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LXIV.—CHRISTIAN LIBERTY AND ITS COUNTERFEIT.

THE cause which is represented by this Magazine is naturally associated with ideas of liberty. Those who are striving to secure to English women the benefits of a more extended culture, and of more varied employment, are justified in urging that, so far as these are needlessly withheld, some women, and indeed the whole sex, are kept under a certain bondage, from which they ought to be set free. On the other hand, those who have strong feelings against the removal of any of the restraints by which the education and the work of English women happen to be at the present moment confined, are afraid of women becoming free with a false freedom, and losing the refinement and the usefulness which they hold upon the tenure of moving in a restricted circle. It is very important, therefore, that true ideas of liberty, as consisting in a *service*, not crushed from within nor hampered from without, should be generally diffused. It is most desirable that the ambitious should be preserved from going astray after the love of a false liberty; and it is also most desirable that the conservative should be warned against maintaining foolish obstacles in the way of genuine liberty. The following paper contains thoughts on Christian liberty according to St. Paul's view of it, which were not composed for this Magazine, but which may perhaps be useful, in bringing before its readers those conceptions of liberty which Christians will confess to be most authoritative and sacred.

In one of his Epistles, St. Paul is led to proclaim, with great earnestness, the principle of true Christian liberty. It was proved in the Churches of Galatia that this liberty is not a condition which every man naturally likes and enjoys. It could not hold its ground as a source of pleasure; it needed to be pursued as a duty. St. Paul represents it as one of the high characteristics of that vocation with which Christians are called. Those who accept that calling, he maintains, inherit a condition of freedom. They ought to be jealous in asserting and preserving their

freedom. They ought also to be careful not to be misled by any counterfeit or corruption of it.

There are two kinds of bondage with which Christian liberty is contrasted in this Epistle to the Galatians.

I. The first is that of servitude to mere ordinances. The Galatian Christians were in great danger of subjecting themselves to this bondage, and St. Paul writes warmly and anxiously to caution them against it. "How turn ye again to the weak and beggarly rudiments whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." "Stand fast therefore," he says again, "in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." The Gospel, with its announcement of Divine forgiveness and adoption, and its call to peace, and sonship, and unity, had been a proclamation of deliverance. That temper which some of the Galatians were manifesting, which sought to impose circumcision upon those who were not born Jews, and to make the observance of the law of Moses in other details binding upon Gentile believers, was a renunciation of the freedom which belonged to the covenant of grace. It chose instead what was a yoke of bondage to the human spirit.

We must beware of supposing that this bondage of which the Apostle speaks is the mere trouble and inconvenience of observing numerous ceremonies. He would hardly have spoken of observances, which, according to his belief, had been appointed by God Himself, as an intolerable burden of which a man might rejoice to be rid. Probably he did not claim for himself any exemption from the very observances which he saw to be instrumental in bringing a bondage upon the Galatians. What St. Paul had to do with and was concerned about was, the *conscience*, the inward spirit of a man. The question in his view was, does the man stand erect before God? Can he approach the Maker and Judge of all with calmness, and trust, and hope? Is he, in this deepest sense, a free man? That which could endow any man with such a liberty as the Apostle knew, was the word of reconciliation and adoption, truly received by faith. From such a freedom men would be debarred if a machinery of rules and observances were interposed between the soul and God; if it were assumed that God's favour was to be gained by conforming to observances which He had prescribed. It was not the mere fact of observing ordinances which made the difference between bondage and freedom. A man whose religious practice was very irregular and defective might yet easily be in slavery to ordinances. Another might be very scrupulous about his daily observance of religious rites, and might, at the same time, be enjoying the full blessing of freedom in soul and conscience before God. The question was, where the trust was placed. He who trusted directly

in God, in the fatherly heart and righteousness of God, might find comfort and benefit in many ordinances, as tokens, reminding him of the invisible Father, and means of discipline for his thoughts and habits, and would be in no danger of falling into servitude. He to whom such a direct trust in God was unknown was ready to subject himself to outward acts as means of making himself safe with God; and whether his observance were much or little, he would equally be in bondage to ordinances, equally subject to them rather than to the grace of God, equally prevented by them from having free access to the Father. Now St. Paul saw, in the acts of the Galatian Churches, symptoms that they were allowing their view of God's grace in Christ to be obscured, and were learning to trust in observances rather than in that grace. And so he warned them that they were falling back into a bondage from which the Gospel had called them out; and he ventured to speak of those excellent institutions which he himself was accustomed to honour in his daily practice, as weak and poverty-stricken rudiments, compared with that glory of free sonship before God, of which Christ crucified had made men inheritors.

Men, whether as individuals or in fellowship together, cannot live without rules. They must have daily and common observances as a kind of framework for the more spiritual element of their lives. St. Paul knew this as well as any man. And he is therefore much misunderstood when it is thought that he was an enemy of religious ordinances and seasons, of sabbaths and new moons, of days, and times, and years. We should not come any nearer to the Pauline idea of Christian life if we gave up the keeping of Sunday, and the habit of coming to church at stated times, and the acceptance of the Christian Sacraments. But the Great Apostle does warn us of the danger of being *in bondage* to these observances. If we think of them as the means of our safety, we may easily let them obstruct our way to God; we fall from grace, to come under law instead; we reject the freedom into which these very ordinances are voices to call us. Let us remember this perpetual, haunting danger, but let us not suppose we escape it by mere neglect of Christian customs. We do not enter into the true Christian freedom by setting ourselves up as superior to Church-going and Sabbath-keeping, and the minding of sacred seasons. Some ordinances or other will assert a tyranny over us unless we allow Christ Himself to make us free by bringing us, in the spirit of sonship, to the Father.

But it is always natural for men to fancy, when ordinances pharisaically kept and imposed are denounced as binding a yoke upon the conscience, that they are invited to the enjoyment of licence, and meant to make themselves comfortable according to their own notions of what is agreeable. We observe signs of this mistake in the Gospel narratives. Our Lord, taking up the message of the Baptist, proclaimed the Kingdom of Heaven as a king-

dom of deliverance and freedom into which men might enter. The invitation was given to men who had been either pressed down or repelled by the law-observance of the Pharisees, to those who had tried to keep the rules prescribed by the religious men of the day as means of earning God's favour, and had found that their efforts did not bring them peace or righteousness, and to those whom the rigour of the Pharisaic injunctions had frightened away from seeking God at all. Many endeavoured at once to push into the new Kingdom by way of escaping from burdensome commands and restrictions. There were those who would have professed themselves adherents of Jesus in the expectation of enjoying a condition of licence. Our Lord, therefore, was obliged to testify that His kingdom was not for those who broke away from wholesome rules. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. . . . Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven: but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

St. Paul similarly recollected, in the warnings he addressed to the Galatians, the danger that liberty might be mistaken for licence. Whilst, therefore, he testifies, "Ye have been called into liberty," he adds, "only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh."

II. False freedom is, in truth, the second kind of bondage from which Christ and His liberty would set us free. Human nature, left to itself, would swing from one kind of bondage to the other. When restraints, crushing and not helping the spirit, become intolerable, there is a tendency to break away from them and to run to the false freedom which is another name for slavery to appetite, and passion, and worldliness. In order to escape from the dissolving and destroying influences of such liberty, men are ready to recall the oppressive sway of mere law, and to submit to its authority. True spiritual freedom, such as the Christian has, through Christ to Godward, whilst it turns observances from masters into useful servants, and so emancipates men from their tyranny, delivers us equally from the powers which self-will chooses as masters, from the world, the flesh, and the devil.

There is an attraction, to which no one is at all times insensible, in the idea of getting rid of restraints and doing as one pleases; and it is too common to think of liberty as nothing else than this. But to get rid of external restraints, though often a necessary part of emancipation, is, in truth, only an incidental condition of genuine freedom of any kind.

In the case of civil liberty, there is much excuse for supposing that the repeal of restrictions is identical with freedom. When a man enjoys and exercises an improper power over his fellow-man, such as, in the extreme case, that of buying and selling him, and appropriating all the results of his labour, and forcing him to do

what his master's caprice may desire, it is indispensably necessary, if freedom is to be honoured and to prevail, that such a power should be abolished. It is undoubtedly a good thing, and tends to true liberty, that all unreasonable and unprofitable interferences with a man's freedom of action should be done away. But it may easily be seen that the absence of restrictions and interferences, is not the same thing as being free in any worthy sense of the word freedom, by thinking of the condition of men in a barbarous and uncivilized state. The anarchy of savage life is not freedom. The time has gone by when any thinking persons could imagine that men would gain, in respect of freedom, by removing from the regulated life of an ordered community like our own into what used to be called a state of nature. Civil and political liberty, so far from being interfered with and diminished by laws, needs laws for its very existence. And a high state of freedom might be found in a well-ordered society where very many things were prescribed, or many things forbidden, with penalties supporting the authority of the law. And it is probable that in such a society there would be a greater amount of happiness than where more individual licence prevailed. But it ought always to be remembered that the pursuit of freedom is not the same thing as the pursuit of happiness or enjoyment. The free man is very likely to be less mirthful than those who live in bondage. High interests and responsibilities, in which the free man shares, are apt to cloud the brow with care and anxiety, and to check the flow of mere light-heartedness. Slaves, on the other hand, and those who live in a servile state, may, at times, enjoy much childish mirth. We need not be surprised, therefore, when we are told on good authority that there is a great deal of merriment and gaiety amongst the slaves who form the curse and the shame of the Southern American States. This is no real argument for being content with slavery and acquiescing in it. The special gaiety of slaves ought in itself to be unwelcome to those who observe it, as a painful characteristic of slavery. It bears witness that self-control and self-respect are necessary attributes of genuine freedom, and will certainly belong to the members of any community in which a high degree of freedom has been attained.

The liberty of which St. Paul is the ardent champion, is not the municipal or political liberty which has to do with external government. But the one is not unconnected with the other. Christian liberty may exist in the mind and conscience even of a slave; but it unquestionably fights against the principles of slavery, and it aims at gradually promoting the most perfect civil liberty; and civil liberty cannot be real and lasting without the support of that liberty which has the soul of man for its sphere.

