committed on the Begums, there was the clearest proof; it was true that Middleton was rebuked for not being more exact. He did not perhaps descend to the detail; he did not give him an account of the number of groans which were heaved; of the quantity of tears which were shed; of the weight of the fetters; or of the depth of the dungeons; but he communicated every step which he took to accomplish the base and unwarrantable end. He told him that to save appearances they must use the name of the Nawab, and that they need go no further than was absolutely necessary; this he might venture to say without being suspected by Mr. Hastings of a too severe morality.

He had heard of factions and parties in that House, and knew that they existed. There was scarcely a subject upon which they were not broken and divided into sects. The prerogative of the crown found

its advocates among the representatives of the people. The privileges of the people found opponents even in the House of Commons itself. Habits, connexions, parties, all led to diversity of opinion. But when inhumanity presented itself to their observations, it found no division among them ; they attacked it as their common enemy ; and as if the character of this land was involved in their zeal for its ruin, they left it not till it was completely overthrown. It was not given to that House to behold the objects of their compassion and benevolence in the present extensive consideration, as it was to the officers who relieved, and who so feelingly described the ecstatic emotions of gratitude in the instant of deliverance. They could not behold the workings of the heart, the quivering lips, the trickling tears, the loud and yet tremulous joys of the millions whom their vote of this night would for ever save from cruelty of corrupted power. But though they could not directly see the effect, was not the true enjoyment of their benevolence increased by the blessing being conferred unseen ? Would not the omnipotence of Britain be demonstrated to the wonder of nations, by stretching its mighty arm across the deep, and saving by its fiat distant millions from destruction ? And would the blessings of the people thus saved dissipate in empty air ? No ! I may dare to use the figure—we shall constitute Heaven itself our proxy, to receive for us the blessings of their pious gratitude, and the prayers of their thanksgiving. It is with confidence, therefore, Sir, that I move you on this charge, “ that Warren Hastings be impeached.”

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST WARREN HASTINGS IN WESTMINSTER HALL

(June 3rd, 1788).

[The excitement caused by the Begum speech spread over England, and Sheridan's address, as manager of the impeachment, was eagerly awaited. It was the sensation of the hour and we learn that fifty pounds were cheerfully given for a seat—more than would be paid for a window at an execution. This great speech, according to Burke, unmatched for its splendour, extended over four days—Tuesday, 3rd June ; Friday, 6th ; Tuesday, 10th ; Friday, 13th. It was delivered in Westminster Hall, and by 8 o'clock on the morning of the opening day “ the avenues leading to the court through the New and Old Palace Yard were filled

with persons of the first distinction, many of them peeresses in full dress, who stood in the open air for upwards of an hour before the gates were opened. The exertions made in pressing forward to get convenient seats had nearly proved fatal to many. The Peers did not enter the Hall till twelve o'clock. A few minutes after, the Lord Chancellor, having bowed to Mr. Sheridan, to signify to him that their lordships were ready to hear him, that honourable gentleman rose, whilst all about him preserved the most dignified and awful silence."']

SUCH general remarks, as it was in his power to make, would only weaken what had been already urged by the right honourable gentleman who was the principal mover of the impeachment—whose genius exceeded everything but his disposition—who understood and felt for all—through whom, and by whom, so great an embodied stand had been made in defence of the rights of man against man's oppression. . . . He thought that if ever there was a prosecution in which those who carried it on were free from all unwarrantable resentment, or improper bias, it was the present. He could speak from his own heart, and declare most solemnly, that he found there no private incentive to the part he had taken in this impeachment ; and he verily believed he might safely say that all his honourable colleagues, as well as himself, were actuated solely by the zeal they felt for the public welfare, and their honest solicitude for the honour of their country. With such subjects in view, he really lost sight of Mr. Hastings who, however great in other respects, was too insignificant to be mixed with such important considerations. . . . In truth, the prosecution was not begotten in prejudice, or nursed in error. It was founded in the clearest conviction of the wrongs which the natives of Hindustan had suffered, through the mal-administration of those in whose hands the country had placed extensive powers, which ought to have been exercised for the benefit of the governed ; but which had been used by the prisoner at the bar, for the shameful purposes of oppression.

To convince their lordships that the British Government, which ought to have been a blessing to the powers in India connected with it, had been a scourge to the natives, and the cause of desolation to the most flourishing provinces in Hindustan, he had only to read a letter that had been received not long since from Lord Cornwallis, the present Governor-General of Bengal. In that letter the noble lord stated that he had been received by the Nawab Vizier with every mark of friendship and respect ; but the honour he received at the court of Lucknow had not prevented him from seeing the desolation that overspread the face of the country, the sight of which had shocked his very soul. He spoke

to the Nawab on the subject, and earnestly recommended it to him to adopt some system of government, that might restore the prosperity of his kingdom and make his people happy. The Nawab's answer was strikingly remarkable. That degraded prince said to his lordship, that as long as the demands of the English Government upon the revenue of Oudh should remain unlimited, he could have no interest in establishing any system of economy; and whilst the English should continue to interfere in the internal government of his country, it would be in vain for him to attempt any salutary reform; for his subjects knew he was only a cypher in his own dominions, and therefore laughed at and despised his authority, and that of his ministers.

Surely the state to which that wretched prince was reduced by our mismanagement, and the ruin which had, by the same cause, been brought upon his country, called loudly upon their lordships to interfere, and rescue their national honour and character from the infamy to which both would be exposed, if no inquiry was made into the causes of such calamities, and no punishment was inflicted on the authors of them. . . . In looking round for an object fit to be held out to the world as an example of national justice, their lordships must necessarily fix their eyes upon Mr. Hastings. He was the great cause of the degradation of our character in India, and of the oppression of its devoted inhabitants; and he was the only victim that could atone for the calamities he had occasioned.

Whilst he called for justice upon the prisoner, he could wish also to do him justice. He would be sorry that the weight and consequence of the Commons of Great Britain, in whose name the prosecution had been set on foot, should operate to his prejudice. Indeed, whilst he had such upright judges as their lordships, it was impossible that anything could injure him, but the clearest and most unequivocal proofs of guilt—It is not the peering suspicion of apprehending guilt. It is not any popular abhorrence of its widespread consequences. It is not the secret consciousness in the bosom of the judge, which can excite the vengeance of the law, and authorise its infliction! No. In this good land, as high as it is happy, because as just as it is free, all is definite, equitable, and exact. The laws must be satisfied before infliction ensues. And ere a hair of the head can be plucked, legal guilt must be established by legal proof!

There was very good ground for presuming that the treasures possessed by the princess were her property. She had endeared herself to her husband, the late Nawab, by flying to him in the moment of his distress, after his defeat at Buxar, and carrying with her to his relief the jewels, with which in happier days his fondness for her had enriched

her : upon these she raised him a large supply. When the political generosity of this country restored him afterwards to his throne, his gratitude to his wife knew no bounds ; her ascendancy over him was such that she prevailed upon him to appoint his son by her his successor.

The present Nawab, as had appeared from a passage in a letter written by Mr. Hastings to him and since proved in evidence, owed to her not only his birth and succession to the crown, but also the preservation of his life ; for one day his savage father in a rage attempting to cut him down, the Begum rushed between her husband and her son, and saved the latter, through the loss of some of her own blood ; for she was wounded by the blow that was not aimed at her. A son so befriended and so preserved, Mr. Hastings had armed against such a mother—he invaded the rights of that prince, that he might compel him to violate the laws of nature by plundering his parent ; and he made him a slave, that he might afterwards make him a monster. Mr. Hastings was bound to be the protector of the Begum, instead of her plunderer ; for her husband, on his death-bed, bequeathed her to his friendship ; and Mr. Hastings had always called that husband his brother—but no consideration could make him discharge the duties of any obligation that could set bounds to his rapacity.

In 1775 Mr. Bristow, intervening between the Begum and the Nawab in consequence of the claims of the latter, had then, in a conversation with the superior, or elder Begum, thrown out the insinuation, that the treasures which she possessed were the treasures of the State ;—and on this insinuation, so termed by Mr. Bristow himself, had Mr. Hastings founded all his arguments on that head, and on which he lately appeared to place so much reliance. The Begums at that time gave up to Asaf-ud-Dowlah sums amounting to five hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Of this a part was to be paid in goods, which as they consisted of arms, elephants, etc., the Nawab alleged to be his property, and refused to accept as payment. This occasioned a dispute, which was referred to the Board of Calcutta. Mr. Hastings then vindicated the right of the Begums to all the goods in the Zenana, and brought over the majority of the council to his opinion. The ideas then placed on record he had since found it convenient to disown, as belonging not to him, but to the majority of the council !

There are in this assemblage those who are perfect in their ideas of law and justice, and who understand tolerably well majorities and minorities ; but how shall I instance this new doctrine of Mr. Hastings ? It is as if Mr. Burke, the great leader of the cause, should some ten years hence revile the managers, and commend Mr. Hastings ! “ Good God ! ” might say one of those gentlemen, “ it was you who instigated the

enquiry ; it was you who made me think as I did ! ” “ Aye, very true, ” might Mr. Burke reply, “ but I was then in a minority : I am now in a majority ; I have left my opinions behind me ; and I am no longer responsible. ”

The claims, however, it was observable, of the Nawab, as to the treasure of the Begums, were at this time only the plea alleged for the seizure. These were always founded on a passage of that *Koran* which was perpetually quoted, but never proved. Not a word was then mentioned of the strange rebellion, which was afterwards conjured up, and of which the existence and the notoriety were equally a secret !—a disaffection which was as its height at the very time when the Begums were dispensing their liberality to the Nawab, and exercising the greatest generosity to the English officers in distress !—a disturbance, in short, without its parallel in history, which was raised by two women—carried on by two eunuchs—and finally suppressed by an affidavit ! But in June, 1781, all the hoard and arrear of collected evil burst out without restraint, and Mr. Hastings determined on his journey to the upper provinces. It was then, that without adverting to intermediate transactions, he met with the Nawab, Asaf-ud-Dowlah, at Chunar, and received from him the mysterious present of £100,000. To form a proper idea of this transaction, it was only necessary to consider the respective situation of him who gave, and of him who received this present. It was not given by the Nawab from the superflux of his wealth, nor in the abundance of his esteem for the man to whom it was given. It was, on the contrary, a prodigal bounty, drawn from a country depopulated—no matter whether by natural causes, or by the grinding of oppression. It was raised by an exaction which took what calamity had spared, and rapine overlooked ;—and pursued those angry dispensations of providence, when a prophetic chastisement had been inflicted on a fated realm. The secrecy which had marked this transaction was not the smallest proof of its criminality. Neither Mr. Middleton nor the council were acquainted with the transaction until Mr. Hastings, four months after, felt himself compelled to write an account to England, and the intelligence returned thus circuitously to his friends in India ! It was peculiarly observable in this transaction how much the distresses of the different parties were at variance. Mr. Hastings travels to the Nawab to see, no doubt, and enquire into his distresses, but immediately takes from him £100,000 to be applied to the necessities of the distressed East India Company ; but on further deliberation, these considerations vanish ; a third object arises more worthy than either of the former, and the money is taken from the one, and demanded from the other, to be applied to the use of—the distressed Mr. Hastings.

The money, it was alleged by Mr. Hastings, had been originally taken to discharge the arrears of the army. It had not long been applied to that use, because it was received in bills on Gopal Das, a rich banker at Benares, who was then kept a prisoner by Chai Singh—Major Scott being questioned on the subject, declared the bills on Gopal Das were as good as cash, for that though the principal of the house was a prisoner, that circumstance made no difference whatsoever with the other partners. Thus Mr. Hastings was inconsistent with himself, by alleging an objection which should have prevented his taking the money in the first instance, for the purpose he had stated ; and Major Scott contradicting Mr. Hastings removed the objection and restored the business to its original footing. But through all those windings of mysterious hypocrisy, and of artificial concealment, it was easy to mark the sense of hidden guilt. Mr. Hastings himself, being driven from every other hold, advances the stale plea of state necessity. But of this necessity he has brought no proof ; it was a necessity which listened to whispers for the purpose of crimination and dealt in rumour to prove its own existence. To a general leading the armies of Britain, to an admiral bearing her thunders over the seas, the plea of necessity might be indulged, if the wants of those were to be supplied whose blood had been spilt in the service of their country ; but his " State necessity " grand, magnanimous, and all commanding—went hand in hand with honour, if not with use—it went forth with our arms, when the hero could plume himself like the imperial eagle on his nest, unassailable !—and amidst his fair successes, look down in justified disdain on any malevolent challenge of minute error ; his fame as firm as the rock, which from his defence all the enemy had battered in vain.

As for the treaty of Chunar, it was a proceeding which, as it had its beginning in corruption, had its continuance in fraud, and its end in violence. The first proposition of the Nawab, after his recent liberality was that the army should be removed, and all the English recalled from his dominions. The bribe which he had given was the obvious price of their removal. He felt the weight of their oppression. He knew, to speak his own language, " that when the English stayed, they stayed to ask for something." Though their predecessors had exhausted the revenue ; though they had shaken the tree until nothing remained upon its leafless branches, yet a new flight was on the wing to watch the first buddings of its prosperity, and to nip every promise of future luxuriance.

[Having gone into the affidavits, which he declared grounded on vague rumour and improbable surmise, Mr. Sheridan passed to the " rebellion " of the Begums, of which he could find no trace.]

The best antiquarian in our society would be, after all, never the wiser !—Let him look where he would, where can he find any

vestige of battle, or a single blow ? In this rebellion there is no soldier, neither horse nor foot : not a man is known fighting ; no office-order survives, nor an express is to be seen. This Great Rebellion, as notorious as our 'forty-five, passed away—unnatural, but not raging—beginning in nothing—and ending, no doubt, just as it began !

If rebellion, my Lords, can thus engender unseen, it is time for us to look about. What hitherto has been dramatic, may become historical ; Knightsbridge may at this moment be invested ; and all that is left us, nothing but the forlorn hope—of being dealt with according to the statute—by the sound of the Riot Act, and the sight, if it can be, of another Elijah !

[Sheridan read the letter from the Begum to Mr. Hastings, complaining of the suspicions which had been so unjustly raised of her conduct and referring to Captain Gordon, who could testify her innocence. He read that of Captain Gordon thanking her for her interference and acknowledging that he owed his life to her bounty.]

Here the plain and simple language of truth gave to the representations of the Begum an Herculean force—her complaints were eloquence ; her supplications persuasion, and her remonstrances conviction. It had been asked, with an air of some triumph, why Captain Gordon was not called to that bar ? He had answered then as now, he would not call on a man who, in his affidavit, had suppressed all mention of this important transaction. He trusted that if ever he saw him at that bar, he should witness a contrite zeal to do away the effects of that silence, and behold a penitential tear for the part he had taken. He hoped, however, for the honour of human nature, that Captain Gordon was then under a delusion ; and that he was led on by Mr. Middleton, who was well informed of the business, to act a part of which he did not know the consequences. Every feeling of humanity recoiled from the transaction taken in any other point of view. It was difficult to imagine that any man would say to a benefactor, " The breath that I now draw, next to heaven, I owe to you ; my existence is an emanation from your bounty ; I am indebted to you beyond all possibility of return, and, therefore, my gratitude shall be your destruction."

The original letters on this occasion from Colonel Hannay and Captain Gordon to the Begum had been transmitted by her, through Major Gilpin, to Mr. Middleton, for the purpose of being shown to Mr. Hastings ; but the leaves were torn from Mr. Middleton's letter-book in the place where they should have appeared. When examined on this subject, he said that he had deposited Persian copies of those letters in the office

at Lucknow, but that he did not bring the translations with him to Calcutta, because he left Lucknow the very day after he had received the originals. It could be proved that Middleton received those letters at least a month before he left Lucknow. He was, therefore, well aware of the purity of those in whose oppression he was engaged; he knew that their attachment was fully proved, at the very time they were charged with disaffection; but as their punishment was predetermined, he, in concert with his principal, found it necessary to suppress the testimonials of their innocence. But this mass of fraud and cruelty, covered as it had been by every art which the vile agents could devise, was now bared to the view. You see how Truth—empowered by that will which gives a giant's nerve to an infant's arm—has burst the monstrous mass of fraud that has endeavoured to suppress it. It calls now to your lordships, in the weak but clear tone of that Cherub, Innocence, whose voice is more persuasive than eloquence, more convincing than argument, whose look is supplication, whose tone is conviction, it calls upon you for redress, it calls upon you for vengeance upon the oppressor, and points its heaven-directed hand to the detested but unrepenting author of its wrongs!

Had a stranger at this time gone into the province of Oudh ignorant of what had happened since the death of Shujah Dowlah—that man who, with a savage heart, had still great lines of character; and who, with all his ferocity in war, had still, with a cultivating hand, preserved to his country the riches which it derived from benignant skies and a prolific soil;—if this stranger, ignorant of all that had happened in the short interval, and observing the wide and general devastation, and all the horrors of the scene—of plains unclothed and brown—of villages depopulated and in ruins—of temples unroofed and perishing—of reservoirs broken down and dry,—he would naturally ask: What war had thus laid waste the fertile fields of this once beautiful and opulent country?—What civil dissensions have happened, thus to tear asunder and separate the happy societies that once possessed those villages?—What disputed succession, what religious rage has, with unholy violence, demolished those temples, and disturbed fervent but unobtruding piety, in the exercise of its duties?—What merciless enemy has thus spread the horrors of fire and sword?—What severe visitation of Providence has dried up the fountain, and taken from the face of the earth every vestige of verdure?—Or, rather, what fabled monster has stalked abroad, and with malice and mortal enmity to man, has withered with the grip of death every growth of nature and humanity?

To such questions, what must be the answer? No wars have ravaged these lands, and depopulated these villages—no civil discords

have been felt—no disputed succession,—no religious rage, no merciless enemy—no affliction which, while it scourged for the moment, cut off the sources of resuscitation—no voracious and poisoning monsters ; no !—all this had been accomplished by the friendship, generosity, and kindness of the English nation. They have embraced us with their protecting arms and lo, we sink under the pressure of their support—we writhe under the grip of their pestiferous alliance !

Thus they suffered ; in barren anguish and ineffectual bewailings. And, O audacious fallacy ! says the defence of Mr. Hastings. What cause was there for any incidental ills, but their own resistance ?

What then ! Shall we be told that under such circumstances, the exasperated feelings of a whole people, thus goaded and spurred on to clamour and resistance, were excited by the poor and feeble influence of the Begums ? When we hear the description of the fever—paroxysm—delirium, into which despair had thrown the natives, when on the banks of the polluted Ganges, panting for death, they tore more widely open the lips of their gaping wounds to accelerate their dissolution ; and while their blood was issuing, presented their ghastly eyes to Heaven,—breathing their last and fervent prayer, that the dry earth might not be suffered to drink their blood, but that it might rise up to the throne of God, and rouse the eternal Providence to avenge the wrongs of their country, will it be said that this was brought about by the incantations of those Begums in their secluded Zenana ? or that they could inspire this enthusiasm and this despair into the breasts of a people who felt no grievance, and had suffered no torture ? What motive, then, could have such influence in their bosom ? What motive ? That, which Nature—the common parent—plants in the bosom of man ; and which, though it may be less active in the Indian than in the Englishman, is still congenial with, and makes part of, his being. It grows with his growth, it strengthens with his strength—That feeling, which tells him, that man was never made to be the property of man ; but that when, through pride and insolence of power, one human creature dares to tyrannise over another, it is a power usurped, and resistance is a duty—That feeling which tells him that all power is delegated for the good, not for the injury of the people ; and that when it is converted from the original purpose the compact is broken, and the right is to be resumed—That principle which tells him, that resistance to power usurped is not merely a duty which he owes to himself and to his neighbour, but a duty which he owes to his God, in asserting and maintaining the rank which He gave him in the creation !—to that common God, Who, where He gives the form of man, whatever may be the complexion, gives also the feelings and

the rights of man—That principle, which neither the rudeness of ignorance can stifle, nor the enervation of refinement extinguish—That principle which makes it base for a man to suffer, when he ought to act—which tending to preserve to the species the original designations of Providence, spurns at the arrogant distinctions of man, and vindicates the independent quality of his race.

The question would naturally occur to every person who had attended to those proceedings: Why Mr. Hastings had used all these efforts to veil the whole of this business in mystery?—It was not strictly incumbent on him to answer the question, yet he would reply that Mr. Hastings had obviously a bloody reason for the concealment. He had looked to the natural effect of strong injuries on the human mind: as in the case of Chai Singh, he thought that oppression must beget resistance; and the efforts which might be made by the Begums in their own defence, though really the effect, he was determined to represent as the cause of his proceedings. . . . In his letter to the directors of January 5th, 1782, he had represented the subsequent disturbances in Oudh, as the positive cause of the violent measures which he had adopted—two months before these disturbances had existence! He then congratulates his masters on the seizure of those treasures which by the law of Mahomet he assures them were the property of Asaf-ud-Dowlah. Thus the perturbed spirit of the Mahomedan law, according to Mr. Hastings' idea, still hovered round those treasures, and envied them to every possessor until it at length saw them safely lodged within the sanctuary of the British Treasury! In the same spirit of piety, Mr. Hastings had assured the House of Commons that the inhabitants of Asia believed that some unseen power interfered, and conducted all his pursuits to their destined end. That Providence, however, which thus conducted the efforts of Mr. Hastings, was not the Providence to which others profess themselves indebted;—which interferes in the cause of virtue, and insensibly leads guilt towards its punishment; it was not, in fine, that Providence

“ Whose works are goodness, and whose ways are right.”

The unseen power which protected Mr. Hastings operated by leading others into criminality, which so far as it respected the Governor-General was highly fortunate in its effects. If the Rajah Nuncomar brings a charge against Mr. Hastings, Providence so orders it that the Rajah has committed a forgery some years before; which with some friendly assistance proves a sufficient reason to remove out of the way so troublesome an acquaintance. If the Company's affairs are deranged through the want of money, Providence ordains it so that the Begums, though

unconsciously, fall into a rebellion, and give Mr. Hastings an opportunity of seizing on their treasures! Thus the success of Mr. Hastings depended not on any positive merit in himself; it was to the inspired felonies, the heaven-born crimes, and the providential treasons of others that he was indebted for each success, and for the whole tenor of his prosperity!

It must undoubtedly bear a strange appearance, that a man of reputed ability should, even when acting wrongly, have had recourse to so many bungling artifices, and spread so thin a veil over his deceptions. But those who testified any surprise at this circumstance must have attended but little to the demeanour of Mr. Hastings. Through the whole course of his conduct he seemed to have adhered to one general rule—to keep as clear as possible of the fact which he was to relate! Observing this maxim, his only study was to lay a foundation as fanciful and as ornamental as possible;—then by a superadded mass of fallacies, the superstructure was soon complete, though by some radical defect it never failed to tumble on his own head;—rising from these ruins, however, he was soon found rearing a similar edifice, but with a like effect.

It had been a maxim once as much admitted in the practice of common life, as in the school of philosophy, that where Heaven was inclined to destroy the vicious, it began by debasing the intellect. This idea was carried still farther by the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Burke), who opened the prosecution; who declared that prudence and vice were things absolutely incompatible;—that the vicious man being deprived of his best energies, and curtailed in his proportion of understanding, was left with such a short-sighted degree of penetration as could not come under the denomination of prudence. This sentiment does honour to the name of my right honourable friend to whom I look up with homage!—whose genius is commensurate with his philanthropy—whose memory will stretch itself beyond the fleeting objects of any little partial shuffling, through the whole wide range of human knowledge, and honourable aspiration after human good; as large as the system which forms life—as lasting as those objects that adorn.

But it was still to be remembered, that there were other characters besides a Cæsar and a Cromwell; who, acting on determinations inimical to virtue, and hostile to the laws of society, had proceeded, if not with prudence, yet with an all-commanding sagacity, that was productive of similar effects. Those, however, were isolated characters, which left the vice that dared to follow either in a state of despondent vassalage, or involved it in destruction.

As to the claims on those ladies, whether first made by the Nawab, or suggested to him by his sovereign, Mr. Hastings, though the counsel

had laboured much to prove the former, appeared to him to carry very little difference. If the seizure was made as a confiscation and punishment for supposed guilt, then if ever a crime might be overlooked it was where a son must necessarily be made the instrument of an infliction, by which he broke his covenant of existence, and violated the condition by which he held his rank in society. If, on the contrary, it was meant as a resumption, in consequence of a supposed right in the Nawab, then Mr. Hastings should have recollected the guarantee of the Company granted to the Begums; unless it was meant to be said, that Mr. Hastings acted in that as in other instances and assured them of his protection until the very moment when it was wanted. It was idle, however, to dwell on the conduct or free agency of a man who, it was notorious, had no will of his own. What Mr. Middleton asserted at that bar would scarcely be put in competition with a series of established facts; by which it appeared that the Nawab had submitted to every indignity, and yielded to every assumption. It was an acknowledged fact, that he had even been brought to join in that paltry artifice which had been termed subornation of letters. This practice was carried to such a length, that he in the end complained, in a manner rather ludicrous, that he was really tired of sending different characters of Mr. Bristow, in pursuance of the directions sent by the resident. He had pronounced black white and white black so often that he really knew not what to say; and therefore begged that, once for all, the friends of Mr. Hastings might be considered as his, and that their enemies might also be the same.

[Mr. Sheridan having spoken for four hours, appearing exhausted, the court adjourned.]

SPEECH ON THE SECOND OR BEGUM CHARGE—CONCLUDED

(June 13th, 1788).

[Most of the speech delivered on June 10th is occupied by an examination into the tortuous methods employed by Hastings and his accomplices. Mr. Sheridan having been taken ill, the court was adjourned.

Mr. Sheridan, on resuming, directed their lordships' attention to the correspondence of Hastings and Middleton, accessible through a quarrel between the parties, Hastings having been infuriated by the hesitation of Middleton when sent to resume the Jagirs in the hope

of provoking a riot. It was noticeable that in those letters and in the more private ones of Impey, there was no hint of rebellion on the part of the Begums. Middleton's ill-timed moderation was, of course, due to regard for his own skin. His fears show how far his fellow rogue had goaded the unfortunate prince.]

“ I AM fully of opinion that the despair of the Nawab must impel him to violence ; I know also that the violence must be fatal to himself ; but yet I think that with his present feelings he will disregard all consequences.” Mr. Johnson, the assistant resident, wrote at the same time to Mr. Hastings, to aver to him that the measure was dangerous, that it would require a total reform of the collection which could not be made without a campaign ! This was British justice ! This was British humanity ! Mr. Hastings ensures to the allies of the Company, in the strongest terms, their prosperity and his protection ; the former he secures by sending an army to plunder them of their wealth and to desolate their soil ! His protection is fraught with a similar security ; like that of a vulture to a lamb ; grappling in its vitals ! thirsting for its blood ! scaring off each petty kite that hovers round ; and then with an insulting perversion of terms, calling sacrifice protection !—an object for which history seeks for any similarity in vain. The deep-searching annals of Tacitus ;—the luminous philosophy of Gibbon ;—all the records of man's transgressing, from original sin to the present period, dwindle into comparative insignificance of enormity ; both in aggravation of vile principles, and extent of their consequential ruin ! The victims of this oppression were confessedly destitute of all power to resist their oppressors but that debility, which from other bosoms, would have claimed some compassion, with respect to the mode of suffering, here excited but the ingenuity of torture !

Yet, when cruelty seemed to have reached its bounds, and guilt to have ascended to its climax, there was something in the character of Mr. Hastings, which seemed to transcend the latter, and overlap the former ; and of this kind was the letter to the Nawab which was despatched on this occasion. To rebuke Mr. Middleton for his moderation, as was instantly done, was easily performed through the medium of a public and private letter. But to write to the Nawab in such a manner that the command might be conveyed, and yet the letter afterwards shown to the world, was a task of more difficulty ; but which it appeared by the event was admirably suited to the genius of Mr. Hastings. His letter was dated the 15th of February, 1782, though the Jagirs had been actually seized, and it was in proof that it had been sent at a much earlier period. He there

assured the Nawab of his coincidence with his wishes respecting the resumption of the Jagirs ; he declares that if he found any difficulty in the measure he, Mr. Hastings, would go to his assistance in person and lend his aid to punish those who opposed it ; “ for that nothing could be more ardent than his friendship, or more eager than his zeal for his welfare.” The most desperate intention was clothed in the mildest language. But the Nawab knew, by sad experience, the character with whom he had to deal, and, therefore, was not to be deceived ; he saw the dagger glistening in the hand which was treacherously extended, as if to his assistance ; and from that moment the last faint ray of nature expired in his bosom.

Though there were circumstances exasperating to the human heart, which felt the smallest remains of sensibility, yet it was necessary in idea, to review the whole from the time that this treachery was first conceived, to that when by a series of artifices the most execrable, it was brought to a completion. Mr. Hastings would there be seen standing aloof indeed, but not inactive in the war ! He would be discovered in reviewing his agents, rebuking at one time the pale conscience of Mr. Middleton, and at another, relying on the stouter villainy of Hyder Beg Cawn. With all the calmness of veteran delinquency, his eye ranged through the busy prospect, piercing through the darkness of subordinate guilt and arranging with congenial adroitness the tools of his crimes, and the instruments of his cruelty.

The feelings of the several parties at the time would be most properly judged of by their respective correspondence. When the Bow Begum, despairing of redress from the Nawab, addressed herself to Mr. Middleton, and reminded him of the guarantee which he had signed, she was instantly promised that the amount of her Jagir should be made good ; though Mr. Middleton said he could not interfere with the sovereign decision of the Nawab respecting the lands. The deluded and unfortunate woman “ thanked God that Mr. Middleton was at hand for her relief ; ” at the very instant when he was directing every effort to her destruction ; when he had actually written the orders which were to take the collection out of the hands of her agents ! Even when the Begum was undeceived—when she found that British faith was no protection,—when she found that she should leave the country, and prayed to the God of nations not to grant His peace to those who remained behind, still there was no charge of rebellion—no recrimination made to all her reproaches for the broken faith of the English ; nay, when stung to madness, she asked “ how long would be their reign ? ” no mention of her disaffection was brought forward ; the stress was therefore idle, which the counsel for the prisoner strove to lay on these expressions of an injured and enraged

woman. When at last, irritated beyond bearing, she denounced infamy on the heads of her oppressors, who was there who would not say that she spoke in a prophetic spirit, and that what she had then predicted, had not even to its last letter been accomplished! But did Mr. Middleton, even to this violence, retort any particle of accusation? No; he sent a jocosely reply, stating that he had received such a letter under her seal, but that from its contents he could not suspect it to come from her; and hoping, therefore, that she might detect the forgery. Thus did he add to foul injuries the vile aggravation of a brutal jest.

There was something connected with this transaction so wretchedly horrible, and so vilely loathsome, as to excite the most contemptuous disgust. If it were not a part of my duty, it would be superfluous to speak of the sacredness of the ties which those aliens to feeling—those apostates to humanity—had thus divided. In such an assembly as that which I have the honour of addressing, there is not an eye but must dart reproof at this conduct; not a heart but must anticipate its condemnation. Filial Piety! It is the primal bond of society—it is that instinctive principle, which, panting for its proper good, soothes unbidden every sense and sensibility of man!—it now quivers on every lip! it now beams from every eye!—it is an emanation of that gratitude, which softening under the sense of recollected good, is eager to own the vast, countless debt it ne'er alas! can pay, for so many long years of unceasing solitudes, honourable self-denials, life-preserving cares!—it is that part of our practice, where duty drops its awe!—where reverence refines into love!—it asks no aid of memory!—it needs not the deductions of reason!—pre-existing, paramount over all, whether law, or human rule, few arguments can increase and none can diminish it!—it is the sacrament of our nature!—not only the duty but the indulgence of man—it is his first great privilege—it is amongst his last most endearing delights!—it causes the bosom to glow with reverberated love!—it requires the visitations of nature, and returns the blessings that have been received! it fires emotion into vital principle—it renders habituated instinct into a master passion—sways all the sweetest energies of man—hangs over each vicissitude of all that must pass away—aids the melancholy virtues in their last sad tasks of life, to cheer the languors of decrepitude and age—explores the thought—elucidates the aching eye! and breathes sweet consolation even in the awful moment of dissolution.

The Jagirs being seized, the Begums were left without the smallest share of the pecuniary compensation promised by Mr. Middleton; and as, when tyranny and injustice take the field, they are always attended by their camp followers, paltry pilfering, and petty insult; so in this instance, the goods taken from them were sold at a mock sale at inferior

value. Even gold and jewels, to use the language of the Begums, instantly lost their value when it was known that they came from them ! Their ministers were therefore imprisoned to extort the deficiency which this fraud had occasioned ; and those mean arts were employed to justify a continuance of cruelty. Yet, these again were little to the frauds of Mr. Hastings. After extorting upwards of £600,000 he forbade Mr. Middleton to come to a conclusive settlement. He knew that the treasons of our allies in India had their origin solely in the wants of the Company. He could not, therefore, say that the Begums were entirely innocent, until he had consulted the general record of crimes—the cash account of Calcutta ! And this prudence of Mr. Hastings was fully justified by the event ; for there was actually found a balance of twenty-six lacs more against the Begums, which £260,000 worth of treason had never been dreamed of before. “ Talk not to us,” said the Governor-General, “ of their guilt, or innocence, but as it suits the Company’s credit ! We will not try them by the code of Justinian, nor the Institutes of Timur ; we will not judge them either by the British laws, or their local customs ! No ! We will try them by the multiplication table—we will find them guilty by the rule of three, and we will condemn them according to the sapient and profound institutes of—Cocker’s Arithmetic.

[Sheridan then alluded to the scruples of Middleton by whose order the Chief Eunuchs were imprisoned at Fyzabad. This man defended himself for his apparent clemency, and his delay in conducting the operations there by alleging that in the case of an ally acting against his own mother two days’ delay was not excessive. “ No further rigour than what I have exerted could be used against females in this country,” he writes, January 20th, 1782. “ Where force could be employed, it was not spared.” When threats could effect nothing the ministers were removed from their prison in Fyzabad to the fortress of Chanargur.]