The highest freedom, so far from implying emancipation from all subjection, actually consists in serving God and men. St. Paul explains this apparent paradox by his account of human nature.

"The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would." Liberty, therefore, consists in the triumph of the spirit over the flesh. The flesh represents the tendency to indulge mere appetite and self-will, to live for self-pleasing. To set this tendency free, is to enslave the spirit. If the spirit is to be free, the flesh must be got under and controlled. The consciousness of this struggle is expressed by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, where he says, "I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members."

If this be a description which applies with any degree of truth to human nature in general, it is clear that the attainment of Christian liberty is not merely a setting loose of the inward impulses. It is to be achieved through painful struggles and victories. That which is often the history of a free nation is a picture of what must take place in the individual. A nation may have to toil, and endure, and fight before it can attain its freedom. So it was with the Israelites of old, so it is with the Italians of to-day. The Promised Land is entered through a wilderness. Flesh pots and ease are often on the side of slavery rather than of freedom. There may be much weariness in climbing, before the light and glory of the higher region are to be enjoyed. The Christian who would appropriate the blessings and privileges of his calling, will have to conquer those powers which would forbid him to be a son of God and make fellowship impossible between his spirit and the Spirit of God.

Is this a disappointing view? When we think of *freedom*, do we more willingly imagine a state which exempts us from struggles, and promises some kind of inert, spontaneous life? If so, let us not deceive ourselves. However much we might desire it, the freedom to which we are called is not that of ease and self-indulgence. It is the freedom of purity, and strength, and knowledge, and is not to be won without gaining victories over the flesh. And therefore the Christian course is never represented by those who know it best and speak of it most truthfully, as a course strewn with roses and delights; rather is it rough and hard, even stained with the blood of the faithful who have gone before us. We are not to be tempted to the real endeavour after true Christian freedom, by pictures of scenes and employments attractive to the natural man. I say again, let us not deceive ourselves, lest the discovery of the truth should leave us worse than we were before, less able and less inclined to gird ourselves in the strength of God to the necessary conflict.

But, at the same time, let us give its due honour to the glorious privilege of that freedom which Christ has won for us. Let us consider whether it is not *worth* striving for, whether we shall not

do well to struggle, and endure, and contend to the utmost degree which may be necessary, that we may become truly free. There is *that* within every one of us which responds to a call coming to us from the higher region, and inviting us to acts worthy of the nature in which God has created us. The spirit within us longs to gain its due place of mastery over the flesh. We know that the passive life of contented animals is not that for which man was made. We are capable of feeling ashamed of such a life, and of aspiring to a better. When we behold examples of men who have struggled and conquered; who, through whatever trials, have attained to peace and serenity, and the power of serving God and their fellow-men, we cannot but honour them and wish to be like them. Let us encourage such ambition in ourselves, by reflecting upon that heavenly calling of which we are partakers. Let not sloth and cowardice gain the dominion over us. Let us ask ourselves earnestly, shall we be slaves, or shall we be free? And let us remember, for our encouragement, that the liberty for which we are to toil is really given to us of God. He who has called us to be His children, has redeemed us and set us free. The rights of sonship are fully bestowed upon us. The spirit of sonship, by which we cry to God as our Father, and offer to Him the sacrifice of filial hearts, is also given to us. Because we are sons, no longer under tutors and governors, but raised through Christ into the privilege of free fellowship with the Father in heaven, God hath sent forth the spirit of His Son into our hearts, crying Abba, Father. Let us not, therefore, seek to obtain any prize or condition apart from God. Let not our efforts be made otherwise than in trust in God, and in prayer for His continual help. Our ambition should be to draw nearer to God, to let His grace enter more freely into our hearts, to resist more stoutly the influences which would draw us down from the freedom of Christ into slavery.

By way of helping us to live thus in the spirit to God, much and varied discipline may be necessary. But, whatever be our submission to customs and rules, to discipline and exercises—and I say again, let us beware how we despise these—let us believe that our true state is to be really *free*, and conscious of our freedom. It is well for us to look for the enjoyment of spiritual freedom, and to test our condition with reference to it. It is well that, when we discover ourselves to be relapsing into subjection to the flesh or to the world, we should feel something of the shame of freemen upon whom a tyrannical usurpation is practised. Have I the courage, let us say, to look truth and God in the face; to do without fear or shame what I know to be right? Am I living in the light? or am I weak, and deceitful, and cowardly, seeking to hide my shame in darkness? Am I free, or am I a slave? It would not be the same thing to begin by asking, am I happy, or am I not happy? Those have taught us not unwisely who say, Never mind about your *happiness*; consider what is *right* and worthy of a man made in the image of

God. But it is true, nevertheless, that happiness of a noble kind does attend the consciousness of freedom and peace with God; and to such blessedness the love and goodness of God have undoubtedly called us. There *is* a misery which all but the very torpid and dead must feel, in subjection to appetites and passions. This slavery is ignoble and must be felt to be so. The consequences of it are painful and humiliating. Those who yield to it become the prey of despondency, and fears, and remorse. They cannot face the *truth* when it flashes upon them, and they cannot meet their fellow-men in the spirit which they would desire. All such discomfort, misery, and shame, are witnesses that a man is not made to be a slave to the flesh. And, on the other hand, there is a glory and a joy in keeping sin aloof and claiming the right of peace and communion with God. It is a blessed condition to love the truth instead of being afraid of it, to look with gladness and desire upwards and onwards into the invisible world, to give free play to the holier and worthier affections of our nature, to be *able* to do that which we see we ought to do, and so to be conscious of a real harmony and order in our inward being. A man cannot but rejoice in the real freedom of his will; not in that awful responsibility in virtue of which he is free to choose the evil from the good, but in the actual emancipation of his spiritual or human will, when the love he would fain admit into his heart is not quenched and polluted by some unworthy desire, and the fruits of the spirit have room to grow, unblighted by noisome lusts, unchoked by weeds of passion and hatred.

The will of the Son of God was perfectly free, as we should wish our wills to be. And how was this freedom realized? In perfect submission to the Father's will. And in this, as in all, He is our head and example. Our perfect joy in the consciousness of human liberty must be sought in the surrender of ourselves to the Spirit of God, in order that He may do His work, showing forth His fruit in us. There are no profounder words than those of the Prayer-book, "In knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life, in whose service is perfect freedom." To know the Eternal God is our life, to be bond-servants to Him is our freedom. Nothing higher or better for man can be imagined by any dreams of human aspiration. But in that knowledge, and that freedom, are unlimited activity, variety, progress, and joy. As we come nearer to God and to our Saviour Christ in likeness, in trust, in agreement of hopes and desires, new worlds, new experiences, new ambitions, will open to us. But these will never set us free from the obligations of the humblest duties. They will only enable us to discharge those duties with more love and with more hope. The more free we are, the more we shall be ready to serve one another. We need freedom in order that we may be able to serve one another as we ought. For there can be no good mutual service without love, and without love there is no freedom. He who loves most purely, and most unselfishly, is most free. And he

whose heart is the happy seat of love and freedom will find his daily work in ministry and service. He will be able to deny himself almost without knowing it, in order to serve others better. He will know, through his sympathy with the heart of God his Father, that he cannot please God better than by loving and serving his brethren.

LXV.—REST IN THE LORD.

God draws a cloud over each gleaming morn.
Would we ask, why?
It is because all noblest things are born
In agony.

Only upon *some* cross of pain or woe
God's Son may lie;
Each soul redeemed from self and sin must know
Its Calvary.

Yet we must crave neither for joy nor grief,
God chooses best;
He only knows our sick soul's fit relief,
And gives us rest.

More than our feeble hearts can ever pine
For holiness,
That Father, in His tenderness divine,
Yearneth to bless.

He never sends a joy not meant in love,
Still less a pain;
Our gratitude His sunlight falls to prove—
Our faith—the rain.

In His hands we are safe—we falter on
Through storm and mire;
Above, beside, around us there is One
Will never tire.

What though we fall, and bruised and wounded lie,
Our lips in dust,
God's arm shall lift us up to victory,
In Him we trust.

For neither life, nor death, nor things below,
Nor things above,
Shall ever sever us that we should go
From His great love.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

LXVI.—OF THOSE WHO ARE THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS, AND OF THE GREAT POWER THAT HOLDS OTHERS AS PROPERTY.*

THERE is no doubt that in the gigantic war going on in the West, the sympathies of England *en masse* are for the South as against the North. For this there are more reasons than one, but the principal reason is, that we imagine they have been oppressed by the North. Strangely enough, the people of England have, in their intense sympathy for the oppressed South, forgotten almost that the South are systematically the greatest oppressors on the face of the whole world.

We will give a sketch of what slavery is in America, and then of what have been the actions of the slave-owners as a Power, that this may be clearly demonstrated.

Slavery existed in all ancient nations, and one of the great differences between the ancient and modern world is this institution of slavery. "And when Abraham heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained *servants*, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan." These servants were slaves, most likely in a state of perpetual and unconditional slavery. The slaves of the Hebrews were prisoners taken in war, or kidnapped from neighbouring nations. The story of Joseph, who was sold by his brothers to Arabian merchants, and then sold by them into Egypt, is an example.

The laws of Moses were not rigorous, for slave laws—and there were many ways allowed for a bondsman to redeem his liberty (see Leviticus xxv.). Compared to the laws of the Southern States of America, they were kind and considerate indeed.