There, where the British flag was flying, they were doomed to deeper dungeons, heavier chains, and severer punishments ;—there, where that flag was flying which was wont to cheer the depressed, and to elate the subdued heart of misery, those venerable but unfortunate men were fated to encounter something lower than perdition, and something blacker than despair ! It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Holt, they were both cruelly flogged, though one was about seventy years of age, to extort a confession of the buried wealth of the Begums ! Being charged with disaffection, they proclaimed their innocence. “ Tell us where are the remaining treasures,” was the reply—“ it is only treachery to your immediate sovereigns—and you will then be fit associates for the representatives of British faith and British justice in India ! ”

Oh! Faith. Oh, Justice! I conjure you by your sacred names to depart for a moment from this place, though it be your peculiar residence; nor hear your names profaned by such a sacrilegious combination, as that which I am now compelled to repeat!—where all the fair forms of nature and art, truth and peace, policy and honour, shrank back aghast from the destroying shade! where, amidst the black agents on one side, and Middleton and Impey on the other, the great figure of the piece, characteristic in his place, stood aloof and independent from the puny profligacy in his train!—turning a malignant eye on all mischief that awaited him!—the multiplied apparatus of temporising expedients, and intimidating instruments, now cringing on his prey, and fawning on his vengeance! Now quickening the limping pace of craft, and forcing every stand that retiring nature can make in the heart! violating the attachments and decorums of life! sacrificing every emotion of tenderness and honour! and flagitiously levelling all the distinctions of national characteristics with a long catalogue of crimes and aggravations, beyond the reach of thought, for human malignity to perpetuate, or human vengeance to punish.

It might have been hoped, for the honour of the human heart, that the Begums had been themselves exempted from a share in these sufferings and that they had been wounded only through the sides of their ministers. Their palace was surrounded by a guard, which was withdrawn by Major Gilpin, to avoid the growing resentments of the people, and replaced by Mr. Middleton, through his fears from that “dreadful responsibility” which was imposed on him by Mr. Hastings. The women of the Khord Mahal, who had not been involved in the Begums’ supposed crimes; who had raised no sub-rebellion, and who, it was proved, lived in a distinct dwelling, were causelessly involved in the same punishment; their residence surrounded with guards they were driven to despair by famine, and, when they poured forth in sad procession, were driven back by the soldiery, and beaten with bludgeons to the scene of madness which they had quitted.

Another defence set up by Hastings was that he was only one of the supreme council, and that the other members sanctioned these transactions. Of all his defences this was possibly the honestest, but the council professed to have been duped by a letter dated 29th November, intended to give the Directors of the Company the idea that they received at that time intelligence of the proceedings at Fyzabad of which they declared ignorance. The Directors, on looking over Hastings’ report ordered an inquiry into the alleged disaffection of the Begums. This inquiry was not made. It would, Mr. Hastings pointed out, only revive the animosities between the Nawab and the Begums. Of course if the

ladies were inclined to appeal to a foreign jurisdiction, they were the best judges of their own feeling.

All this, however, was nothing to the magnificent paragraph which concluded this minute, and to which I request the attention of the court. " Besides, I hope it will not be a departure from official language to say, that the majesty of Justice ought not to be approached without solicitation."

But Justice is not this halt and miserable object ; it is not the ineffective bauble of an Indian Pagod ! it is not the portentous phantom of despair, it is not like any fabled monster, formed in the eclipse of reason, and found in some unhallowed grove of superstitious darkness and political dismay. No, my lords.

In the happy reverse of all these, I turn from this disgusting caricature to the real image—Justice ! I have now before me, august and pure, the abstract idea of all that would be perfect in the spirits and the aspirings of men ; where the mind rises, where the heart expands ; where the countenance is ever placid and benign ; where her favourite attitude is—to stoop to the unfortunate ; to hear their cry, and to help them ; to rescue and relieve ; to succour and to save ! Majestic from its mercy ; venerable from its utility ; uplifted without pride ; firm without obduracy ; beneficent in each preference : lovely though in her frown !

On that justice I rely, deliberate and sure ; abstracted from all party purpose and political speculations ; not in words, but on facts ! You, my lords, who hear me, I conjure by those rights it is your best privilege to preserve ; by that fame it is your best pleasure to inherit ! by all those feelings which refer to the first term in the series of existence, the original compact of our nature, our controlling rank in the creation ! This is the call on all to administer to truth and equity, as they would satisfy the laws and satisfy themselves, with the most exalted bliss possible or conceivable for our nature—the self-approving consciousness of virtue, when the condemnation we look for will be one of the most ample mercies accomplished for mankind since the creation of the World.

ALGERNON SIDNEY

(1622-1683).

AT his execution, December 7th, 1683, Algernon Sidney defined the idea he represents in the history of England and America by saying: "I am persuaded to believe that God has left nations unto the liberty of setting up such governments as best please themselves." This idea which he advocated against Filmer resulted in modern democracy and its achievements. Filmer and his school held that "all men are born under a necessity derived from the laws of God and nature to submit unto an absolute kingly government." Sidney was put on trial and condemned after the Rye House plot with which he had no connection, and he was probably right in his conclusion that he was sent to the block because he had written against absolutism, and not because he was really suspected of any overt act of treason. His 'Discourses Concerning Government' were published in 1698. He was the youngest son of the second Earl of Leicester and was born in Kent about 1622. He enlisted against the King at the opening of the Civil War, and in 1644 was wounded at Marston Moor. Elected to Parliament the next year, he became a leader of the Independents and one of the most important men under the Protectorate. When the Stuarts were restored, he lived abroad until 1677, but returned to England in the belief that he could remain safe in obscurity. In this he was mistaken, but his death sentence gave him opportunity to summarize his principles on the scaffold, thus rendering the cause of progress a greater service than he could have done by another lifetime of work as a political essayist.

HIS SPEECH ON THE SCAFFOLD—"GOVERNMENTS FOR THE PEOPLE, AND NOT THE PEOPLE FOR GOVERNMENTS"

(Delivered at His Execution, in London, December 7th, 1683).

IT may be expected that I should now say some great matters unto you ; but the rigour of the season and the infirmities of my age, increased by a close imprisonment of above five months, do not permit me. Moreover, we live in an age that maketh truth pass for treason ;

I dare not say anything contrary unto it, and the ears of those that are about me will probably be found too tender to hear it. My trial and condemnation sufficiently evidence this.

West, Rumsey, and Keyling, who were brought to prove the plot, said no more of me than that they knew me not ; and some others equally unknown to me had used my name, and that of some others, to give a little reputation unto their designs. The Lord Howard is too infamous by his life, and the many perjuries not to be denied, or rather sworn by himself, to deserve mention ; and being a single witness he would be of no value, though he had been of unblemished credit, or had not seen and confessed that the crimes committed by him would be pardoned only for committing more ; and even the pardon promised could not be obtained till the drudgery of swearing was over. This being laid aside, the whole matter is reduced to the papers said to be found in my closet by the King's officers, without any other proof of their being written by me, than what is taken from suppositions upon the similitude of a hand that is easily counterfeited, and which hath been lately declared in the Lady Carr's case to be no lawful evidence in criminal causes. But if I had been seen to write them, the matter would not be much altered. They plainly appear to relate unto a large treatise written long since in answer to Filmer's book, which, by all intelligent men, is thought to be grounded upon wicked principles, equally pernicious unto magistrates and people. If he might publish unto the world his opinion, that all men are born under a necessity derived from the laws of God and nature, to submit unto an absolute kingly government, which could be restrained by no law or oath ; and that he that hath the power, whether he came unto it by creation, election, inheritance, usurpation, or any other way, had the right ; and none must oppose his will, but the persons and estates of his subjects must be indispensably subject unto it, I know not why I might have published my opinion to the contrary, without the breach of any law I have yet known. I might as freely as he have declared publicly my thoughts, and the reasons upon which they were grounded ; and I am persuaded to believe that God has left nations unto the liberty of setting up such governments as best please themselves. The magistrates are set up for the good of nations, not nations for the honour and glory of magistrates ; that the right and power of magistrates in every country is that which the laws of that country made it to be ; that those laws were to be observed, and the oaths taken by them, having the force of a contract between magistrate and people, could not be violated without danger of dissolving the whole fabric ; that usurpation could give no right, and the most dangerous of all enemies unto kings were they, who, raising their power to an exorbitant height, allowed

unto usurpers all the rights belonging unto it ; that such usurpations being seldom compassed without the slaughter of the reigning person, or family, the worst of all villains was thereby rewarded with most glorious privileges ; that if such doctrines were received, they would stir up men to the destruction of princes with more violence than all the passions that have hitherto raged in the hearts of the most unruly ; that none could be safe, if such a reward were proposed unto any that could destroy them ; that few would be so gentle as to spare even the best, if by their destruction a vile usurper could become God's anointed ; and by the most execrable wickedness invest himself with that divine character.

This is the scope of the whole treatise ; the writer gives such reasons as at that present did occur unto him, to prove it. This seems to agree with the doctrines of the most revered authors of all times, nations, and religions. The best and wisest of kings have ever acknowledged it. The present King of France hath declared that kings have that happy want of power, that they can do nothing contrary to the laws of their country, and grounds his quarrel with the King of Spain, *anno* 1667, upon that principle. King James, in his speech to the Parliament, *anno* 1603, doth in the highest degree assert it ; the Scripture seems to declare it. If, nevertheless, the writer was mistaken, he might have been refuted by law, reason, and Scripture ; and no man, for such matters, was ever otherwise punished than by being made to see his error ; and it hath not (as I think) been ever known that they had been referred to the judgment of a jury, composed of men utterly unable to comprehend them. But there was little of this in my case ; the extravagance of my prosecutors goes higher ; the above-mentioned treatise was never finished, nor could be in many years, and most probably would never have been. So much as is of it was written long since, never reviewed, nor shown unto any man ; and the fiftieth part of it was produced, and not the tenth of that offered to be read. That which was never known unto those who are said to have conspired with me was said to be intended to stir up the people in prosecution of the designs of those conspirators. When nothing of particular application unto time, place, or person could be found in it (as hath ever been done by those who endeavoured to raise insurrections), all was supplied by innuendoes. Whatsoever is said of the expulsion of Tarquin ; the insurrection against Nero ; the slaughter of Caligula, or Domitian ; the translation of the crown of France from Meroven's race unto Pepin, and from his descendant unto Hugh Capet, and the like, applied by innuendo unto the King. They have not considered that, if such acts of state be not good, there is not a king in the world that has any title to the crown he bears ; nor can have any, unless

he could deduce his pedigree from the eldest son of Noah, and show that the succession had still continued in the eldest of the eldest line, and been so deduced to him. Every one may see what advantage this would be to all the kings in the world ; and whether, that failing, it were not better for them to acknowledge they had received their crowns by the consent of willing nations ; or to have no better title unto them than usurpation and violence, which by the same ways may be taken away from them. But I was not long since told that I must die, or the plot must die. Lest the means of destroying the best Protestants in England should fail, the Bench must be filled with such as had been blemishes to the bar. None but such as these would have advised with the King's council of the means of bringing a man to death ; suffered a jury to be packed by the King's solicitors and the under-sheriff ; admit of jurymen who were not freeholders ; receive such evidence as is above mentioned ; refuse a copy of an indictment, or to suffer the statute of 46th Edward III. to be read, that doth expressly enact it should in no case be denied unto any man, upon any occasion whatsoever, to overrule the most important points of law without hearing. And whereas the statute 25th Edward III., upon which they said I should be tried, doth reserve unto Parliament all constructions to be made in points of treason, they could assume unto themselves, not only a power to make constructions, but such constructions as neither agree with law, reason, nor common sense.

By these means I am brought to this place. The Lord forgive these practices, and avert the evils that threaten the nation from them. The Lord sanctify these my sufferings unto me, and though I fall as a sacrifice unto idols, suffer not idolatry to be established in the land. Bless thy people and save them. Defend thy own cause, and defend those that defend it. Stir up such as are faint, direct those that are willing, confirm those that waver, give wisdom and integrity unto all. Order all things so as may most redound unto thine own glory. Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mercies, and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a witness of thy truth ; and even by the confession of my opposers, for that old cause in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declared thyself.

ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY

(*For Biographical Note see Section v.*)

PALMERSTON AND THE DUTY OF ENGLAND

(Delivered in Westminster Abbey on October 29th, 1865).

EACH human soul gifted above the souls of common men leaves, as it passes away from this lower world, a light peculiar to itself. As in a mountainous country each lofty peak is illumined with a different hue by the setting sun, so also each of the higher summits of human society is lighted up by the sunset of life with a different colour. Whether the difference arises from the materials of which it is composed, or from the relative position it has occupied, a new and separate lesson is taught by it of truth or of duty, of wisdom or of hope. What, then, are the special lessons which we learn from the life and character of the remarkable man who has just been taken away from us, and to whose memory so great a national tribute has just been paid? First, there is this singular peculiarity—that the gifts to which the eminence of the departed statesman was due were gifts far more within the attainment of us all than is commonly supposed. It has been said of Judas Maccabeus, that of all the military chiefs of his time he was the one who accomplished the greatest results with the smallest amount of external resources. Of our late chief it might no less truly be said, that of all political leaders he achieved great success by the most homely and ordinary means. It was that which made his life in so many respects an example and an encouragement to all. The persevering devotion of his days and nights to the public service, and the toil and endurance of more than half a century in the various high stations in which he was employed,—these are qualities which might be imitated by every single person. They, whoever they may be, who are disposed, as so many young men are in the present day, to give themselves up to ease and self-indulgence—avoiding, if they can, everything which costs continued trouble, everything which demands honest, earnest, hard work—must remember that not by such faint-hearted, idle carelessness can either God or man be served to any purpose; or the true end of any human soul be attained, for either this life or the life to come.

Let men, whoever they may be, who are working zealously, honestly, and humbly in their several stations, work on the more zealously and faithfully from this day forward, reflecting that in the honours paid to one who was in this respect but a fellow-labourer with themselves, the nation has, in the sight of God, set its seal on the value of work, on the nobleness of toil, on the grandeur of long days of labour, on the dignity of plodding, persevering diligence. Again, the departed statesman won his way not so much by eloquence, or genius, or far-sighted greatness, as by the lesser graces of good humour, gaiety, and kindness of heart, tact, and readiness—lesser graces, doubtless, of which some of the highest characters have been destitute, but graces which are not the less gifts of God, and which even in the house of God we do well to reverence and admire. They who may think it of little moment to take offence at the slightest affront—who by their presence throw a chill over whatever society they enter—they who make the lives of others miserable by wounding their keenest sensibilities—they who poison discussion and embitter controversy by pushing particular views on to the extremest consequences, and by widening differences between man and man—they who think it their duty to make the worst of every one from whom they dissent, and enter a never-ending protest against those who may have done them wrong,—such as these may have higher pretensions, and, it may be, higher claims to honour and respect, yet they will do well to understand the silent rebuke which arises from the new-made grave, and which God designs for their especial benefit. From a statesman who had always a soft word to turn away wrath—who, when attacked, never bore malice towards his enemies, and who was rather the more desirous of seeing in those who opposed him the true merit and value of their essential characters—from him and from the honour paid to him, many an eager partisan, many a hard polemic, many a stern moralist, may learn a lesson. Yet again, the long life which has just closed was an enduring witness to the greatness of that gift which even the heathen recognized—of hope, cheerful, lasting hope. The vicissitudes of the octogenarian chief seem to say to us: “Never despair.” From a youth of comparative obscurity, from a middle age of constant turmoil, passing through a career of many changes, were attained at last the serene and bright old age, and that calm and honoured death, which in a measure are within the reach of all, if God so permit, and which we should all try to achieve. Let us never think it is too late, or that our day is past; let us never lose heart, but hold on to the end, and we may at last be victorious and successful, even as he was—it may be in a still nobler cause, and with still more lasting results, to ourselves at least, if not to nations. Nor let us say that it was only the natural

result of a buoyant and vigorous constitution. To a great degree no doubt it was so, yet it was also due in a large measure to a kind of quiet conviction that the fitting course for man was to do what was good for the moment, without vainly forecasting the future; to do the present duty and to leave the results to God. "I do not understand," he once said, "what is meant by the anxiety of responsibility. I take every pains to do what is for the best, and having done that, I leave the consequences altogether alone." That strain was, indeed, of a higher kind. It was the strain of inspired wisdom in ancient days,—“Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave, whither thou goest.” This leads us to another view of the policy of the late Lord Palmerston, in which the humblest may take an interest. If any one were asked what was the thought or belief that from first to last most distinctly guided his policy, he would say his unflinching trust in the greatness of England. He was an Englishman even to excess. It was England, rather than any particular party; it was the honour and interests of England, rather than the Constitution or the State or the Church of England, that fired his admiration, stimulated his efforts, and secured his fame. From this it was that his name was known throughout the world—in the most secluded village of Calabria, along the shores of the Caspian Sea, or among the wildest solitudes of Tibet. To England the vast length of that laborious life, with whatever shortcomings, was in all simplicity and faithfulness devoted. Let us, then, earnestly reflect on what should be our own duty in our own place in that mighty commonwealth of which we are members no less than he was, and for which we, no less than he, are bound, in the sight of God, to lay down our lives and spend our latest breath.

As citizens of England, think of our marvellous history, slowly evolved out of our peculiar situation; think of the fusion of hostile races and hostile institutions within the same narrow limits; think of the long continuous line of our literature, such as is unknown in any other country; think of our refuge for freedom; think of our temperate Monarchy and Constitution, so fearfully and wonderfully wrought out through the toil and conflict of so many centuries; think of our pure domestic homes; think of the English prayer book, the English Bible woven into our inmost and earliest recollections; think of our liberty of conscience and of speech, which gives to conscience and to speech double and treble value. These are some of the elements that go to make up the whole idea that is conjured up by the sacred name of England, and for which our lamented statesman lived and died. What England is or will be depends in great measure on her own individual

sons and daughters. Nations are the schools in which individual souls are trained. The virtues and sins of a nation are those of each one of its citizens, on a larger scale, and written in gigantic characters. To be a citizen of England, according to our lost chief, was the greatest boast and the greatest claim on protection and influence that a man could show in any part of the world. To be a citizen of England, in the fullest sense, worthy of all that England has been and might be, worthy of our noble birthright and of our boundless opportunities, we should seek, every one of us, not in presumptuous confidence, but in all Christian humility, to redeem the time that is still before us, and to understand what the will of God is for ourselves and for our children. It is impossible not to feel that we are witnessing, not only the flight of an individual spirit into the unseen world, but the close of one generation and one stage of our history, and the beginning of another. We have climbed to the height of one of those ridges which mark off the past from the future, we are in the watershed of the dividing stream. We have reached the turning point whence the stream of political and national life will flow in another direction, taking its rise from another source, to fertilize other climes. On that eminence, so to speak, we now stand, and to this new start in our pilgrimage each one of us has now to look forward. It is not in England as in other countries, where the national will is but little felt, compared with the will of a single ruler. That public opinion of which we hear so much, and which was believed to be the guiding star of the sagacious man who is gone, is moulded by every one who has will, or a heart, or a head, or a conscience of his own, throughout this vast empire. If it be true that to follow, not to lead, public opinion must henceforth be the course of our statesmen, then our responsibilities and the responsibility of the nation are deepened further still. Just as in a beleaguered city, where every sentinel knows that on his single fidelity might depend the fate of all. A single resolute mind, loving the truth only, has before now brought the whole mind of a nation around itself; a single pure spirit has, by its own holy aspirations, breathed itself into the corrupt mass of a national literature; and a single voice raised honestly in behalf of truth, justice, and mercy has blasted forever practices which were once universal. So I would call upon men, in the prospect of the changes and trials, whatsoever they are, which are now before them—in the midst of the memories by which they are surrounded, in the face of that mighty future to which they are all advancing—to forget “those things that are behind”—to forget in him who is gone all that was of the earth earthy, and reach forward to his character in all that is immortal—in his freedom from party spirit, and in his self-devotion to the public weal. Let men forget, too, in the past and present

generations, all that is behind the best spirit of our age, all that is before in the true spirit of the Gospel, all that is behind the requirements of the most enlightened and the most Christian conscience, and reach forward, one and all, towards those great things which they trust are still before them—the great problems which our age, if any, might solve—the great tasks which our nation alone can accomplish—the great doctrines of our common faith which they may have opportunities of grasping with a firmer hand than ever they had before—the great reconciliation of things old with things new, of things human with things sacred, of class with class, of man with man, of nation with nation, of Church with Church, of all with God. This, and nothing less than this, is the high calling of the nineteenth century—this is the high calling of England—this is the high calling of every English citizen ; and he who answers not to this high call is utterly unworthy of his birthright as a member of this our kingly commonwealth.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD

(1593-1641).

GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of Buckingham, was stabbed by Felton on August 23rd, 1628, the same year in which Thomas Wentworth made the radical change in politics as a result of which he gained the peerage as Earl of Strafford and lost his head as the minister and favourite of Charles I. Had Buckingham escaped assassination, it is probable that he would have been impeached and executed as a warning to the King who, understanding the danger, had already declared his readiness to die with him. As it was, Felton's knife, which saved Buckingham from the block, sent Strafford to it as his substitute.

Thomas Wentworth, who was born at London, April 15th, 1593, entered Parliament in 1614, and from that time until the death of Buckingham, he opposed the abuse of the royal prerogative. Raised to the peerage and made President of the Council of the North in 1628, he thenceforth devoted his great abilities to defeating the plans of his late associates of the popular party. After serving as Privy Councillor and Lord Deputy for Ireland, he was created Earl of Strafford and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1640. In the same year he commanded the royal forces against the Scotch insurgents, and in 1641 was executed on a bill of attainder, substituted by the House of Commons for impeachment proceedings which did not give a sufficient promise of securing his conviction. His speech to the House of Lords on the impeachment illustrates his remarkable eloquence, but his replies to charges in detail are historically unimportant, as the real charge against him was his defection from the side of the Commons to that of royal absolutism. For this he was decapitated May 12th, 1641, and thereafter the struggle between Crown and Constitution became sharply defined.

HIS DEFENCE WHEN IMPEACHED FOR TREASON

(Delivered before the House of Lords, April 13th, 1641).

THIS day I stand before you charged with high treason. The burden of the charge is heavy, yet far the more so because it hath borrowed the authority of the House of Commons. If they were not interested, I might expect a no less easy than I do a safe issue. But let neither

my weakness plead my innocence, nor their power my guilt. If your lordships will conceive of my defences, as they are in themselves, without reference to either party,—and I shall endeavour so to present them,—I hope to go hence as clearly justified by you as I am now in the testimony of a good conscience by myself.

My lords, I have all along, during this charge, watched to see that poisoned arrow of Treason, which some men would fain have feathered in my heart ; but, in truth, it hath not been my quickness to discover any such evil yet within my breast, though now, perhaps, by sinister information, sticking to my clothes.

They tell me of a twofold treason, one against the statute, another by the common law ; this direct, that consecutive ; this individual, that accumulative ; this in itself, that by way of construction.

As to this charge of treason, I must and do acknowledge that if I had the least suspicion of my own guilt, I would save your lordships the pains. I would cast the first stone. I would pass the first sentence of condemnation against myself. And whether it be so or not, I now refer to your lordships' judgment and deliberation. You, and you only, under the care and protection of my gracious master, are my judges. Under favour none of the Commons are my peers, nor can they be my judges. I shall ever celebrate the providence and wisdom of your noble ancestors, who have put the keys of life and death, so far as concerns you and your posterity, into your own hands. None but your own selves, my lords, know the rate of your noble blood, none but yourselves must hold the balance in disposing of the same.

I pass, however, to consider these charges, which affirm that I have designed the overthrow both of religion and of the State.

The first charge seemeth to be used rather to make me odious than guilty ; for there is not the least proof alleged—nor could there be any—concerning confederacy with the popish faction. Never was a servant in authority under my lord and master more hated and maligned by these men than myself, and that for an impartial and strict execution of the laws against them, for observe, my lords, that the greater number of witnesses against me, whether from Ireland or from Yorkshire, were of that religion. But for my own resolution, I thank God every hour of the day to seal my dissatisfaction to the Church of Rome with my dearest blood.

Give me leave, my lords, here to pour forth the grief of my soul before you. These proceedings against me seem to be exceedingly rigorous and to have more of prejudice than of equity, that upon a supposed charge of hypocrisy or errors in religion, I should be made so odious to three kingdoms. A great many thousand eyes have seen my accusations,

whose ears will never hear that when it came to the upshot those very things were not alleged against me ! Is this fair dealing among Christians ? But I have lost nothing by that. Popular applause was ever nothing in my conceit. The uprightness and integrity of a good conscience ever was and ever shall be my continued feast ; and if I can be justified in your lordships' judgments from this great imputation,—as I hope I am, seeing these gentlemen have thrown down the bucklers,—I shall account myself justified by the whole kingdom, because absolved by you, who are the better part, the very soul and life of the kingdom.

As for my designs against the State, I dare plead as much innocency as in the matter of religion. I have ever admired the wisdom of our ancestors, who have so fixed the pillars of this monarchy that each of them keeps a due proportion and measure with the others—have so admirably bound together the nerves and sinews of the State that the straining of any one may bring danger and sorrow to the whole economy. The prerogative of the Crown and the propriety of the subject have such natural relations that this takes nourishment from that, and that foundation and nourishment from this. And so, as in the lute, if any one string be wound up too high or too low, you have lost the whole harmony, so here the excess of prerogative is oppression, of pretended liberty in the subject is disorder and anarchy. The prerogative must be used as God doth his omnipotence, upon extraordinary occasions ; the laws must have place at all other times. As there must be prerogative because there must be extraordinary occasions, so the propriety of the subject is ever to be maintained, if it go in equal pace with the other. They are fellows and companions that are, and ever must be, inseparable in a well-ordered kingdom ; and no way is so fitting, so natural to nourish and entertain both, as the frequent use of parliaments, by which a commerce and acquaintance is kept up between the king and his subjects.

These thoughts have gone along with me these fourteen years of my public employments, and shall, God willing, go with me to the grave ! God, his Majesty, and my own conscience, yea, and all of those who have been most accessory to my inward thoughts, can bear me witness that I ever did inculcate this, that the happiness of a kingdom doth consist in a just poise of the King's prerogative and the subject's liberty, and that things could never go well till these went hand in hand together. I thank God for it, by my master's favour, and the providence of my ancestors, I have an estate which so interests me in the commonwealth that I have no great mind to be a slave, but a subject. Nor could I wish the cards to be shuffled over again, in hopes to fall upon a better set ; nor did I ever nourish such base and mercenary thoughts as to become

a pander to the tyranny and ambition of the greatest man living. No ! I have aimed and ever shall aim at a fair but bounded liberty ; remembering always that I am a freeman, yet a subject—that I have rights, but under a monarch. It hath been my misfortune, now when I am gray-headed, to be charged by the mistakers of the times, who are so highly bent that all appears to them to be in the extreme for monarchy which is not for themselves. Hence it is that designs, words, yea, intentions, are brought out as demonstrations of my misdemeanours. Such a multiplying-glass is a prejudicate opinion !

The articles against me refer to expressions and actions—my expressions either in Ireland or in England, my actions either before or after these late stirs.

1. Some of the expressions referred to were uttered in private, and I do protest against their being drawn to my injury in this place. If, my lords, words spoken to friends in familiar discourse, spoken at one's table, spoken in one's chamber, spoken in one's sick-bed, spoken, perhaps, to gain better reason, to gain oneself more clear light and judgment by reasoning—if these things shall be brought against a man as treason, this (under favour) takes away the comfort of all human society. By this means we shall be debarred from speaking—the principal joy and comfort of life—with wise and good men, to become wiser and better ourselves. If these things be strained to take away life and honour and all that is desirable, this will be a silent world ! A city will become a hermitage, and sheep will be found among a crowd and press of people ! No man will dare to express his solitary thoughts or opinions to his friends and neighbours !

Other expressions have been urged against me, which were used in giving counsel to the King. My lords, these words were not wantonly or unnecessarily spoken, or whispered in a corner ; they were spoken in full council, when, by the duty of my oath, I was obliged to speak according to my heart and conscience in all things concerning the King's service. If I had forborne to speak what I conceived to be for the benefit of the King and the people, I had been perjured toward Almighty God. And for delivering my mind freely and openly, shall I be in danger of my life as a traitor ? If that necessity be put upon me, I thank God, by his blessing, I have learned not to stand in fear of him who can only kill the body. If the question be whether I must be traitor to man or perjured to God, I will be faithful to my Creator. And whatsoever shall befall me from popular rage, or my own weakness, I must leave it to that Almighty Being and to the justice and honour of my judges.

My lords, I conjure you not to make yourselves so unhappy as to disable your lordships and your children from undertaking the great

charge and trust of this Commonwealth. You inherit that trust from your fathers. You are born to great thoughts. You are nursed for the weighty employments of the kingdom. But if it be once admitted that a counsellor for delivering his opinion with others at the council board, *candidè et castè*, with candour and purity of motive, under an oath of secrecy and faithfulness, shall be brought into question upon some misapprehension or ignorance of law,—if every word that he shall speak from sincere and noble intentions shall be drawn against him for the attainting of him, his children and posterity,—I know not (under favour I speak it) any wise or noble person of fortune who will, upon such perilous and unsafe terms, adventure to be counsellor to the King. Therefore I beseech your lordships so to look on me that my misfortune may not bring an inconvenience to yourselves. And though my words were not so advised and discreet, or so well weighed as they ought to have been, yet I trust that your lordships are too honourable and just to lay them to my charge as high treason. Opinions may make a heretic, but that they make a traitor I have never heard till now.

2. I am come next to speak of the actions which have been charged upon me.

(Here the Earl went through with the various overt acts alleged, and repeated the sum and heads of what had been spoken by him before. In respect to the twenty-eighth article, which charged him with “a malicious design to engage the kingdoms of England and Scotland in a national and bloody war,” but which the managers had not urged in the trial, he added more at large as follows :—)

If that one article had been proved against me, it contained more weighty matter than all the charges besides. It would not only have been treason, but villainy, to have betrayed the trust of his Majesty’s army. But as the managers have been sparing, by reason of the times, as to insisting on that article, I have resolved to keep the same method, and not utter the least expression which might disturb the happy agreement intended between the two kingdoms. I only admire how I, being an incendiary against the Scots in the twenty-third article, am become a confederate with them in the twenty-eighth article! how I could be charged for betraying Newcastle, and also for fighting with the Scots at Newburn, since fighting against them was no possible means of betraying the town into their hands, but rather to hinder their passage thither! I never advised war any further than, in my poor judgment, it concerned the very life of the King’s authority and the safety and honour of his kingdom. Nor did I ever see that any advantage could be made

by a war with Scotland, where nothing could be gained but hard blows. For my part, I honour that nation, but I wish they may ever be under their own climate. I have no desire that they shall be too well acquainted with the better soil of England.

My lords, you see what has been alleged for this constructive, or, rather, destructive treason. For my part, I have not the judgment to conceive that such treason is agreeable to the fundamental grounds either of reason or of law. Not of reason, for how can that be treason in the lump or mass, which is not so in any of its parts? or how can that make a thing treasonable which is not so itself? Not of law since neither statute, common law, nor practice hath from the beginning of the government ever mentioned such a thing.

It is hard, my lords, to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown! Where hath this fire lain hid for so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children? My lords, do we not live under laws? and must we be punished by laws before they are made? Far better were it to live by no laws at all, but to be governed by those characters of virtue and discretion which nature hath stamped upon us, than to put this necessity of divination upon a man, and to accuse him of a breach of law before it is a law at all! If a waterman upon the Thames split his boat by grating upon an anchor, and the same have no buoy appended to it, the owner of the anchor is to pay the loss; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth upon his own peril. Now where is the mark, where is the token set upon the crime, to declare it to be high treason?

My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, such constructive interpretations of law. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be something else than the lives and honour of peers! It will be wisdom for yourselves and your posterity to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, which telleth what is and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. These gentlemen tell as that they speak in defence of the Commonwealth against my arbitrary laws. Give me leave to say it, I speak in defence of the Commonwealth against their arbitrary treason!

It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime to this height before myself. Let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our destruction, by taking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls for so many ages, forgotten or neglected.

My lords, what is my present misfortune may be forever yours ! It is not the smallest part of my grief that not the crime of treason, but my other sins, which are exceeding many, have brought me to this bar ; and, except your lordships' wisdom provide against it, the shedding of my blood may make way for the tracing out of yours. You, your estates, your posterity, lie at the stake !

For my poor self, if it were not for your lordships' interest, and the interest of a saint in heaven, who hath left me here two pledges on earth—(at this his breath stopped and he shed tears abundantly in mentioning his wife)—I should never take the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage of mine. It is loaded with such infirmities, that in truth I have no great pleasure to carry it about with me any longer. Nor could I ever leave it at a fitter time than this, when I hope that the better part of the world would perhaps think that by my misfortunes I had given a testimony of my integrity to my God, my king, my country. I thank God, I count not the afflictions of the present life to be compared to that glory which is to be revealed in the time to come !

My lords ! my lords ! my lords ! something more I had intended to say, but my voice and my spirit fail me. Only I do in all humility and submission cast myself down at your lordships' feet, and desire that I may be a beacon to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put such rocks in your own way, which no prudence, no circumspection can eschew or satisfy, but by your utter ruin !

And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I submit myself to your decision. And whether your judgment in my case—I wish it were not the case of you all—be for life or for death, it shall be righteous in my eyes, and shall be received with a *Te Deum laudamus* !

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INDEX.