The Romans and the Greeks held slaves, called *servi*. In the heroic times of Greece the slaves were absolute slaves, in the American sense of the word, but the bondsmen of the Doric States, who were principally employed in cultivating the soil, were not slaves but serfs; they could not be separated from their families, and were allowed to acquire property. The commercial States of Greece appear to have had an immense slave population, far outnumbering the freemen. The Roman system of slaves was much lighter than that of the commercial States of Greece, until the later times of the Republic, when it became much more cruel and hard. The Emperors made many efforts for the slaves, and the Chris-

* The Slave Power, its Character, Career, and Probable Designs: being an attempt to explain the real issues involved in the American contest. By J. E. Cairnes, M.A., Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Queen's College, Galway, and late Whately Professor of Political Economy in the University of Dublin. London: Parker, Son, & Bourn, West Strand. 1862.

tian Emperors especially. Christianity did not, for centuries, touch the question of slavery, but its influence bettered the condition of slaves.

The Northern tribes which invaded the Western Empire had slaves. During the Saxon period in England, slaves were sold out of England; even as late as 1102, the English were sold as slaves to strangers, principally to the Irish. About this time slavery may be said to have died in Europe, but the Venetians continued to sell Slavonians to the Mussulmans until much later.

In Mohammedan countries slavery continued to our own time; we have all heard of Christians being sold as slaves in Algiers, and even after the conquest of Algeria, negro slaves were permitted to be held by the natives, until the much abused Government of 1848, abolished slavery in all the French Colonies. The interference of the nations professing Christianity has abolished slavery in Barbary, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Where then must we look if we wish to study this ancient institution? We must turn, not to the "barbarous Turk," or the cruel Moors of Africa, if we wish to examine how men and women live together where some are the property of others, who can buy and sell them like cattle, but we must turn Westward to a Christian nation. Never in a Mohammedan country has bondage been such pure and unmitigated slavery as it is now in the Western World.

When America was discovered, the Spanish and Portuguese, finding the Indians weak and indolent, imported African slaves; and it is Charles V., the Catholic and Christian Emperor, who has the honour of being the first to authorize a large importation of blacks into the West Indies. This was the commencement of the infamous slave trade, all the horrors of which used to be so familiar to us in England, but which we seem lately to have forgotten. It is this horrible system of kidnapping and traffic which the Southern States wish now to re-establish.

The terrible sufferings of the slaves during their journey to the coast, the manner in which they were packed on board the vessels, their sale on arrival, and their condition, exposed to the power of men who were absolutely their owners and masters,—these topics were discussed and written about over and over again, during the last century and the beginning of this. The horrors of the slave *trade* principally occupied Thomas Clarkson and other philanthropists of that time, because the constant supply of slaves increased tenfold the cruelties of slavery. It was then the interest of the master to get as much work out of his slaves as possible, and as soon as he had worked them to death, to buy newly imported ones. It is evident that to keep up the stock in the natural way, enforces a certain amount of humanity, which is not necessary when men, women, and children, can be bought "ready reared," imported fresh from Africa.

The slave trade was abolished in 1807, but it was not until

1834 that slavery was abolished in our colonies. The English reformed Parliament may well be proud of that vote of twenty millions as compensation to the slave-owners. This act will be prominent for ever in the history of our country. France did not emancipate her slaves until the Provisional Government of the Republic in 1848.

Of the state of those who are the property of others in America, we can judge by considering the laws. In old countries the laws do not give us the habits of the people in the same manner as in the American Republic, where the laws are all modern and made by the people themselves, we may say as the result of their yesterday's experience and practice. In all the Slave States, slaves are absolutely the property of their masters, and everything they have belongs to their masters. In no State can a slave make a marriage which is legally indissoluble. The children always belong to the master of the female slave. A slave can be leased or mortgaged at the will of his owner. He can be seized by creditors or legatees. His master may determine absolutely the quantity of labour he shall be subjected to, and what food he may have, and may inflict any punishment he thinks proper. There is no way in which a slave may redeem himself, or institute any action against his master, no matter how atrocious his master's conduct may have been. These laws are in many respects much harder than any slave laws which the world has ever seen. In Mohammedan countries the children of slave women do not follow the condition of the mother, and thus some of the worst and most cruel consequences of slavery are avoided. Considering the slave as a member of civil society, (the expression seems like a joke,) we find he cannot bear witness against a white person, or be a party in a suit; all means of education are withheld from him; submission is enforced from the slave, not only to his master, but to all white people. The penal laws are harder on him than on the whites, and in most of the States even the trial of slaves on criminal accusations is different from the trial of whites. Emancipation is not encouraged as in the ancient world, but is hedged round by all sorts of difficulties, and those who have emancipated themselves are not often allowed to remain in the Slave States.

Thus you have, in a few words, the spirit of the laws of the States concerning slaves. A very little reflection will convince any one that with such laws the condition of the slave and his happiness must depend on his master's disposition, and it is evident the position of the master, with such laws to back the devil in him, must increase any natural inclination towards cruelty and oppression. The most atrocious cruelty is possible, and it is enough to say that nothing in "Uncle Tom" is overdrawn, though the cases as bad as Legree are rare. The laws are as bad as Legree, and we will give a few instances to show what the laws can do. In these cases no violent passions need have been roused, and all was done in cold blood.

We have said that many difficulties are thrown in the way of any master who would free his slaves.

Not many years ago in North Carolina a free coloured man, who was very industrious, saved enough money to purchase his wife, who was a slave, and the children which had been born up to that time. They had several other children. Now by the law of the State the wife and all his children were his slaves. Unfortunately, he became involved in debt, his creditors obtained judgments against him, and his wife and children were sold into perpetual slavery! *

A citizen of Mississippi, named Elisha Brazealle, held a coloured woman as a slave. She had a son called John Brazealle, of whom her master, Elisha Brazealle, was the acknowledged father. Elisha Brazealle went into Ohio and there emancipated this woman and her son, and then returned to his house, Jefferson County, Mississippi, where he lived until his death. By his will, executed after the deed of emancipation, he recited the fact that such a deed had been executed, and declared his intention to ratify it, and devised his property to the said John Brazealle, *acknowledging him to be his son.* The heirs at law of Elisha Brazealle filed a bill in Chancery claiming all the estate which had belonged to him in his lifetime, on the ground that the deed of emancipation was void as being contrary to the laws and policy of Mississippi, and that being so, the said John Munroe Brazealle was still a slave and incapable of taking by devise or holding property. The decision was for the heirs. Appeal was made to the highest court in the State, and the decision was the same; "John Munroe and his mother are still slaves and a part of the estate of Elisha Brazealle."

We might go on with page after page of such extracts from cases of the working of the slave laws in the States, but we have not space, and could not detail some cases, which are too shocking even to be printed in our Journal.

What can be expected with such an institution as slavery in a society? The laws must be atrociously unjust, if there are laws at all regulating it. The slaves themselves are very much what any human being would be under such a system, only that in the African nature there is a fund of gentleness, and patience, and cheerfulness, exceeding that of all other races. Their indolence and their disposition to lie, are to be accounted for by their position. They have no motive to work but fear, and fear makes a man conceal his powers, and fear also is the great master of lies. They are loving and agreeable as servants in a house, if well treated, and their affection to children is quite wonderful.

One of the most remarkable English women of this century resided in the Southern States for many months, and assured us that she found more pleasure in the society of negroes than any

* These cases we have abridged from "A Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery in the several States in the United States of America. 2nd edition. By George M. Stroud. Philadelphia. 1856."

other society after that of the very best in England. After the experience of our residence in the South we almost agree with her. They have a certain genius of geniality which is peculiarly charming: no people so soon respond to kindness. This cheerfulness of the negroes misleads visitors to the Slave States, and they almost begin to think slavery may be the cause of it, as they are told incessantly that it is.

The negro race is very affectionate, and the ties between parents and children strong and deep. What, then, must be the suffering of mothers and children when they are exposed to separation at any moment, on the whim or necessity of the master! While in America, I asked many old female slaves where were their children, and I never recollect a single instance of an old woman having all her children with her or near her; generally she was alone, and her children dispersed, she knew not whither. In the slave depôts at New Orleans, and in the auction rooms, I never saw families sold together; often a mother and one child put up together, when the child was young, but not often a mother and a child above six or seven. Scenes I saw in negro sale rooms cannot be related, they were so atrocious, so shocking to all feelings of decency as well as justice. Such is this peculiar institution. "But I never saw such things," said a lady of New Orleans to me. "You should not have gone to such places," said another. Yes, it is easy to live in New Orleans and see nothing; but for all that these things exist. And for all the smooth appearances in the Southern States, there is a fearful amount of misery and heartbreak caused by the necessary action of the slave laws. Of the amount of domestic tyranny and cruelty it is more difficult to judge, but I am convinced it is very great. In my small circle at New Orleans I knew of two cases, and the number I heard of was very great.

The system of slavery might be, perhaps, upheld logically if the negro race could be proved to be not men, but a kind of monkey race made to wait on men. But facts are too strong, and the Southern upholders of slavery have never attempted to prove that; what they do say is, that the negroes are inferior and cannot govern themselves; that slavery is a "divine institution" for civilizing and Christianizing these savage African races. As regards the alleged inferiority, I am convinced the negro is superior in some qualities, and how far inferior in others cannot be asserted until he and the white man are placed in exactly the same position. Where they have been, the negro has not acquitted himself discreditably. We will now go on to say something of the actions of those who hold others as property.

At the time when the Federal Union was established there was a strong feeling against slavery and a strong party for emancipation. And if Washington, Jefferson, and the North, had been firmly determined to have no union with Slave States, it is probable slavery never would have been increased to its present dimensions. But

fear of England made the leaders consent to union, which was almost necessary to their existence as a nation.

The Northern States had cast off slavery, and it is probable the leaders thought slavery in the South would be more easily got rid of at a future time than at that moment; but, in my very humble opinion, Washington committed here a great fault. The introduction of the culture of sugar and cotton suddenly increased the extension of slavery. The Slave States demanded more power and territory, and almost the whole of the politics of America became slavery politics. Political parties became parties for or against slavery or the extension of slavery, and almost the whole mental activity of the people has been turned to the question of the negro.