INDEX

A

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Abélard, Pierre			" Against Crowning		
Biographical Note.....	V.	3	Demosthenes ".....	VI.	7
" The Resurrection of			Character of.....	VI.	154
Lazarus ".....	V.	4	Demosthenes and.....	VI.	114
" The Last Entry into			Parents of.....	VI.	134, 153
Jerusalem ".....	V.	5	Affection, Buddha on.....	V.	163
" The Divine Tragedy "....	V.	6	Affections, Human.....	IV.	240
Abraham and Canaan.....	IV.	237			
Absolute, Existence and the	VII.	181	AFRICA		
Accidents.....	VIII.	260	Boer Government and		
Accuracy and Thoroughness	IV.	71	England.....	VI.	367
" Achievement of Canada,			Boer War.....	II.	387
The ".....	VI.	40	Britain's Intercourse with	III.	400
" Achievements, Small			British Kaffraria and		
States and Great ".....	III.	111	Federation.....	VIII.	202
Acquired Characters.....	III.	324	Cattle and Wild Beasts.....	VII.	137
Act of Union, 1707.....	VI.	28	Colonisation in, Conditions		
Act of Union, 1800.....	V.	329	for.....	III.	294
Actions, Automatic.....	VII.	121	Egypt, Affairs in.....	III.	296
Adam and Moses, Debate			Kaffirs and British Rule....	VIII.	203
between.....	V.	290	Mahdism in the Sudan.....	III.	295
Addison and Steele, F. D.			Ox of wild parts of South..	VII.	135
Maurice on.....	IV.	177	Pioneers in.....	III.	293
" Address to the Diet at			Slave Trade a check on		
Worms "—Luther.....	V.	268	Civilisation in.....	III.	396
" Address to his Judges "—			Slave Trade—Cause of		
Socrates.....	V.	335	wars in.....	III.	397
Administration, D. Lloyd			Slave Trade in.....	II.	338 ; VI. 264
George on, 1916.....	II.	222	Slaves in, Means of ob-		
Adrian, Emperor.....	V.	378	taining.....	III.	397
" Adult Education ".....	VII.	23	Transvaal, Events in the..	VI.	368
Advice to Men.....	IV.	49	Age and Vice.....	III.	387
" Advice to Young Men ".....	V.	54	Agnates.....	VI.	274
Ælred			Agrarian Law.....	II.	205
Biographical Note.....	IV.	9	Agriculture, Board of.....	II.	227
" A Farewell ".....	IV.	9	Agriculture, Protection of....	VI.	322
" The Sermon after			Air-pressure and density.....	I.	303
Absence ".....	IV.	10	" Alchemist, The "—Extract		
" On Manliness ".....	IV.	11	from.....	IV.	102
Æschines			Alcibiades.....	VII.	163
Biographical Note.....	VI.	6	Alcohol, Against indulgence		
			in.....	VIII.	33

A

	Section	Page
Alcoholism.....	VIII.	267
Alexander I., Czar.....	II.	91
Algazzali—Arabian philosopher.....	I.	335
"Allegory of the Cave".....	III.	276
Allen, Edward A. Introduction Section II. "The Oratory of Anglo-Saxon Countries" II.		1
Alliance, Holy.....	II.	90
Allies, Britain's relations with her.....	II.	234
Allies' Debt to England.....	I.	60
Alps, The.....	IV.	236
Alva, Duke of.....	IV.	391
Amelia, Princess.....	IV.	367
AMERICA (See also under United States)		
"American Scholar, The" VIII.		163
America's part in the War II.		315
"Free Speech in America" V.		186
"War with America, Against".....	VI.	46
Amiens Cathedral and St. Honoré Sculptures.....	IV.	273
Amnesia.....	VII.	51
Amœba.....	I.	177, 197
Amphibians.....	I.	187
Amphissian War.....	VI.	136
Amphictyonic Council.....	IV.	202
Amusements, Rousseau on... VII.		28
Ancestral Worship Evils of.....	V.	256
Religious influence of.....	V.	257
Temple Services in.....	V.	247
ANCIENT HISTORY (See under His- tory—Ancient, Greece, Rome, etc.)		
Ancient and Modern Peoples IV.		54
Ancients, Mercies of the..... VIII.		77
Andrew's University, Early Days of St.....	VI.	354
Angels of Light.....	V.	115
Anger, Buddha on.....	V.	163
Anglican "Modernism".....	V.	199
Anglo-Belgian Relations.....	II.	275
Anglo-French Relations.....	II.	265

	Section	Page
"Anglo-Saxon Countries, Oratory of"—E. A. Allen..	II.	1
ANIMALS		
Instinct in.....	VII.	29
Language and.....	I.	312
Minds of.....	VII.	172
Relations of.....	VII.	97
Resemblance in the bodily Form of.....	I.	235
Souls of.....	I.	309
Animism.....	VII.	72
Anselm, St. Biographical Note.....	V.	8
"The Sea of Life".....	V.	8
ANTHROPOLOGY		
"Magic and Religion".....	I.	346
"Mind and Medicine".....	VII.	276
Phallic Origin of Rites and Customs.....	VII.	272
Prayers of Savages.....	VII.	271
"Primitive Family".....	VI.	268
Savage Customs explained VII.		267
Soul-substance.....	VII.	266
Totem and Tabu.....	VII.	258
Anthroposophy.....	IV.	310
Anticipation, Robertson on.. IV.		240
Anti-Corn Law League.....	VI.	320
Antiquity, authority of, in Art.....	VIII.	70
"Antiquity of Cambridge, The".....	IV.	60
Antony, enemy to Roman State.....	VIII.	53
Anxiety, State of.....	VII.	59
Apollo.....	III.	301
Apollonius of Thyana.....	V.	243
Arabs under Caliph Omar.... VIII.		166
Arahat, Buddha on the.....	V.	156
Archæology (See Architecture, Art, etc.)		
ARCHITECTURE		
Genius and.....	IV.	270
"Influence of Imagination in Architecture".....	IV.	267
Proportions in.....	IV.	270
Sculpture and, difference between.....	IV.	274
Style of.....	IV.	268

A

	Section	Page
"Areopagiticus"—"A Few Wise Laws Wisely Administered".....	V.	211
Areopagus, Council of.....	V.	215
Argon.....	VII.	249
Arians, Belief of the.....	V.	359
"Aristocracy, Defying the French".....	V.	300
Aristocracy of Great Britain.....	II.	135
Aristotle.....	VII.	168; 225
Theory of Personality.....	VII.	39
Armistice, The.....	II.	82
ARMY		
Against Standing.....	III.	287
British.....	II.	16
Great War 1914-18.....	II.	290
Prowess of the Troops.....	VI.	216
New.....	II.	221
Arnold, Matthew		
Biographical Note.....	I.	6
"Science and Literature".....	I.	6
Arnold, Thomas		
Biographical Note.....	V.	11
"The Realities of Life and Death".....	V.	11
ART		
Aims of (Morris).....	VII.	201
America and.....	IV.	149
Antiquity in, Authority of.....	VIII.	70
Artists, their duties and gratifications.....	IV.	283
Artist, training of.....	IV.	64
Artistic Professions.....	IV.	63
Classicalism and Modernism in.....	VII	286
Definition of.....	IV.	47
Detail in, Significance of.....	IV.	279
Egyptian Nation, the Founders of.....	III.	300
"Eloquence and the Fine Arts".....	VIII.	68
English, imperfect organization of.....	IV.	65
Expression.....	VIII.	71
"Genius and Imitation".....	IV.	219
Greece, in.....	III.	301

	Section	Page
Ideals in.....	VII.	292
Limitations of.....	IV.	280
Love of.....	IV.	283
Mediæval Period in.....	VII.	287
Middle Ages, of the.....	IV.	65
Municipalities and.....	VII.	202
Object of.....	VIII.	69
Peace and.....	III.	302
Pleasures of.....	IV.	272
"Pre-Raphaelitism".....	VII.	285
"Public Life, Art in".....	IV.	63
"Stages of Art, The Different".....	IV.	224
Sympathy and.....	IV.	281
Study of.....	IV.	227
Vatican decorated by Raphael.....	VII.	293
War, the Foundation of.....	III.	300
Asquith, Herbert Henry		
Biographical Note.....	I.	12
"Lords against the Constitution".....	I.	14
"To the French Nation".....	II.	7
"The Causes of the War".....	II.	11
Administration of.....	I.	12
Lloyd George on parting with.....	II.	235
Ministry, 1915-16, The achievements of his.....	I.	149
Association in faith.....	VII.	183
Astronomy and primitive beliefs.....	VII.	241
Astronomy, Modern.....	III.	237
"Moon, The".....	I.	35
Athanasius, St.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	17
"The Divinity of Christ".....	V.	17
Athanasian Creed.....	V.	359
ATHENS		
Æschines' attack on Demosthenes.....	VI.	116
"Athenian Greatness, The Cause of".....	VI.	331
Athens in the time of Demosthenes.....	VI.	114
Character of the Athenians.....	VIII.	59

A

	Section	Page
Civilisation, Climax of		
Athenian.....	VI.	331
Democracy in.....	VII.	24
Fortifications of.....	VI.	160
Lacedæmonian Conquest of.....	VI.	58
Love of Freedom in.....	VI.	144
Mitylene and.....	VIII.	58
Philip, Receiving the Oath of.....	VI.	120
“ Atmosphere, Composition of the ”.....	I.	217
“ Atomic Explosions, Elec- trons and ”.....	I.	375
“ Atomic Theory ”.....	I.	394
Atoms.....	I.	375
Degradation of.....	I.	144
Determination of Structure of.....	I.	397
Electronic Constitution of.....	I.	396
Molecules and Atoms, Dif- ference between.....	I.	303
“ Attention ”.....	VII.	161
Atterbury, Francis		
Biographical Note.....	III.	3
“ Under which King ? ”... ..	III.	4
Attila, defeat of.....	VII.	316
Augustine, Saint		
Biographical Note.....	V.	21
“ The Lord’s Prayer ”.....	V.	21
AUSTRALIA		
British Statesmen studying.....	VIII.	206

	Section	Page
“ Christianity in Aus- tralasia ”.....	VII.	4
Church, Influence of, in.....	VII.	7
Constitution of.....	VIII.	203
England and.....	VIII.	203
England, Commercial rela- tions with.....	I.	166
Federation Bill.....	VI.	70
Federating with South Pacific Islands.....	VIII.	209
Free Trade and Protection.....	I.	168
Irrigation, Works on.....	I.	165
Military Spirit in, Plea against.....	VIII.	211
Navy, Her Need of the.....	VI.	72
People’s Right to choose the Governor-general... ..	VIII.	206
Religion, First steps to- wards, in.....	VII.	5
Settlers in, Earliest.....	VII.	4
“ Authors and their Patrons ”.....	IV.	344
Authors, Help from Great....	VI.	4
Autognosis.....	VII.	59
“ Autonomy, Canada and Colonial ”.....	I.	290
“ Autonomy, Home Rule and ”.....	II.	250
Auto-suggestion.....	VII.	66
“ Avarice and Usury ”.....	V.	124
Avebury, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	I.	21
“ Address on Reading ”....	I.	21
Aversion.....	VII.	146

B

	Section	Page
“ Babylonian Legend of the Deluge, The ”.....	V.	80
Bachelors and their Difficul- ties.....	IV.	324
Bacon, Francis		
Biographical Note.....	I.	26
“ Against Duelling ”.....	I.	28
Corruption of.....	I.	27

	Section	Page
Founder of Modern Science.....	I.	369
F. W. Maurice on.....	IV.	172
Balance of Power in Europe.....	II. 36 ; 50 IV.	372
Baldwin, Stanley		
Biographical Note.....	II.	18
“ Peace and Goodwill in Industry ”.....	II.	18

B

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Balfour, Arthur James			" Physical and Intellectual		
Biographical Note.....	II.	25	Beauty ".....	I.	234
" German War Aims ".....	II.	27	Physical and Moral.....	VII.	233
" Education continued			Becquerel.....	I.	287
through Life ".....	IV.	13	Becquerel Rays.....	I.	147
Ball, Robert, Sir			Bede, The Venerable		
Biographical Note.....	I.	35	Biographical Note.....	V.	48
" The Moon ".....	I.	35	" The Meeting of Mercy		
Baltic, Russian Fleet in the..	II.	323	and Justice ".....	V.	49
" Balzac, Honoré De ".....	IV.	117	Beecher, Henry Ward		
Barbarians.....	VII.	139	Biographical Note.....	VI.	11
Barker, Ernest			" Raising the Flag over		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	16	Fort Sumter ".....	VI.	12
" Social Ideas and Edu-			Beggar's Opera, The.....	IV.	107
cation ".....	IV.	16	" Begum Charge, On the "....	VIII.	302
Barnes, Bishop E. W.			" Begums of Oudh, Robbery		
Biographical Note.....	V.	30	of the ".....	VIII.	283
" The Centrality of Jesus " V.		30	BELGIUM		
Barrow, Isaac			England, Appeal to (1914) II.		273
Biographical Note.....	V.	35	England, Relations with... II.		270
" Slander ".....	V.	35	France and Neutrality of.		
Barry, Alfred			1914.....	II.	272
Biographical Note.....	VII.	4	Germany and Neutrality		
" Christianity in Aus-			of, 1914... ..	II.	272
tralasia ".....	VII.	4	Great War. Belgium and		
Basis of Religion.....	VII.	32	the.....	II.	8
Batoum.....	II.	68	" Holland. Greece and		
Baxter, Richard			Belgium ".....	VI.	312
Biographical Note.....	V.	42	Holland and the Separ-		
" Unwillingness to Im-			ation of.....	VI.	314
prove.....	V.	42	Independence of.....	II.	11
Beaconsfield, Lord (Benjamin			Independence of, 1870,		
Disraeli)			Gladstone on.....	II.	259
Biographical Note.....	I.	43	Neutrality of, Gladstone		
" Against Democracy ".....	I.	44	on.....	II.	254
" Denmark and			Sacking of Towns in.....	II.	14
Germany ".....	II.	33	Balhaven, Lord		
" The Berlin Treaty ".....	II.	56	Biographical Note.....	VI.	28
" Beagle," Voyage of the.....	VII.	82	" The National Life of		
Beatty, Admiral Sir D.....	II.	174	Scotland ".....	VI.	29
Beauty			Belief, False.....	IV.	242
Contemplation of.....	IV.	218	Bell, Hugh, Sir		
Discovery of.....	IV.	67	Biographical Note.....	I.	57
Disinterested Emotion of..	VIII.	68	" Economic Science ".....	I.	57
Greeks on.....	I.	238	Bengal, Hastings' action in..	III.	20
			" Berlin Treaty ".....	II.	56

B

	Section	Page
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux		
Biographical Note.....	V.	52
"Preaching the Crusade"	V.	53
"Advice to Young Men"	V.	54
"Against Luxury in the Church"	V.	55
Bernhardi, General	II.	28
Bernstorff, Count	II.	255
Berry, R. J. A.		
Biographical Note.....	I.	70
"Brain and Mind".....	I.	70
Besant, Mrs. Annie Wood		
Biographical Note.....	I.	78
"Man, his Nature and his Powers"	I.	79
Betting, Against	III.	318
BIBLE		
Blessings of the Dead.....	V.	285
"Christ and the Creeds".....	V.	218
Christian Science and the	V.	184
Creeds and the.....	V.	30
Decoration of Mediæval		
Bibles.....	VII.	291
Divinity of Christ and the	V.	17
Donne, John, on.....	V.	137
Immortality and the.....	V.	260
Koran and the.....	V.	346
Miracles of the.....	V.	239
Newman, Cardinal, on the	VI.	308
Peculiarity of Hebrew		
Scriptures.....	V.	348
Wisdom and the.....	VII.	35
Woman and the.....	III.	321
BIOGRAPHY AND CHARACTERISATION		
Abélard, Pierre.....	V.	3
Ælred.....	IV.	9
Æschines.....	VI.	6
Anselm, St.....	V.	8
Arnold, Matthew.....	I.	6
Arnold, Thomas.....	V.	11
Asquith, Herbert H.....	I.	12
Athanasius, St.....	V.	17
Atterbury, Francis.....	III.	3
Augustine, St.....	V.	21
Avebury, Lord.....	I.	21

	Section	Page
Bacon, Francis.....	I.	26
Baldwin, Stanley.....	II.	18
Balfour, Arthur J.....	II.	25
Ball, Sir Robert.....	I.	35
Barker, Ernest.....	IV.	16
Barnes, Ernest W.....	V.	30
Barrow, Isaac.....	V.	35
Barry, Alfred.....	VII.	4
Baxter, Richard.....	V.	42
Beaconsfield, Lord.....	I.	43
Bede, The Venerable.....	V.	48
Beccher, Henry Ward.....	VI.	11
Belhaven, Lord.....	VI.	28
Bell, Sir Hugh.....	I.	57
Bernard, St., of Clairvaux	V.	52
Berry, R. J. A.....	I.	70
Besant, Mrs. Annie.....	I.	78
Birkenhead, Earl of.....	II.	74
Bismarck, Prince.....	II.	85
Blair, Hugh.....	I.	89
Bond, Charles J.....	VIII.	1
Booth, William.....	V.	56
Borden, Robert L.....	I.	99
Bose, Sir Jagadis C.....	I.	102
Bossuet, Jacques Benigne	II.	102
Bourdaloüe, Louis.....	V.	58
Breasted, James H.....	VIII.	11
Briand, Aristide.....	VII.	9
Bridges, Robert.....	VII.	23
Bright, John.....	II.	121
Brooks, Phillips.....	V.	70
Brougham, Lord.....	VI.	45
Brown, William.....	VII.	38
Bryant, William Cullen....	IV.	29
Bryce, Lord.....	I.	107
Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis....	V.	79
Bunyan, John.....	V.	87
Burke, Edmund.....	III.	10
Butler, Joseph.....	V.	99
Byron, Lord.....	I.	116
Cæsar, Gaius Julius.....	VI.	54
Caird, John.....	IV.	33
Calvin, John.....	V.	103
Campbell, Alexander.....	V.	106
Carducci, G.....	III.	68
Carlyle, Thomas.....	IV.	41
Carson, Alexander.....	V.	114
Castelar, Emilio.....	I.	123

B

	Section	Page
Cato, Marcus (The Elder)..	III.	74
Cavour, Camillo Benso, Count Di.....	II.	145
Cecil, Lord.....	VI.	60
Chamberlain, Joseph.....	I.	129
Chamberlain, Sir Austen...	VIII.	18
Chateaubriand.....	VIII.	27
Chatham, Lord.....	II.	151
Chesterfield, Lord.....	VIII.	33
Chesterton, G. K.....	III.	84
Chillingworth, William....	V.	117
Chrysostom, St. John.....	V.	120
Churchill, Winston S.....	II.	166
Cicero, Marcus Tullius.....	VIII.	39
Clarendon, Earl of (Edward Hyde).....	III.	91
Cleon.....	VIII.	58
Clifford, William.....	VII.	70
Cobbett, William.....	III.	93
Cobden, Richard.....	III.	101
Coke, Sir Edward.....	VI.	90
Coleridge, John Duke.....	III.	114
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor..	IV.	52
Colet, John.....	VIII.	61
Cousin, Victor.....	III.	120
Cranmer, Thomas.....	VI.	97
Crewe, Marquess of.....	I.	135
Crispi, Francesco.....	II.	192
Cromwell, Oliver.....	VIII.	75
Crookes, Sir William.....	I.	144
Culpeper, Sir John.....	III.	126
Curran, John Philpot.....	III.	130
Curzon, Marquess.....	I.	148
Cushing, Caleb.....	VI.	104
Cyprian, St.....	V.	125
Cyril, St.....	V.	130
Danton, George Jacques... II.	198	
Darwin, Charles.....	VII.	82
Darwin, Leonard.....	VIII.	100
Davidson, R. T.....	VI.	108
Deakin, Alfred.....	I.	165
Demosthenes.....	VI.	114
Dendy, Arthur.....	I.	175
Deseze, Raymond.....	VIII.	117
Desmoulins, Camille.....	VIII.	121
D'Ewes, Sir Simon.....	IV.	60
Dickens, Charles.....	VIII.	124
Dilke, Sir Charles W.....	III.	143

	Section	Page
Donne, John.....	V.	135
Dostoevsky, Fyodor M....	VII.	104
Drummond, Henry.....	VIII.	137
Eliot, Sir John.....	III.	153
Emerson, Ralph Waldo....	VIII.	159
Emmet, Robert.....	VI.	165
Erskine, Lord.....	I.	200
Falconer, Sir R. A.....	III.	160
Falkland, Lord.....	III.	163
Faraday, Michael.....	I.	213
Farrar, Frederick William	VI.	172
Fénelon, François.....	V.	140
Finch, Sir Heneage.....	VI.	179
Fisher, Herbert A. L.....	I.	221
Fisher, John.....	IV.	68
Flaxman, John.....	I.	234
Fox, Charles James.....	I.	240
Freud, Sigmund.....	VII.	119
Froude, James Anthony... VIII.	178	
Galton, Sir Francis.....	VII.	129
Gambetta, Leon.....	II.	207
Gautama Buddha.....	V.	150
Geikie, Sir Archibald.....	IV.	71
George V., King.....	VI.	215
George, David Lloyd.....	II.	215
Gladstone, William Ewart	II.	239
Gottheil, Richard.....	V.	169
Grattan, Henry.....	VI.	220
Gregory, Sir Richard.....	I.	245
Grey, Sir George.....	VIII.	201
Grey, Lord (of Fallodon)... II.	263	
Guizot, François.....	I.	252
Gunsaulus, Frank W.....	V.	183
Haldane, Lord.....	VII.	147
Hamilton, Andrew.....	V.	185
Hamilton, Sir William.....	VII.	161
Hampden, John.....	III.	171
Hare, Julius Charles.....	IV.	76
Harrison, Frederic.....	V.	197
Harrison, Jane E.....	II.	278
Harrison, Thomas.....	VI.	228
Hazlitt, William.....	IV.	82
Hecker, Frederick.....	I.	261
Helmholtz, H. Ferdinand	I.	269
Henry VIII.....	III.	175
Hildebert.....	V.	200
Holborne, Sir Robert.....	III.	178
Hughes, Thomas.....	IV.	111

B

	Section	Page
Hugo, Victor.....	IV.	116
Hume, David.....	III.	183
Huxley, Thomas H.....	I.	277
Ingersoll, Robert G.....	II.	286
Isocrates.....	V.	211
Jackson, F. J. Foakes.....	V.	218
James I. and VI.....	VI.	233
James, William.....	VII.	170
Jowett, Benjamin.....	V.	224
Jung, C. G.....	III.	191
Keith, A. B.....	VI.	237
Kelvin, Lord.....	IV.	141
Kingsley, Charles.....	VIII.	213
Kitchener, Lord.....	II.	289
Knox, John.....	III.	199
Kossuth, Louis.....	VI.	247
Lacordaire, J. B. H.....	V.	237
Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis.....	III.	206
Latimer, Hugh.....	I.	282
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid.....	VIII.	216
Legge, James.....	V.	246
Leighton, Archbishop.....	V.	258
Lenthall, William.....	VI.	253
Lewis, David.....	V.	263
Lincoln, Abraham.....	VI.	257
Lister, Lord.....	VII.	176
Lodge, Sir Oliver.....	I.	286
Lowell, James Russell.....	IV.	144
Luther, Martin.....	V.	267
Lyndhurst, Lord.....	VIII.	222
Lysias.....	V.	280
Lytton, Lord.....	IV.	154
Macaulay, Lord.....	III.	213
Macdonald, J. R.....	III.	232
Mackintosh, Sir James.....	I.	289
Macpherson, H. C.....	III.	237
Magnus, Albertus.....	V.	283
Mahomet.....	V.	286
Maine, Sir Henry J. S.....	VI.	268
Manning, Cardinal.....	VIII.	230
Mansel, Henry L.....	VII.	178
Mansfield, Chief-Justice.....	III.	248
Marconi, G.....	I.	296
Marshall, Chief-Justice.....	VI.	280
Massillon, J. B.....	V.	291
Maurice, Frederick D.....	IV.	167
Maxwell, James Clerk.....	I.	302

	Section	Page
Mazzini, Giuseppe.....	II.	297
Melanchthon, Philip.....	V.	296
Mill, John S.....	IV.	183
Miller, Hugh.....	IV.	191
Milton, John.....	IV.	195
Mirabeau, Comte de.....	II.	303
Monroe, James.....	IV.	200
Montgomery, James.....	IV.	205
More, Sir Thomas.....	VI.	291
Morley, Lord.....	IV.	209
Morris, William.....	VII.	190
Muller, Max.....	I.	308
Mussolini, B.....	I.	314
Myers, Charles S.....	VII.	208
Newman, Cardinal.....	V.	306
Newman, Sir George.....	VIII.	235
Newsholme, Sir A.....	VIII.	266
O'Connell, Daniel.....	V.	310
Osler, Sir William.....	I.	328
Page, Walter Hines.....	II.	307
Palmerston, Lord.....	II.	317
Pankhurst, Mrs. E.....	III.	251
Parker, Theodore.....	III.	263
Pasteur, Louis.....	VII.	234
Peddie, William.....	I.	334
Peel, Sir Robert.....	VI.	312
Penn, William.....	III.	267
Percy, Lord Eustace.....	II.	325
Pericles.....	VI.	331
Perry, John.....	I.	339
Petrie, W. M. Flinders.....	V.	320
Pitt, William (The younger).....	II.	332
Planck, Max.....	I.	343
Plato.....	III.	272
Plunkett, Baron.....	VI.	337
Poe, Edgar Allan.....	IV.	215
Pulteney, William.....	III.	287
Pym, John.....	VI.	344
Rayleigh, Lord.....	VII.	249
Reynolds, Sir Joshua.....	IV.	219
Rivers, William Halse.....	I.	346
Robertson, Frederick W.....	IV.	233
Robespierre, M. M. I.....	II.	371
Roosevelt, Theodore.....	I.	350
Rosebery, Earl of.....	IV.	255
Ross, Sir Ronald.....	I.	361
Rumbold, Richard.....	VI.	362

B

	Section	Page
Ruskin, John.....	III.	299
Russell, Lord John.....	I.	367
Rutherford, Sir Ernest.....	I.	375
Saleeby, C. W.....	III.	322
Savonarola, Girolamo.....	VII.	301
Schafer, Sir E. A. S.....	I.	377
Schopenhauer, A.....	III.	350
Seddon, Richard John.....	VI.	365
Seeley, Sir J. R.....	VII.	306
Seneca, Lucius A.....	VI.	371
Shaw, G. Bernard.....	VII.	322
Shell, Richard L.....	V.	326
Shelley, Percy B.....	IV.	287
Sheridan, Richard B.....	II.	381
Sidney, Algernon.....	VIII.	309
Smith, Goldwin.....	IV.	296
Smuts, Jan Christian.....	II.	386
Socrates.....	V.	334
Soddy, Frederick.....	I.	385
Spencer, Herbert.....	VII.	329
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn..	V.	341
Stebbing, T. R. R.....	VII.	359
Steiner, Rudolf.....	IV.	309
Strafford, Earl of.....	VIII.	318
Swift, Jonathan.....	V.	358
Talfourd, Sir Thomas N...	III.	359
Taylor, Jeremy.....	IV.	321
Tertullian.....	V.	364
Thackeray, William M.....	IV.	342
Thiers, Adolphe.....	IV.	370
Thompson, W. D'Arcy W. I.	I.	391
Thomson, Sir J. J.....	I.	394
Tillotson, John.....	IV.	384
Tone, Theobald Wolfe.....	VI.	374
Treitschke, H.....	V.	369
Tyndale, William.....	V.	373
Tyndall, John.....	I.	403
Vane, Sir Henry.....	VI.	377
Vergniaud, Pierre V.....	II.	396
Vincent, George Edgar.....	VII.	393
Waller, Edmund.....	III.	376
Walpole, Sir Robert and Horace.....	III.	382
Webb, Sidney.....	II.	401
Wentworth, Peter.....	VI.	383
Wesley, John.....	V.	376
Whitefield, George.....	V.	385
Wilberforce, William.....	III.	396

	Section	Page
Wilkes, John.....	IV.	387
Wilson, Thomas Woodrow	VI.	393
Wordsworth, William.....	V.	390
Wyclif, John.....	V.	395
BIOLOGY		
" Biological Foundations of Society ".....	I.	185
" Biology and History "...	III.	322
" Biology, The Greater Problems of ".....	I.	391
Darwin, Life and Work of Charles.....	VII.	82
Germ Cell, The.....	I.	175
Germ-plasm, Continuity of	I.	176
Heredity.....	I.	180
Heredity, Problem of.....	I.	177
Importance of.....	VIII.	104
Mendelism.....	I.	180
Protoplasm, Origin of.....	I.	281
Sex, Phenomenon of.....	I.	181
" Stream of Life, The ".....	I.	175
Birds.....	I.	187
" Birkenhead," Loss of.....	IV.	347
Birkenhead, Earl of Biographical Note.....	II.	74
" Idealism in Inter- national Politics ".....	II.	75
Birrell, Augustine—Introduc- tion, Section VII.....	VII.	1
Bishops, Milton and the.....	IV.	5
Bismarck, Prince Biographical Note.....	II.	85
" Vindication of Blood and Iron ".....	II.	86
On the Neutrality of Belgium.....	II.	255
The Man.....	VIII.	218
Black Sea, Russian Fleet in the.....	II.	323
Blair, Hugh Biographical Note.....	I.	89
" On Gentleness ".....	I.	89
Bliss, Buddha on.....	V.	162
" Blood and Iron, Vindica- tion of ".....	II.	86

B

	Section	Page		Section	Page
BODY			BOSNIA		
“ Body and Mind ”	VII.	70	Occupied by Austria.....	II.	63
Defence of.....	VIII.	262	Treaty of Berlin and.....	II.	61
Development of Mind and	IV.	273	Bossuet, Jacques Benigne		
Health of.....	VIII.	255	Biographical Note.....	II.	102
Human, The.....	I.	186	“ Funeral Oration over		
Physique.....	VIII.	251, 256	the Prince of Condé ”...	II.	104
Resurrection of the.....	V.	135	BOTANY (See also Plants)		
Boer War	II.	387	“ Plants can record their		
British and the Boers.....	VI.	367	own Story, How ”.....	I.	104
“ New Zealand and the			Relation of Plants.....	VII.	97
Boer War ”.....	VI.	365	“ Wonders of Plant Life ”	I.	102
Bolzano, Occupation of	I.	323	Bourbon, House of	VI.	190
Bond, Charles J.			Bourdaloue, Louis		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	1	Biographical Note.....	V.	58
“ Natural Capacity and			“ The Passion of Christ ”..	V.	59
Vocation ”.....	VIII.	1	Bossuet and.....	II.	103
BOOKS			Boyle, Robert..	I.	303
Best Books to read.....	I.	1	Brahe, Tycho.....	VIII.	279
Bookland.....	V.	1	Brahmin, Sacred Caste of a..	III.	62
Lord Avebury on.....	I.	21	Brahminical Mythology.....	III.	220
Lord Morley on.....	IV.	211	Braid and Hypnotic Ex-		
On Books.....	III.	1	periments.....	I.	84
On the Friendship of.....	IV.	167	“ Brain and Mind ”.....	I.	70
Study of.....	IV.	1	Brain, Discovery of.....	VIII.	12
“ Talk on Books ”.....	VI.	4	Brain, Structure of the.....	VII.	73
Booth, William			Breasted, James H.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	56	Biographical Note.....	VIII.	11
“ Moral Courage against			“ Historical Tradition and		
Ridicule ”.....	V.	56	Oriental Research ”.....	VIII.	11
Borden, Robert Laird, Sir			Brest-Litovsk, Parleys at	VI.	395
Biographical Note.....	I.	99	Briand, Aristide		
“ Hope for Liberty and			Biographical Note.....	VII.	9
Democracy ”.....	I.	100	“ Speech at the Washing-		
“ Oversea Dominions and			ton Conference ”.....	VII.	9
the War ”.....	II.	98	“ Spirit of Solidarity,		
“ The Achievement of			The ”.....	VIII.	16
Canada ”.....	VI.	40	Bribery, Against	III.	384
Borgia, Cæsar	V.	370	Bridges, Robert		
Bose, J. C., Sir			Biographical Note.....	VII.	23
Biographical Note.....	I.	102	“ Adult Education ”.....	VII.	23
“ The Wonders of Plant			Bright, John		
Life ”.....	I.	102	Biographical Note.....	II.	121
“ How Plants can record			“ Canada and the United		
their own Story ”.....	I.	104	States ”.....	II.	125

B

	Section	Page		Section	Page
" British Foreign Policy "	II.	133	Needs of.....	I.	166
" Crimean War "	II.	139	Press of.....	III.	168
BRITAIN, GREAT (See also England and Scotland)			Prospect of.....	III.	169
" Britain, A Better "	VI.	215	System of the.....	II.	394
" Britain's Welcome to America as an Ally "	II.	236	" Tightening the Ties of Empire "	VI.	68
Colonial Policy, Gladstone on.....	II.	240	British Nation, The Im- portance of.....	IV.	195
Emancipation in, Universal.....	III.	137	" British War Policy ".....	II.	263
Future of.....	VIII.	194	Brooks, Phillips		
" Great Britain in Panorama ".....	IV.	261	Biographical Note.....	V.	70
Loan to Greece, 1830.....	VI.	313	" Lincoln as a Typical American ".....	V.	70
" Man Power of Britain "	II.	290	" Power over the Lives of Others ".....	V.	77
Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century, British	III.	396	Brougham, Lord		
The Act of Union.....	VI.	29	Biographical Note.....	VI.	45
British Constitution.....	III. 76 IV.	184	" Against War with America ".....	VI.	46
BRITISH EMPIRE (See also under separate Colonies)			Brown, William		
British Colonial Policy.....	II.	240	Biographical Note.....	VII.	38
British Commonwealth of Nations.....	II.	386	" Psychology of Personality ".....	VII.	38
Colonies to Protect, Need for.....	VI.	369	" Psychopathology and Dissociation ".....	VII.	48
Constitutional Relations in the.....	II.	389	" Practice of Prayer, The ".....	VII.	63
Co-operation in the.....	IV.	14	" Brute, The Impassable Barrier between Man and the ".....	I.	308
Democracy and.....	VI.	237	Brutes, Instinct and In- tellect.....	I.	311
Free Trade within the.....	VI.	84	Brutus and Gaul.....	VIII.	55
Foreign Policy, The Im- portance of a Common..	II.	393	Brutus and Liberty.....	V.	195
Future Government of the	II.	390	Bryant, William Cullen		
Geographical question of Peace After War, 1914-18.....	II.	389	Biographical Note.....	IV.	29
Hereditary Kingship of the.....	II.	391	" The Greatness of Burns ".....	IV.	29
" Home Rule and the Empire ".....	I.	130	Bryce, Lord		
Locarno Treaty and.....	VIII.	25	Biographical Note.....	I.	107
Mutual Benefits of the.....	I.	171	" Some Hints on Reading ".....	I.	1
" Naval and Military De- fence of the Empire ".....	VI.	78	" The Value of Speech "...	I.	108
			" Saving the World for Freedom ".....	VI.	51
			BUDDHISM		
			Buddha, Life of.....	V.	150
			" Buddha, The " Gautama on.....	V.	161

B

	Section	Page
Noble Eightfold Path, The	V.	166
Teaching of Buddha.....	V.	150
"Way of Virtue," Buddha's.....	V.	151
Budge, E. A. Wallis, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	V.	79
"The Babylonian Legend of the Deluge".....	V.	80
BULGARIA		
Bismarck on.....	II.	96
Genesis of the new.....	II.	57
Bunyan, John		
Biographical Note.....	V.	87
"The Heavenly Palm"....	V.	88
Burke, Edmund		
Biographical Note.....	III.	10

	Section	Page
"The Impeachment of Warren Hastings".....	III.	13
F. D. Maurice on.....	IV.	180
Conciliation, on.....	II.	3
"Burns".....	IV.	256
Death of.....	IV.	257
Greatness of.....	IV.	29
Business, Modern.....	VII.	157
Butler, Joseph (Bishop of Durham)		
Biographical Note.....	V.	99
"The Government of the Tongue".....	V.	99
Byrhtnoth.....	II.	2
Byron, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	I.	116
"The Luddites".....	I.	117
Byzantine Empire.....	VIII.	230

C

	Section	Page
Cabinet, Size of.....	II.	232
Cadiz, First Expedition to...	III.	157
Cæsar, Gaius Julius		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	54
"On the Conspiracy of Catiline".....	VI.	56
Campaigns of.....	II.	114
Caird, John		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	33
"The Art of Eloquence" IV.	IV.	33
Calcutta, Council at.....	III.	43
Calvin, John		
Biographical Note.....	V.	103
"The Necessity for Courage".....	V.	104
Copernicus, on.....	III.	238
Cambridge		
Antiquity of.....	IV.	50
Education of Ancient Kings.....	IV.	62
Precedency of, over Oxford	IV.	61

	Section	Page
Campbell, Alexander		
Biographical Note.....	V.	106
"Mind, the Master Force" V.	V.	106
Canaan and Abraham.....	IV.	237
CANADA		
"Achievement of Canada" VI.	VI.	40
Autonomy and Canada.....	II.	252
Britain and.....	I.	132
British Goods and.....	VI.	86
Colonial Autonomy.....	I.	290
Constitution of 1828.....	I.	292
England and.....	IV. 382, VIII.	204
Expeditionary Force.....	II.	98
Food Production In- creased.....	VI.	42
Military Service, Compul- sory.....	VI.	42
Munitions.....	VI.	43
Naval and Military Ex- penditure.....	VI.	82
Navy, Her need of the.....	VI.	72

C

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Parliament, Representa- tion of People in.....	I.	292	Catholics in 1807.....	V.	328
Political Economy, 1828..	I.	292	Centre of the Catholic World.....	VIII.	231
Property, Law of.....	I.	292	Defence of, In.....	V.	332
"Reactions on Canadian Nationalism".....	III.	160	Education and.....	VI.	298
"United States and Canada".....	II.	123	Liberty and.....	V.	239
War, 1914-18, Canada's part in the Great.....	VI.	41	Persecution in Charles II.'s Reign.....	V.	263
Capacity, Innate.....	VIII.	6	Plot to establish.....	VI.	91
"Capacity, Natural, and Vocation".....	VIII.	1	Protestants and the, 1807..	V.	328
CAPITALISM			Temporal Power of.....	II.	193
Capital and Labour.....	I.	64	Catiline		
Capital in Nature.....	I.	198	Against death penalty for Catiline.....	VIII.	51
Karl Marx on.....	VII.	326	"Conspiracy of Catiline"	VI.	56
Ruskin's Views on.....	VII.	325	"First Oration against Catiline".....	VIII.	42
Capital Punishment.....	II.	372, 377	Cato, Marcus (The Elder)		
Carbohydrates.....	I.	383	Biographical Note.....	III.	74
Carducci, G.			"Woman's Rights".....	III.	74
Biographical Note.....	III.	68	"Causes of the War".....	II.	11
"The Work of Dante".....	III.	69	Causes of Wars.....	II.	244
Career, Choosing a.....	VIII.	9	"Cave, Allegory of the".....	III.	276
Carlyle, Thomas			Cavour, Camillo Benso, Count di		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	41	Biographical Note.....	II.	145
"The Edinburgh Address"	IV.	42	"Rome and Italy".....	II.	146
"The Heroic in History".....	V.	111	Caracci, Lodovico.....	IV.	229
"Mahomet".....	V.	286	Cecil, Lord		
War, on.....	III.	305	Biographical Note.....	VI.	60
Carson, Alexander			"World Peace".....	VI.	60
Biographical Note.....	V.	114	Central Powers and Russia, 1918.....	VI.	394
"The Glories of Im- mortality".....	V.	114	"Centrality of Jesus, The".....	V.	30
Caste, Question of.....	III.	61	Cells.....	I.	175, 377
Castelar, Emilio			Celts.....	II.	1
Biographical Note.....	I.	123	Chamberlain, Austen, Sir		
"Plea for the United States of Europe".....	I.	124	Biographical Note.....	VIII.	18
Castlereagh, Lord.....	IV.	189	"The Locarno Pact".....	VIII.	19
Cathedral, Amiens.....	IV.	273	Chamberlain, Joseph		
Catherine of Russia, Empress	VIII.	227	Biographical Note.....	I.	129
CATHOLIC CHURCH, ROMAN			"Empire and Home Rule"	I.	130
Catholics and reform, 1797	III.	142	"Manhood Suffrage".....	I.	134
Catholic Emancipation, Plea for.....	III.	137	"Tightening the Ties of Empire".....	VI.	68
			"Naval and Military Defence of the Empire"	VI.	78

C

	Section	Page
Chancery and "Bleak House".....	IV.	347
Character.....	I. 364 ; IV. 214 ; VII.	79
Building of.....	VIII.	272
J. B. Bossuet on.....	II.	111
Man's, the Importance of.....	IV.	298
"Characteristics of Shakespeare's Dramas"....	IV.	52
Charity.....	III. 125 ; VII.	183
Lack of, under Henry VIII.....	III.	176
Patience and.....	V.	366
Charles, Proportional expansion of Gases.....	I.	304
Charles I.		
Power of.....	VI.	347
Foreign Affairs under.....	III.	156
"Grievances against Charles I.".....	VI.	344
"Opening the Long Parliament".....	VI.	253
Parliament and, 1648.....	VI.	181
Charles II.		
Plot to assassinate, 1683... ..	VI.	362
"Prosecutions for Regicide under".....	VI.	179
Triple Alliance and.....	VI.	191
Charlotte, Princess.....	IV.	359
Chastity.....	IV.	336
Chateaubriand		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	27
"International Rights"....	VIII.	28
Chatham, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	II.	151
"Conciliation with America".....	II.	153
"Defence of Weaker States".....	II.	162
"Last Speech of Chatham".....	II.	164
"The English Constitution".....	III.	76
"Debate with Pitt, 1741".....	III.	383
On the American Spirit.....	II.	3
Theatrical Behaviour of.....	III.	386
Chau Dynasty of China.....	V.	247
Chauvelin.....	VI.	187
Chemical Elements, Formation of.....	I.	145

	Section	Page
Chemical Substances produced by Glands.....	I.	382
Chemists, Great.....	IV.	164
Chesterfield, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	33
"Against Revenues from Drunkenness and Vice".....	VIII.	33
Chesterton, Gilbert K.		
Biographical Note.....	III.	84
"The Superstitions of the Sceptic".....	III.	84
"Chicken Cholera," Pasteur's work on.....	VII.	235
Child, Influences affecting a... ..	VII.	142
Children, Characteristics of... ..	VIII.	275
"Children of Light, The"....	IV.	76
Children, Play of.....	VIII.	275
Children, Training of.....	VIII.	275
Chillingworth, William		
Biographical Note.....	V.	117
"False Pretences".....	V.	117
CHINA		
Ancestor Worship.....	V.	247
Board of Rites.....	V.	256
Chau Dynasty.....	V.	247
"Confucianism".....	V.	246
Feudal System in.....	V.	253
Filial Piety in.....	V.	247
Manchu Dynasty.....	V.	251
Mencius.....	V.	246
Prayers in Ancestral Worship.....	V.	252
Seasonal Occasions at Court of.....	V.	251
Spirit-tablets of Hsia Period.....	V.	249
Taoist Superstition.....	V.	254
Worship of Material Objects.....	V.	255
Cholera, Ravages of.....	VIII.	236
CHRIST		
Blood of.....	V.	68
"Christ and the Creeds"....	V.	218
Crucifixion of.....	V.	6
"Divinity of Christ".....	V.	17
Forsaken.....	V.	66

C

	Section	Page
Gospel and Message of.....	V.	31
“Gospel of the Epiphany, The”.....	VII.	304
Idealism of.....	II.	76
Liberty and.....	IV.	119
Miracles of.....	V.	240
“Passion of Christ”.....	V.	59
Prayer and.....	V.	22
Redeemer, The.....	V.	32
Teaching of.....	VIII	139
Voltaire and.....	IV.	122
CHRISTIANITY		
Achievements of.....	III.	215
Agnostics.....	V.	199
Art and.....	VII.	291
Astronomy and.....	III.	247
“Australasia, Christianity in”.....	VII.	4
Children and.....	I.	390
Civilisation and.....	I.	257
Duty, Substance of Christian.....	IV.	76
Gentleness and.....	I.	92
Hope of another Life.....	V.	261
“Mohammedanism and Christianity”.....	V.	341
Morality and the State.....	V.	371
Roman Marriages and.....	VI.	278
Rome and.....	VIII.	231
Science and.....	I. 389; V.	33
Shelley on.....	IV.	288
Social Implications of.....	III.	232
“Trinity, Doctrine of the”	V.	359
Chromosomes.....	I.	181
Chrysostom, St. John Biographical Note.....	V.	120
“The Blessing of Death”	V.	121
“The Heroes of Faith”.....	V.	122
“Avarice and Usury”.....	V.	124
CHURCH		
“Against Luxury in the Church”.....	V.	55
Ancient Canons of the.....	VIII.	64
Corn Laws and the.....	III.	106
Difficulties of Modern Christianity and the.....	V.	223

	Section	Page
Diminishing Hold of.....	VIII.	270
Eastern.....	VII.	340
Evils in the.....	IV.	6
Liberal Knowledge and....	VI.	297
“Necessity of Reforma- tion in the Church”.....	VIII.	62
Philosophy and the.....	VII.	228
“Plea for Reformation in the Church”.....	VII.	302
Preacher, The.....	V.	138
Roman Catholic (See also Catholic Church, Roman),	VIII.	230
Russian.....	VII.	347
Spain, Church of.....	I.	125
State of the.....	II.	150
St. Anselm on the.....	V.	8
Churchill, Winston S. Biographical Note.....	II.	166
“The Work of the Navy”	II.	166
“Return to the Gold Standard”.....	II.	177
“Widows’ Pensions”.....	II.	182
Patriotism of.....	II.	81
Cicero, Marcus Tullius Biographical Note.....	VIII.	39
“The First Oration against Catiline”.....	VIII.	42
“The Fourth Philippic”..	VIII.	53
Influence over prose Literature.....	VIII.	39
On Knowledge.....	VII.	222
Plot to slay.....	VIII.	45
Politics of.....	VIII.	41
“Citadel of Peace and Liberty”.....	III.	168
Citizen, Demosthenes’ des- cription of a.....	VI.	161
CIVIL WAR: AMERICAN		
Beginning of.....	VI.	266
Benefits to South from the United States.....	VI.	23
Causes of.....	VI.	17
General Grant in the.....	VI.	174
Leaders responsible for.....	VI.	21
Resulting Benefits of.....	VI.	17, 21
Thanksgiving after.....	VI.	13

C

	Section	Page
CIVILISATION		
Christianity and.....	I.	257
“ Individual, Civilisation and the ”.....	I.	253
Man and.....	I.	257
Signification of.....	I.	253
Social State and.....	I.	259
Clarendon, Earl of (Edward Hyde)		
Biographical Note.....	III.	91
“ In John Hampden’s Case ”.....	III.	91
Classicism and Modernism in Art.....	VII.	286
Classics		
“ Demosthenes and the Nobility of the Classics ”	IV.	154
Educational Value of the..	IV.	134
Necessary as part of Education.....	I.	4
Clay, Henry.....	II.	5
Cleon		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	58
“ Democracies and Subject Colonies ”.....	VIII.	58
Clergy, Evils of the (1512)...	VIII.	62
Clifford, William Kingdon		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	70
“ Body and Mind ”.....	VII.	70
“ The Facts of Conscious- ness ”.....	VII.	77
Coal and Electricity.....	VII.	149
Coalition Government and the War.....	I.	149
Cobbett, William		
Biographical Note.....	III.	93
“ The Man on the Tower ”	III.	94
“ On Reform and Reformers ”.....	III.	97
Cobden, Richard		
Biographical Note.....	III.	101
“ Free Trade with all Nations ”.....	III.	102
“ Small States and Great Achievements ”.....	III.	111
Codrus of Greece.....	VI.	381
Cognition.....	VI.	274

	Section	Page
Coke, Edward, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	90
“ Prosecuting Sir Walter Raleigh ”.....	VI.	90
Coleridge, John Duke		
Biographical Note.....	III.	114
“ Is Marriage a Sacrament ? ”.....	III.	114
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	52
“ The Characteristics of Shakespeare’s Dramas ”	IV.	52
Miller on.....	IV.	192
Colet, John		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	61
“ Necessity of Reforma- tion in the Church ”.....	VIII.	62
Colleges, Functions of.....	IV.	136
Colonial Policy, British.....	II.	240
COLONIES (See also under separate Colonies)		
British and Colonial Troops.....	VI.	73
Colonisation.....	II.	245
Commercial Relations with Great Britain.....	VI.	83
Education in.....	IV.	14
French.....	II.	29
Government and the.....	VI.	80
Great War and the, 1914-18.....	VI.	216
Loyalty of the.....	VI.	79
Military Defence of.....	VI.	71
Self-Government in the.....	VI.	368
Settlers in the.....	III.	294
United Kingdom’s Re- lations with.....	VI.	68
Colour Problem.....	I.	138
Comedy, Heroines of.....	IV.	94
Commerce.....	VI.	83
Britain and Colonies.....	I.	169
“ Common Lands, Enclosing the.....	I.	283
Common Sense, Uses of.....	III.	76
“ Commonwealth of Nations, The British ”.....	II.	386
“ Commons and its Rights, The ”.....	IV.	392

C

	Section	Page
" Communism ".....	VII.	191
Meaning of.....	VII.	197
Ruskin as a Communist....	VII.	327
" Composition of the At-		
mosphere ".....	I.	217
Comte, Auguste.....	VII.	236
Concentration.....	VII.	121
Concentration in Science.....	I.	248
" Conception of the Infinite "	VII.	178
Condé, Louis Bourbon,		
Prince of.....	II.	104
Conduct, Individual.....	VIII.	2
Conduct, Levels of.....	VIII.	272
" Confucianism ".....	V.	246
Conscience		
Definition of.....	V.	320
Facts of.....	VII.	77
Faith and.....	VII.	144
" Growth of Conscience " ..	V.	320
Inherited Development of	V.	321
Conscious Reason of Man....	VII.	30
Consciousness, in the form		
of a relation.....	VII.	180
Consciousness, State of.....	IV.	315
" Consciousness, The Facts		
of ".....	VII.	77
Conservation of Energy.....	I.	387
Conservative Party		
House of Lords and.....	I.	19
Policy of the.....	I.	44
Constantine, Emperor.....	VII.	311
CONSTITUTIONAL LAW		
" British Constitution,		
The ".....	IV.	184
" Capital Punishment,		
Against ".....	II.	372
" Commons and its Rights " IV.	392	
Constitutional Relations		
in the British Empire....	II.	389
" England and English		
Liberties ".....	III.	136
" English Constitution,		
The ".....	III.	76
" Foundation of a Federal		
Institution ".....	VIII.	202
" Fundamental Rights " ...	I.	201
" International Rights " ...	VIII.	28

	Section	Page
" Law, The Foundation		
of ".....	III.	123
" Lords against the Con-		
stitution ".....	I.	14
" Magna Charta, The		
Principles of the ".....	III.	267
" National Organisation ".	I.	149
" Petition of Right ".....	III.	154
" Ship Money ".....	III.	164
" Socialism and Discon-		
tent ".....	II.	195
Conversation.....	V.	100
Conversion.....	III.	196, VII. 65
Convoys.....	II.	172
Copernicus.....	III.	237
" Corn, Concerning a Grain		
of ".....	V.	398
Corn Laws.....	III.	102
John Bright and.....	II.	122
Opposition to the.....	VI.	320
" Repeal of the Corn Laws " VI.	317	
Cornelius, Prayer of.....	V.	129
Corruption of the English		
Government, 1794.....	II.	385
Corsica.....	II.	162
Corunna, Battle of.....	I.	37
Cosenza, Martyrs of.....	II.	297
Cotton Workers of Lancashire	III.	259
Country and Freedom.....	VII.	187
Country and Town Life.....	VII.	27
Country, Peoples within a....	VII.	185
" Courage, Moral, Against		
Ridicule ".....	V.	56
" Courage, The Necessity		
for ".....	V.	104
Court of the Star Chamber... V.	190	
" Court Martial, Before the " VI.	374	
Courtesy, Definition of.....	VIII.	143
Cousin, Victor		
Biographical Note.....	III.	120
" Liberty an Inalienable		
Right ".....	III.	121
" The Foundations of		
Law ".....	III.	123
" Eloquence and the Fine		
Arts ".....	VIII.	68
Cowper, F. D. Maurice on		
William.....	IV.	181

C

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Cracow Question, The.....	II.	322	Cromwell, Richard.....	VI.	377
Cranmer, Thomas			Crookes, Sir William		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	97	Biographical Note.....	I.	144
"Speech at the Stake"....	VI.	99	"The Realization of a		
"Against the Fear of			Dream".....	I.	144
Death".....	VI.	102	Cross, St. Chrysostom on the	V.	122
"Forgiveness of Injuries"	VI.	102	"Crown, On the".....	VI.	115
"Creation, Mystery of"....	I.	269	Crown, The Prerogative of		
Creator, Anthropomorphic			the.....	III.	392
Ideas of the.....	VII.	370	Crucifixion, Bourdaloue on		
"Creeds, Christ and the"....	V.	218	the, of Christ.....	V.	59
Crewe, Marquess of			"Meaning of the Cruci-		
Biographical Note.....	I.	135	fixion".....	V.	283
"Indian Emigration".....	I.	135	"Crusade, Preaching the"....	V.	53
CRIME AND CRIMINALS			Crusades, Origin of.....	V.	342
"Crime and Insanity".....	VII.	130	Crusaders.....	VI.	110
Crime increased by death			Crusaders, Russian.....	VII.	353
penalty.....	II.	373	Culpeper, Sir John		
Criminals, Characteristics			Biographical Note.....	III.	126
of.....	VII.	132	"Against Monopolies".....	III.	127
Criminal Class, Perpetua-			Culture		
tion by Heredity.....	VII.	131	Analysis of.....	I.	347
CRIMEAN WAR			"Dreams and Primitive		
"Crimean War".....	II.	139	Culture".....	VII.	257
"Crimean War and			German.....	II.	13
Russia".....	VIII.	222	Of Sensibility.....	III.	123
Crispi, Francesco			Curie, Researches of M. and		
Biographical Note.....	II.	192	Mme.....	I.	399
"Unveiling of Garibaldi's			Curran, John Philpot		
Statue".....	II.	193	Biographical Note.....	III.	130
"Socialism and Discon-			"For Free Speech".....	III.	131
tent".....	II.	195	"Against Pensions".....	III.	133
Cromwell, Oliver			"England and English		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	75	Liberties".....	III.	136
"Protector and Parlia-			"Farewell to the Irish		
ment".....	VIII.	76	Parliament".....	III.	140
"Debating whether to			"Curse of a Malignant		
become King".....	VIII.	94	Tongue".....	V.	291
Cavalier Party and.....	VIII.	81	Curtis, George William.....	II.	5
Character of.....	VIII.	99	Curzon, Marquess		
English Parliament and....	VIII.	78	Biographical Note.....	I.	148
Fox on.....	VI.	208	"National Organisation"	I.	149
Long Parliament and.....	VIII.	85	Cushing, Caleb		
Parliament and.....	VI.	228	Biographical Note.....	VI.	104
			"Extermination of the		
			Indians".....	VI.	104

C

	Section	Page
Cyprian, St.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	125
" Unshackled Living ".....	V.	125
Cyprus, British Occupation		
of.....	II.	72

	Section	Page
Cyril, St.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	130
" Infinite Artifices of		
Nature ".....	V.	130
Czar, and the Russian Church	VII.	341

D

	Section	Page
Dalton's Atomic Theory.....	I.	394
Danes, The.....	II.	1
Dante and the Italian		
Language.....	IV.	147
" Dante, The Work of ".....	III.	69
Danton, George Jacques		
Biographical Note.....	II.	198
" To Dare, to Dare again ".....	II.	200
" Let France be Free ".....	II.	201
" Against Imprisonment		
for Debt ".....	II.	202
" Education, Free and		
Compulsory ".....	II.	203
" Squeezing the Sponge ".....	II.	205
Darwin, Charles		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	82
" Natural Selection in		
Evolution ".....	VII.	83
Sir R. Ross on.....	VIII.	281
Darwin, Leonard		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	100
" The Aims of Eugenics ".....	VIII.	100
" Marriage ".....	VIII.	109
Davidson, Randall Thomas		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	108
" A Sacred Trust ".....	VI.	109
Deakin, Alfred		
Biographical Note.....	I.	165
" Needs of Empire ".....	I.	166
Death		
" Blessed Dead, The ".....	V.	285
" Blessing of Death ".....	V.	121
" Death, Demanding the		
King's ".....	II.	379
Depravity and.....	V.	338
" Duty in Contempt of		
Death ".....	VI.	378
" Fear of Death ".....	VI.	102

	Section	Page
Motives of.....	VII.	145
Penalty, Injustice of		
Death.....	II.	372
" Realities of Life and		
Death ".....	V.	11
Shelley on.....	IV.	291
Death Rate.....	VIII.	241, 252
" Debating whether or not		
to become King of		
England ".....	VIII.	94
Debi Sing.....	III.	47
" Debt, Against Imprison-		
ment for ".....	II.	202
Debts, St. Augustine on.....	V.	25
Decemviri in Rome.....	III.	380
Decentralisation.....	II.	225
Decoration of Mediæval		
Bibles.....	VII.	291
" Defence of Terrorism ".....	II.	377
" Defence of Weaker States ".....	II.	162
" Defence when Impeached		
for Treason " (Strafford's)	VIII.	318
" Deliverance of Europe,		
On the ".....	II.	333
" Deluge, The Babylonian		
Legend of the ".....	V.	80
Delusion and Illusion.....	IV.	243
DEMOCRACY		
" Against Democracy ".....	I.	44
Definition of real.....	V.	179
" Democracies and Sub-		
ject Colonies ".....	VIII.	58
Despotism and.....	VI.	281
Education and.....	VII.	148
Empire and.....	VI.	237
Franchise and.....	VIII.	235
" Higher Intellect and		
Democracy ".....	I.	403

D

	Section	Page
"Hope for Liberty and Democracy".....	I.	100
Mill, J. S., and.....	VII.	156
"De Monarchia".....	III.	71
Demosthenes		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	114
"On the Crown".....	VI.	115
Administration of.....	VI.	7
Æschines' Contest with....	VI.	6
"Against Crowning Demosthenes".....	VI.	7
"Demosthenes and the Classics".....	IV.	154
Fortune of.....	VI.	153
Impeachments against.....	VI.	152
Policy against Philip.....	VI.	126
Private Life of.....	VI.	117
Dendy, Arthur		
Biographical Note.....	I.	175
"The Stream of Life".....	I.	175
"Biological Foundations of Society".....	I.	185
DENMARK		
England and Independence of.....	II.	35
"Germany and Denmark".....	II.	33
Parliamentary Reform and.....	II.	46
Derby, Lord, and the Reform Bill, 1832.....		
	I.	49
Descartes.....	VII.	71
Deseze, Raymond		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	117
"Defending Louis XVI.".....	VIII.	117
Desmoulins, Camille		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	121
"Live Free or Die".....	VIII.	121
Despotism in Rome.....	VII.	311
Destitution.....	VIII.	114
"Development of Knowledge, The".....	VII.	240
D'Ewes, Sir Simon		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	60
"The Antiquity of Cambridge".....	IV.	60

	Section	Page
Dickens, Charles		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	124
"Intellectual Progress of the People".....	VIII.	126
"Education and Progress".....	VIII.	131
G. B. Shaw on.....	VII.	327
Diet, A Healthy.....	VIII.	255
Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth		
Biographical Note.....	III.	143
"America in the Crucible".....	III.	144
"Omphalism".....	III.	150
Diocletian, Emperor.....	VII.	311
Disarmament.....	V.	177
National.....	VI.	66
"Discontent, Socialism and".....	II.	195
Discovery, Coming of Modern.....	I.	27
Disease, Prevention of.....	VIII.	258
"Disease, Sunlight and".....	III.	344
"Display, On Dressing for".....	V.	382
Disraeli (See Lord Beaconsfield)		
"Dissociation, Psychopathology and".....	VII.	48
"Divine Life".....	V.	199
Divine Right, Charles I.'s abuses of.....		
	III.	126
"Divine Right of Kings".....	VI.	233
"Divine Tragedy, The".....	V.	6
"Divinity of Christ, The".....	V.	17
Doctors, Panel.....	VIII.	248
"Dogger Bank" Action.....	II.	173
Domestic Races, Origin of....	VII.	84
DOMINIONS		
Assistance of the.....	II.	233
Canadian Nationalism.....	III.	160
King George V. and.....	II. 392, VI.	215
Navy and.....	VI.	71
Oversea.....	II.	98
Right to choose citizens....	I.	136
Donders.....	VII.	75
Donne, John		
Biographical Note.....	V.	135
"Man Immortal, Body and Soul".....	V.	135
"Style and Language".....	V.	137
"The Preacher".....	V.	138

D

	Section	Page
Dostoevsky, Fyodor Mikhailovich		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	104
" Pushkin ".....	VII.	105
Drawing, Facility of.....	IV.	230
" Dream, The Realisation of a ".....	I.	144
Dreams.....	VII.	45-53
Jung, C. G., on.....	III.	195
Motives producing.....	VII.	258
" Primitive Culture and Dreams ".....	VII.	257
Sensory Imagery in.....	VII.	262
Symbolisation and.....	VII.	259
Dress, Evils of Costly.....	V.	382
Drink, Evils of.....	VIII.	33
Droit Royal of War and Peace.....	III.	181

	Section	Page
Drummond, Henry		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	137
" The Greatest Thing in the World ".....	VIII.	138
" Preparation for Learning ".....	VIII.	154
" A Talk on Books ".....	VI.	4
" Drunkenness and Vice, Against Revenues from ".....	VIII.	33
Dryden, John.....	IV.	176
Prose of.....	IV.	207
" Duelling, Against ".....	I.	28
Duke d'Enghien (See Condé, Prince of)		
Dumouriez.....	II.	201
" Duties to one's Country ".....	VII.	183
" Duty in Contempt of Death ".....	VI.	378
Dynamical Theory.....	I.	304

E

	Section	Page
" Early Sentiments ".....	VII.	142
Earth, Age of the.....	I.	402
" East India Bill, On the ".....	I.	242
East India Company.....	III.	230
Eastern and Western Christendom.....	VII.	340
ECONOMICS		
Art and.....	VII.	326
" Debt, Against Imprison- ment for ".....	II.	202
" Economic Science and Statistics ".....	I.	57
" Free Trade with all Nations ".....	III.	102
" Gold Standard, Return to the ".....	II.	177
Marxism.....	VII.	323
" National Organisation ". I.	49	
" Necker's Project ".....	II.	304
" Property as a Dis- advantage ".....	V.	306
" Prussian Subsidy ".....	II.	382

	Section	Page
" Revenues from Drunk- ness and Vice ".....	VIII.	33
Ruskin's.....	VII.	324
" Squeezing the Sponge ".....	II.	205
Economy, National.....	VIII.	244
Eden.....	V.	12
" Edinburgh Address, The ".....	IV.	42
EDUCATION (See also under Schools)		
" Adult Education ".....	VII.	23
Advancement of.....	IV.	35
Advantages of.....	VIII.	132
Aim of.....	I.	364
Aim of, on its literary side.....	IV.	214
" American Scholar ".....	VIII.	163
Army, Education in the... I.	341	
Bad.....	VII.	35
Benefits of.....	VIII.	129
Cambridge, Ancient Kings at.....	IV.	62
Capital and Labour and... VII.	152	

E

	Section	Page
Character, Need of educating the.....	I.	364, VIII. 213, 270
Children, for Young.....	I.	224
Classes, and lower.....	IV.	125
Classics and.....	I.	363
Colonies, in the.....	IV.	14
Compulsory.....	IV.	128
Continuation Schools.....	I.	226
Definition of.....	IV.	127
"Education".....	VIII.	179
Education Act, 1870.....	VIII.	240
"Education and Democracy".....	VII.	148
"Education and Progress".....	VIII.	131
"Education and Reconstruction".....	I.	221
"Education Continued through Life".....	IV.	13
"Education—Free and Compulsory".....	II.	203
"Educational Science".....	I.	339
Elementary.....	IV.	18, VII. 25
English System of, Defective.....	I.	361
Environment and.....	VII.	32
Eugenics Education Society.....	VIII.	104
Examinations.....	IV.	13
"For its own Sake".....	VII.	158
Germany, in.....	II. 93, IV.	138
Grants for.....	I.	232
Greece, 330 B.C., in.....	VI.	134
Half-time, System, Abolition of.....	I.	225
Higher, Need of.....	VII.	151
Humanism and.....	VII.	148
Huxley on the need of.....	IV.	124
Importance of.....	I.	22
Industrial Workers and.....	I.	221
"Inspiration and the Highest Education".....	IV.	141
"Intellectual Progress of the People".....	VIII.	126
Knowledge, effect of.....	VII.	220
"Liberal Education, A".....	IV.	124
"Liberal Knowledge".....	VII.	219
Mathematics, Aims of.....	I.	363

	Section	Page
Meaning of.....	VIII.	186
Mediæval.....	I.	8
National Politics and.....	II.	325
"Natural Capacity and Vocation".....	VIII.	1
Necessity of.....	VII. 25, VIII.	194
Negro, Plea for education of the.....	VI.	26
Object of.....	VIII.	270
Physical, The Value of.....	I.	362
Physical training in continuation schools.....	I.	230
Plato on.....	VII.	34
Pope's help towards.....	VI.	355
Post-graduate Course.....	IV.	13
"Preparation for Learning".....	VIII.	154
"Problems of Education".....	I.	361
Proposals for improving, 1917.....	I.	222
Public School Boys, Ignorance of.....	I.	341
Reason and.....	VII.	28
Reformation, at the time of the.....	I.	368
Scholar, of a.....	VIII.	185
School Camps, Value of.....	I.	229
Scotland, in.....	VII.	153
Scotland, Education in (beginning of 15th century).....	VI.	354
Secondary.....	IV. 23, VII.	156
Social Ideas and.....	IV.	16
Socialism and.....	VII.	196
Studies, The Use of.....	III.	1
Theology and.....	IV.	126
University.....	VI.	298
University, Gain of.....	VII.	221
Vocal.....	IV.	45
"Women, Education of".....	VIII.	213
"Workers and Education".....	VII.	155
Workers' Educational Association.....	VII.	156
Workmen, of the.....	VII.	33
Egg, Biological development.....	I.	176
Egypt		
Christianity influenced by ancient.....	V.	324

E

	Section	Page
" Development of Religion :		
Early Egypt ".....	V.	323
Egyptian Knowledge.....	VIII.	12
England and.....	III.	296
France and.....	II.	71
French attack on.....	II.	349
Gods, Early Egyptian con- ception of.....	V.	323
" Pioneers ".....	III.	293
Rudiments of Art founded by Egyptians.....	III.	300
Einstein.....	VII.	150
ELECTRICAL SCIENCE		
" Atomic Explosions and Electrons ".....	I.	375
Atoms and Electrons.....	I.	288
Electricity and Coal.....	VII.	149
Electrolysis.....	I.	213
" Infinity of the Universe and Electrons ".....	I.	286
Size of Electrons.....	I.	287, I. 396
Spectrum of the Atoms, Electric.....	I.	395
Theory of Matter.....	I.	145
Eliot, Sir John		
Biographical Note.....	III.	153
" On the Petition of Right ".....	III.	154
Elizabeth's Government, Principles of.....	III.	156
ELOQUENCE (See also Oratory)		
Art of.....	IV.	33
Effect of.....	VIII.	68
" Eloquence and the Fine Arts ".....	VIII.	68
" Eloquence, The Fine Art of ".....	VI.	1
Emancipation, Social.....	VIII.	239
Emerson, Ralph Waldo		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	159
" The Greatness of Lincoln ".....	VIII.	159
" The American Scholar ".....	VIII.	163
" Man, the Reformer ".....	VIII.	165
" The Uses of Great Men ".....	VIII.	169
Emigration and Caste, Indian.....	I.	141

	Section	Page
Emmet, Robert		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	165
" His Protest against Sentence as a Traitor ".....	VI.	166
" Prosecuting Robert Emmet ".....	VI.	337
Employers.....	II.	21
Enclosing Common Lands, Results of.....	I.	283
Energy developed by radio- active substances.....	I.	401
Energy in matter.....	VII.	150
Energy, Surplus.....	I.	197
Engineering, Early.....	VII.	243
ENGLAND		
Africa and.....	III.	293
Africa and, during the Slave Trade.....	II.	340
Allies in the Great War....	VI.	218
America and.....	VI.	178
America, Need of Trade with.....	VI.	48
American Civil War and...	III.	112
America's relations with...	VI.	52
Ancestors of the English...	II.	1
Anne's Reign, Queen.....	VI.	35
Arbitrary laws of.....	V.	188
Aristocracy of.....	II.	135
Australia and.....	VII.	4
Australia, Commercial re- lations with.....	I.	166
Australia, relations with...	VIII.	203
Australian Secretary of State in, Need for.....	VIII.	207
Austrian Netherlands and	II.	347
Boer Government, Deal- ings with.....	VI.	367
Bourbons, and the Res- toration of the.....	VI.	202
Charles I. and the Parlia- ment of 1648.....	VI.	181
Charles I.'s reign, Wool industry in.....	III.	128
Chivalry, Religious char- acter of English.....	VI.	111
Citizens, Duties of.....	III.	317
Coal in.....	VII.	149

E

	Section	Page
Colonies and.....	VI.	368
Colonies, Means of communicating with.....	VI.	77
Commerce in.....	II.	324
Commercial relations with foreign countries.....	VI.	75
Commercial Revenue and Slave Trade.....	III.	396
Conscription in.....	I.	149
Constitution of.....	I. 14, 54,	202
II. 100; III. 76, 80, 249; IV.		184
Constitution, Unwritten... I.		14
Crime in, 1815-1842.....	VI.	326
"Debating whether to become King".....	VIII.	94
Debts abroad.....	I.	60
Democracy and Militarism	VII.	25
Early History of.....	II.	1
Economic Condition in, 1855.....	II.	143
Economic Doctrine.....	I.	168
Economic question of peace with France.....	VI.	204
Education in, Need for higher.....	VII.	151
Egypt and.....	III.	296
"England, The Invasion of".....	II.	365
"England's share in the Slave Trade".....	II.	338
English Language.....	IV.	182
Finance and the War, 1797	VI.	205
Financial Condition of, 1919.....	I.	57
Foreign Policy, British, 1858.....	II.	133
France and.....	II. 7, 318,	347
France and, 1800.....	VI.	184
France, Terms of peace with, 1800.....	VI.	207
France and England, 1815	VI.	221
Freedom of Subjects.....	III.	82
Freedom of Trial in.....	I.	203
Genoa, relations with.....	VI.	197
"George III.".....	IV.	348
Germany's Note of 1916, Reply to.....	I.	163
Glories of.....	VIII.	316