The great quarrels have been about the territory or new lands, which, of course, the South has always desired to form into Slave States and too often successfully, as in the case of Missouri and Texas. The nature of slavery makes the Slave States by necessity aggressive. Slave labour exhausts the soil and makes fresh land a necessity to slave communities; the position, too, of slave-owners makes their passion for power naturally dominant. And the increase of Slave States naturally is sought for to give power in the central government.

When Missouri was received into the States as a Slave State, a compromise was made for the Free States, that slavery should not be carried north of the parallel of 36° 30′ of north latitude. This was a triumph to the South, and so the Southern States went on triumphing over the North, until the election of Lincoln in 1860.

In spite of the Missouri compromise, they tried hard to seize Kansas, which was north of the boundary then agreed on, and in every way showed their ill faith and their one determined aim to go on increasing the Slave States. After disgraceful scenes of war, Kansas decided herself, in spite of Southern ruffians, on being a Free State.

After the affair of Kansas, the North began to wake up to the designs of the South, and anti-slavery principles became much more generally accepted. The atrocities of the South had absolutely frightened the North. It was then that the Republican party was formed; their policy was to prevent the extension of slaves into any new territory. In 1856 this party, though defeated, and Buchanan the Southern President elected, still showed by its power that the slave dominion was no longer submitted to in the North without a protest. The leaders of the South felt that this was a sign of a coming struggle, and they girded themselves for the fight. The real cause of their defeat in Kansas was the want of power of colonization.

A slave population cannot compete with a free people in colonization. The South had taken the ground with her hordes of hired ruffians of "white trash," but could not hold it against the free settlers of the North, who poured in with their families.

The South then felt the necessity of a disposable population, and

turned its face towards the African slave trade, closed since 1808, and it became strongly their interest to re-open it. The South now declared it was unconstitutional to close it; in 1857 the governor of South Carolina said so. In 1858 the newspapers of the South advocated the opening of this market, and there were cargoes of negroes from Africa landed at the mouth of the Mississippi when we were at New Orleans in the spring of 1858.

At that time the governors of the Southern States spoke openly of their hostilities to the North, and I remember in the address of the governor of Alabama to the State Assembly at Montgomery, he urged the increase of the State army, to resist the North if it encroached on their rights. In 1859, associations were formed to re-open the slave trade, and every effort made to disseminate this new doctrine in the States. A Mississippi paper, the *True Southern*, offered a prize for the best sermon in favour of free trade in human flesh!

More and more slaves, *in spite of the law*, were landed in the South in 1859 and 1860, and in fact now, practically, the slave trade is established.

We must just touch here on the decision in the momentous case of Dred Scott, in which Chief Justice Janey of Missouri pronounced Dred Scott a slave, although he had been freed by a residence in a Free State. The Chief Justice went the whole length of the encroachment of the new party in the South, and pronounced that there was no difference between a slave and any other property; and secondly, that all American citizens might settle with their property in any part of the Union in which they pleased. By this decision the Union might be peopled with slave-owners, and New York and Massachusetts (*all their laws being set aside*) become really Slave States!

The Southern aggressors became more insolent, and even the democratic party refused to go the whole lengths of the "thorough" party formed in the South, much as they desired to preserve the Union; they therefore separated, and this split in the Southern camp was the real cause of the victory of the Republicans in the election of Lincoln. As soon as the Slave States saw they stood alone, with no party to abet them in the North, they decided on secession.

The democratic party was for free trade State rights; that is, it was for not meddling with slavery in the State, and it inclined always for the rights of slave-owners: yet the South was not satisfied with this policy, and wanted something more than free trade as we understand it, and as the Democrats understood it; and we must not suppose, as many do in England, that the desire for free trade was the cause of the war, or why did the South break with the free trade Democrats? Free trade in human beings, the Democrats would not have supported, but that is one of the points the South is determined to gain.

Slavery alone is the question at issue between the North and the South. Slavery has been the cause of all their differences, and it is slavery that will be the cause of an everlasting feud as long as it remains on the same continent with the Free States.

In the admirable book of Mr. Cairnes, he professes his belief that secession will be favourable to the growth of slavery, and says the leaders of the South would not fight for it if they were not convinced of this, and that they may be admitted to know their own advantage. On the other side, it is certain that the abolitionists have thought conscientiously that union with slave-owners was iniquitous, and believed the constitution to be a compact with slavery, which being against Christianity, ought not to be upheld; and in 1844, Mr. Lloyd Janison, as President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, wrote an address, which, in the strongest possible language, insists on this point. In large letters, as our eye runs down this address, which is signed by the President, and by Wendell Philips and Maria Weston Chapman, we see, "No UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS, &c. &c., MERCILESS TYRANTS, BLOODTHIRSTY ASSASSINS. Circulate a declaration of DISUNION FROM SLAVEHOLDERS throughout the country. Hold mass meetings, assemble in conventions, nail your banners to the mast, &c."

In the works of W. E. Channing, we find that he believes "no blessings of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures, nor ought the bond to be perpetuated if experience shall demonstrate that it can only continue through our participation in wrong-doing." To this conviction the Free States are tending.

Theodore Parker thought the Union iniquitous, and believed it necessary for the safety of the South. "The Union protects that property. (The property in men.) There are 300,000 slaveholders, owning thirteen hundred millions of dollars invested in men. Their wealth depends on the Union." We might multiply passages from the writings of the anti-slavery party to show that they believed the Union ought to be broken; and from slave-owners, asserting that *the dissolution of the Union was the dissolution of slavery*, that *they looked to the North to protect them* from the *stupid depraved savages, a dangerous class of beings.* Such were the opinions of the anti-slavery party, and such were the opinions of the slave-owners until quite lately, almost until the war broke out. I believe the anti-slavery party did not change until after the war began. Secession it was thought would be the death of slavery; both North and South agreed in this. It is not then astonishing that we in England should have been puzzled for some time to know where to look for emancipation. But we ought never to have hesitated about the character of the South.

John Stuart Mill, Professor Cairnes, and other authorities, think the North was obliged to accept the challenge to battle with the South. Some of the Northerners felt it their duty to fight for the

Union, some that those who might wish to join the North should have fair play, and be able to express themselves, free from the terrorism of the South. In this the North has been successful, and there is little doubt that Maryland, Virginia, Missouri, Kentucky, by the war will be able to join the North. The facts are clear, though the *Times* has done all it can to misrepresent them. The North, in spite of all mismanagement, has gained much. The South, in spite of its frightful sufferings and good management, has not been able to prevent its States from being invaded, and New Orleans taken. Supposing the South could drive out the Northern army from all its States, (which seems to us perfectly impossible,) what would be its career as an unrestrained State, Republic, or rather Slave-Aristocracy?

Mr. Cairnes proves in his book that the very nature of slave culture exhausts the lands and demands new territory. We have shown how the South has gone on acquiring by foul means new states. Missouri was gained by a compact they did not mean to keep. Texas was positively stolen. It was not for want of blood-thirsty ruffians that Kansas was not gained, but simply after many struggles the free settlers so largely outnumbered the slave population, that they could not be refused admittance as a Free State.

Then the South asserted the right of making slaves like any other property, with which they might settle anywhere. Then the slave trade was approved of and absolutely practised. This has been the career of the South to 1860, when by a split in their own camp, caused by the "Thorough" party, going too fast, even for the Democrats, the republican candidate was elected; this election, in which the South of course voted, they would not submit to, and declared for secession.

What may we expect by this past for the future? Slavery, they have asserted, is to be the corner stone of the new Union, unfettered by any restrictions.

Where there is slavery, industry is despised, and the new Union will have five millions of whites who, called "mean whites," have no calling, but live an uncertain and almost savage life, always ready for any piratical expedition. They will have an economic necessity for extension of territory and a determination to settle newly acquired territory with African stock. But let us quote from Prof. Cairnes' book, the opinion of the Vice-president of the Southern Confederation. "We can divide Texas into five Slave States, and get Chihuahua and Sonora, if we have the slave population, but unless the number of the African stock be increased we have not the population, and might as well abandon the race with our brethren of the North in the colonization of the Territories. Slave States cannot be made without Africans." "Take off," says Mr. Gaulden of Georgia, "the worthless restrictions which cut off the supply of slaves from foreign lands . . . take off the restrictions

against the African slave trade, and we should then want no protection." With the slave trade as well as slavery, with the 5,000,000 of mean whites, what could be expected from the new Union, cut off from the restraining North, all Christendom against her; with the lust of power as her predominant character almost by necessity? What could be expected from her career if she triumphs over the North? A Union of tyrants, whose hand will ever be against the weak, whose aim abroad would be power and dominion, and whose pet institution, once called 'peculiar,' now become 'Divine,' would be *slavery*.

With such a prospect, ought we not to look anxiously for the success of the North? and, knowing what the South has done and will do, so well as the Northern people do, it is not astonishing that they should think us cool and indifferent to the most vital question of the world.

They have decided it to be right to fight the South. They have decided that now they will not let the slave power domineer longer if they can help it. They have decided now to do what we have abused them for fifty years for not doing. They have decided to alter the constitution even, that sacred legacy of Washington and their great patriots. Yet England has not shown any sympathy for the North and her frightful inherited difficulties.

The war so far has done so much for the cause of freedom in the North, that even secession could be allowed now, in 1863, with much greater loss to the Slave States and gain to the North than in 1860.

That the North regard the war as a war against slavery, there cannot now be the slightest doubt. The North see more clearly now than ever what slavery really is. When she was a partner with slavery she was almost bound to defend it; now—now for the first time, the Slave and Free States are separated, the North is free to think without prejudice, and does think, and does make rapid progress towards a determination to do all it can to rid itself of that horrible stain and scandal.