	Section	Page
Government of, 1794.....	II.	384
Greatness of.....	III.	316
Health of.....	VIII.	240, 251
Henry VIII., Life and last speech of.....	III.	175
Holland and Belgium.....	VI.	314
Housing question in.....	I.	60
India and, 1842.....	III.	217
Industrial Wealth.....	II.	133
Intervention, Right of.....	VIII.	30
Invasion, 1796, Preparations for defence.....	II.	366
Ireland and.....	III.	136
V. 310, 326, 332; VI.		374
"Ireland's Part in English Achievement".....	V.	326
James I. on "Divine Right of Kings".....	VI.	233
Jews, Treatment of.....	III.	214
Justice in.....	II.	324
Labour and Industry.....	I.	62
Land Force, Need of.....	II.	366
Law, Administering the....	III.	249
Laws, Principles of.....	III.	79
Liberties of.....	III.	136
Literature of.....	IV.	160
Militia, Need to improve, 1738.....	III.	291
Napoleon, Danger of peace with.....	II.	362
National Product, Need for increased.....	I.	68
National Service in, Directorate of.....	I.	157
National Spirit.....	II.	98
Navy, British.....	II.	15
Navy, Need for larger, 1796.....	II.	366
Organisation of.....	VIII.	244
"Palmerston and the Duty of England".....	VIII.	313
Parliament and the King..	VI.	363
Polish Question and.....	II.	318
Profiteering in, 1916.....	I.	158
Railway Enterprise.....	I.	61
Reform Bill of 1832.....	II.	47
Representation in, History of.....	IV.	393

E

	Section	Page
Revenue in 1856.....	II.	136
Revolutionary France and.....	II.	381
Roman Conquest of.....	II.	1
Russia and England, 1830	VI.	313
Russia, Subsidy to, 1799..	II.	333
Slave Trade, Commercial revenue and.....	II. 338 ; III.	396
Social Conditions from 1700 to 1846.....	VI.	323
Standing Armies and Constitution of.....	III.	289
Succession in.....	VI.	276
Sudan and.....	III.	296
Taxation.....	I.	59
Tudors and Parliament....	VI	385
Tuscany, Relations with...	VI.	197
Universal National Ser- vice, 1916.....	I.	157
War, Achievements during the Great.....	I.	160
War, Aims in the Great....	I.	163
War of 1914-18, Object of the.....	VI.	112
War, Prepares for, 1914....	II.	275
War with France, (Napoleonic era).....	VI.	184
Whigs and Tories.....	VI.	34
Englishmen, Liberty of.....	III.	268
Englishwomen, Duties of....	III.	319
Enlightenment and Atten- tion.....	VII.	164
Enlightenment, Bunyan on..	V.	96
"Entry into Jerusalem, The Last ".....	V.	5
Environment.....	VIII. 3, 101,	237, 276
Environment and Education	VII.	32
"Environment and Mental Evolution ".....	VII.	170
Epic, the.....	IV.	145
Epileptics and Piety.....	VII.	133
"Epiphany, the Gospel of the ".....	VII.	304
Erastosthenes, Plea at prosecution of.....	V.	281
Errors of Great Men.....	III.	228
"Errors, The Psychology of ".....	VII.	119

	Section	Page
Erskine, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	I.	200
"Free Speech and Funda- mental Rights ".....	I.	201
Esoteric Philosophy and Man	I.	79

ETHICS

"Advice to Young Men " ..	V.	54
"Allegory of the Cave "...	III.	276
"Avarice and Usury ".....	V.	124
"Beauty of Patience ".....	V.	364
"Children of Light, The " ..	IV.	76
"Civilisation and the Individual ".....	I.	253
"Curse of a Malignant Tongue ".....	V.	291
"Gentleness, On ".....	I.	89
"Greatest Thing in the World, The ".....	VIII.	138
"Heresy and Humanity " ..	II.	278
"Idealism in Inter- national Politics ".....	II.	75
"Manhood, The Highest " ..	IV.	111
"Manliness, On ".....	IV.	11
"Meeting of Mercy and Justice ".....	V.	49
"Moral Aspects of Social Hygiene ".....	VIII.	266
"Moral Courage against Ridicule ".....	V.	56
"Myth concerning the Soul, A ".....	III.	283
"Necessity for Courage " ..	V.	104
"Peace and Goodwill in Industry ".....	II.	18
"Power over the Lives of others ".....	V.	77
"Rule for Decent Living " ..	V.	395
"Safety of the Virtuous " ..	V.	296
"Simplicity and Great- ness ".....	V.	141
"Slander ".....	V.	35
"Social Implications of Christianity ".....	III.	232
"Spiritual Science and the Future of Mankind ".....	IV.	310
"Truth-telling, The Gold- en Art of ".....	IV.	209

E

	Section	Page
Ethnology and study of Culture.....	I.	348
EUGENICS		
“ Biological Foundations of Society ”.....	I.	185
“ Biology and History ”... ..	III.	322
“ Crime and Insanity ”....	VII.	130
Dendy, Arthur, on.....	I.	184
“ Early Sentiments ”.....	VII.	142
“ Eugenics, The Aims of ”	VIII.	100
Eugenics Education Society.....	VIII.	104
“ Fifty Years’ Progress in Public Health ”.....	VIII.	235
“ Herd Spirit, The ”.....	VII.	134
Hope of.....	VIII.	101
Ideals of.....	VIII.	109
“ International Public Health ”.....	VII.	393
Lectures on.....	VIII.	102
“ Marriage ”.....	VIII.	109
“ Moral Aspects of Social Hygiene ”.....	VIII.	266
Need of Education in Hygiene.....	VIII.	248
Personal Conduct.....	VIII.	106
Personal Hygiene.....	VII.	397
“ Psychology of Parenthood ”.....	III.	336
“ Public Opinion in Preventive Medicine ”.....	VIII.	249
Schools of Hygiene.....	VII.	397
Social Hygiene.....	VIII.	266
“ Sunlight and Disease ”... ..	III	344

	Section	Page
EUROPE		
Conditions in, 1852.....	VI.	252
“ Conquest of Europe ”....	VI.	220
“ Deliverance of Europe ”. II.		333
Europe and Russia.....	VII.	116
Moral Disarmament, Need for a.....	VII.	10
Nations of standing camps	VIII.	212
“ The United States of Europe ”.....	I.	124
EVOLUTION		
Action of Natural Selection	VII.	95
Geometrical ratio of increase.....	VII.	86
Mental, Environment and.	VII.	170
“ Natural Selection in Evolution ”.. ..	VII.	83
Objections to Natural Selection.....	VII.	98
Origin of Species.....	VII.	85
Philosophy of.....IV. 313, VII.		175
Religion and.....	V.	31
Sexual Selection and.....	VII.	93
Survival of the Fittest.....	VII.	86
Teaching of, in America....	I.	185
Exile, Socrates on.....	V.	337
Existence.....	VII.	180
Experimenter, Tasks of the..	VII.	235
Expression—Governing law of Art.....	VIII.	71
Extravagance and essential Needs.....	I.	63
Eye.....	VII.	74
Colour of Human.....	I.	180
Formation of the.....	VII.	99

F

	Section	Page
“ Faculty of Memory, The ”. VII.		166
Fairies, Photographing.....	I.	250
Faith		
Heroes of.....	V.	122
Luther’s Teaching of.....	V.	275
Physical Knowledge and.....	I.	344

	Section	Page
Sentiment and.....	IV.	241
Wesley on.....	V.	377
Fakirism.....	I.	364
Falconer, Robert A., Sir		
Biographical Note.....	III.	160
“ Reactions on Canadian Nationalism ”.....	III.	160

F

	Section	Page
Falkland Islands, Naval Vic- tory off.....	II.	168
Falkland, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	III.	163
" Ship Money ".....	III.	164
" False Pretences ".....	V.	117
Family, Ancient Conceptions of.....	VI.	268
Faraday, Michael		
Biographical Note.....	I.	213
" The Decomposition of Water ".....	I.	213
" Composition of the Atmosphere ".....	I.	217
" Farewell, A "—Ælfred.....	IV.	9
" Farewell to Irish Parlia- ment "—Curran.....	III.	140
Farrar, Frederick William		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	172
" Funeral Oration on Gen- eral Grant ".....	VI.	172
Fasci dei Lavoratori.....	II.	196
Father over Descendants, Authority of.....	VI.	269
Federal Council of the Empire.....	VI.	69
" Federal Experiments in History ".....	IV.	200
" Federal Institution, Foun- dation of a ".....	VIII.	202
Fénelon, François de Salig- nac de la Mothe, Biograph- ical Note.....	V.	140
" Simplicity and Great- ness ".....	V.	141
" Nature as a Revelation " V.		145
Feudal System in China.....	V.	253
" Fiction, The Lamps of "....	IV.	303
Fiction that should be read..	I.	5
Fifty Years Ago.....	VIII.	235
Filial Piety.....	VIII.	305
Finch, Heneage, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	179
" The Prosecutions for Reg- icide ".....	VI.	179
" Finch, (Ship Money) Im- peaching Lord Keeper "....	III.	164
Finite and Infinite.....	VII.	178

	Section	Page
Fisher, Herbert A. L.		
Biographical Note.....	I.	221
" Education and Recon- struction ".....	I.	221
" Art in Public Life ".....	IV.	63
Fisher, John		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	68
" The Jeopardy of Daily Life ".....	IV.	68
Sir T. More and.....	VI.	293
Fishes.....	I.	187
Flaxman, John		
Biographical Note.....	I.	234
" Physical and Intellect- ual Beauty ".....	I.	234
Fontainebleau, Treaty of....	VI.	222
Food Problems.....	II.	227
" Foreign Policy—British "....	II.	133
Foreign Policy of British Empire.....	II.	393
" Forgiveness of Injuries "....	VI.	102
Fortitude.....	IV.	11
Fox, Charles James		
Biographical Note.....	I.	240
" On the East India Bill ".	I.	242
" On Peace ".....	VI.	184
Foreign Minister.....	II.	81
FRANCE		
The Social Conditions of, 1781.....	I.	266
Army's Power in.....	VI.	225
Berthier and Monge.....	VI.	212
Bourbon, Influence of the House of.....	VI.	190
Briand, Aristide.....	VII. 9, VIII.	16
Condé's Campaigns.....	II.	105
Colonies.....	II.	29
Danton on Liberty in France.....	II.	201
Decree of November, 1792	VI.	187
" Defying the French Aristocracy ".....	V.	300
Education in.....	II.	203
Egypt and.....	II.	71
England and. 1789-93.....	II.	12
England and, 1800.....	VI.	184
England and, 1815.....	VI.	220
England and, 1831.....	II.	318

F

	Section	Page
England's Refusal of Peace with, 1800.....	VI.	202
England's Relations with	II.	265
England's Terms of Peace with.....	VI.	207
English Intervention with Revolutionary.....	II.	382
Europe and, 1796-7.....	II.	344
Financial Position in 1789.....	II.	304
"France—Let her be Free".....	II.	201
"France, Overtures of Peace with".....	II.	342
Franco-German War, After the.....	II.	207
"French Nation, To the"	II.	7
Germany and, in 1800.....	VI.	186
Germany, Danger from.....	VII.	17
Girondists as "Moderates".....	II.	397
Government of, 1799, Character of the.....	II.	337
Government, 1848, Formation of.....	III.	209
Government in 1790.....	V.	303
Henry IV.....	IV.	376
Intrigues in.....	VI.	213
Ireland and.....	VI.	169
Italy, Germany and.....	IV.	371
"Justifying Revolution".	V.	304
Louis XIV.....	IV.	372
Louis XIV.'s Conquest of Holland.....	VI.	191
Louis XIV., France during Reign of.....	II.	104
Louis XIV.'s policy.....	VI.	191
Louis XVI., Trial of II.	379, VIII.	117
Military Despotism in.....	VI.	210
Military Laws of.....	VII.	20
Mind, The French.....	IV.	151
Mirabeau's advice to the People.....	V.	300
Napoleon and the European Powers. (See also under Napoleon).....	II.	353
National Assembly, Mirabeau on.....	V.	304

	Section	Page
National Assembly, Services of.....	V.	305
National Convention, 1793, Conspiracy against	II.	399
Necker's Project.....	II.	304
Orators, Great French.....	II.	103
Pacification, Attempt at general.....	II.	355
Peace, Desire for.....	VII.	10
Peace Policy (Bismarck on).....	II.	87
Peace with, England's efforts to obtain.....	VI.	200
The Petition of the Halle-au-Blé.....	II.	400
Reign of Terror.....	II.	377
Religion, Against a National.....	V.	301
"Resurrection of France"	II.	207
Revolution, French, 1789 (See also Revolution) II.	377, 381	
Revolution, French, 1848.	III.	206
Revolutionary Governments of.....	II.	378
Richelieu.....	IV.	376
Royalty in, Constitutional position of.....	VIII.	118
Russia and.....	II.	320
Silk Industry.....	VII.	234
System of Armed Negotiation, 1848.....	III.	208
Treaty of 1839.....	II.	270
Treaty of 1852, Abrogates	II.	50
Turkey and.....	IV.	380
Venice and.....	VI.	198
War, Achievements during The Great.....	I.	160
War, The Waste of.....	VI.	60
Franchise, Effects of.....	VIII.	235
Franchise in Boroughs, Against the Increase of....	I.	45
"Franklin, Announcing the death of".....	V.	302
Frederick the Great.....	V.	371
Freedom, D. Lloyd George on.....	II.	237, III.
"Freedom, Saving the World for".....	VI.	51

F

	Section	Page
Freemasonry of Science.....	I.	250
"Free Speech and Fundamental Rights".....	I.	201
"Free Speech, For".....	III.	131
"Free Speech in America".....	V.	186
Free-thought.....	VII.	238
Free Trade.....	II.	243
Benefits of.....	III.	110
Between Britain and her Colonies.....	I.	133
"Free Trade with all Nations".....	III.	102

	Section	Page
Freud, Sigmund		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	119
"The Psychology of Errors".....	VII.	119
Conception of Repression.....	VII.	44
Dreams, Psychology of.....	VII.	257
Fribourg, Battle of.....	II.	108
Friendship.....	VIII.	106
Froude, James Anthony		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	178
"Education".....	VIII.	179
Fuller, Thomas.....	IV.	176
"Fundamental Rights, Free Speech and".....	I.	201
Future State, Shelley on.....	IV.	291

G

	Section	Page
Galileo.....	I.	206
Before the Inquisition.....	VII.	363
Debt of Science to.....	VIII.	13
Galton, Sir Francis		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	129
"Crime and Insanity".....	VII.	130
"The Herd Spirit".....	VII.	134
"Early Sentiments".....	VII.	142
Gambetta, Leon		
Biographical Note.....	II.	207
"On the Resurrection of France".....	II.	207
Game Law in 1831.....	III.	96
"Garibaldi, Unveiling of Statue of".....	II.	193
"Gates of Somnauth, The".....	III.	217
Gautama Buddha		
Biographical Note.....	V.	150
"The Way of Virtue".....	V.	151
"Gay, Prior, Swift and".....	IV.	105
Gay's Fables.....	IV.	107
Geikie, Archibald, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	71
"Value of Organised Knowledge".....	IV.	71

	Section	Page
Generosity, Definition of.....	VIII.	142
Genera in Nature, Origin of.....	VII.	85
Genetics.....	VIII.	102
Genius.....	V. 109, VII. 163, VII. 173	
Guardianship of works of.....	III.	360
"Imitation and Genius".....	IV.	219
Influence of time and manners on.....	IV.	54
Intuitive.....	I.	336
Gentleman, Meaning of a.....	VIII.	143
Gentleness		
Artificial courtesy and.....	I.	90
Christianity and.....	I.	92
Means to facilitate the practice of.....	I.	97
"Gentleness, On".....	I.	89
Gentle inhabitants and caste.....	III.	62
George, David Lloyd		
Biographical Note.....	II.	215
"Restitution and Reparation".....	II.	216
"Britain's Welcome to America".....	II.	236
"Citadel of Peace and Liberty".....	III.	168

G

	Section	Page
George the Third.....	IV.	348
Character of.....	IV.	358
Children of.....	IV.	363
Early Life of.....	IV.	361
Household of.....	IV.	364
Love affairs of.....	IV.	359
George V., King (Emperor of India)		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	215
" A Better Britain ".....	VI.	215
Geography, Physical.....	IV.	140
GERMANY		
Ambitions of.....	VII.	12
Americans and Germans...	VI.	53
Armed forces in.....	VII.	14
Army of.....	II.	92
Belgium and.....	II.	218
Bismarck, Prince.....	II.	85
British Empire and.....	II.	388
Condé, Campaigns of.....	II.	108
Confederation	II.	90
Culture.....	II.	13
Democracy in.....	VII.	36
" Denmark and Germany " ..	II.	33
Education in.....	II. 93, IV.	138
England and Neutrality of Belgium, 1870.....	II.	254
England in 1916, Note to.	I.	161
European relations with, in 19th century.....	II.	90
France and.....	IV. 371, VII.	11
France and, 1800.....	VI.	186
France, Italy and.....	IV.	371
Geographical position of...	II.	89
Geographical question of peace (1914-18).....	II.	389
Government of.....	VII.	15
Ideals in.....	II.	29
Locarno Treaty.....	VIII. 16,	19
Militarism.....	II.	99
Navy.....	II.	173
Peace overtures.....	V.	174
Peace proposals, 1915.....	II.	7
Power in, 1918.....	V.	173
Progress of Military, 1916.	I.	159
Prussian Militarism.....	II.	219
Revolution of 1848...	I.	261

	Section	Page
Romans in.....	VII.	314
Russian Policy of.....	II.	95
Schleswig, Invades.....	II.	49
Universities, German and English.....	IV.	138
" Vindication of Blood and Iron ".....	II.	86
" War Aims, German ".....	II.	27
Germ-plasm.....	I.	176
" Gettysburg Address, The "	VI.	265
Giants and Glands.. ..	I.	381
Gibbon.....	VIII. 251	
Gilgamish Epic.....	V. 80, VIII.	14
Gin Act, 1743.....	VIII. 33	
Girondists accused as " Moderates ".....	II.	397
Gladstone, William Ewart		
Biographical Note.....	II.	239
" British Colonial Policy "	II.	240
" Home Rule and Autonomy ".....	II.	250
" The Neutrality of Belgium ".....	II.	254
" Character and Work of Gladstone ".....	VIII. 217	
Death of.....	VIII. 217	
Humanity of.....	VIII. 220	
On Anglo-Belgian relations	II.	271
Glands.....	VIII. 7	
Glands, their effects on the body.....	I.	379
" Glories of Immortality, The ".....	V.	114
GOD		
Authority of.....	III.	201
Barnes, Bishop, on.....	V.	34
Beard, Dr., on.....	III.	242
Blessing of.....	V.	15
Communion with.....	VII.	68
Face of.....	V.	116
God of the Living.....	V.	12
Guidance of Man.....	VI.	109
" If God did not exist "	II.	375
Kingdom of.....	V. 23, 385	
Limitation of King's Power by.....	III.	202
Love and.....	II.	300

G

	Section	Page
Maker of Man.....	II.	105
Meaning of.....	IV.	288
Mercy of.....	V.	78
People and.....	II.	299
Purpose of.....	V.	31
Robespierre's belief in.....	II.	376
Way of.....	VI.	231
Wisdom of.....	IV.	384
Word of.....	V.	20
Goethe		
Extract from.....	IV.	50
Method of Thought of.....	VII.	385
" Wilhelm Meister's Travels ".....	IV.	45
Goldsmith, F. D. Maurice on	IV.	180
" Gold Standard, Return to the ".....	II.	177
" Good Lore for Simple Folk ".....	V.	397
Gospel		
" Gospel of the Epiphany, The ".....	VII.	304
New, Teaching of.....	IV.	115
Offering of.....	VIII.	151
Goths, The.....	VII.	312
Gottheil, Richard		
Biographical Note.....	V.	169
" The Jews as a Race "....	V.	169
GOVERNMENT		
Bad.....	VII.	184
British Empire after 1918.	II.	389
" Consent or Force in Government ".....	III.	216
Constitution of the, 1916..	I.	150
Control during War, 1914-16.....	I.	153
Deficiencies of Popular.....	I.	100
East India Company.....	I.	243
Fruits of good.....	III.	136
" Governments for the People ".....	VIII.	309
" Government of the Tongue ".....	V.	99
Henry VIII., of.....	III.	175
Necessity of.....	I.	358
Principles of a good.....	VI.	281

	Section	Page
Pym on the object of.....	VI.	352
Reasons for change in the, 1916.....	I.	150
Responsibility of, for Armaments.....	V.	178
Sacredness of.....	V.	188
Gravitation, Force of.....	I.	272
" Grant, General ".....	VI.	172
Grattan, Henry		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	220
" The Conquest of Europe ".....	VI.	220
GREAT BRITAIN (See also England, Ireland and Scotland)		
Canada and.....	I.	132
Central Powers and.....	VI.	395
Colonies and, Need for Unity between.....	I.	131
Colonies and, Commercial relations.....	VI.	75
Colonies and, Political relations.....	VI.	78
" In Panorama, Great Britain ".....	IV.	261
Naval and Military Ex- penditure of.....	VI.	82
Plan to reduce Dominions of.....	VIII.	210
Preferential Tariff between Colonies and.....	VI.	85
Relations with her Colonies.....	I.	291
Great Charter, Privileges contained in.....	III.	268
Great Men		
Definition of.....	VIII.	170
Our Debt to.....	VIII.	173
" Uses of Great Men ".....	VIII.	169
" Greatness of Burns ".....	IV.	29
" Greatness, Simplicity and "	V.	141
GREECE : ANCIENT		
Æschines' plots with Philip of Macedon.....	VI.	121
" Against Crowning Demosthenes ".....	VI.	7

G

	Section	Page
Amphictyonic Council.....	IV.	202
Ancestors of the Greeks....	VI.	332
Areopagus, Council of.....	V.	215
Art in.....	III.	301
"Athenian Greatness".....	VI.	331
Athens, Conditions in, 431 B.C.....	VI.	334
Citizen, Character of a Greek.....	VI.	8
City-State.....	VIII.	251
Cleisthenes in.....	V.	212
Conditions in, at time of Solon.....	V.	213
Corrupt States of.....	VI.	123
Crowned benefactors of....	VI.	132
Demosthenes, Adminis- tration of.....	VI.	7
Drama of.....	IV.	55
Egyptian and Greek theories of Policy.....	III.	301
Government, Form of.....	VI.	332
Greece in the time of Demosthenes.....	VI.	114
Indictment against Ctesiphon.....	VI.	124
Inspiration of.....	VI.	239
Laws passed by Demos- thenes.....	VI.	130
Literature of.....	IV.	154
"On the Crown".....	VI.	115
Orators of.....	VI.	147
Philip of Macedon.....	VI.	119
Philosophy, Elder Cato's opposition to.....	VII.	223
Resources of.....	VI.	149
Roman and Greek Litera- ture Compared.....	IV.	156

	Section	Page
Habit, Effects of.....	VII.	84
Habits, Formation of.....	VIII.	275
Hague Conference.....	II.	77
Haldane of Cloan, Viscount Biographical Note.....	VII.	147
"Education and Democ- racy".....	VII.	148

	Section	Page
Socrates.....	V.	334
Socrates' Address to his Judges.....	V.	335
Solon's Constitution.....	V.	213
Thirty Tyrants.....	V.	280
Trojan War.....	VIII.	15
Virtue under Solon's Administration.....	V.	216
War against Philip.....	VI.	128
War and Institutions of... ..	III.	301
GREECE: MODERN		
Berlin Treaty and.....	II.	64
Holland, Greece and Belgium".....	VI.	312
Gregarious instincts of wild animals.....	VII.	135
Gregory, Richard, Sir Biographical Note.....	I.	245
"The Meaning of Science" I.		246
Grey, George, Sir Biographical Note.....	VIII.	201
"Foundation of a Fed- eral Institution".....	VIII.	202
Grey, Lord (of Fallodon) Biographical Note.....	II.	263
"British War Policy".....	II.	263
"The League of Nations" V.		173
Guilelessness and Sincerity, Definition of.....	VIII.	146
Guizot, François Pierre Guillaume Biographical Note.....	I.	252
"Civilisation and the Individual".....	I.	253
Gulliver and Lilliput.....	IV.	163
Gunsaulus, Frank W. Biographical Note.....	V.	183
"Healthy Heresies".....	V.	183
"Gypsies," Pushkin's.....	VII.	106

H

	Section	Page
"Workers and Education" VII.		155
Army Reforms.....	II.	82
Halle-au-Blé, Petition of the	II.	400
Hamilton, Andrew Biographical Note.....	V.	185
"Free Speech in Amer- ica".....	V.	186

H

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Hamilton, Sir William			Hazlitt, William		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	161	Biographical Note.....	IV.	82
"Attention".....	VII.	161	"Wit and Humour".....	IV.	82
"The Faculty of Memory".....	VII.	166	"Shakespeare and Ben Jonson".....	IV.	87
Hampden, John			"Prior, Swift and Gay"....	IV.	105
Biographical Note.....	III.	171	Head, Henry	VII.	216
"A Patriot's Duty Defined".....	III.	171	Health Act, Public, 1875	VIII.	235
"Hampden, in defence of John".....	III.	178	"Health, Fifty Years' Progress in Public".....	VIII.	235
"Hampden's Case, In John".....	III.	91	Health Insurance	II. 183, VIII.	244
Hapsburgs, The	IV	374	"Health, International Public".....	VII.	393
Hare, Julius Charles			Health, Meaning of	VIII.	3
Biographical Note.....	IV.	76	Health, Ministry of	VIII.	253
"The Children of Light".	IV.	76	Health Organisations	VII.	396
Harlaw, Battle of	VI.	356	"Heavenly Palm, The".....	V.	88
Harrington and Charles I.	I.	209	Hecker, Frederick		
Harrison, Frederic			Biographical Note.....	I.	261
Biographical Note.....	V.	197	"Liberty in the New Atlantis".....	I.	261
"The Unseen".....	V.	198	Heliotherapy	III.	346
Harrison, Jane E.			Helium	I.	376
Biographical Note.....	II.	278	Emitted by Radio-active Bodies.....	I.	402
"Heresy and Humanity"	II.	278	Hellenic Society	VI.	270
Harrison, Thomas			Helmholtz, Hermann Ferdinand		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	228	Biographical Note.....	I.	269
"Speech on the Scaffold"	VI.	229	"Mystery of Creation"....	I.	269
"Prosecutions for Regicide".....	VI.	179	Helvetius	VII.	162
Harvey, Circulation of the Blood	VII.	71	Henry IV. of France	IV.	376
Hastings, Warren			Henry VIII.		
Arbitrary power of.....	III.	14	Biographical Note.....	III.	175
Attitude towards Charges of Peculation.....	III.	33	"Last Speech in Parliament".....	III.	176
Black Agents of	III.	19	Church and.....	VI.	292
Breach of East India Company's Orders.....	III.	23	"Henry, Opposing Patrick".....	VI.	281
Bribes taken by.....	III.	17	Herbart's Idea of Mental Systems	VII.	39
Charges against.....	III.	64	Herbert, Poems of George	IV.	173
"Hastings, Proceedings against Warren".....	VIII.	291	"Herd Spirit, The".....	VII.	134
"Hastings, Impeachment of Warren".....	III.	13	Herd Suggestion	II.	282
Transactions of.....	III.	41	Hereditary Kingship and the British Empire	II.	391
Hauser, Caspar	IV.	315	Heredity	III. 325 ; VIII. 3,	101
			Germ-plasm, continuity of	I.	176
			Problem of.....	I.	177

H

	Section	Page		Section	Page
" Heresies, Healthy ".....	V.	183	" Denmark and Germany " II.		33
" Heresy and Humanity ".....	II.	278	" Divine Right of Kings " VI.		233
Heresy and Orthodoxy,			" France, Italy and Ger-		
Modern.....	VII.	365	many ".....	IV.	371
Herod and Christ.....	V.	61	" France, The Resurrec-		
" Heroes of Faith, The ".....	V.	122	tion of ".....	II.	207
" Heroic in History, The "...	V.	111	" French Revolution ".....	II.	381
Hildebert (Archbishop of Tours)			" Garibaldi's Statue, Un-		
Biographical Note.....	V.	200	veiling ".....	II.	193
" Rebecca at the Well "...	V.	200	" Governments for the		
Hindoo Law.....	VI.	276	People ".....	VIII.	309
Hindoo Pantheon.....	III.	220	" Grievances against		
" Hints on Reading ".....	I.	1	Charles I.".....	VI.	344
Historical Criticism.....	VIII.	13	Hastings, Burke on War		
" Historical Tradition and			ren.....	III.	13
Oriental Research ".....	VIII.	11	Historical Studies.....	II.	328
HISTORY : ANCIENT (See			Historical Truth, Need		
also under Greece and Rome)			to preserve.....	III.	362
" Catiline, First Oration			" Invasion of Eng-		
Against ".....	VIII.	42	land ".....	II.	366
" Eratosthenes for Mur-			" Justifying Revolu-		
der, Against ".....	V.	280	tion ".....	V.	304
" Fourth Philippic ".....	VIII.	53	" Liberty of all Peoples ".....	VI.	398
Philip of Macedon, Cam-			Locarno Treaty.....	VIII.	16, 19
paigns of.....	VI.	125	" Napoleon's Grave ".....	II.	287
" Roman Empire, Cause			Novelists and Historians... IV.		343
of the fall of the ".....	VII.	306	" Pioneers ".....	III.	293
Rome's debt to Africa.....	VII.	308	" Poland, Division of ".....	II.	317
Historical painters and			" Privilege, against		
sculptors.....	VII.	296	Booted and Spurred "...	VI.	363
HISTORY : MODERN (See			" Proceedings against		
also under countries)			Warren Hastings ".....	VIII.	291
" Act of Union ".....	V.	310	" Programme of Peace :		
" America, The Making			The Fourteen Points "...	VI.	394
of ".....	I.	352	" Prosecutions for Regi-		
" Belgium, The Neutral-			cide under Charles II.".....	VI.	179
ity of ".....	II.	254	" Revolution of 1848 ".....	III.	206
" Berlin Treaty, The ".....	II.	56	" Richard Cromwell,		
Black Death.....	VII.	320	Against ".....	VI.	377
" Canada and the United			" Rome and Italy ".....	II.	146
States ".....	II.	123	" Rome the Eternal ".....	VIII.	230
" Crimean War, The ".....	II.	139	" Russia and the Cri-		
" Whether Cromwell be-			mean War ".....	VIII.	222
come King ".....	VIII.	94	" Russia in the Middle		
" Defying the French			Ages ".....	VII.	340
Aristocracy ".....	V.	300	Saleeby, C. W. on.....	III.	322
" Deliverance of Europe " II.		333	" Scottish History, Out-		
			line of ".....	VI.	354

H

	Section	Page
Strafford, Defence when		
Impeached for Treason	VIII.	318
Strafford, Impeachment of		
Earl of.....	VI.	346
" Union of Two Great		
Peoples ".....	II.	307
Hittites, The.....	VIII.	14
Holborne, Sir Robert		
Biographical Note.....	III.	178
" In Defence of John		
Hampden ".....	III.	178
HOLLAND		
Belgium and the Separ-		
ation from.....	VI.	314
" Holland, Greece and Bel-		
gium ".....	VI.	312
Louis XIV. and.....	VI.	191
Treaty of 1831.....	VI.	316
Holy Alliance.....	VI.	62
Holy Land.....	VI.	110
Holy Spirit.....	V.	18, 32
HOME RULE (See also under		
Ireland)		
Evils of.....	I.	130
Gladstone and.....	VIII.	221
" Home Rule and Aut-		
onomy ".....	II.	250
" Home Rule, Empire and " I.	130	
Homer's Odyssey	IV.	145
Home, the Medium.....	VII.	249
Hormones.....	VIII.	263
Discovery of.....	I.	179
Isolation of.....	I.	383
Hospitals.....	VIII.	247
HOUSE OF COMMONS		
" Commons and its		
Rights ".....	IV.	392
Leaders of the People.....	III.	217
Majority in the.....	IV.	397
Supremacy of the.....	I.	17
HOUSE OF LORDS		
Burke on.....	III.	66
Finance Bill of 1909, and I.	15	
Usurpation of the.....	I.	14
Housing Question after the		
War, 1914-18.....	I.	60
Hughes, Thomas		
Biographical Note.....	IV	111

	Section	Page
" Highest Manhood ".....	IV.	111
Hugo, Victor		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	116
" Honoré de Balzac ".....	IV.	117
" The Liberty Tree in		
Paris ".....	IV.	119
" On the Centennial of		
Voltaire's Death ".....	IV.	120
HUMANITY		
A Great Army.....	VII.	186
Consciousness of.....	VII.	181
Duties to.....	VII.	183
Heresy and.....	II.	278
Human Mind and the In-		
finite.....	VII.	237
Human Nature.....	III.	309
" Human Post Office ".....	I.	377
Human Race and God.....	V.	240
" Sacred Cause of the		
Human Race ".....	V.	237
Hume, David		
Biographical Note.....	III.	183
" The Sceptical Phil-		
osophy ".....	III.	184
Humility and Magnanimity	IV.	114
" Humour, Wit and ".....	IV.	82
HUNGARY		
Christendom and.....	VI.	249
" Hungary as a Nation ".....	VI.	247
Huns Invade Italy.....	VII.	312
Husband and Wife	IV.	321
Huxley, Thomas Henry		
Biographical Note.....	I.	277
" The Three-fold Unity of		
Life ".....	I.	277
" A Liberal Education ".....	IV.	124
Debate with Gladstone.....	VIII.	13
On Body and Mind.....	VII.	73
Hydrophobia.....	VII.	235
Hygiene, <i>see</i> under Eugenics.		
Hypertrophy.....	I.	381
HYPNOTISM		
Hypnosis, a justifiable		
method of treatment.....	VII.	54
Hypnotic Phenomena.....	I.	85
Hypnotic treatment.....	VII.	42
Hysterical Patients.....	VII.	55

I

	Section	Page
Ideal, The.....	II. 301, IV.	146
"Idealism in International Politics".....	II.	75
Idealists, Necessity of being.	IV.	113
Ideals, Eugenic.....	VIII.	109
Ideals in Art.....	VII.	292
"Ideas, Social, and Edu- cation".....	IV.	16
"Ides of March".....	VI.	56
Idiocy and removal of glands.....	I.	381
Ignorance and belief in the supernatural.....	IV.	220
Ill-temper.....	VIII.	144
Illusion and Delusion.....	IV.	243
"Images and Relics, the Use and Abuse of".....	V.	373
Imagination		
Objects of.....	IV.	280
"The Imagination".....	V.	208
Works of.....	IV.	148
Immigration and the Colour Bar.....	I.	138
Immigration, Difficulty of Cheap Labour and.....	I.	137
Immortality		
Divine Revelation and...V.	135.	261
"Glories of Immortality" V.		114
"Immortality".....	V.	258
Proofs of.....	V.	259
Soddy, Professor, on.....	I.	388
"Impeachment of Warren Hastings".....	III.	13
Imperialism.....	II.	136, 245
Defence, Imperial.....	VI.	81
Keith, A. B., on.....	VI.	238
Unity, Plea for Imperial... VI.		78
"Imprisonment for Debt, Against".....	II.	202
"Improve, Unwillingness to".....	V.	42
"Inaugural Address, Second".....	VI.	266
Income Tax Project, Necker's 25 per cent.....	II.	304
Independence, Aim of Education.....	VIII.	189

	Section	Page
"Independence of Psychology".....	VII.	208
INDIA		
Bengal under British Rule	VIII.	292
Brahminical Mythology....	III.	220
British Dominions and.....	I.	142
Caste, question of.....	I.	141
Dancing Girls of.....	III.	51
Democracy in.....	VI.	244
East India Bill, Objects of the.....	I.	242
East India Company, Power of.....	III.	230
Ellenborough in, Lord.....	III.	218
"Emigration, Indian".....	I.	135
French Attack on, At- tempted.....	II.	350
Governor-general, Powers of.....	III.	230
Hastings in India...III. 13, VIII.		283
Hindoo Pantheon.....	III.	220
"India Bill, On the East" I.		242
Jacobinism in.....	II.	350
Lands of Princes of, Confiscation of.....	III.	20
Lingamism in.....	III.	224
Mahomedans in.....	III.	220
Nundcomar.....	III. 25, VIII.	300
Oudh, Devastation of.....	VIII.	298
Perpetual Tutelage of Women.....	VI.	277
Scientific research in.....	I.	105
Self-government.....	I.	140
"The Second or Begum Charge"--(Impeachment of Hastings).....	VIII.	302
INDIANS: AMERICAN		
Condition of, 1837.....	VI.	104
Employment in war.....	II.	156
"Extermination of the Indians".....	VI.	104
Hostility of the.....	VI.	106
Plea for conciliatory measures.....	VI.	106
Individualism		
Character Building..I. 364, VIII.		272
"Civilisation and the Individual".....	I.	259

I

	Section	Page
Complete Individual.....	VII.	148
Individual Conduct.....	VIII.	2
"Liberty an Inalienable Right ".....	III.	121
Perfect Man.....	VIII.	274
Rights of Individuals.....	III.	122
Industrial Fatigue Research Board.....	VIII.	2
Industrial Revolution.....	VIII.	239
Industry		
Dynamic Nature of.....	VII.	148
Industrial Man-power.....	II.	230
Peace and Goodwill in.....	II	18
Source of all success...IV.	231,	267
Infant Mortality.....	VIII.	241, 253
Infection.....	VIII,	237, 261
Infectious Diseases.....	VII.	177
Infinite, Conception of the. .	VII.	178
Infinite, Mystery of the.....	VII.	237
"Infinity of the Universe, Electrons and the ".....	I.	286
Ingersoll, Robert G.		
Biographical Note.....	II.	286
"The Grave of Napoleon " II.	287	
"Oration at his Brother's Grave ".....	V.	205
"A Picture of War ".....	V.	206
"The Imagination ".....	V.	208
"Life ".....	V.	209
Inheritance, Law of.....	III.	255
Initiation, Steiner on.....	IV.	317
Injustice and heedlessness, Fruits of.....	VIII.	195
Inquisition, Spanish.....	II.	161, VI. 299
Insanity and Disease.....	VIII.	105
"Insanity, Crime and ".....	VII.	130
Inspiration of the Artist	IV.	232
Instinct and Emotion.....	III.	337
Instinct, Filial.....	III.	342
Instinct, Parental.....	III.	338
Instinct, Racial.....	III.	342
Instincts.....	VII.	103
In Children.....	VIII.	274
Of Criminals.....	VII.	130
"Intellect, Democracy and Higher ".....	I.	403
"Intellectual Beauty, Physical and ".....	I.	234

	Section	Page
Intellectualism.....	VI.	300
"Intellectual Progress of the People ".....	VIII.	126
International Customs Ser- vice, Benefit of.....	V.	181
"International Politics, Idealism in ".....	II.	75
"International Rights ".....	VIII.	28
International Tribunal, Dif- ficulties of.....	VI.	64
Intervention, The Right of...	VIII.	28
Intimidation, Defiance of....	III.	249
Intuition and Biology.....	I.	393
Intuitive Genius.....	I.	336
"Invasion of England, The ".....	II.	366
Invention and Imitation.....	IV.	221
Investigation.....	VIII.	278

IRELAND

"Act of Union ".....	V.	310
"Before the Court Martial ".....	VI.	374
Britain, Misunderstanding with.....	II.	233
Catholics of.....	III.	137
Catholics and Dissenters...	VI.	375
Catholic Emancipation....	V.	327
"Catholics, In defence of Irish ".....	V.	332
Commercial Interests and the Union.....	V.	316
Conditions of, 1797.....	III.	131
Conspiracy in 1803, Causes of.....	VI.	341
Constitution of 1786.....	III.	134
Corn Laws and.....	III.	105, VI. 318
England and.....	III.	136
England and, 1837.....	V.	326
English Battles, Irish part in.....	V.	330
English government of....	III.	216
"Farewell to the Irish Parliament ".....	III.	140
Finance and the Union....	V.	315
France and.....	VI.	169
French assistance for.....	VI.	375
Great Britain and.....	VI.	374

I

	Section	Page
" Home Rule and Autonomy ".....	II.	250
Home Rule and Imperial Unity.....	II.	252
Home Rule, Gladstone and.....	VIII.	221
Home Rule in 1871.....	II.	251
Informers in.....	III.	132
Irish Army, Chatham on the.....	II.	164
Martial Law.....	V. 313, VI.	211
Meetings forbidden.....	V.	313
Napoleonic Wars.....	V.	331
O'Connell and.....	V.	237
Parliament, Plea for.....	V.	318
Parliament, Representatives in English.....	V.	327
Penal Laws in.....	III.	142
Political Corruption.....	V.	313
Poverty in, 1843.....	V.	316
" Prosecuting Robert Emmet ".....	VI.	337
" Protest against Sentence as a Traitor ".....	VI.	166
Repealers.....	V.	319
Roman Catholics in, 1837.	V.	327
Siege of Limerick.....	V.	317
Stafford, Governed by.....	VI.	350
Union, Against the.....	V.	312
Wellington, Duke of, and	V.	316
Women Factory Inspectors in, Need for.....	III.	261
" Irreparable Past and the Available Future ".....	IV.	245

	Section	Page
Irrigation, Works on.....	I.	165
Isocrates Biographical Note.....	V.	211
" Areopagiticus ".....	V.	211
Israelites, Tyranny in- flicted on.....	III.	200

ITALY (See also under Rome)

Barbarian Invasion of.....	VII.	313
Capital of United.....	II.	146
Catholic Church and.....	II.	193
Christians, in Rome, Primitive.....	VIII.	231
" Dawning of New Italy ".	I.	321
" Duties to one's Country ".....	VII.	183
France, Germany and.....	IV.	371
Garibaldi.....	II.	193
Geographical Position of...	VII.	184
Goths in.....	VII.	313
History of.....	VIII.	231
Independence of.....	II.	297
Labour in, Need of.....	VII.	185
Law, Italian.....	VII.	188
Papacy.....	VII.	189
" Rome and Italy," Cavour on.....	II.	146
" Rome the Eternal ".....	VIII.	230
Socialism in Italy.....	II.	195
" To Rome ".....	I.	315
To the Young Men of.....	II.	297
Unity in.....	VII.	187
Ivan the Terrible.....	VII.	343

J

	Section	Page
Jackson, F. J. Foakes Biographical Note.....	V.	218
" Christ and the Creeds ".....	V.	218
James I. and VI., King Biographical Note.....	VI.	233
" Divine Right of Kings ".....	VI.	233
Parliament and.....	VIII.	95
James, the Old Pretender....	III.	3

	Section	Page
James, William Biographical Note.....	VII.	170
" Environment and Mental Evolution ".....	VII.	170
Gifford Lectures.....	VII.	63
Janet's theory of sub-con- sciousness.....	VII.	40
Jealousy, Ruskin on.....	IV.	183

J

	Section	Page
Jencken's Seances, Mrs.....	VII.	251
Jenner Institute.....	VIII.	279
"Jeopardy of Daily Life, The ".....	IV.	68
Jerusalem		
" Last Entry into Jerusalem ".....	V.	5
Prophecy of destruction of	III.	200
Jesuits, Doctrine of the.....	VI.	351
JESUS (See Christ)		
" The Centrality of Jesus " V.		30
Jevons.....	VII.	172
Jewelry, Oldest.....	VIII.	14
Jews		
Especial disadvantage of..	V.	170
" Jews as a Race and as a Nation, The ".....	V.	169
National Character of.....	III.	215
Need for a permanent home for.....	V.	170
Saleeby, C. W., on.....	III.	333
" Tribute to the Jews "....	III.	214
Joan of Arc.....	III.	84
Johannine Doctrine of the Incarnate Word of God....	V.	222
Johnson, Samuel		
Characteristics of.....	IV.	178, 356
The " Rambler ".....	IV.	179

	Section	Page
Hazlitt, W., on.....	IV.	106
Jonson, Ben		
Character of.....	IV.	98
Classical Literature and....	IV.	171
Cynicism of.....	IV.	100
Plays of.....	IV.	100
Jowett, Benjamin		
Biographical Note.....	V.	224
" The Character of St. Paul ".....	V.	224
Judge, Emmet on the duty of a.....	VI.	167
Judges, Election by Moses of	III.	202
Judgment and Memory.....	VII.	167
Judgments, Differences of....	VII.	226
Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.....	VI.	70
Jukes Family in America....	VII.	131
Jung, Carl G.		
Biographical Note.....	III.	191
" The Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits ".....	III.	191
Juries, Necessity of.....	V.	190
Justice		
Passion and.....	VI.	56
Sheridan on.....	VIII.	308
Justification, Bunyan on.....	V.	93

K

	Section	Page
Keith, A. Berriedale		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	237
" The Empire and De- mocracy ".....	VI.	237
Kelvin, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	141
" Inspiration and the Highest Education ".....	IV.	141
Kepler.....	VIII.	279
Khudr, El.....	V.	345
Kindness, Definition of.....	VIII.	142
King		
Honour of a.....	I.	283
Lawful subjection to a.....	III.	172
Origin of Kings.....	VI.	235

	Section	Page
People and the.....	VI.	347
Power of.....	VI.	234
Power of Kings limited by God.....	III.	202
" Under which King ".....	III.	4
King George V., Emperor of India		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	215
" A Better Britain ".....	VI.	215
King James I. and VI.		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	233
" The Divine Right of Kings ".....	VI.	233
" Kingdom of God, The ".....	V.	385
Kingsley, Charles		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	213
" Education of Women ".....	VIII.	213

K

	Section	Page
Kitchener of Khartoum, Field-Marshal Lord		
Biographical Note.....	II.	289
" Britain's Man Power "...	II.	290
KNOWLEDGE		
Advantages of.....	VII. 220, VIII.	133
Application of.....	VIII.	190
Assurance and.....	I	335
Cicero on.....	VII.	222
Connection of all branches of.....	VII.	219
Definition of.....	VII.	227
Development of.....	VII.	240
Faith and Physical.....	I.	344
Is it limited ?.....	IV.	300
Knowledge is Power.....	VII.	157
" Knowledge, The Church and Liberal ".....	VI.	297
" Knowledge, The Nature of Scientific ".....	I.	334

	Section	Page
" Knowledge, the Value of Organised ".....	IV.	71
Method of advancing.....	I.	334
Milton on.....	IV.	196
Philosophy's relation to....	VII.	226
Spiritual.....	VIII.	155
Standard of.....	IV.	162
Suppression of.....	IV.	198
Three great regions of.....	VII.	70
Vanishing.....	VIII.	150
Knox, John		
Biographical Note.....	III.	199
" Against Tyrants ".....	III.	199
Teaching of.....	VIII.	181
Koran	V.	345
Style of.....	V.	349
Kossuth, Louis		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	247
" Hungary as a Nation "...	VI.	247
Kremlin, description of the...	VII.	341

L

	Section	Page
LABOUR		
Capital and.....	VII.	152
Division of.....	II.	282
Intellectual and Manual...	VIII.	196
Italy and.....	VII.	185
Leader and his Duties.....	VII.	151
" Peace and Goodwill in Industry ".....	II.	18
Programme of.....	II.	402
Reserves.....	II.	230
Wages and.....	I.	62
Lacordaire, J. B. H.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	237
" The Sacred Cause of the Human Race ".....	V.	237
" Rationalism and Mira- cles ".....	V.	239
Laissez faire.....	VII.	192
Lamarck	III.	325
Lamartine, Alphonse Marie Louis		
Biographical Note.....	III.	206
" The Revolution of 1848 ".....	III.	206

	Section	Page
Language		
Grammar of.....	VII.	210
Study of.....	VIII.	192
Value of.....	IV.	212
Laplace (French Physicist)...	VII.	162
Latimer, Hugh		
Biographical Note.....	I.	282
" Enclosing the Common Lands ".....	I.	283
Latin Literature	IV.	155
Laughter and Tears, Nature of	IV.	83
Laurier, Sir Wilfrid		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	216
" The Character and Work of Gladstone ".....	VIII.	217
LAW (See also Constitu- tional Law)		
" Arcopagiticus—A few wise Laws wisely ad- ministered ".....	V.	211
Belief in.....	VII.	174
Emotions and the.....	VII.	211

L

	Section	Page
" Foundations of Law ".....	III.	123
Government and.....	VI.	280
Inheritance, of.....	III.	255
Law as a Security.....	III.	270
" Law as the Safeguard of Liberty ".....	VI.	346
Married Women and.....	III.	253
Necessity and.....	III.	378
Plea to Preserve the.....	III.	8
Pym on the.....	VI.	344
" Repeal of the Corn Laws ".....	VI.	317
Roman (See also under Rome).....	VI.	269
Unmarried Mothers, for....	III.	255
" Lazarus, The Resurrection of ".....	V.	4
League, Achæan.....	IV.	202
LEAGUE OF NATIONS		
Advantages of.....	VI.	65
Birkenhead, Earl of, on....	II.	78
Dominions and.....	VI.	242
France and.....	VIII.	17
Germany and.....	VIII.	17
Great Britain and.....	VIII.	21
Health Organisation.....	VII.	396
Historical Review of.....	IV.	201
International Force for....	V.	180
Labour Government, and..	V.	180
" League of Nations ".....	V.	173
Malaria Commission.....	VIII.	242
Necessity of.....	V.	176
Peace and.....	V.	175
Suspensions concerning.....	V.	174
Learning		
Attention as an aid to.....	VIII.	136
Benefits of.....	VIII.	129
Leduc, Stephane.....	I.	392
Leech, John.....	IV.	277
Legal Evidence.....	V.	191
Legge, James		
Biographical Note.....	V.	246
" Confucianism ".....	V.	246
Legislature and different Religious faiths.....	VIII.	208
Leighton, Archbishop		
Biographical Note.....	V.	258
" Immortality ".....	V.	258

	Section	Page
Lenthall, William		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	253
" Opening the Long Par- liament ".....	VI.	253
Leonardo da Vinci.....	IV.	232
Was he impersonal in his art ?.....	IV.	305
" Les Miserables ".....	IV.	116
" Lèse Majesté ".....	VIII.	123
Lethargy, Against.....	IV.	254
Lewis, David (Bishop of Llandaff)		
Biographical Note.....	V.	263
" Speech on the Scaff- old ".....	V.	263
Libel, Many things con- strued as a.....	V.	193
Liberal Christianity.....	V.	220
" Liberal Knowledge its own End ".....	VII.	219
LIBERAL PARTY		
Gladstone and the.....	VIII.	220
House of Lords and the... I.	I.	20
Reform Bill and the.....	I.	55
LIBERTY		
" Citadel of Peace and Liberty ".....	III.	168
Conscience, of.....	II.	326
Danton on.....	II.	201
English Subjects, Attack on.....	III.	164
Equality and.....	VI.	342
Exclusive.....	V.	239
Foundation of British.....	II.	1
Hugo on.....	IV.	119
" Law as the Safeguard of Liberty ".....	VI.	346
" Liberties, England and English ".....	III.	136
" Liberties of Parliament " VI.	VI.	383
" Liberty an Inalienable Right ".....	III.	121
" Liberty and Democracy, Hope for ".....	I.	100
" Liberty in the New Atlantis ".....	I.	261
" Liberty of all Peoples ".....	VI.	398
Reason and.....	III.	121

L

	Section	Page
Standing Armies and.....	III.	288
Unlicensed Printing, of.....	IV.	195
Wentworth on.....	VI.	383
Libraries.....	IV.	160
Library, Arabs', in Spain.....	VIII.	279
Library of Nebo at Nineveh.	V.	80
LIFE		
Aim and Object in.....	IV.	113
Allurement and.....	IV.	241
Aspects of.....	VIII.	3
Dendy, Arthur, on.....	I.	175
Evolution of.....	I.	274
" Illusiveness of Life ".....	IV.	237
" Life ".....	V.	209
Life and Death.....	V.	205
" Life and Death, Realities of ".....	V.	11
" Life, Sea of ".....	V.	8
" Life, The Stream of ".....	I.	175
" Life, The Three-fold Unity of ".....	I.	277
Object in.....	VIII.	198
On other Planets.....	V.	33
Open Air.....	VIII.	257
Physical Basis of.....	I.	277
Single Life and its Disadvantages.....	IV.	324
Struggle of.....	V.	110
Light.....	I.	286
" Children of Light ".....	IV.	76
Experiments on.....	IV.	143
Knowledge of.....	IV.	77
Love and.....	IV.	80
Limerick, Siege of.....	V.	317
Limits of Science.....	IV.	301
Lincoln, Abraham		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	257
" The House Divided Against Itself ".....	VI.	259
" The Gettysburg Address ".....	VI.	265
" Second Inaugural Address ".....	VI.	266
Attributes and Character of.....	VIII.	160
Character of.....	V.	71
" Greatness of Lincoln ".....	VIII.	159
His Work.....	VIII.	218

	Section	Page
Moral and Mental Powers of.....	V.	72
Lister, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	176
" Pasteur and his Work ".....	VII.	176
Literary Education.....	IV.	211
Literary Men.....	IV.	345
LITERATURE (See also under Specific Authors)		
" Authors and their Patrons ".....	IV.	344
Balzac.....	IV.	117
Beggar's Opera, The.....	IV.	108
Birthright of the English..	I.	24
" Books, Friendship of ".....	IV.	167
" Britain, Literature of ".....	IV.	160
" Burns ".....	IV.	256
" Burns, The Greatness of ".....	IV.	29
Chinese.....	V.	246
Cicero's Influence over.....	VIII.	39
Classics, The.....	IV.	134
Cobbett's and Marx's Writings compared.....	VII.	323
" Dante, The Work of ".....	III.	69
" Demosthenes and the Classics ".....	IV.	154
English Literature, Giants of.....	IV.	213
" English Literature—Modern ".....	IV.	205
Father of English Prose... V.		395
" Fiction, The Lamps of ".....	IV.	303
France on English Literature, Influence of.....	IV.	151
Goethe—" Wilhelm Meister's Travels ".....	IV.	45
" How to Read with Profit ".....	IV.	1
Hugo, Victor.....	IV.	116
Jonson, Ben.....	IV.	87
Latin.....	IV.	155
" Literature and Science as Modes of Progress ".....	I.	367
Literature, What is ?.....	IV.	210
Middle Ages, Literature of the.....	IV.	207
Newman, Cardinal, on.....	VI.	306

L

	Section	Page
"Novelist's Creation, The Reality of the".....	IV.	342
"Novelist's Future Lab- ours".....	IV.	346
"Poetry and Science".....	V.	390
Poetry in America.....	IV.	144
Poetry, the Greatest Art..	VIII.	72
"Pope and his Times"....	IV.	150
"Prior, Swift and Gay"....	IV.	105
Public Taste in.....	IV.	208
"Science and Literature" I.		6
"Shakespeare and Ben Jonson".....	IV.	87
"Shakespeare's Dramas, Characteristics of".....	IV.	52
Shelley.....	III.	360
Smollett.....	VI.	28
Speech the Instrument of Poetry.....	VIII.	72
"Talk on Books".....	VI.	4
Truth in.....	I.	371
Voltaire.....	IV.	120
"World's Memory : Books".....	V.	1
"Live Free or Die".....	VIII.	121
Live ? Why do we.....	V.	104
"Lives of Others, Power over the".....	V.	77
"Living, Rule for Decent" ..	V.	395
Living, Standard of.....	VIII.	240
"Living, Unshackled".....	V.	125
Local Government Acts.....	VIII.	236
Locarno Treaty.....	VIII.	16, 19
Locke, John On Civil Government.....	IV.	396
Lodge, Sir Oliver Biographical Note.....	I.	286
"Electrons and the In- finity of the Universe".	I.	286
Logic, Where applicable.....	VII.	209
London County Council.....	VII.	202
"Lord's Prayer, The".....	V.	21
"Lords against the Con- stitution".....	I.	14
Lords and the Commons.....	III.	391
"Lore for Simple Folk, Good".....	V.	397

	Section	Page
Louis XIV. Ambition of.....	VI.	212
France during the Reign of.....	II.	104
Policy of.....	VI.	191
Thiers on.....	IV.	377
Louis XVI. Death of.....	II.	380
"Defending Louis XVI.".	VIII.	117
Robespierre and.....	II.	379
LOVE Analysis of.....	VIII.	141
Cranmer on.....	VI.	100
For One's Country.....	VII.	185
"Greatest Thing in the World, The".....	VIII.	138
Marital.....	IV.	335
Power of.....	VIII.	168
Lowell, James Russell Biographical Note.....	IV.	144
"The Poetical and the Practical in America" ..	IV.	144
"Pope and His Times"....	IV.	150
Loyalty to One's Country.....	VII.	183
Lubbock, John, Lord Avebury.....	I.	21
"Luddites, The".....	I.	117
Ludendorff and War.....	VII.	13
Luther, Martin Biographical Note.....	V.	267
"Address to the Diet at Worms".....	V.	268
"The Pith of Paul's Chief Doctrine".....	V.	271
Copernicus, on.....	III.	238
Defence of his Books.....	V.	269
Luther, a Pioneer.....	V.	267
Luxuries, Labour and.....	VII.	198
"Luxury in the Church, Against".....	V.	55
Lycidas.....	IV.	4
Lying and Diplomacy.....	V.	371
Lyndhurst, Lord Biographical Note.....	VIII.	222
"Russia and the Crimean War".....	VIII.	222

L

	Section	Page
Lysias		
Biographical Note.....	V.	280
" Against Eratosthenes " ..	V.	280

	Section	Page
Lytton, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	154
" Demosthenes and the Classics ".....	IV.	154

M

	Section	Page
Macaulay, Thomas Babington		
Biographical Note.....	III.	213
" A Tribute to the Jews " ..	III.	214
" Consent or Force in Government.....	III.	216
" The Gates of Somnauth " ..	III.	217
" The Literature of Britain ".....	IV.	160
Books, on.....	I.	23
Macdonald, J. Ramsay		
Biographical Note.....	III.	232
" The Social Implications of Christianity ".....	III.	232
Macfarlane Observatory.....	IV.	143
Machiavelli and the State....	V.	369
Mackintosh, James, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	I.	289
" Canada and Colonial Autonomy ".....	I.	290
Macpherson, Hector C.		
Biographical Note.....	III.	237
" The Universe as Revealed by Modern Astronomy ".....	III.	237
Madonna of Blenheim.....	IV.	234
Magellan in the Pacific.....	VII.	247
" Magic and Religion ".....	I.	346
Magistrates.....	VII.	159
Magna Charta.....	V.	190
" Magna Charta, Principles of ".....	III.	267
Magnetism.....	V.	244
Magnus, Albertus		
Biographical Note.....	V.	283
" The Meaning of the Crucifixion ".....	V.	283
" The Blessed Dead ".....	V.	285
Mahdism in the Sudan.....	III.	295
Mahomet		
Biographical Note.....	V.	286

	Section	Page
" Religious Law ".....	V.	289
Knowledge of Christianity	V.	344
Miracles and.....	V.	242
Maine, Henry James, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	268
" The Primitive Family " ..	VI.	268
Malaria, Fight Against...VIII.	242, 277	
Malaria, League of Nations and.....	VIII.	242
Malay States.....VIII.	242, 277	
Mammals.....	I.	187
Mammon.....	II.	247
MAN		
Astral body of.....	I.	82
Beasts and, Difference between.....	V.	259
Body of.....	IV.	69
Dignity of.....	IV.	384
Duties of.....	IV.	48
Effect of Passions on.....	I.	237
Evolution and.....	V.	30
Future of.....	IV.	310
Instinct of.....	VII.	30
Intellect and the affections of.....	VIII.	174
" Man and the Brute ".....	I.	308
" Man, his Nature and his Powers ".....	I.	79
" Manhood Suffrage ".....	I.	134
" Manhood, the Highest " ..	IV.	111
" Man Immortal, Body and Soul ".....	V.	135
" Manliness, On ".....	IV.	11
" Man, the Reformer ".....	VIII.	165
Physical.....	I.	80
Principles innate in.....	V.	36
Rational creature.....	V.	258
Rights of.....	I.	202
Slavish aptitudes in	VII.	134

M

	Section	Page
Spirit of.....	I.	80
Universe and.....	IV.	385
Manchu Dynasty.....	V.	251
Manning, Cardinal		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	230
" Rome the Eternal ".....	VIII.	230
Mansel, Henry Longueville		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	178
" The Conception of the Infinite ".....	VII.	178
Mansfield, Chief Justice		
Biographical Note.....	III.	248
" Case of John Wilkes "...	III.	249
Marconi, Guglielmo		
Biographical Note.....	I.	296
" Radio Communications" I.		297
MARRIAGE		
Christian.....	VIII.	268
Early.....	VIII.	268
Evolution of.....	VI.	279
Greek.....	VIII.	268
Jewish.....	VIII.	268
Laws and Women.....	III.	253
" Marriage ".....	VIII.	109
" Marriage a Sacrament ?" III.		114
" Marriage Ring, The ".....	IV.	321
Reform of.....	VIII.	110
Marshall, Chief-Justice		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	280
" Opposing Patrick Henry ".....	VI.	281
Martyrs		
Of Cosenza.....	II.	297
Of the Faith.....	V.	123
To Conscience.....	V.	322
Marx, Karl		
On Capitalism.....	VII.	325
Political philosophy of.....	VII.	323
Ruskin and.....	VII.	327
Mary, Queen of Scots.....	VI.	233
Massillon, Jean B.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	291
" The Curse of a Malignant Tongue ".....	V.	291
Materialism.....	VII.	208
Matter of Life, Origin of the	I.	279
" Matter and Spirit ".....	I.	385

	Section	Page
Matter and Spirit, Depend- ence of.....	V.	148
Material Age, Dickens and the.....	VIII.	134
Maurice, Frederick Denison		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	167
" Friendship of Books ".....	IV.	167
Maxwell, James Clerk		
Biographical Note.....	I.	302
" Molecules ".....	I.	303
Mayer.....	VII.	123
Mazzini, Giuseppe		
Biographical Note.....	II.	297
" To the Young Men of Italy ".....	II.	297
" Duties to one's Country " VII.		183
Mecca, Pilgrimage to.....	V.	351
Mediaeval Period in Art.....	VII.	287
Medical Research.....	VII.	395
" Medical Research, The Value of ".....	VIII.	277
Medical Schools.....	VII.	395
Medical Systems.....	VII.	395
" Medicine, Mind and ".....	VII.	276
Medicine, Physiology and....	VIII.	238
Medicine, Preventive.....	VIII.	237, 249
Medicine, Tropics and....	VIII.	242, 277
Melanchthon, Philip		
Biographical Note.....	V.	296
" The Safety of the Virtuous ".....	V.	296
MEMORY		
" Faculty of Memory ".....	VII.	166
Great Men distinguished for.....	VII.	167
Is it weakening ?.....	IV.	314
Loss of.....	VII.	42
" Memory : The World's " V.		1
Resuscitative Faculty.....	VII.	168
" Men, Advice to Young "...	V.	54
Mencius.....	V.	246
Mendelism.....	I. 180, III. 340, VIII. 4	
Menes.....	VIII.	14
Mental Activity.....	VII.	216
Mental and Physical Facts... VII.		72
Mental Deficiency Act..	VIII. 5, 108, 110	

M

	Section	Page
" Mental Evolution, Environ- ment and ".....	VII.	170
Mental Processes.....	VII.	209
" Mercy and Justice, The Meeting of ".....	V.	49
Meringer.....	VII.	123
" Merry Wives of Windsor " IV.		89
Michael Angelo's " Last Judgment ".....	VII.	293
" Middle Ages, Russia in the ".....	VII.	340
Militarism, Prussian.....	II.	219
MILITARY		
" Defence of the Empire " VI.		78
Expenses in Charles I.'s reign.....	III.	127
Flogging.....	III.	95
Mill, John S.		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	183
" The British Constitu- tion ".....	IV.	184
Lord Haldane on.....	VII.	156
Miller, Hugh		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	191
" Science and Eternal Hope ".....	IV.	191
Milton, John		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	195
" Liberty of Unlicensed Printing ".....	IV.	195
Bishops and.....	IV	5
Liberty of the Press.....	I.	206
Maurice on.....	IV.	174
" Paradise Lost ".....	II.	2
Plea for Freedom.	I.	205
MIND		
Body and, Development of.....	IV.	273
Brain and.....	I.	70
Buddha on the.....	V.	153
Divisions of the.....	IV.	216
" Environment and Mental Evolution ".....	VII.	170
Highest order of.....	VII.	172
" Mind and Medicine "....	VII.	276
" Mind, the Master Force " V.		106

	Section	Page
Pliny on the.....	IV.	223
Power of the human.....	IV.	385
Power over the, need for... I.		87
Strata of the.....	VII.	31
Mines, Government control of.....	I.	155
Mirabeau, Comte de		
Biographical Note.....	II.	303
" On Necker's Project "...	II.	304
" Defying the French Aristocracy ".....	V.	300
" Against the Establish- ment of Religion ".....	V.	301
" The Death of Franklin " V.		302
" Reason, Immutable and Sovereign ".....	V.	303
" Justifying Revolution ". V.		304
MIRACLES		
In Greece and Rome.....	V.	242
Rationalism, and.....	V.	239
Present day.....	V.	245
Resurrection of Lazarus... V.		4
Misfits.....	VIII.	1
Mistake, Psychological ex- planation of a.....	VII.	123
Mitylene and Athens.....	VIII.	58
Moderation.....	V.	233
" Modern English Litera- ture ".....	IV.	205
Modern model schools.....	VIII.	187
Modification, Law of.....	I.	190
MOHAMMEDANISM		
Beginnings of.....	V	287
" Christianity and Mohammedanism ".....	V.	341
Instruction in.....	V.	289
Koran, The.....	V.	346
Progress of.....	V.	343
Mahomet, Life of.....	V.	286
Mussulman Ceremonial....	V.	351
Mussulman Dervishes.....	V.	355
Molecules.....	I.	303
Properties of.....	I.	306
Velocity of.....	I.	304
Monarchy and Republic, Differences between.....	VIII.	121

M

	Section	Page
Monasteries, Russian.....	VII.	352
Monk, General.....	VIII.	93
Monogamy.....	VIII.	269
"Monopolies, Against".....	III.	127
Monroe, James		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	200
"Federal Experiments in History".....	IV.	200
"The Monroe Doctrine".....	IV.	204
Montgomery, James		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	205
"Modern English Litera- ture".....	IV.	205
"Moon, The".....	I.	35
MORALITY		
Constancy of human.....	IV.	298
Hume, David, on.....	III.	189
Law, Moral.....	II.	138
Man, Morals of.....	VII.	31
Moral and Social Science..	IV.	140
" Moral Courage against Ridicule".....	V.	56
Private and Public.....	V.	369
Schools and.....	IV.	130
"Social Hygiene, Moral Aspects of".....	VIII	266
Truths, Moral.....	VII.	48
More, Thomas, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	291
"Speech when on Trial for Life".....	VI.	291
Morgan, Prof., Researches of	I.	181
Morley, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	209
"The Golden Art of		

	Section	Page
Truth-telling".....	IV.	209
Public Opinion, on.....	VIII.	254
Morris, William		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	190
"Communism".....	VII.	191
"Art and Its Aims".....	VII.	201
Influence of.....	IV.	64
Moscow.....	VII.	340
Motherhood.....	III.	331, VIII. 274
Motor Nerves.....	VII.	73
Müller, Max		
Biographical Note.....	I.	308
"The Impassable Barrier".....	I.	308
Munitions Department.....	II.	226
Muscles, Voluntary and Involuntary.....	I.	378
MUSIC		
Burns, Songs of.....	IV.	30
Dancing, Music and Poetry, Unity of.....	VII.	338
"Psychology of Music"....	VII.	329
Vocal Characteristics.....	VII.	337
Mussolini, Benito		
Biographical Note.....	I.	314
"To Rome".....	I.	315
"The Dawning of New Italy".....	I.	321
Myers, Charles Samuel		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	208
"Independence of Psychology".....	VII.	208
" Mystery of Creation".....	I.	269
Mysticism.....	V.	233
"Myth concerning the Soul" III.		283

N

	Section	Page
Naples.....	I.	320
NAPOLEON	II.	319, 353
Achievements of.....	VI.	221
Character of.....	II. 356, VIII.	217
Deposed.....	VI.	224
Egypt and.....	II.	361

	Section	Page
Free Constitution and.....	VI.	225
Fox on.....	VI.	208
"Grave of Napoleon".....	II.	287
Haldane, Lord, on.....	VII.	157
Italy and.....	II.	357
Life of.....	II.	287
Return of.....	VI.	225