I have a letter before me from one of the most distinguished members of the Abolitionist party, and as it shows in what light the war is regarded in North America, I will insert some passages. "This terrific war"—"I believe it will humble the haughty spirit of America, check her vain boasting, and enlighten her to see that all her glory as a nation has been darkened by the plague spot of slavery, that her vaunt of being a united people was but a fable to deceive European nations. Union was impossible between slavery and freedom: from the first Congress to the last, slavery has been the cause of ceaseless strife; our political history is but a tissue of encroachments on one part, and of mean subserviency on the other. Happily, as John Brown said, while awaiting his execution—'There is no night so dark as to prevent the dawn of day, no storm so furious as to prevent the return of warm sunshine and cloudless sky.' We shall probably have to

wait long for the sun, but when he rises it will be on a nation cleansed of slavery with its concomitant vices, and crimes, and miseries, and my settled conviction has long been, that a ten-years' war will inflict less suffering and less moral degradation upon us than the continuation of slavery. Hence I rejoice in the war, seeing in this fearful calamity our only chance of regeneration and salvation. 'With what measure ye meted it shall be measured to you again.' If, as a nation, ye have torn asunder the tenderest ties of humanity—parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters have been parted, to endure a fate infinitely worse than death—now behold the recompense of your works. War is desolating your homes and wringing your hearts, your beloved are taken from your midst, and the perils of war encompass them, your hearts may never again throb against each other. But mark, yours are lighter sufferings: those who leave you breathe the air of freedom; the slave is consigned to mental as well as physical torture, he writhes in his chains. Go now to your battle-fields and your hospitals—behold the ghastly wounds, the lacerated bodies, the maimed and bleeding forms of those who went voluntarily to fight and to perish for the phantom of a Union laid in iniquity and cemented by cruelty and oppression. Turn then to the prison-house of the South. Behold her scorpion lash, her thumbscrews, her various instruments of cruelty, designed to crush out of human beings their noblest aspirations, to turn God's crowning work of creation into a soulless automaton, and tell me if the sufferings of your sick and wounded soldiers do not faintly shadow forth the sufferings of your slaves, and cry to you in a voice of warning and of woe, if not of repentance, 'The measure ye meted to others is being measured to you again.' See ye not in this desolating conflict the just retribution of your hypocrisy and your barbarity? . . . Slavery will be abolished, the South will let the oppressed go free, but the vile prejudice against the negro, so rampant at the North, will not be abolished. It is no less a crime than slavery, and must meet its recompense in humiliation and suffering. It almost makes me despair of my country when I see her thrusting back the confiding slave into bondage, using him as a tool and denying to him the right of every man to confront his enemy and to battle for freedom, his own freedom, for the privilege of asserting his manhood and saving himself from contempt and degradation. Oh, my dear friends, I can offer no other prayer but this, 'Let not thine eye pity, nor thy hand spare, until judgment has brought the victory of Righteousness.' Let not the wound of this people be healed slightly—Oh, my country, my country! mayest thou know in this the day of thine adversity the things which belong unto thy peace, ere they be hid from thine eyes."

It is a moment of deep solemnity in the history of the free white people, our brethren in America. It is a moment full of the most

important consequences to the whole African race, and we ought not lightly to judge in this tremendous struggle. We should not be led away by a show of "pluck" and daring, to sympathize with the South, or be turned in disgust from the cause of the North because of the barbarities of any one leader, or the rapacity of any number of Government officials.

There is a *cause* in this struggle, and we are responsible to give the whole weight of our opinion, to help either the right or the wrong. I grant there has been much to confuse us, and much we can with difficulty understand, amid all the conflicting accounts, and the sudden changes of opinion in America; but of this we may be sure, the South is in the wrong; the South is dangerous. The cause of the war is slavery.

There is one consideration which regards England particularly—it is that of opening afresh the slave trade. There is a future cause of war for us with the South, which hates England with a bitter and intense hatred as the land which has set the example of a great sacrifice made for the freedom of the slave.

B. L. S. B.

LXVII.—NURSING, PAST AND PRESENT.*

At this juncture, when so many towns are endeavouring to provide better nurses for the tending of the sick, both in hospitals and in the homes of the poor, Dr. Martyn's pamphlet will be read with much interest. It is partly historical, partly practical in its contents, and the long list of authorities given opposite to the first page will enable students who wish to push their investigations further, to do so with ease. All human institutions have as it were two sides from which they may be viewed; the more abstract and statistical side, showing forth their size, number, and the scale of their average usefulness as compared with the population of the country; and the living, the individual, the dramatic aspect, exemplifying their relation to men, women and children, taken in more or less of detail. People who can with difficulty grasp a law of social science are roused in a moment by coming in contact with some frightful accident, some epidemic fever—and the workhouse, the lunatic asylum, or the hospital, acquire in their eyes a genuine life. Then is the time for historical or scientific details to be read with interest; and an audience which before the Crimean war would hardly have realized the importance

* "Hospitals, Past and Present." By Samuel Martyn, M.D., M.R.C.P., Physician to the Bristol General Hospital.
"The Nightingale Fund. Report of the Committee of the Council for the Year ending June 30th, 1862."

of the subject, will now pay eager attention to the question whether St. Thomas's is to be moved out of London, or whether the sick are best tended by secular or religious women. Again, the separate though closely related aspects, in which such institutions may be viewed by different classes of minds, find a parallel in the motives of their foundation. Charitable homes of any kind may either be created as a measure of State necessity, and considerations based on social laws, or they may arise in some humble and private way, growing forth from the piety and zeal of a man or woman who looked no farther than their own neighbourhood. Hospitals are described by Dr. Martyn as having taken their rise in this way; as being not only Christian in their origin, but the results of private lay or ecclesiastical benevolence. He states that they are essentially phenomena of the Christian era, previous to which there are but scanty records of systematic charity afforded to the sick, although Herodotus tells us that in Babylon the sick persons were carried to the squares and places of public resort, that they might be interrogated by passengers, and obtain advice as to the cure of their complaints. It was supposed that in that great commercial city the travelling merchants might know of foreign remedies, and hence this custom. The temples of Esculapius were also something of hospitals; or, at all events, sanatoriums for the practice of exercise, cleanliness, and temperance; for the administration of herbs and fresh water. A Christian parallel may be found in the shrine of St. Dympne at Gheel, in Belgium, where the influence of religious faith is seen to this day working in curious combination with elaborate medical system. Dr. Bulckmans smiles and believes that St. Dympne has very little to do with the cures; but assuredly, without the influence of faith working upon the Belgian population, Gheel would never have been founded in the first instance, nor have gradually developed through the Middle Ages, until at this day 800 lunatics are to be seen living in comparative freedom among the peasants and farmers of the town and neighbourhood. The third analogy to an hospital, existing in ancient times, is found among the practical Essenes, who "devoted themselves to good works, curing the diseases of the poor with herbs," having "small hospitals for lodging pilgrims and outcasts."

With the growth of the Christian Church we find that places of refuge for the sick and the poor become common. In A.D. 258, the Deacon Laurentius, (St. Laurence of the Calendar,) assembled large numbers of the sick and poor, ministering to their wants. A charming picture of Overbeck's commemorates the Saint in this occupation, and it is a pity that it should be less known than the engraving of the terrible martyrdom painted by Italian and Spanish masters. At the Council of Nice, (in A.D. 325,) hospitals for the poor, including of course those who were ill, are mentioned as well known. In A.D. 380, an extensive hospital was endowed at Cæsarea by the

Emperor Valens; but this also was primarily a place of refuge for poverty. The first really distinct hospital for the sick was provided by a woman, Fabiola, in or about A.D. 382. This lady, a member of the noble Roman family of Fabius, was a friend and disciple of St. Jerome, who "seems to have been the spiritual adviser of a number of gifted ladies among the converts." Fabiola had married "under circumstances, which, though in perfect accordance with the civil law, were not recognised by the Christian canon," and after her husband's death she, as the custom was, did public penance in the Lateran Basilica. "A graphic description of the spectacle has come down to us, in which she stands surrounded by bishops, priests, and people, all of whom are moved to tears. Fabiola was wealthy, but sold all her estates and founded her hospital in a healthy spot out of the city; and here, says St. Jerome, she tended the sick and infirm, whom she had found scattered about the public places of resort. Another of these ladies, Paula, followed this example, and directed her charity towards the pilgrims to Holy Places. . . . For such as these, several small hospitals were established. St. Jerome had one at Bethlehem. . . . St. Chrysostom founded at Constantinople, in the end of the fourth century, a number of true hospitals, for each of which he provided a cook, a priest, and a physician—and he even recommended that every rich man should have a hospital attached to his house." It is, however, only fair to state the reverse side of the picture; it was found that "as the great liberality of the Roman ladies became more and more notorious, there rose great numbers of mendicants, and within a year the Prefect had to institute an inquiry in order that no able-bodied person might receive unnecessary relief."

Presently, when Europe became ecclesiastically organized, every bishop established a general hospital near his Cathedral. Thus arose the ancient hospital of the Lateran, and those of the San Spirito at Rouen, and the Hôtel Dieu, at Paris; which latter was an appendage to the Cathedral of Notre Dame. "The tide of Christianity, as it swept over European nations, more especially in the eleventh century, carried with it the hospital, chiefly as an appendage to its great ecclesiastical institutions."

The first actual hospital for the sick, in England, of which Dr. Martyn finds a record, was attached in the manner already stated to the Cathedral of Canterbury, and was founded by Lanfranc in or about A.D. 1070. The architect seems to have been Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, who came over with the Conqueror—of which bishop it was said that he was invariably either "begging or building." "The hospital at Canterbury was a handsome and large stone house," with a "courtyard, and divided into two parts, one for men and the other for women, afflicted with divers kinds of infirmities," and it was fully provided with clothing, servants and nurses. There may have been similar hospitals attached to several of our great Cathedrals, but the records appear to have perished.

Another branch of these institutions was designed for the care of lepers; by the thirteenth century almost every town in France had its pest or leper-house, and very soon afterwards they were as common in England.