N

	Section	Page
Ruler, As a.....	II.	354
Thiers on.....	IV.	381
" Nation, Hungary as a ".....	VI.	247
" Nations, The British Commonwealth of ".....	II.	386
" Nations, The League of ".....	V.	173
National Character, Fickleness of.....	VII.	141
" National Organization ".....	I.	149
National Service.....	II.	232
Nationalisation.....	I.	66
" Nationalism, Reactions on Canadian ".....	III.	160
" Natural Capacity and Vocation ".....	VIII.	1
NATURAL HISTORY (See Botany and Zoology)		
Beginnings of.....	VII.	242
" Natural Selection in Evolution," Darwin on..	VII.	83
Naturalist, The born.....	I.	7
NATURE		
Art and.....	VII.	206
Beauties of.....	VII.	205
Lessons from.....	V.	133
" Nature as a Revelation " V.		145
" Nature, Infinite Artifices of ".....	V.	130
Nature of Man.....	III.	309
Nature, Three elements of		241
Natural Law.....	V.	106
Skill displayed in.....	V.	145
Study of.....	IV.	172
Uniformity of.....	VII.	66
Navigation.....	I.	38
NAVY		
British.....	II.	15
British, Necessity of.....	VI.	40
Dogger Bank Action.....	II.	173
Empire and the.....	VI.	71
French Fleet in 1914.....	II.	268
Great War, 1914-18, in the	VI.	216
Henry VIII., creator of the British.....	III.	175
Losses in Great War.....	II.	175

	Section	Page
Napoleonic Wars and the	II.	169
" Naval and Military Defence of the Empire "...	VI.	78
Naval Supplies.....	II.	167
" Work of the Navy ".....	II	166
" Necker's Project ".....	II.	304
" Necessity, The Tyrant's Plea ".....	III.	376
" Nero, Address to " Seneca's.....	VI.	372
Nerve Energy.....	I.	75
Nerves		
Motor.....	VII.	73
Nervous System, Evolution of.....	I.	377
Regulation of.....	I.	378
Sensory.....	VII.	73
Nesselrode, Count.....	VIII.	222
Neural and Mental Processes	VII.	209
Neurasthenia.....	VII.	57
Neurons.....	I.	70
" Neutrality of Belgium," Gladstone on.....	II.	254
" New Atlantis, Liberty in the ".....	I.	261
New South Wales, Attempt to set up peerages in.....	VIII.	211
NEW ZEALAND		
Boer War and.....	VI.	365
Britain's Commerce and...	VI.	88
Christianity in.....	VII.	6
Newman, Cardinal		
Biographical Note.....	V.	306
" Property as a Disadvantage ".....	V.	306
" Liberal Knowledge its own End ".....	VII.	219
" The Church and Liberal Knowledge ".....	VI.	297
Newman, George, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	235
" Fifty Years' Progress in Public Health ".....	VIII.	235
" Public Opinion in Preventive Medicine ".....	VIII.	249
Newsholme, Arthur, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	266

N

	Section	Page
"The Moral Aspects of Social Hygiene".....	VIII.	266
Newspapers.....	IV.	263
Newton, Sir Isaac.....	I. 369, VII.	162
Pope on the discoveries of	IV.	302
Nicholas, Czar	II.	91
Nineteenth Century, Great Men of the.....	VIII.	218
Nirvana, the Buddhist.....	V	150
Nitrogen.....	I.	218
Nobleness, Ruskin on.....	IV.	284
Noblesse Oblige.....	VIII.	182

	Section	Page
NOVELISTS		
Chivalry and.....	IV.	308
Field of Work of.....	IV.	347
Historians and.....	IV.	343
Humanity and.....	IV.	307
Idealism and.....	IV.	304
"Novelist's Creation".....	IV.	342
"Novelist's Future Labours".....	IV.	346
Reality and.....	IV.	303
Nundcomar.....	III. 26, VIII.	300
Nurture, Power of.....	VII.	146

O

	Section	Page
Obedience, Wife's.....	IV.	337
Obscurantism.....	I.	186
Obsessions and Phobias.....	VII.	60
Occult Forces.....	V.	243
"Oceana," Harrington's.....	I.	209
O'Connell, Daniel		
Biographical Note.....	V.	310
"The Act of Union".....	V.	310
Repeal, and.....	II.	251
Old Age, Buddha on.....	V.	159
Oligarchical Government.....	VIII.	41
"Omphalism".....	III.	150
Opinions, Defence of free.....	I.	201
Opportunities, lost.....	IV.	252
"Oration against Catiline," Cicero's.....	VIII.	42
"Oration at his Brother's Grave," R. G. Ingersoll's... V.	205	
ORATORY (See also under Speech)		
Ancient.....	IV.	34
Classical.....	VIII.	40
Correct delivery in.....	I.	113
Eloquence, Gift of.....	IV.	34
Essence of.....	IV.	38
Hints on.....	I.	108
Influence of.....	IV.	35
Modern and Ancient, compared.....	IV.	36

	Section	Page
Need of.....	IV.	35
"Oratory of Anglo-Saxon Countries".....	II.	1
Present Day.....	VI.	1
Puritan Eloquence.....	VIII.	75
Roman.....	VI.	371
"Value of Speech," Lord Bryce on the.....	I.	108
Vocal Education.....	IV.	45
What Oratory is.....	I.	83
Orcagna		
Spirit of.....	IV.	276
Work of.....	VII.	292
Organic Forms.....	I.	391
Organisms, Adaptability of..	I.	274
"Organization, National"...	I.	149
"Oriental Research, Hist- orical Tradition and".....	VIII.	11
Originality in Art.....	IV.	220
Osler, William, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	I.	328
"Science, War and Peace" I.	328	
"Oversea Dominions and the War".....	II.	98
"Overtures of Peace with France".....	II.	342
Owen, Robert.....	II.	407

P

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Pacific Cable.....	VI.	77	King and.....	VI.	363
Page, Walter Hines			Law and.....	III.	377
Biographical Note.....	II.	307	Need to keep order in.....	III.	388
" The Union of Two			" Parliament, Liberties of " VI.		383
Great Peoples ".....	II.	307	" Parliament, Opening		
PAINTING (See also Art)			the Long ".....	VI.	253
Caracci, Lodovico.....	IV.	229	Plea for Free Speech in....	VI.	384
Historical Painters.....	VII.	296	Powers of, in 1722.....	III.	7
Michael Angelo.....	IV.	229	" Protector and Parlia-		
Orcagna.....	IV.	276, VII. 292.	ment ".....	VIII.	76
" Pre-Raphaelitism ".....	VII.	285	Reform from 1816-1831....	III.	97
Raphael.....	VII.	285	Religion and, 1575.....	VI.	390
Schools of.....	IV.	231	Reconstruction of the		
" Stages of Art, Different " IV.		224	Parliamentary System..	I.	46
Titian.....	IV.	229	Representative System,		
Palæontology.....	IV.	135	Need for a new.....	I.	134
Palmerston, Lord			Tudors and.....	VI.	385
Biographical Note.....	II.	317	Pasteur, Louis		
" The Division of Poland " II.		317	Biographical Note.....	VII.	234
Character of.....	VIII.	314	" Against Positivism in		
" Palmerston and the			Science ".....	VII.	235
Duty of England ".....	VIII.	313	" Pasteur and his Work ".	VII.	176
Panama Canal.....	VIII.	242, 277	Pasteur Institute.....	VIII.	279
Pancreas.....	I.	382	" Past, The Irreparable, and		
Pankhurst, Mrs. Emmeline			the Available Future "..	IV.	245
Biographical Note.....	III.	251	" Path," Buddha on the.....	V.	166
" The Importance of the			Pathological School of		
Woman's Vote ".....	III.	251	Thought.....	VII.	39
Parathyroid Glands.....	I.	381	Patience		
Parenthood.....	VIII.	106	" Beauty of Patience ".....	V.	364
" Parenthood, The Psych-			Definition of.....	VIII.	141
ology of ".....	III.	336	Description of.....	V.	366
Parker, Sir Gilbert			Necessity of.....	IV.	73
" The Fine Art of			Profit of.....	V.	365
Eloquence ".....	VI.	1	" Patria Potestas " of the		
Parker, Theodore			Romans.....	VI.	271
Biographical Note.....	III.	263	PATRIOTISM		
" Daniel Webster ".....	III.	264	" Duties to One's Country " VII.		183
PARLIAMENT			Harrison, Jane E., on.....	II.	283
Canada and.....	VI.	241	" Patriotism and Per-		
Control of.....	II.	154	quisites ".....	II.	384
Exchequer and.....	VI.	255	" Patriot's Duty Defined " III.		171
Henry VIII.'s last Speech			" Patriots, On ".....	III.	389
in.....	III.	176	Patriot, The New.....	III.	335
Infringement of privileges			Paul, Emperor of Russia.....	VI.	199
of.....	III.	381	" Paul's Chief Doctrine,		
			Pith of ".....	V.	271

P

	Section	Page
" Paul, St., Character of "....	V.	224
Paul, St., Conversion of.....	III.	196
PEACE		
Arts and.....	III.	302
" Fourteen Points, the Programme of Peace " ..	VI.	394
Liberty and.....	III.	168
" On Peace," C. J. Fox.....	VI.	184
" Peace and Goodwill in Industry ".....	II.	18
" Peace with France, Overtures of ".....	II.	342
" World Peace ".....	VI.	60
Peddie, William		
Biographical Note.....	I.	334
" The Development of Knowledge ".....	VII.	240
" The Nature of Scientific Knowledge ".....	I.	334
Peel, Robert, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	312
" Holland, Greece and Belgium ".....	VI.	312
" Repeal of the Corn Laws ".....	VI.	317
Peerage Bill		
" On the Peerage Bill "....	III.	390
Results of the.....	III.	394
Scotland and the.....	III.	392
Penn, William		
Biographical Note.....	III.	267
" Principles of Magna Charta ".....	III.	267
" Pensions, Against ".....	III.	133
Pensions, Old Age.....	II. 186, III.	343
" Pensions, Widows' ".....	II.	182
PEOPLE, THE		
Attainment of a free soul...	VII.	153
" Intellectual Progress of the People ".....	VIII.	126
Percy, Lord Eustace		
Biographical Note.....	II.	325
" Education and National Politics ".....	II.	325
Pericles		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	331
" The Cause of Athenian Greatness ".....	VI.	331

	Section	Page
" Perquisites, Patriotism and ".....	II.	384
Perry, John		
Biographical Note.....	I.	339
" Educational Science "....	I.	339
Personality, Dual.....	VII. 39, VIII.	7
" Petition of Right ".....	III.	154
Pétion and the Petition of the Halle-au-Blé.....	II.	400
Petrie, W. M. Flinders		
Biographical Note.....	V.	320
" The Growth of Con- science ".....	V.	320
"Development of Religion :		
Early Egypt ".....	V.	323
Philip Neri, St.....	VI.	310
Philip of Macedon.....	VI.	119
Conquest of Thrace by.....	VI.	121
" Philippic, The Fourth "....	VIII.	53
PHILOSOPHY (See also Ethics, Religion)		
" Allegory of the Cave "...	III.	276
" Character of the Phil- osopher, The ".....	III.	272
Failings of.....	VII.	229
" Myth concerning the Soul ".....	III.	283
Pyrrhonian.....	III.	185
Related to Psychology....	VII.	47
" Sceptical Philosophy, The ".....	III.	184
" Spiritual Science ".....	IV.	310
" Style ".....	III.	350
Use of.....	VIII.	195
Phocion and Demosthenes...	IV.	44
Phosphorescence.....	I.	398
" Physical and Intellectual Beauty ".....	I.	234
Physical and Mental Facts...	VII.	72
PHYSIOLOGY		
Glands, Secretion of.....	I.	380
Hormones, Discovery of...	I.	179
Medicine and.....	VIII.	238
Nerves, Motor.....	VII.	73
Nervous System, Evolu- tion of.....	I.	377

P

	Section	Page
Neurasthenia.....	VII.	57
Psychology and.....	VII.	214
Species Common.....	I.	278
Stammering.....	VII.	46
Stigmata, How caused.....	VII.	77
Three Categories of Life... I.		279
Vital Force.....	I.	280
Physique, Impaired.....	VIII.	251, 255
Pilate.....	V.	66
Pilnitz, Declaration at.....	VI.	186
"Pioneers".....	III.	293
Pitt, Elder (See Lord Chatham)		
Pitt, William (The Younger)		
Biographical Note.....	II.	332
"On the Deliverance of Europe".....	II.	333
"England's Share in the Slave Trade".....	II.	338
"Overtures of Peace with France".....	II.	342
"Invasion of England"....	II.	366
Planck, Max		
Biographical Note.....	I.	343
"How can we know of an outer World?".....	I.	343
Planets, Life on Other.....	I.	41
PLANTS		
Effect of a stimulus on.....	I.	102
"Plant Life, The Wonders of".....	I.	102
"Plants can record their own Story, How".....	I.	104
Relations of.....	VII.	97
Sensitive nature of.....	I.	105
Plato		
Biographical Note.....	III.	272
"The Character of the Philosopher".....	III.	272
"The Allegory of the Cave".....	III.	276
"A Myth concerning the Soul".....	III.	283
Ideal of Life of.....	VII.	34
Plato's Academy.....	VIII.	278
Theory of Personality.....	VII.	38
"Plea for Reform in the Church," Savonarola's.....	VII.	302

	Section	Page
Plunkett, Baron		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	337
"Prosecuting Robert Emmet".....	VI.	337
Poe, Edgar Allan		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	215
"The Love for the Beautiful in Speech".....	IV.	216
POETRY		
Atheism and the Poets.....	III.	372
Essence of.....	IV.	53
Highest form of Expression	IV.	233
Imagination of a Poet.....	III.	367
Influence of.....	III.	373
Influence of Circumstances.....	IV.	53
Need for.....	IV.	148
Priest and Poet.....	IV.	144
Rhythm of Classical.....	VIII.	40
Science and.....	V.	390
The Greatest Art.....	VIII.	72
Use of a slip of the tongue in.....	VII.	126
POLAND		
Austria and, from 1814....	II.	319
"Division of Poland".....	II.	317
Germany and.....	II.	9
Policy of Powers towards, 1814.....	II.	319
Revolution of 1835.....	II.	317
Russia, Prussia and.....	VI.	195
Poldhu.....	I.	298
POLITICS		
"Britain's Welcome to America".....	II.	236
"British Colonial Policy" II.		240
"British Commonwealth of Nations".....	II.	386
"British War Policy".....	II.	263
"Canada and Colonial Autonomy".....	I.	290
"Corn Laws, Repeal of"....	VI.	317
"Defence of Weaker States".....	II.	162
"Deliverance of Europe"....	II.	333

P

	Section	Page		Section	Page
" Democracies and Subject Colonies ".....	VIII.	58	Pope, The, His Powers and Dignities.....	II.	194
" Democracy, Against "....	I.	44	Porte, The Turkish.....	II.	69
Education and National... ..	II.	325	Ports, Shutting of.....	III.	181
" Free Speech in America " V.	186		Poverty.....	VIII.	256
" Governments for the People ".....	VIII.	309	Power		
" Holland, Greece and Belgium ".....	VI.	312	Given to Man by God.....	III.	201
" Home Rule and Autonomy ".....	II.	250	Hamilton, on.. ..	V.	196
Idealism in International..	II.	75	Of the Public in times of danger.....	III.	179
" Labour's Programme " ..	II.	402	" Power over the Lives of Others ".....	V.	77
" League of Nations ".....	V.	173	" Practical Training in Thought ".....	VII.	378
Liberal Statesmen of Victorian Era.....	VII.	28	Practice in Life.....	VIII.	147
" Liberties of Parliament " VI.	383		Prayer.....	V.	21
Locarno Treaty.....	VIII.	16, 19	" Lord's Prayer, The "....	V.	21
Lord Morley on.....	IV.	209	" Practice of Prayer, The " VII.	63	
Need for women in.....	III.	251	St. Cyprian on.....	V.	125
" Needs of Empire ".....	I.	166	" Preacher, The ".....	V.	138
" Neutrality of Belgium " ..	II.	254	" Preaching the Crusade "....	V.	53
" Oversea Dominions and the War ".....	II.	98	Predestination.....	V.	31
" Palmerston and the Duty of England ".....	VIII.	313	Preferential Tariff.....	I.	167
Principles of Foreign Policy.....	II.	133	" Pre-Raphaelitism ".....	VII.	285
Religion united with.....	I.	204			
" Restitution, Reparation —no Repetition ".....	II.	216	PRESS		
" Ruskin's Politics ".....	VII.	323	Bismarck on the.....	II.	97
" Second Inaugural Address ".....	VI.	266	Development of the.....	IV.	264
" Socialism and Discontent ".....	II.	195	Education, A Means of Popular.....	II.	313
" Suffrage, Manhood ".....	I.	134	Freedom of the.....	I.	204, III.
Whigs and Tories.....	VI.	33	French.....	II.	88
Whigs and Tories in 1807..	V.	328	Liberty of the.....	IV.	195
" Woman's Rights ".....	III.	74	Lloyd George and.....	III.	168
" Poor Folk," Dostoevsky's..	VII.	104	" Power of the Press ".....	IV.	262
			Russian.....	II.	88
Pope, Alexander			" Pretences, False ".....	V.	117
On Newton.....	IV.	302	Primates.....	I.	191
Place in English Literature.....	IV.	152	" Primitive Family, The "....	VI.	268
" Pope and His Times " ..	IV.	150	Primitive Man and Truth....	VII.	174
Pope, The, and the Emperor	III.	71	" Printing, Liberty of Unlicensed ".....	IV.	195
			Printing, Rights and Liberties.....	V.	187
			" Prior, Swift and Gay ".....	IV.	105
			" Privilege, Against Booted and Spurred ".....	VI.	363
			" Problems of Education "....	I.	361

P

	Section	Page
Prodigal Son, The.....	VIII.	144
Production, Food.....	II.	228
Profiteering.....	II.	229
PROGRESS		
Decadence and.....	III.	327
Education and.....	VIII.	131
Origin and Causes of.....	IV.	296
Projection in Psychology.....	VII.	64
"Property as a Disadvantage".....	V.	306
Property, Sanctity of.....	III.	122
Prophecy, Hebrew.....	V.	228
Prophecy in Occult Phenomena.....	VII.	256
Prose, Father of English.....	V.	395
"Prosecuting Sir Walter Raleigh".....	VI.	90
Prosperity, Effects of.....	VIII.	60
Protectionists in 1846.....	III.	102
"Protector and Parliament".....	VIII.	76
Protestantism, Cardinal Newman and.....	VI.	304
Protestantism in England.....	VII.	115
Protestants and Catholics, 1807.....	V.	328
Protoplasm.....	I.	176, 194, 277
PRUSSIA		
France and, in 1800.....	VI.	186
Treachery of the King of Prussia.....	II.	383
"Prussian Subsidy".....	II.	382
PSYCHOLOGY		
Abreaction explained.....	VII.	51
Achievements of.....	VII.	215
Actions, Automatic.....	VII.	121
"Attention".....	VII.	161
Autognosis or Self-knowledge.....	VII.	47
"Body and Mind".....	VII.	70
Censor of the Mind.....	VII.	269
"Conception of the Infinite".....	VII.	178
"Consciousness, Facts of".....	VII.	77
Conscious and Unconscious Memory compared.....	VII	30

	Section	Page
"Crime and Insanity".....	VII.	130
"Dreams and Primitive Culture".....	VII.	257
Dreams and the Unconscious.....	VII.	274
Dreams, Condensation in..	VII.	265
Dream Transformation.....	VII.	259
Dual Personality.....	VII. 39, VIII. 7	
"Early Sentiments".....	VII.	142
"Environment and Mental Evolution".....	VII.	170
"Faculty of Memory".....	VII.	166
"Herd Spirit, The".....	VII.	134
Hypnosis distinguished from suggestion.....	VII.	41
Hysteria, nature of.....	VII.	53
"Independence of Psychology".....	VII.	208
Instinct contrasted with reason.....	VII.	29
Memories, Lost.....	VII.	42
"Mind and Medicine".....	VII.	276
"Mind the Master Force".....	V.	106
Multiple personalities.....	VII.	40
"Natural Capacity and Vocation".....	VIII.	1
Neurasthenics, Treatment of.....	VII.	59
Pathological School.....	VII.	39
Perseveration, Process of..	VII.	212
Personality, Theories of....	VII.	38
Philosophy related to.....	VII.	47
Phobias and Obsessions....	VII.	60
Physiology and, Differences of.....	VII.	217
"Practical Training in Thought".....	VII.	378
"Practice of Prayer".....	VII.	63
Psycho-analysis.....	VIII. 7, 274	
Psycho-analysis by transference.....	VII.	46
Psycho-analysis explained.....	VII.	43
Psycho-analysis of "Merchant of Venice".....	VII.	127
"Psychological Foundations of Belief in Spirits".....	III.	191
Psychology and Character.....	VIII.	274

P

	Section	Page
Psychology of Dreams.....	VII.	258
" Psychology of Errors " ..	VII.	119
Psychology of Misprints...	VII.	122
" Psychology of Music "...	VII.	329
" Psychology of Parent- hood ".....	III.	336
" Psychology of Person- ality ".....	VII.	38
Psycho-neuroses and sex development.....	VII.	43
" Psychopathology and Dissociation ".....	VII.	48
Reasons for an Action.....	VII.	213
Reason, Definition of.....	VII.	29
Repression and mental conflict.....	VII.	43
Sensations.....	VII.	78
Sense Organs.....	VII.	254
Sexual Motives in Dreams	VII.	261
Sexual theory in psycho- analysis.....	VII.	44
Sleep and Vision.....	I.	336
Somnambulism.....	VII.	52
Speech as revelation of character.....	VII.	126
Speech, Slips in everyday.	VII.	120
Sub-conscious.....	VII.	63
Sub-conscious, Janet's theory of the.....	VII.	40
Suggestion, Uses of.....	VII.	47
Symbolisation.....	VII.	263

	Section	Page
Teacher of, Aim of the....	VII.	209
Three strata of the Mind.....	VII.	31
Training in.....	VII.	210
Unconscious, Dreams and the.....	VII.	274
Unconscious, Importance of the.....	VII.	212
Unconscious Mind, Vast extent of the.....	VII.	30
Public Opinion.....	VIII.	249
Morley, Lord, on.....	VIII.	254
Newsholme, Sir A., on.....	VIII.	271
Pulteney, William Biographical Note.....	III.	287
" Against Standing Armies ".....	III.	287
Punishment, Buddha on.....	V.	158
" Punishment, Against Capital ".....	II.	372
Puritan Eloquence.....	VIII.	75
Purity of Heart.....	IV.	289
" Pushkin ".....	VII.	105
European poets' influence on.....	VII.	105
Pym, John Biographical Note.....	VI.	344
" Grievances against Charles I.".....	VI.	344
" Law as the Safeguard of Liberty ".....	VI.	346

Q

	Section	Page
Quebec Act, 1774.....	VI.	241
" Queen against Moxon— Shelley as blasphemer "....	III.	359

	Section	Page
Queensberry, Duke of.....	IV.	352

R

	Section	Page
Racial Progress.....	VIII.	102
Radio-activity.....	I.	287
Energy developed by radio-active bodies.....	I.	401

	Section	Page
Rays, Classes of Radio- active.....	I.	399
" Radio Communications "...	I.	297

R

	Section	Page
RADIUM		
Degradation of.....	I.	400
Discovery of.....	I.	147
" Radium and Radio- Activity ".....	I.	398
Rays from.....	I	287
" Raleigh, Prosecuting Sir Walter ".....	VI.	90
" Rambler," Samuel Johnson's.....	IV.	179
Raphael, Art before and after	VII.	285
" Rasselas," Philosopher in...	VII.	229
Rationalism and Conscious- ness.....	VII.	179
" Rationalism and Miracles "	V.	239
Rayleigh, Lord Biographical Note.....	VII.	249
" Telepathy and Spiritu- alism ".....	VII.	249
" Reactions on Canadian Nationalism ".....	III.	160
Reading, Address on.....	I.	21
Reading, Some Hints on... I.		1
Read with Profit, How to	IV.	1
REASON	IV.	302
Art and.....	IV.	225
Bridges, Robert, on.....	VII.	29
Immutable and Sovereign	V.	303
Liberty and.....	III.	121
" Poverty of Reason ".....	V.	377
Understanding and.....	IV.	385
" Rebecca at the Well ".....	V.	200
Recapitulation, Law of.....	I.	192
" Reconstruction, Education and ".....	I.	221
Red Cross Societies.....	VII.	398
Reform Acts.....	VIII.	236
REFORMATION		
Martin Luther and the....	V.	267
" Necessity of Reforma- tion ".....	VIII.	62
" Plea for Reformation ".....	VII.	302
Political effects of.....	V.	267
Scottish.....	VI.	359
Reform Bill, 1865.....	I.	47
" Reform and Reformers ".....	III.	97

	Section	Page
Reformer, Qualities of a.....	VIII.	165
" Regicide, Prosecutions for, under Charles II.".....	VI.	179
Regression.....	VII.	65
Reichstag, German.....	II.	86
RELATIVITY		
Fifty years before Einstein	VII.	180
School of.....	VII.	150
RELIGION (See also under Christ, Christianity, Church, God, etc.)		
" Address at Worms " Luther's.....	V.	268
" Against the Establish- ment of Religion ".....	V.	301
" Against Luxury in the Church ".....	V.	55
America, in.....	III.	148
Ancestral Worship.....	V.	246
Athanasian Creed, Origin of.....	V.	359
" Australasia, Christianity in ".....	VII.	4
" Babylonian Legend of the Deluge ".....	V.	80
Basis of.....	VII.	32
Bible and Koran, Similarities of.....	V.	346
Brahminical Mythology....	III.	220
Buddhism.....	V.	150
Catholics, Roman (See Catholic Church—Roman)		
" Centrality of Jesus ".....	V.	30
Chinese filial piety.....	V.	249
" Christ and the Creeds ".....	V.	218
Christ and Miracles.....	V.	240
Christian, Privilege of a....	V.	307
Christian Science.....	V.	184
" Christianity ".....	IV.	288
Christianity and Islam.....	V.	351
Christianity influenced by Egypt.....	V.	324
Christian's hope of another life.....	V.	261
" Confucianism ".....	V.	246
" Conscience, Growth of ".....	V.	320
Crusades, Origin of.....	V.	342

R

	Section	Page
Demonology and.....	VII.	375
“Development of Religion :		
Early Egypt ”.....	V.	323
“Divine Tragedy, The ”... V.		5
“Divinity of Christ ”..... V.		17
“Doctrine of the Trinity ” V.		359
Egyptian conception of		
gods, Early.....	V.	323
Evils in the Church.....	IV.	6
Evolution and.....	V.	31
Faith, Necessity of.....	V.	362
“Glories of Immortality ” V.		114
“God, If He did not exist” II.		375
God in Prehistoric times... V.		251
“Gospel of the Epiphany,		
The ”.....	VII.	304
Greek Church.....	V.	354
“Healthy Heresies ”..... V.		183
Henry VIII.'s reign, in..... III.		176
“Heroes of Faith ”..... V.		122
Hindoo Pantheon.....	III.	220
Historical Christ lost..... V.		220
Human Mind and.....	V.	260
“Illusiveness of Life ”..... IV.		237
“Immortality ”.....	V.	258
Isis and Horus, Worship of V.		324
Jesus of the Synoptists..... V.		221
“Kingdom of God ”..... V.		385
“Last Entry into		
Jerusalem ”.....	V.	5
Latin Church.....	V.	354
Lesson in Christ's		
Teaching.....	VIII.	144
Liberal Education and..... VII.		232
Liberals and the Synoptic		
Problem.....	V.	222
“Lord's Prayer ”.....	V.	21
Magic and.....	I.	346
“Man Immortal, Body		
and Soul ”.....	V.	135
Materialism and.....	VII.	239
“Meaning of the Cruci-		
fixion ”.....	V.	283
Mecca, Pilgrimage to..... V.		351
Milton and National..... VII.		367
Missionary Societies and... VII.		6
Mohammedanism.....	V.	287

	Section	Page
“Mohammedanism and		
Christianity ”.....	V.	341
Need of.....	V.	388
Parliament and, 1575..... VI.		390
“Passion of Christ ”..... V.		59
Pauline Cosmology.....	V.	33
“Pith of Paul's Chief		
Doctrine ”.....	V.	271
Poets and Atheism.....	III.	372
Politics and.....	I.	204
Prayer and Science.....	V.	241
“Prayer, The Practice of ” VII.		63
“Preaching the Crusade ” V.		53
Psychology and.....	VII.	63
“Rationalism and		
Miracles ”.....	V.	239
“Realities of Life and		
Death ”.....	V.	11
“Reformation in the		
Church ”.....	VII.	302
“Religious Law ”		
Mahomet on.....	V.	289
“Resurrection of Lazarus” V.		4
Revealed.....	VI.	299
Reverence, the Soul of.... IV.		46
Righteousness.....	V.	385
Roman Catholic, Plot to		
establish.....	VI.	91
Roman Catholics in		
Charles II.'s reign.....	V.	263
Roman Catholicism, In		
defence of.....	V.	332
“Sacra Fames Auri ”..... V.		379
“Sacred Cause of the		
Human Race ”.....	V.	237
“Sacred Trust ”.....	VI.	109
“St. Paul, Character of ”. V.		224
Scriptures, Peculiarity of		
Hebrew.....	V.	348
“Sea of Life ”.....	V.	8
Significance of.....	IV.	312
Spiritualism in America.... III.		149
Spiritual Knowledge..... VIII.		155
“Spiritual Science ”		
Steiner's.....	IV.	310
Taoism.....	V.	254
Theology and Materialism V.		184
Thugs in India.....	III.	220

R

	Section	Page
Trinity, Swift on the.....	V.	359
"Unseen, The".....	V.	198
"Use and Abuse of Images and Relics".....	V.	373
Vulgarity and.....	VII.	35
Repression.....	VII.	43, 64
Reproductive Glands.....	I.	383
Reptiles.....	I.	187
REPUBLICS		
Genius and.....	I.	404
Monarchies and.....	VIII.	121
"Research, The Value of Medical".....	VIII.	277
Research Board, Industrial Fatigue.....	VIII.	2
Respect for the rights of others.....	III.	124
"Resurrection of France"....	II.	207
"Resurrection of Lazarus" V.		4
Resurrection, The.....	V.	121
Resuscitative Faculty.....	VII.	168
Reverence.....	IV.	46
REVOLUTION		
Danton on French.....	II.	198
Gambetta on.....	II.	211
Government in French.....	II.	352
"Revolution, Justifying" (French).....	V.	304
Of 1848 (French).....	III.	206
Property during French... II.		351
Revolutionary Govern- ment, French.....	II.	378
Spirit of French.....	II.	351
State of France during.... II.		353
Thiers on French.....	IV.	378
Tyranny of.....	II.	335
Reynolds, Joshua, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	219
"Genius and Imitation" ..	IV.	219
"The Different Stages of Art".....	IV.	224
Richelieu.....	IV.	376
Righteousness.....	V.	385
Rivers, William Halse		
Biographical Note.....	I.	346
"Magic and Religion"..... I.		346
"Dreams and Primitive		

	Section	Page
Culture".....	VII.	257
"Mind and Medicine".....	VII.	276
Robertson, Frederick W.		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	233
"Highest Form of Expres- sion".....	IV.	233
"Illusiveness of Life".....	IV.	237
"Irreparable Past".....	IV.	245
Robespierre, Maximilien		
Biographical Note.....	II.	371
"Against Capital Punish- ment".....	II.	372
"If God did not Exist"....	II.	375
"Defence of Terrorism" ..	II.	377
"Demanding the King's Death".....	II.	379
"Against Terrorism"— Reply to Robespierre....	II.	397
Belief in a Supreme Being II.		376
Rockefeller Foundation.....	VII.	398
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH (See Catholic Church : Roman)		
ROME		
"Address to Nero".....	VI.	372
Barbarian Invasion of....	VII.	312
"Catiline, Conspiracy of" VI.		56
Christian.....	VIII.	231
Conquest of Britain, Roman.....	II.	1
Constantine, Emperor....	VII.	311
Constitution of.....	IV.	392
Diocletian, Emperor.....	VII.	311
Emperors of.....	VII.	310
Empire, Dante on the.....	III.	71
Empire, Division into Eastern and Western....	VII.	309
Empire, Keith, A. B., on..	VI.	238
"Fall of the Roman Empire, Cause of the" ..	VII.	306
"First Oration against Catiline," Cicero's.....	VIII.	42
"Fourth Philippic," Cicero's.....	VIII.	53
Hadrian, Emperor.....	VII.	315
History of Roman Empire	VII.	306
Liberty in.....	V.	195
Literature of.....	IV.	196

R

	Section	Page
Marriage in.....	VI.	278
Oratory in.....	VI. 371, VIII.	40
“ Patria Potestas ” of the Romans.....	VI.	271
Pontiffs.....	VIII.	231
Nero.....	VI.	371
Revolution in, First.....	VII.	311
“ Rome and Italy ”.....	II.	146
“ Rome the Eternal ”.....	VIII.	230
“ To Rome ”.....	I.	315
Rontgen rays.....	I.	398
Roosevelt, Theodore		
Biographical Note.....	I.	350
“ The Making of America ”.....	I.	352
“ Pioneers ”.....	III.	293
Rosebery, Earl of		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	255
“ Burns ”.....	IV.	256
“ Great Britain in Panorama ”.....	IV.	261
“ Power of the Press ”.....	IV.	262
“ Outline of Scottish History ”.....	VI.	354
Ross, Ronald, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	I.	361
“ Problems of Education ” I.		361
“ The Value of Medical Research ”.....	VIII.	277
Rousseau.....	VII.	26
Royalty, Duties of.....	III.	310
Rumania, Germany and, 1916.....	I.	159
Rumbold, Richard		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	362
“ Against Booted and Spurred Privilege ”.....	VI.	363
“ Rule for decent living ”.....	V.	395
Ruskin, John		
Biographical Note.....	III.	299
“ War ”.....	III.	299
“ How to read with Profit ”.....	IV.	1

	Section	Page
“ Imagination in Archi- tecture ”.....	IV.	267
“ Pre-Raphaelitism ”.....	VII.	285
“ Ruskin’s Politics,” G. B. Shaw on.....	VII.	323
Russell, John, Lord		
Biographical Note.....	I.	367
“ Science and Literature ” I.		367
RUSSIA		
Alexander I.....	II.	91
Black Sea and.....	II.	323
Conditions in 1918.....	VI.	396
Crimean War.....	II. 139, VIII.	222
Dostoevsky, Life of.....	VII.	104
Educated Russians.....	VII.	106
England and, 1878.....	II.	72
England and, 1792.....	VI.	188
England and, 1830.....	VI.	313
Europe and.....	VII.	116
European Powers and.....	VIII.	224
Germany policy towards, 1887.....	II.	87
Hungary and.....	VI.	250
History of Mediæval.....	VII.	340
Ivan the Terrible.....	VII.	343
Nicholas, Czar.....	II.	91
Ottoman Porte and.....	II.	336
Peter the Great.....	VII.	116
Poland and.....	II. 318, VII.	356
Present Condition of.....	VIII.	8
“ Pushkin ”.....	VII.	105
“ Russia in the Middle Ages ”.....	VII.	340
San Stefano, Treaty of....	II.	67
Turkey and.....	VIII.	222
Woman, Russian.....	VII.	111
Rutherford, Ernest, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	I.	375
“ Electrons ”.....	I.	375
Work on Radio-activity... I.		399
Rhythm, Poe on.....	IV.	217
Rye House Plot.....	VIII.	309

S

	Section	Page
" Sacrament ? Is Marriage a "	III.	114
" Sacred Cause of the Hum- an Race ".....	V.	237
" Safety of the Virtuous "....	V.	296
Saleeby, Caleb W.		
Biographical Note.....	III.	322
" Biology and History "...	III.	322
" Psychology of Parent- hood ".....	III.	336
" Sunlight and Disease "...	III.	344
Salvation Army.....	V.	56
Salvation, Baxter on.....	V.	42
Sanitation.....	VIII.	237
Saracens, Empire of the.....	VII.	307
Savonarola, Girolamo		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	301
" Plea for Reformation "...	VII.	302
" Gospel of the Epi- phany ".....	VII.	304
" Sceptic, The Superstitions of the ".....	III.	84
" Sceptical Philosophy, The ".....	III.	184
Schafer, Edward Sharpey, Sir		
Biographical Note.....	I.	377
" Human Post Office ".....	I.	377
Scheldt, Navigation of the... VI.		188
Scholars		
Duties of.....	VIII.	163
Education of.....	VIII.	185
Great.....	VIII.	186
SCHOOLS		
Classics taught in.....	IV.	134
Curriculum, Weakness of..	IV.	131
Medical Inspection of..	VIII.	251
Reform in, Need for.....	I.	341
Subjects taught in Ele- mentary.....	IV.	129
Schopenhauer, Arthur		
Biographical Note.....	III.	350
" Style ".....	III.	350
SCIENCE (See also under special Sciences)		
" Against Positivism in Science ".....	*VII.	235
Air, Pressure and Density	I.	303
America, in.....	I.	404
Astronomy.....	I.	369

	Section	Page
" Atmosphere, Composi- tion of the ".....	I.	217
Atom and Molecule, Dif- ference between.....	I.	303
" Atomic Theory ".....	I.	394
Atoms, Degradation of.....	I.	144
Becquerel Rays.....	I.	147
" Biology and History "...	III.	322
" Biology, Greater Prob- lems of ".....	I.	391
" Decomposition of Water ".....	I.	213
Dissociation of Silver.....	I.	146
Disease and.....	I.	331
Dynamic Theory.....	I.	304
Electric Theory of Matter	I.	145
Electrons.....	I.	146
" Electrons and Atomic Explosions ".....	I.	375
" Electrons and the Infin- ity of the Universe ".....	I.	286
Elements, Formation of... I.		145
Gravitation, Force of.....	I.	272
Heresy and.....	II.	281
" Human Post Office, The ".....	I.	377
India, in.....	I.	105
" Infinite, Conception of the ".....	VII.	178
" Life, Stream of ".....	I.	175
Meaning of.....	I.	246
Modification, Law of.....	I.	190
Molecules, Properties of....	I.	306
" Mystery of Creation "....	I.	269
" Natural Selection in Evolution ".....	VII.	83
Oldest Instruments.....	VIII.	12
Peace and War, in.....	I.	328
Physical.....	VI.	301
" Plants record their Story, How ".....	I.	104
" Plant Life, Wonders of ".....	I.	102
Poetry and.....	IV.	233
" Poetry and Science ".....	V.	390
Prayer and.....	V.	241
Priestcraft and.....	I.	389
Progress and.....	I.	367

S

	Section	Page		Section	Page
Protoplasm.....	I.	176, 194, 277	Whigs and Tories.....	VI.	34
" Radium and Radio-act- ivity ".....	I.	398	Scott, Sir Walter.....	IV.	303
Radium, Discovery of.....	I.	147	Scripture cited in Parliament	VII.	290
Rays, Ultra-Violet.....	III.	347	Scriptures, The.....	V.	137
" Realisation of a Dream ".....	I.	144	SCULPTURE		
Recapitulation, Law of.....	I.	192	Amiens Cathedral.....	IV.	273
Religion and.....	I.	386, VI.	Architecture and.....	IV.	274
" Science and Eternal Hope ".....	IV.	191	Orcagna's Tabernacle.....	IV.	276
Science and Knowledge....	I.	248	Pisano's Pulpit.....	IV.	275
" Science and Litera- ture ".....	I.	6	Scythians.....	II.	138
Science, Hostility to.....	I.	330	" Sea of Life, The ".....	V.	8
Science, Is it limited ?.....	IV.	301	Séances, Sir W. Crookes on..	VII.	250
Scientific Conviction, Need for a.....	I.	345	Secreting Glands.....	I.	379
Scientific Knowledge, Na- ture of.....	I.	334	Seddon, Richard John		
Scientific Literature.....	IV.	73	Biographical Note.....	VI.	365
Scientific Materialism.....	I.	386	" New Zealand and the Boer War ".....	VI.	365
Social Conditions and.....	I.	247	Seeley, Sir J. R.		
Sun, The.....	I.	271	Biographical Note.....	VII.	306
" Three-fold Unity of Life ".....	I.	277	" Fall of the Roman Empire ".....	VII.	306
Universe, The.....	III.	237	Self-control.....	VIII.	274
" World, How can we know of an outer ".....	I.	343	Self-examination.....	VII.	68
SCOTLAND			Self-interest.....	II.	76
Act of Union, 1707.....	VI.	28	Selfishness.....	VIII.	274
Anne's Reign, In Queen...	VI.	35	Selwyn, George.....	IV.	349
Barbarism in (15th Century).....	VI.	355	Seneca, Lucius Annæus		
Burns.....	IV.	29, 256	Biographical Note.....	VI.	371
Education in.....	VII.	153	" Address to Nero ".....	VI.	372
Glory of.....	IV.	158	Sensations.....	VII.	78
Industry, Development of	VI.	359	Sense-organs, Human.....	VII.	254
" National Life of Scot- land ".....	VI.	29	" Sentiments, Early ".....	VII.	142
" Outline of Scottish History ".....	VI.	354	Septennial Act, Against the	III.	99
Reformation in.....	VI.	359	Servility... ..	VII.	141
Seats in, Distribution of...	I.	46	SEX.....	I.	181
Spirit of.....	IV.	158	Characters, Secondary		
Union with England.....	VI.	360	Sexual.....	I.	383
Union of England and, Motives of.....	VI.	36	Processes, Sexual.....	I.	182
			Selection, Sexual.....	VII.	93
			SHAKESPEARE		
			Age of.....	IV.	146
			Bacon and.....	IV.	173
			" Characteristics of his Dramas ".....	IV.	52
			Characters in his Plays....	IV.	169
			Characters of.....	IV.	89
			Comic Genius of.....	IV.	88
			Genius and Judgment of..	IV.	55

S

	Section	Page
"Jonson, Ben, and Shakespeare"	IV.	87
On Life.....	IV.	237
Roman Plays, Sources of his.....	IV.	171
Structure of Plays.....	IV.	56
Temperament of.....	IV.	88
Was there a Shakespeare?	IV.	170
Shaw, George Bernard		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	322
"Ruskin's Politics".....	VII.	323
"St. Joan of Arc".....	III.	84
Sheil, Richard Lalor		
Biographical Note.....	V.	326
"Ireland's Part in English Achievement".....	V.	326
"In Defence of Irish Catholics".....	V.	332
Shelley, Percy B.		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	287
"Christianity".....	IV.	288
"On a Future State".....	IV.	291
As an Atheist.....	III.	359
Imagination of.....	III.	372
Macpherson, H. C., on.....	III.	242
"Queen Mab," criticism of	III.	360
Sheridan, Richard Brinsley		
Biographical Note.....	II.	381
"On the French Revolution".....	II.	381
"The Prussian Subsidy".....	II.	382
"Patriotism and Perquisites".....	II.	384
"Robbery of the Begums of Oudh".....	VIII.	283
"Proceedings against Warren Hastings".....	VIII.	291
"Speech on the Second or Begum Charge".....	VIII.	302
Ship Money.....	III.	91, 171, 376
Against necessity of.....	III.	165
Hampden, and the case of	V.	195
Impeaching Lord Keeper Finch.....	III.	164
Misuse of.....	III.	379
Shipping.....	II.	226
Government control of.....	I.	154
Sau King.....	V.	247

	Section	Page
Sicily, Socialism in.....	II.	195
Sickness, Loss caused by.....	VIII.	243, 251
Sidney, Algernon		
Biographical Note.....	VIII.	309
"Governments for the People".....	VIII.	309
Silence, Advantages of.....	V.	99
Silesia, Affairs in Upper.....	VII.	19
"Simplicity and Greatness".....	V.	141
Sin		
Abelard on.....	V.	4
Baxter on.....	V.	43
Buddha on.....	V.	164
Phillips Brooks on.....	V.	77
Singapore Scheme.....	II.	24
"Slander".....	V.	35
SLAVES AND SLAVERY		
Against.....	VI.	364
"British Slave Trade in the 18th Century".....	III.	396
Death rate of Slaves.....	III.	399
"England's share in the Slave Trade".....	II.	338
Lincoln and American.....	VI.	257
Sleeping Sickness.....	VIII.	242
Small States		
Achievements of.....	III.	111
As Buffers.....	IV.	380
Independence of.....	II.	12
Smith, Goldwin		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	296
"The Origin and Causes of Progress".....	IV.	296
"The Secret beyond Science".....	IV.	301
"The Lamps of Fiction".....	IV.	303
Smoke, Urban.....	III.	348
Smollett.....	VI.	28
Smuts, Jan Christian, General		
Biographical Note.....	II.	386
"The British Commonwealth of Nations".....	II.	386
"Social Hygiene, Moral Aspects of".....	VIII.	266
"Social Ideas and Education".....	IV.	16

S

	Section	Page
" Social Implications of Christianity ".....	III.	232
Social Life in the days of George III.....	IV.	348
Social Reform		
Dickens and.....	VIII.	125
Need for Women in.....	III.	257
Social Responsibility	VIII.	273
Social Structure, Permanence of.....	I.	346
SOCIALISM		
Education and.....	VII.	196
Macdonald, J. R., on.....	III.	234
Meaning of.....	VII.	197
Morris, W., on.....	VII.	191
Shaw, G. B., on.....	VII.	323
" Socialism and Discontent ".....	II.	195
Uses of.....	VII.	192
Working People and.....	VII.	193
SOCIETY		
Biological Foundations of.....	I.	185
English, from 1815-1852, General Progress in.....	I.	374
Of equality.....	VII.	198
Primæval.....	VII.	26
Service to.....	V.	108
SOCIOLOGY		
" Civilisation and the Individual ".....	I.	253
" Communism ".....	VII.	191
" Democracy and Higher Intellect ".....	I.	403
" Development of Knowledge ".....	VII.	240
Freedom, Conditions of....	I.	242
" Free Speech and fundamental Rights ".....	I.	201
" Live free or die ".....	VIII.	121
" Man, the Reformer ".....	VIII.	165
" Pioneers ".....	III.	293
" Primitive Family, The ".....	VI.	268
" Progress ".....	IV.	296
" War ".....	III.	299
" Widows' Pensions ".....	II.	182

	Section	Page
Socrates		
Biographical Note.....	V.	334
" Address to his Judges ".....	V.	335
Death a blessing.....	V.	339
Meditations of.....	VII.	163
Soddy, Frederick		
Biographical Note.....	I.	385
" Matter and Spirit ".....	I.	385
Sofia.....	II.	58
Solar System.....	III.	238
Solar System and Atomic Structure.....	I.	288
Soldiers		
Honour and.....	III.	317
Liberty and.....	V.	207
Motives in becoming.....	III.	313
" Solidarity, The Spirit of ".....	VIII.	16
Solon		
Constitution of.....	V.	213
Democracy of.....	V.	212
Somnambulism.....	VII.	52
" Somnauth, Gates of ".....	III.	217
Songs of Burns.....	IV.	31
Soul.....	VII.	72
Abélard on the.....	V.	5
Man's.....	V.	262
Plato on the.....	III.	283
Power of, over the body... ..	V.	149
SOUTH AFRICA (See also under Africa)		
Britain and.....	I.	131
Loyalty of.....	I.	131
Queen Victoria and Federation of.....	VIII.	210
Southcott, Joanna.....	III.	86
SPAIN		
Arabs' Library in.....	VIII.	279
Church of.....	I.	125
Federal Government in....	I.	128
Federal Republican Party.....	I.	125
Low Countries and.....	IV.	391
Mississippi, and the.....	VI.	288
Mistress of Europe.....	II.	83
Monarchy, 1869, Establishment of a.....	I.	126
Republicanism in.....	I.	123

S

	Section	Page		Section	Page
SPEAKING : PUBLIC			Star Chamber, Court of the..	V.	190
Aims of.....	I.	115	" State, Morals of the ".....	V.	360
Humorous anecdotes in....	I.	112	" States and Great Achievements, Small ".....	III.	111
Importance of brevity.....	I.	114	" States, Defence of weaker" II.	162	
Lucidity essential.....	I.	110	Stebbing, Thomas R. R.		
Species, Origin of.....	VII.	85	Biographical Note.....	VII.	359
" Spectator," Addison's.....	IV.	177	" Theological Problems of To-day ".....	VII.	359
SPEECH			Steele and Addison.....	IV.	177
Culture of.....	IV.	44	Steiner, Rudolf		
" Free Speech, For ".....	III.	131	Biographical Note.....	IV.	309
" Fundamental Rights, Free Speech and ".....	I.	201	" Spiritual Science and the Future of Mankind ".....	IV.	310
Human Speech, idealised by poetry.....	VIII.	73	" Practical Training in Thought ".....	VII.	378
" Love for the Beautiful in Speech ".....	IV.	216	Sterilisation.....	VIII.	108
Personality and.....	VI.	2	Stigmata.....	I. 86, VII.	77
" Value of Speech ".....	I.	108	Stimuli.....	I. 196, VIII.	275
Spencer, Herbert			Strafford, Earl of		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	329	Biographical Note.....	VIII.	318
" The Psychology of Music ".....	VII.	329	" Defence when impeached for Treason ".....	VIII.	318
On Morality.....	V.	321	Accusations against.....	VI.	347
Spirit			Impeachment of.....	VI.	346
Athanasius on.....	V.	18	King and.....	VI.	348
Belief in Spirits....	III.	191	Religious Charge against..	VIII.	319
Flesh and.....	V.	125	State and.....	VIII.	320
Fruits of.....	V.	126	" Stream of Life, The ".....	I.	175
" Matter and Spirit ".....	I.	385	Struldbrugs, Race of.....	VI.	357
Spirit of Discontent.....	VII.	241	Studies, Bacon on.....	III.	1
French Revolutionary.....	II.	351	Study, Need of.....	IV.	222
Spiritual Message of Poets....	IV.	146	Study of Art.....	IV.	224
" Spiritual Science and the Future of Mankind ".....	IV.	310	" Style ".....	III.	350
Spiritualism.....	III. 149, V.	198	" Style and Language ".....	V.	137
" Telepathy and Spiritualism ".....	VII.	249	Style in Writing.....	IV.	179
Sport.....	VIII.	257	Subliminal Self.....	VII.	64
Stammering.....	VII.	46	Sudan, The.....	III.	295
Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn			" Suffrage, Manhood ".....	I.	134
Biographical Note.....	V.	341	Suggestion, Uses of.....	VII.	47
" Mohamedanism and Christianity ".....	V.	341	Sulla and Caesar.....	VI.	54
" Palmerston and the Duty of England ".....	VIII.	313	" Sumter, Raising the Flag over Fort ".....	VI.	12
" Russia in the Middle Ages ".....	VII.	340	Sunday Observance.....	III.	233
			Sun, The.....	V.	107
			Condensation of.....	I.	273
			Source of the force of.....	I.	271

S

	Section	Page
" Superstitions of the Septic ".....	III.	84
Survival of the Fittest	III. 329, VII.	86
Sweated Industries.....	III.	260
Sweden and Russia.....	II.	320
Swift, Jonathan Biographical Note.....	V.	358

	Section	Page
" The Doctrine of the Trinity ".....	V.	359
Hazlitt on.....	IV.	105
Ill Humour of.....	IV.	178
Switzerland.....	VII.	26
Symbolisation among primitive races.....	VII.	264

T

	Section	Page
Talent, Development of.....	VIII.	147
Talfourd, Sir Thomas N. Biographical Note.....	III.	359
" The Queen Against Moxon—Shelley as a Blasphemer ".....	III.	359
Taoism.....	V.	254
Tarquin the Proud.....	V.	195
Taylor, Jeremy Biographical Note.....	IV.	321
" The Marriage Ring ".....	IV.	321
Telepathy and Scientific Men	VII.	254
" Telepathy and Spiritualism ".....	VII.	249
Temper, Importance of Governing.....	I.	96
Temporal and Spiritual Power.....	VIII.	233
Temptation, St. Augustine on.....	V.	25
" Terrorism, Defence of ".....	II.	377
Tertullian Biographical Note.....	V.	364
" The Beauty of Patience " V.	364	
Thackeray, William Makepeace Biographical Note.....	IV.	342
" The Reality of the Novelist's Creation ".....	IV.	342
" Authors and their Patrons ".....	IV.	344
" The Novelist's Future Labours ".....	IV.	346
" George the Third ".....	IV.	348
Thales.....	VIII.	12

	Section	Page
" Theological Problems of To-day ".....	VII.	359
Theology.....	III.	189
Theology and Materialism....	V.	184
Theory and Practice.....	VII.	245
Thiers, Louis Adolphe Biographical Note.....	IV.	370
" France, Italy and Germany ".....	IV.	371
Thompson, W. D'Arcy Wentworth Biographical Note.....	I.	391
" The Greater Problems of Biology ".....	I.	391
Thomson, Sir J. J. Biographical Note.....	I.	394
" The Atomic Theory ".....	I.	394
" Radium and Radio- Activity ".....	I.	398
" Thought, Practical Training in ".....	VII.	378
Thought, Production of.....	VIII.	191
" Three-fold Unity of Life " I.	277	
Tides.....	I.	35
Tillotson, John Biographical Note.....	IV.	384
" The Dignity of Man "....	IV.	384
Titian.....	IV.	229
Tocqueville, De.....	I.	404
Tone, Theobald Wolfe Biographical Note.....	VI.	374
" Before the Court Martial ".....	VI.	374
" Tongue, Curse of a Malignant ".....	V.	291

T

	Section	Page
" Tongue, Government of the ".....	V.	99
Tongue, The, and Perception of Stimulus.....	I.	105
Totem and Tabu.....	VII.	258
" Tower, Man on the ".....	III.	94
Town and Country Life.....	VII.	27
Trade and " Immutable Law ".....	I.	168
Trade between Britain and Australia.....	I.	172
Trade Unions.....	II.	21
" Tradition, Historical, and Oriental Research ".....	VIII.	11
Trafalgar, Battle of.....	II.	169
" Tragedy, The Divine ".....	V.	6
Transitional Varieties.....	VII.	99
Translations, Macaulay on...	IV.	165
Treason and the Law.....	III.	5
Treaties		
" Berlin Treaty ".....	II.	56
San Stefano, Treaty of.....	II.	56
Treitschke, H.		
Biographical Note.....	V.	369
" Morals of the State ".....	V.	369
Lord Birkenhead on.....	II.	84
Trench Fever.....	VIII.	262
" Trinity, Doctrine of the ".....	V.	359
Triple Alliance.....	II.	265
Triple Entente.....	II.	265
Trojan War.....	VIII.	14
Tropics and Medicine.....	VIII.	242, 277
Truth.....	IV.	146
Buddha on.....	V.	151

	Section	Page
Essentiality of.....	IV.	3
Intellect and.....	VIII.	155
Sanctification and.....	VIII.	157
Scientific and Religious....	I.	389
" Truth-telling, The Golden Art of ".....	IV.	209
Tsetse Fly.....	VIII.	243
Tuberculosis.....	VIII.	241

TURKEY

Berlin Treaty and.....	II.	57
Europe, in.....	II.	57
France and.....	IV.	380
Partition of.....	II.	63
Russia and.....	VIII.	222
Turks and Romans as Conquering Races.....	VII.	319
San Stefano, Treaty of.....	II.	67
Tut-Ankh-Amen.....	VIII.	12
Tyndale, William		
Biographical Note.....	V.	373
" Use and Abuse of Images and Relics ".....	V.	373
Tyndall, John		
Biographical Note.....	I.	403
" Democracy and Higher Intellect ".....	I.	403
Typhus, Campaign against...	VII.	397
Tyranny.....	I.	242
Tyrants		
Against.....	III.	199
Fate of.....	III.	204
Justice and.....	V.	281
Necessity, Plea of.....	III.	376

U

	Section	Page
Uganda.....	III.	294
Union, Act of.....	V.	310, 329
Union of England and Scotland.....	VI.	28
" Union of Two Great Peoples, The ".....	II.	307
" Under which King ? " (James III., George I.).....	III.	4

Section Page

UNITED STATES

" America in the Crucible ".....	III.	144
" American Scholar, The ".....	VIII.	163
America's part in the War.....	II.	315
Balfour's Mission to.....	II.	27
" Britain's Welcome to America ".....	II.	236

U

	Section	Page
British Colonies in.....	IV.	388
"Canada and the United States".....	II.	123
Canadian Reciprocity Agreement.....	VI.	242
Capital and Labour in.....	VIII.	167
Character.....	V.	74
Civil War (see also Civil War : America).....	I.	357
Civil War, Beginning of....	VI.	266
Civil War, Causes of.....	VI.	17
Colonial Period.....	I.	355
Conciliation with, Lord Chatham on.....	II.	153
Confederation and the War of Independence....	VI.	285
Congress and Taxation....	VI.	284
Constitution.....	VI.	17
Convention of, 1787.....	VI.	17
Disunion, Fear of.....	VI.	282
England, History of relations with.....	II.	307
England's relations with..	VI.	52
Englishmen as founders of	VI.	178
English race in.....	III.	145
European Blood, development from.....	I.	352
Europeans and (1871).....	I.	265
Evolution in.....	I.	185
"Extermination of the Indians".....	VI.	104
Flag of.....	VI.	12
Foundation of American Nation.....	II.	308
France and (1777).....	II.	158
Franklin.....	V.	302
"Free Speech in America"	V.	186
Free Trade and.....	III.	106
"Gettysburg Address"....	VI.	265
Government of.....	II.	311
Harding, President.....	III.	162
"House divided against Itself".....	VI.	259
Independence Day.....	VI.	51
Independence of.....	II.	152
Leaders in.....	VI.	257
Liberty in.....	I. 261, VI. 247,	399
"Liberty of all Peoples" ..	VI.	398

	Section	Page
Lincoln, Life of.....	VIII.	160
"Lincoln as a Typical American".....	V.	70
Lincoln's "Second Inaugural Address".....	VI.	266
Making of.....	I.	352
Mississippi and Spain.....	VI.	288
Mississippi, Navigation of the.....	VI.	282
"Monroe Doctrine".....	IV.	204
Mormons in.....	III.	147
Nationalities comprising people of.....	III.	146
Nebraska Bill.....	VI.	260
Norwegians in.....	III.	147
Omphalism in.....	III.	150
"Peace, Programme of —The Fourteen Points"	VI.	394
Physical Formation of.....	III.	152
Presidents of the, Origin of.....	VI.	174
Prosperity of.....	I.	358
"Reactions on Canadian Nationalism".....	III.	160
Religion in.....	III.	148
Representative Republican System in.....	I.	262
Republican Government of.....	VI.	289
Revolution, American I. 356, II.	309	
Scientific genius in.....	I.	405
Self-government in.....	VI.	250
Settlement of, Earliest....	I.	353
Slavery, in.....	VI. 26, 259	
Society in the South (Civil War).....	VI.	18
"Squatter Sovereignty" ..	VI.	260
Stamp Act.....	VI.	15
States and Slavery.....	VI.	263
"Sumter, Raising the Flag over Fort".....	VI.	12
Taxation, Direct.....	VI.	286
Taxation, in 1788.....	VI.	284
Thiers, Adolphe, on.....	IV.	373
"Union of Two Great Peoples".....	II.	307
Unity of North and South	VI.	12
War, in the Great.....	VI	53

U

	Section	Page
" United States of Europe " ..	I.	124
Unity of the Empire.....	I.	171
Universe, Man's Place in the.....	I.	274
" Universe, The, as Revealed by Modern Astronomy " ..	III.	237
" Universe, The, Electrons and the Infinity of ".....	I.	286
Universities.....	IV.	137
University Teachers, Need for.....	VII.	153
" Unseen, The ".....	V.	198

	Section	Page
Unselfishness, Definition of.....	VIII.	143
" Unshackled Living ".....	V.	125
" Unwillingness to im- prove ".....	V.	42
Uraniborg.....	VIII.	279
Uranium.....	I.	147, 286
" Usury, Avarice and ".....	V.	124
Uta-Napishtim, The Baby- lonian Noah.....	V.	80
Utilitarianism.....	IV.	183, VIII. 237
Utopia, Robert Bridges on...	VII.	24
Utrecht, Peace of.....	IV.	377

V

	Section	Page
Vaccination.....	VIII.	267
Value in Exchange.....	VII.	324
Vane, Sir Henry		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	377
" Against Richard Cromwell ".....	VI.	377
" Duty in Contempt of Death ".....	VI.	378
Defence against charge of treason.....	VI.	380
Vanity and Affectation.....	IV.	93
Variation, correlated.....	VII.	84
Varieties in Nature, Origin of.....	VII.	85
Varna.....	II.	59
Vatican, decorated by Raphael.....	VII.	293
Vendée, La.....	II.	206
Venice		
French and Austrians in...	VI.	198
Painting, School of.....	IV.	231
Vergniaud, Pierre Victorinien		
Biographical Note.....	II.	396
" Reply to Robespierre " ..	II.	397
Versailles, Treaty of.....	II.	80

	Section	Page
Vertebrata.....	I.	187
Vice		
Buddha on.....	V.	157
Labour and.....	IV.	11
Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.....	VIII.	318
Vincent, George Edgar		
Biographical Note.....	VII.	393
" International Public Health ".....	VII.	393
" Virtue, The Way of " (Buddhist Gospel).....	V.	151
" Virtuous, The Safety of the ".....	V.	296
Vision, Necessity of breadth of.....	IV.	72
Vitamins.....	VIII.	256
Vocal Education.....	IV.	45
Vocation.....	IV.	17
" Vocation, Natural Ca- pacity and ".....	VIII.	1
" Voltaire's Death,' Hugo on.....	IV.	120
Voltaireism.....	V.	112
Vote, Description of a.....	III.	251
Vulgarity.....	VII.	35

W

	Section	Page
Waller, Edmund		
Biographical Note.....	III.	376
“The Tyrant’s Plea— Necessity”.....	III.	376
Walpole, Sir Robert and Horace		
Biographical Note.....	III.	382
“The Debate with Pitt, 1741”.....	III.	383
“On Patriots”.....	III.	389
“On the Peerage Bill”....	III.	390
 WAR		
Art and.....	III.	300
Best Man in the Game of.....	III.	307
Carlyle on.....	III.	305
Causes of.....	II.	245
Dominion, for.....	III.	309
Evils of.....	III.	305
Evolutionary force, an....	I.	329
Human development, and	I.	328
Leagues to prevent War, Ancient.....	IV.	202
Means of preventing.....	VI.	65
Modern.....	III.	307
Picture of.....	V.	206
Restrictions on individual liberty.....	I.	153
“Science, War and Peace”.....	I.	328
“War,” Ruskin on.....	III.	299
Why it cannot be ab- olished.....	I.	329
Women and.....	III.	304
Women as causes of.....	III.	320
 WAR, GREAT (See also under countries engaged in the War)		
Aims of the.....	VI.	400
Allies’ Peace Terms.....	II.	218
“America, Britain’s Wel- come to”.....	II.	236
Britain’s Achievement during.....	I.	160
“Britain’s Man Power”...	II.	290
British obligations and the	II.	264
“British War Policy” (1914).....	II.	263

	Section	Page
Canada’s part in.....	VI.	41
Cause of Great War, Lord Grey on.....	II.	267
“Causes of the War,” H. H. Asquith on.....	II.	10
Compulsory Service intro- duced in Great Britain..	I.	149
“French Nation, To the”	II.	7
German Peace Terms in 1916.....	I.	161
“German War Aims”.....	II.	27
Imperial War Cabinet.....	II.	100
Medical Examinations.....	VIII.	252
“National Organisation”.	I.	149
“Navy, Work of the”.....	II.	166
“Oversea Dominions and”	II.	98
“Peace, Programme of— The Fourteen Points”..	VI.	394
“Restitution and Repar- ation”.....	II.	216
“Sacred Trust, A”.....	VI.	109
“Saving the World for Freedom”.....	VI.	51
Submarine Blockade.....	II.	10
Trench Fever.....	VIII.	262
Triple Alliance.....	II.	265
Triple Entente.....	II.	265
“Union of Two Great Peoples”.....	II.	307
Verdun, Defence of.....	I.	160
Versailles, Treaty of.....	II.	80
War Cabinet, British.....	I.	151
Waste of the.....	VI.	61
 WARS (See also under separate countries)		
American Civil War (See also Civil War, American).....	VI.	12
“Belgium, Neutrality of”.....	II.	254
“Berlin Treaty”.....	II.	56
Boer War.....	II.	387
“Boer War, New Zealand and the”.....	VI.	365
“Canada and the United States”.....	II.	123

W

	Section	Page
Condé, Wars of Prince		
of.....	II.	104
“ Crimean War ”.....	II.	139
“ Crimean War and Russia ”.....	VIII.	222
“ Denmark and Germany ”	II.	33
“ France, Overtures of Peace with ” (Napoleon- ic Era).....	II.	342
Franco-German War, 1870	II. 88,	207
“ Invasion of England ”...	II.	366
“ War, A Picture of ”.....	V.	206
“ War with America ”.....	VI.	46
Washington Conference.....	VII.	9
“ Water, the Decomposition of ”.....	I.	213
Wealth		
Constitution and.....	IV.	185
Idleness and.....	IV.	355
Industrial.....	II.	133
Webb, Sidney		
Biographical Note.....	II.	401
“ Labour’s Programme ”..	II.	402
“ Webster, Daniel ”.....	III.	264
Well-being.....	VIII.	2
Wellington, Duke of.....	V.	330
Ireland and.....	V.	316
Wentworth, Peter		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	383
“ Liberties of Parliament ”	VI.	383
Wesley, John		
Biographical Note.....	V.	376
“ The Poverty of Reason ”	V.	377
“ Sacra Fames Auri ”.....	V.	379
“ On Dressing for Dis- play ”.....	V.	382
West Indies, British.....	III.	161
Whig Governments, Acts of.	III.	95
Whigs.....	VII.	192
Whigs of the 17th and 18th Centuries.....	III.	382
Whitefield, George		
Biographical Note.....	V.	385
“ The Kingdom of God ”..	V.	385
Whitehall, 1793, Declara- tion of.....	VIII.	30
“ Widows’ Pensions ”.....	II.	182

	Section	Page
Wilberforce, William		
Biographical Note.....	III.	396
“ Horrors of the British Slave Trade in the 18th Century ”.....	III.	396
Wilkes, John		
Biographical Note.....	IV.	387
“ A Warning and a Pro- phesy ”.....	IV.	388
“ The Commons and its Rights ”.....	IV.	392
“ Case of John Wilkes ”...	III.	249
Will, Bunyan on the.....	V.	97
Wilson, Thomas Woodrow		
Biographical Note.....	VI.	393
“ The Programme of Peace—The Fourteen Points ”.....	VI.	394
“ Liberty of all Peoples ”..	VI.	398
Winds.....	I.	269
Wireless, Marconi and.....	I.	297
Wise Man, Buddha on the...	V.	155
Wish-fulfilment, in Psycho- analysis.....	VII.	260
WIT		
“ Humour and Wit ”.....	IV.	82
Imagination and.....	IV.	86
Reason and.....	IV.	83
Truth and.....	IV.	84
Verbal, and Fancy.....	IV.	85
WOMEN		
Bible and.....	III.	321
Calling in Life, Their.....	VIII.	215
Causes of War, As.....	III.	320
Duty towards her husband	IV.	337
“ Education of Women ”..	VIII.	213
High Position of.....	VIII.	269
In Primitive Society.....	VI.	275
“ Woman’s Rights ” in Rome.....	III.	74
“ Woman’s Vote, Im- portance of the ”.....	III.	251
Word-associations in Psychology.....	VII.	125
Words.....	IV.	2
Dangers of masked.....	IV.	2

W

	Section	Page
Derivation of.....	IV.	3
Wordsworth, William		
Biographical Note.....	V.	390
" Poetry and Science ".....	V.	390
" Workers and Education " ..	VII.	155
Workers and Socialism.....	VII.	193
Workers' Educational As- sociation.....	VII.	152, 156
Workmen, Famous.....	I.	24
WORLD		
Buddha on the.....	V.	160
Built up by thoughts.....	VII.	381

	Section	Page
" Saving the World for Freedom ".....	VI.	51
" World, How can we know of an Outer ".....	I.	343
"World's Memory : Books" V.		1
" World Peace ".....	VI.	60
Wyclif, John		
Biographical Note.....	V.	395
" A Rule for Decent Living ".....	V.	395
" Good Lore for Simple Folk ".....	V.	397
" Concerning a Grain of Corn ".....	V.	398

X, Y, Z

	Section	Page
X-rays.....	I.	287
Youth		
Advice to.....	V.	54
Opportunities of.....	IV.	251
Thoughtlessness of.....	III.	317
Zanzigs.....	VII.	255
Zeal, Buddha on.....	V.	152
Zionist's Programme.....	V.	171
Zollverein and Germany.....	VI.	75

	Section	Page
ZOOLOGY		
Natural protection for Animals.....	VII.	90
" Natural Selection in Evolution"—Darwin on	VII.	83
Origin of Species.....	VII.	85
Sexual differentiation.....	I.	181
Sexual Selection.....	VII.	93
Survival of the Fittest.....	VII.	86
—————		
Acknowledgments I. front,	VIII.	325