Again, although it is a mistake to suppose that hospitals originated in connexion with monasteries, yet the sick were frequently tended within their walls; and there was always an infirmary for the brotherhood, in which were accommodated, according to a book of the Order of St. Victor of Paris, three kinds of sick, "some who lie in bed; others who are recovering, get up and walk, but remain till they repair their powers; others who dine and sleep there, being old, blind, feeble, or the like." The only infirmary attached to a monastery which has in Great Britain survived the suppression of those institutions is, according to Dr. Martyn's inquiries, that of St. Bartholomew's, in London. "Its preservation was owing to the provision for the poor made by Henry VIII. St. Thomas's Hospital was an old almonry, which had been founded by the Prior of Bermondsey, in 1213, and surrendered at the dissolution: and these two relics of elder Christian charity were afterwards endowed by Edward VI., who signed the patent to that effect only two days before his death."

Up to the year 1700, St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's were the only two hospitals in the United Kingdom. At that date the latter had just been rebuilt; the former was rebuilt a few years later. But thenceforward "the tide of charity flowed strongly in this new channel, and general infirmaries arose in almost every provincial town of importance." The terms hospital and infirmary have now precisely the same meaning. The object of each is the same; "*to effect by every available means the recovery from disease of persons who cannot afford to have those means supplied at home.*" Sickness and poverty, and a possibility of curing or alleviating the disease, are the necessary qualifications in the United Kingdom, where these institutions are mostly supported by voluntary contributions. But Continental hospitals being usually supported by endowments and Government aid, are much more lax in their rules of admission, and the sick poor are admitted into them without the same stringent qualifications; and "want of the common necessaries of life is oftener the question than what benefit can be afforded to the disease. The patients, in fact, are such as have provision made for them in the wards of our workhouses, under the Poor-law." In France this is easily observable; for instance, a large part of the Salpetrière is set aside for infirm old women, some of whom only are invalids, and none of whom can, strictly speaking, be cured of the infirmities incident to age. In Algiers, the great civil hospital contains many patients who in England would be sent to the workhouse; and who are retained there, not for cure, but merely because they are sickly, helpless and forlorn.

Of infirmaries and hospitals there are now altogether 253 in the United Kingdom, many of which are however very small.

Salisbury is first in antiquity, after the two great institutions bequeathed to us by the Middle Ages; it was founded in 1716. Westminster and Cambridge in 1719; Guy's in 1721, St. George's in 1733; the Bristol Royal Infirmary in 1735; between which year and 1797, a series of twenty-seven were erected in different parts of the kingdom, and these arose, like the first Christian hospitals, by the piety or the benevolence of individual members of society, who urged the claim of the sick poor, and exerted themselves to procure the necessary funds.

Such is the historical account given by Dr. Martyn in the first part of his lecture. He next deals with the subject of hospital improvement and reform; of which the first and most important division is that of *nursing*.

Shall nurses be trained in religious orders or sisterhoods, such as that of St. Vincent de Paul in the Roman Catholic Church, or of the Kaiserwerth Deaconesses among Protestants; or simply under proper experienced superintendents? The answer to this question will almost inevitably be given according to the religious bias of the person who replies to the queries. On a subject so closely involved in the deepest interests, the most cherished beliefs, of different bodies of Christians, it is next to impossible to form a perfectly impartial judgment wholly irrespective of religious considerations, and dealing with the external facts of the case only. Each party will inevitably seize on an individual instance of mismanagement, whether in an institution managed by sisters or nurses, and hold it up as significant of a false theory—and where Mrs. Jameson gave her emphatic testimony to excellence of administration and Christian tenderness of treatment, another writer will see nothing but stiff routine, chilly with selfishness, blindly pursuing its own salvation. It is a question which it is almost useless to argue on paper. It must be fought out practically on the field of work. It is being so fought out, on the one side under religious rule, on the other, under the "principle of association." Looking at England alone, Dr. Martyn reckons twenty-six institutions of Protestant sisterhoods. The one which he specifies is that of St. John's House, in London, to which has been confided the entire nursing of King's College Hospital, and in regard to which the following testimony is given by the steward of the hospital:—"We pay St. John's House £1,100 a year, which includes all the female domestics of the House, twenty-six nurses, besides a number of probationers who are in training, and a staff of about half a dozen ladies who superintend the nurses and reside, like them, in the hospital; the plan has been in operation six years, and has worked most satisfactorily; so much so that every one connected with us would be extremely sorry if the connexion between the institutions were to come to an end." And one of the hospital physicians affirms that "The sys-

tem has worked admirably from the first, and still continues to work well; those who doubted it at first are now warm supporters, and a considerable part of the hospital has been set apart for the comfort of the sisters and nurses."

In a similar manner, the nursing of the London University Hospital has lately been handed over to the ladies of All Saints' Home. The writer accompanied a friend over several of the wards in which the Superior was carrying out sanitary improvements, and from which, consequently, the patients were temporarily removed. Then there is the German Hospital at Dalston, managed by German deaconesses, where, among other inmates, numerous foreign bakers, suffering from diseases peculiar to their occupation, are received and nursed by their countrywomen. It is some years since I visited the place, but I remember that there were many sick children, and that separate rooms could be hired by ladies requiring special and private treatment.

I am not sure whether the widely branching establishment of Clewer includes the direct care of the sick, as well of the repentant, the poor, and the suffering; but it may fairly be quoted as applicable to the subject, since the question between religious and secular work is practically the same for all these departments of benevolence. The sisters who plunged into the depths of the cholera districts at Plymouth, must not be forgotten, nor the English deaconesses who have planted their infant institution near Euston Square. I adduce these names just to enforce the truth asserted by Dr. Martyn, that the ideas involved in work undertaken under more or less of religious rule, are being reduced to practical experiment by the English Church. But we must not forget our countrywomen belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. The Order of the Sisters of Mercy superintends a large hospital in Dublin, over which I was conducted last December. The one side of the quadrangle which is completed, contains 100 beds. The institution is entirely managed by a detachment of six sisters, assisted by a suitable number of wardmaids. Nothing can be more perfect than the arrangements, and the best medical men of Dublin belong to the regular staff of physicians attending at the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital. This Order is planted in many English towns, and there are at least three convents in London, but I do not know if it possesses any hospital in England. There is, however, one in Great Ormonde Street, nursed by another community.

Nevertheless, sisterhoods, whether Anglican or Roman Catholic, are not the machinery which is at present most popular among us for providing nurses for the sick. Training Institutions are thought to better suit the genius of the English people, and accordingly in several towns they are being started, after the example of that which owes its existence to the Nightingale Fund. Prospectuses of three such have lately been issued, for Liverpool, Bristol, and Bath; and the Report of the Committee of the Nightingale Fund for the year

ending Midsummer, 1862, is now published, and gives the following results.* Twenty-three probationers were admitted during the last year, of whom five resigned from incompetency or unwillingness to comply with the regulations; two were admitted under exceptional circumstances for a short period only, and have now charge of the Liverpool training school; ten have completed their year of probation, and the remainder are still under instruction.

Of the eleven probationers who were placed on the register as certificated nurses in June, 1861, six have completed their second year as nurses at St. Thomas's, one is at the General Military Hospital at Woolwich, two are at Bath, and the remaining two in the Workhouse Infirmaries at Stockton and Warrington. Three nurses have since left St. Thomas's for the Liverpool Infirmary in connexion with the training school just alluded to.

Last year's probationers are similarly distributed; one is head nurse at the Leicester Infirmary, one is at St. John's House, one at the Liverpool Infirmary, one at Woolwich, and five have been retained in service at St. Thomas's. The removal of St. Thomas's Hospital, and the temporary arrangements at the Surrey Gardens, have necessitated a reduction in the number of the probationer nurses, but no interruption in the working of the scheme has occurred.

The new point in this last report, and one which will be read with deep interest in country districts, is the further plan suggested by Miss Nightingale for the employment of the available surplus income of the Fund. Believing that the want of midwifery nurses is deeply felt, especially in country parishes and provincial towns not provided with hospitals, arrangements have been made with the Council of St. John's House for training annually a limited number of women in the duties of midwifery nurses, intended to aid and supplement, but not to replace the medical men of country parishes or districts. These nurses will be specially trained in wards set apart by the Committee of King's College Hospital, under Dr. Arthur Farre. The probationers will be under the authority of the Lady Superintendent of St. John's House, and in all respects subject to the same rules as the regular inmates of the institution. The period of training will be not less than six months, and the probationers must undertake to remain that time; the cost of board, lodging and washing will be £10 for the six months; the age considered suitable for the probationers is from twenty-six to thirty-four; they will be received on October the 31st, and April 30th, in each year, and the number is at present limited to ten. Five such are now under training and are going on satisfactorily. Lastly, application should be made, at least a fortnight previous to the above dates, addressed to the Lady Superintendent of St. John's

* The general rules of this simple and efficient scheme in connexion with St. Thomas's Hospital, are too widely known to need recapitulation here.

House, King's College Hospital, London, W.C., from whom also can be procured the detailed regulations, which are omitted here.

The Report concludes with remarking that with reference to both schemes, it may appear at first sight that the number of nurses trained is small. "It must, however, be borne in mind, that the object which it is desired to attain, namely, to raise the standard of education and character among nurses as a class, can only be effected by small beginnings, and necessarily at first at considerable expense. Moreover this cannot be done merely by giving a practical and scientific training. The moral atmosphere of the school, so to speak, is of the greatest importance, and great care is required in admitting as probationers, and sending forth as trained nurses, those only who are impressed with a strong sense of duty in desiring to improve themselves, and to do credit to the calling to which they propose to devote themselves."

The concluding paragraphs of the Report speak of the difficulties experienced in finding the right kind of women for the vacancies. Ladies do not, as a rule, make good nurses; but if they possess those qualities which would fit them to become superintendents, their admission would be considered an advantage and they would readily find employment. For nurses it is best to train women of somewhat more than ordinary intelligence, emanating from those classes in which women are habitually employed in earning their own livelihood. And the wages offered to such should be sufficient to tempt them into an arduous career. The ultimate success of the scheme is placed on economical grounds. "It is believed that the means are now afforded of producing examples of what a real nurse ought to be; it remains for their employers, viz., the public, to display a just appreciation of their value by paying an adequate remuneration for their services. As a rule, the wages of a nurse, especially in the provincial hospitals and infirmaries, have not been sufficient to ensure proficiency." The rate of wages at St. Thomas's is £20 with board and lodging, and in recommending the probationers for employment, the committee stipulate that the payment shall not be less.

As regards lady probationers and regular nurses, Dr. Martyn quotes the lady manager of the system at St. Thomas's to the same effect as the Report. Ladies can be very useful as superintendents, sisters and head matrons; but, even if they possess the requisite natural faculties, "to be of real use in hospitals, ladies should first qualify themselves for the work, and this can only be done by training for it. A year of practical experience in some large, well conducted hospital, I regard as an inestimable as well as an indispensable preliminary. . . The best nurses, generally, are women chosen from the respectable classes, who have had the benefit of a fair education, and who have been accustomed to the performance of household duties."

We now come to examine three prospectuses, of which those for

Liverpool and Bath represent work already begun, and that for Bristol a plan about to be immediately carried out. The Liverpool Training School and Home for Nurses is attached to the Royal Infirmary, which contains 240 beds, and is the largest and most comprehensive hospital in the town. A house capable of accommodating the lady superintendant and thirty nurses is built on a corner of the airing ground; it will be ready for occupation in the course of the spring, and in the meantime the superintendant is located, with a few probationers, in a small house in the neighbourhood. The objects of the scheme are thus defined:— 1. To provide thoroughly educated professional nurses for the Infirmary. 2. To provide district or missionary nurses for the poor. 3. To provide sick nurses for private families. Those who are employed or in training in the hospital will sleep in the home, where also meals will be provided. The district nurses will be located in different parts of Liverpool, each in her district; some such already are at work, but these have not been trained under the superintendant, having been engaged previous to her arrival. Each district nurse will, however, regard the Home as head quarters, will come there to receive her wages, and to report. As the superintendant will of course be fully engaged in the Home and hospital, a practical *surveillance* will be extended to each district nurse by a lady resident in and responsible for the district, who will also provide necessaries for the sick poor to a certain extent. Probationers are being sought for in all parts of the country. Several trained nurses have been draughted from St. Thomas's, o thers have come to be trained from Manchester, Edinburgh, and Liverpool itself. None are as yet available for private nursing or for being draughted into other public institutions, as it is not considered desirable to part with them under a twelvemonth's training, and those from St. Thomas's are of course required for training the new comers.

The Bath plan differs considerably from the above. Arrangements have been made with the trustees and committee of the Bath United Hospital, by which young women are instructed in the hospital wards, under the direction of the superintendant nurses, who have themselves been trained at St. Thomas's under the Nightingale Fund. The Home for Nurses is established at 7, Duke Street, Bath, under a lady who is a member of the Church of England, and gives her services gratuitously, but this lady is not, as in Liverpool, responsible head of the hospital nursing. There is, however, in Liverpool, (Soho Street,) an institution very similar to that of Bath, which has done good service, but has been found inadequate to the needs of the population. The young women from Soho Street attend daily at the hospital for three months, after which they are sent out as nurses; those at Bath are trained at the hospital for a year, and are then bound to serve their institution for two years.

The proposed plan for Bristol is similar to that of Bath. Its

objects are to provide trained nurses for the public, and to supply gratuitous nursing to the sick poor. A home will be provided for the pupils under the direction of a resident lady superintendant, and they will be educated at the Bristol Royal Infirmary and the Bristol Hospital. It is proposed to begin with six pupils and to add at least that number annually. Candidates will be engaged for three years, after a month's probation. They will spend the first year in training, after which they will be eligible for hire, as members of the Home, to which their earnings will be paid. At the end of the term they will be free to work independently, with the advantage of a certificate and recommendation from the Home, or they may renew their engagements on improved terms. The Hon. Sec. is Miss Edwards, 5, Cambridge Place, Clifton.

Of course, each of these prospectuses embodies a code of regulations which it is needless to detail here, but there are two points which require special notice; the age at which probationers are received, and the wages to which they will be entitled. In Liverpool, the age considered desirable is from twenty-five to thirty-five; in Bath it ranges from twenty to thirty-five; at Bristol it will be extended from twenty-one to forty. Now it must be observed that in the first scheme the nurses are more nearly connected with the hospital than in the other two; they will live in a house within the enclosure, and during the time of their instruction, both in the house and hospital, are under the immediate superintendence of the same lady, herself the responsible head of the whole nursing department. For such immediate connexion with the wards, a woman of twenty-five is more suitable, both in regard to health and to maturity of character, than one younger. But where the probationers live away in a separate home, and only attend in the wards for a fixed number of hours as pupils, there is less objection to the earlier age mentioned, and which has the advantage of securing the best of their class, who might, in the other case, already have taken up a different employment. For district nurses it is evident that older women, if not engrossed by family ties, are the most suitable.

As to wages, at Liverpool a probationer will receive during year of probation £14 14*s.*; for the two following years this sum will be increased according to individual merits. No entrance fee is required, and every expense is defrayed, including washing, tea and sugar. At Bath, a premium of three guineas is required with each candidate; the institution provides everything during the year of probation, including outer clothing to the value of £4; and the committee propose to give a gratuity, not exceeding two guineas, at the end of each quarter, according to the probationer's merit. After the year of training at the hospital is over, the institution will pay £12 per annum to each nurse. At the end of the first term of three years, the nurse may enter on a fresh engagement with the institution on an increased scale of wages according to her merits and the funds of the institution. At

Bristol, an entrance fee of £2 will be required, £1 of which will be returned on signing the agreement at the close of the probationary month, and £1 at the close of the three years' engagement. The institution will give wages on the following scale,—£10 the first year, £12 the second, £15 the third; and will provide a home; board, washing, clothing, to the amount of £2 and medical attendance during the whole term of the agreement. At the expiration, nurses may renew their engagement on improved terms.

In regard to these terms, the lady superintendant at Liverpool considers, them ample *for the period of training*. She does not wish to employ a higher class of women than such as would make eventually good upper servants, able to read and write, and possessing a little general information. But when a nurse has proved herself intelligent, and is thoroughly furnished for the good work, then it is only just to pay them as well or better than the first class of household servants. The report of the Nightingale Fund fixes £20 per annum as a *minimum;* £25 or £30 is not too much for a really efficient nurse. She is, however, most anxious to see some plan arranged by which nurses could themselves assist in subscribing towards pensions for their old age; such security against want and the risks of a wearing profession would do much to attract the most respectable women of the class. In regard to scrubbing, and what may be called the housemaid's work of the hospital, that is at Liverpool done by servants. It should never be added to the inevitably arduous duties of a nurse.

Dry as may seem the details of hospital management, they refer to scenes which are more full of deep human interest than any other kind of institution can present. Day after day the most extraordinary, the most touching stories find their close upon the hospital bed; a strange, fleeting phantasmagoria of human existence, virtue and vice, love and hatred, joy and grief, reviving life and inexorable death, pass before the eyes and impress the imagination. If there is one place in the world more solemn than another, it is the ward of a great hospital at night, with the solitary light half turned down, the long row of beds, each tenanted by a motionless figure, the deep silence only broken by a groan of pain, by a call to the nurse, or by the heavy labouring breath which tells of mortal sickness and approaching death. And each returning daylight brings its fresh quota of misery. Accidents are frequent in the large seafaring towns, such as this of Liverpool, including a rough population of mingled races. Accidents from machinery, and fearful attempts on human life under the influence of drink and evil passion, tinge the ordinary catalogue of diseases with darker lines; all the ills that flesh or spirit is heir to, concur to create the need of nurses, and to require that no detail shall be omitted for securing their wise selection and careful training.

BESSIE R. PARKES.

LIVERPOOL TRAINING SCHOOL AND HOME FOR NURSES,
January, 1863.

LXVIII.—A STROLL THROUGH HAMBURGH.

As I stand on the deck of the Hamburgh steamer which is to convey me the first stage of my northward journey, a short experience is sufficient to convince me that I am not on one of the ordinary mere tourist tracks. The only object of interest which is passed during the voyage is the little island of Heligoland, about two miles in circumference, of which a glimpse is obtained as we approach the Elbe. This diminutive British possession is duly endowed with governor and garrison, and though its name may be seldom mentioned in time of peace, when war breaks out it is sure to be heard of as an important little spot. Here, as elsewhere, the "men must work," and do work, chiefly at the same occupation as Kingsley's famous "three;" and doubtless also the "women must weep;" but if this is their special portion, they are by no means exempted from bearing their full share of the labour also. They attend to the agriculture of the island while their husbands are absent on their fishing excursions. Though an area so very contracted, and whereon, too, neither tree nor shrub is seen, would seem to offer few attractions to visitors, Heligoland is resorted to as a watering-place during the summer by Hamburghers, and occasionally even by the English; the last time that I passed here, a family of compatriots, who had been sojourning there, came off to seek homeward passage by the steamer. This Heilige-land or Holy Island, is supposed to be the place where was once the consecrated grove of the Goddess Hertha, or Mother Earth, and where, according to Tacitus, her sacred chariot was kept, covered with a veil which the priest alone was permitted to touch. Whenever an instinctive feeling intimated to the sacred functionary that his mistress was desirous of making a journey, cows were yoked to this hallowed car and it went forth upon a progress, scattering blessings wherever it went. Its very appearance was a proclamation of peace; every conflict was stayed, every hostile weapon put aside wherever the divinity appeared, and all was joy and festivity as long as her unseen presence gladdened any spot. When weary of journeying, the priest reconducted the chariot to the holy island. The washing of it in a certain appointed lake was committed to slaves, who were swallowed up by the waters as soon as they had performed their office, to prevent any revelation of what they had seen or not seen, when the mystic curtains of the car were raised. At length the mouth of the Elbe is reached, Hanover on the one hand, and Holstein on the other, each stretching forth a dull, flat, Essex-like shore; and then comes the tedious two or three hours' delay at the Bar, a sandbank which stops all progress save at flow of tide, till finally, at Blankenese, such humble beauties as this part of the river can boast begin to unfold themselves, presenting however,

little more than a succession of detached villas built upon the hilly banks on the left, with their gardens sloping down to the water's edge, and interspersed with suburban houses of entertainment and tea gardens. After gaining the nearest point we can approach, for the laden steamer cannot come within a long distance of a landing place, the rush of luggage-seeking begins. Happier, however, in some respects, is every traveller arriving at this port than the visitor to almost any other part of the world, for here, not only is no passport demanded, but property also is exempt from interference, and no vexatious custom-house intermeddles with bag or baggage.

Hamburgh, erst consecrated by her ancient founder to the great god Ammon, and now one of the last remaining famous Free Towns, owns herself to be "poor in sights" as regards the objects sought by the mere sight-seer, but claims, nevertheless, to be, to the intelligent beholder, "all one sight;" and certainly the city itself presents a very interesting scene to the stranger. No long dull rows of uniform houses set at right angles with each other oppress the weary walker with a sense of endless monotony; every turning offers a different picture, marked with some new and often striking peculiarity. Intersected as it is everywhere by canals, some of the street views are quite Venice-like, the houses rising as it were directly out of the water, with bridges appearing at short intervals; trees are planted along many of the thoroughfares; churches of diverse and curious, if not of very beautiful architecture, form a frequent feature; and one of the loftiest steeples in Europe, that of the St. Michael's Kirche, which is 456 feet high (about 100 feet more than our St. Paul's), towers over all else, and reappears continually. Wherever the width of the causeway will admit, little *trottoirs*, often formed of asphalte, accommodate the ever-circulating stream of foot passengers, and in either of the great divisions of the town—the ancient part, which dates itself "before the Fire," or the new and handsome district, the chronology of which commences "after the Fire"—every part is animated with an all-pervading spirit of life and activity; a gentler activity than that of London it is true, for here there is no more of torrent rush than of pool stagnation, but all flows on with the cheerful current of a lively river.

The first spot undoubtedly to attract a visitor is Hamburgh's chief glory, her Jungfernstieg. This "Maiden's Walk," which dates from 1665, is a promenade by the Alster, which forms here a large square sheet of water surrounded by a gravel path shaded by trees; beyond this is the road, lively with traffic, and, on three sides, large and lofty houses, and hotels numerous and enormous. A few handsome shops face the fourth side, which is merely a bridge-like road crowned with a windmill in the centre, and dividing this inner basin from the larger expanse of water beyond, save where a single arch permits a narrow stream of

communication. Fronting the shops is the Alster Pavilion, a *restaurant* built out over the water, with a verandah all round, where ladies and gentlemen are enjoying themselves in the open air over their ices and coffee, and watching alternately the gaily painted craft upon the lake, and the gaily dressed promenaders in the avenue. Under one of the hotels opposite is the entrance to what is considered a great ornament of the city, the Bazaar, a sort of Lowther Arcade on a grand scale, adorned with granite steps, encaustic pavement, marble-faced and pilastered walls, and Crystal Palace like roof. Arcades, however, have a natural tendency to gloom, increasing in proportion as they aim at grandeur; and in spite of all these decorations, the spirit of dulness, banished from every other part of the town, seems to have taken refuge here.

Pursuing the path round the Inner Alster, on the other side of the roadway that divides the water, I recognise in a low-roofed building, looking like a collection of sheds growing out from among the water-lilies, the public baths; and on requesting to be allowed to see them, am shown at once into one of the little pile-supported rooms, where, however, I step back shuddering at what meets my view. On the farther side of the room a portion of the flooring is cut away, about six feet by two, and in this space, about a yard below the level of the floor, is enclosed a portion of water, looking like a "watery grave," for though it *may* be shallow, the bottom cannot be seen, and it is only divided by a palisade of stakes from the main body of the stream beyond. If the basement story of one of our old city houses were to be overflowed with water so that it should fill the narrow area before its railed kitchen window, this, as seen from the street, would just represent these awful-looking baths of the Alster, from which I could hardly imagine any one emerging alive. The ladies' baths I visited in Berlin were on a similar plan, but there the space for the water was greater and was in the centre of the room, having no visible connexion with the stream outside; the depth was regulated by means of a pump, according to the pleasure of the bather, and there is probably some similar contrivance here also. At the farther end of the building is the women's swimming bath, avowedly very deep, and into which therefore none are permitted to enter but those who can already swim, or who are prepared to pay 12 marks (14*s.*) to be taught the art, the pupils being well secured by ropes held by the teacher. It is a circular pool surrounded by little dressing rooms, and though the unpainted wood always exposed to the action of the stream, for this too is but a piece of the Alster inclosed, gives the place a dank unpleasant look, it is much patronised, especially by young girls, a number of whom were jumping in and swimming about with a boldness and agility which certainly did credit to the quiet-looking young woman who was announced to be the teacher of natation.

Quitting the baths, I soon reach the Damm Thor, one of the

inclosing gates of the city, which are regularly shut at dusk, only to be opened on payment of a fee. These entrances were, in former times, committed to the keeping of certain appointed senators, thence called Thor-herren or gate-lords, to whose houses the respective keys were each night conveyed. In case of fire, each Thor-herr was bound to ride at once to the particular gate of which he had the care, and there to remain until the alarm bell ceased to sound; the like sentinelship also devolving upon him whenever the gate was only *blinded, i.e.* but partially closed in consequence of some princely personage requiring to pass through in the course of the evening. When Hamburgh ceased to be a fortress, these regulations fell into disuse, but were revived in 1814, and carried out for a time, with little variation, except that several gates were given in charge to one member of the council; they are, however, now all under the care of the police. The territory I wish to visit lies but a few minutes' walk beyond the gate, and I turn at once from the macadamized *allée* into the road leading to it, one-third of which is composed of mud, the other two-thirds of the width being occupied by a causeway of stones, soon reduced to half; a few yards farther on the paved portion dwindles to but a third in the middle, with a wet slough on each side. About where the final change occurs, is the spot of which I was in search, the "God's Acre." It was before the end of the last century that these sensible citizens began the custom of extra-mural interment, and instituted the large cemeteries several of which are here found adjoining each other. In the war time which followed they must almost have regretted the advanced step thus taken, when they found that even the dead were not safe from the insults of the invaders, and that graves were trodden low, stones destroyed, and trees cut down, till their beautiful German name, *Friedenhof*, or Court of Peace, must have seemed a bitter mockery as applied to these desecrated spots. Now, however, the departed not only rest in peace, but I find on thoroughly exploring one of the cemeteries and taking a glance at the others, that they are by no means forgotten or uncared for by surviving friends. The graves are rich in floral beauty, and the stones hung with fresh garlands, and I am therefore the more struck by the singular absence of more substantial decoration or memento. There was not a single monument worthy of the name: on one grave appeared a very small bust in a niche, on another a carved lyre, and there was one miniature urn perched upon a column, but this was all that was to be seen of even such poor attempts at sepulchral sculpture. The other graves were marked by nothing more than head-stones, wooden slabs or crosses, or mere squares of pavement. The epitaphs, too, were for the most part limited to the barest record of birth and death, and few and far between were those in which any approach was made to a lengthened inscription. Fruit trees were mingled with the ash and the linden, and vegetables were growing up to the very line where the tombs terminated, so that scarcely

another grave could be dug without displacing so many more rows of beans or potatoes. Though in one part the headstones (of the poorer graves perhaps) stood closely side by side, by far the larger portion of the cemetery was divided into sections of not less than 10 or 12 feet square, forming each a little garden, with an inscribed stone in the centre, recording the ownership and tenancy; except where still larger divisions of some 20 or 30 feet were inclosed with a railing and entrance-gate, whereon was written that this was the proper burying place of such or such a company or institution in the city, the individual graves within being each marked by its special headstone or cross.

Satisfied with the survey, I return, following along the patch-work road a vehicle in the ordinary form of the German cart, being like a rather large horse-trough set on four low wheels, to which are attached, by a rope-harness, a pair of gaunt horses, dragging, apparently with no good will, a load which a respectable British donkey would scarcely find too much, and now, repassing the gate, begin a pleasant ramble in the plantation outskirts of this city of beautiful suburbs. Hamburgh has always seemed to me like a town enwreathed by a garland, or a mass of houses dropped down in the midst of a garden; at the end of each street tending from the centre inland, one emerges at once upon trees and flowers, not hid by curious walls or separated by so much as a palisade or invisible fence, but everywhere, where the houses end, one crosses the road directly to verdant lawn and flowery parterre. It is the ramparts of the old town militant that have been put to this pleasant use, and the sweet breathings of peace have changed fortifications into flower-beds, redoubts and ravelins into grassy knolls and shaded thickets, while the moat has become a narrow stream meandering through the plantations. This belt of park-like ground is but narrow in some parts, though the boundary is then not visible from the road, but is elsewhere wide enough to leave space for shady and secluded walks beyond the liveliness and sunshine of the outer path; and extending, as it does, so far in length, must afford room for many a varied and delightful stroll, within the reach of every citizen, and equally free of access to the inhabitants of the adjoining better class of houses, and to those whose immediate surroundings form a hideous contrast—the dwellers in the water-side districts, foul purlieus where not only are there no footpaths, but so narrow and so filthy are the spaces between each row of black and rotting tenements, that they seem rather gutters than streets. Thus this city, almost circular in its shape, seems like some planet fixed in its flight, and always turning one side to the light, while the other lies ever in sunless gloom.

The facilities afforded on the very verge of the town for intercourse with nature have probably done much to create and foster that love of flowers which displays itself in every direction. Not only in the large mansion's double casement, telling of extra

cold or extra care for comfort in winter, is there a profusion of rare and choice blossoms, but the small window of the lowest storey of the small house is crowded with graceful drooping fuchsias and gorgeous-leaved begonias. These basement storeys form, indeed, in several respects, a striking feature to a stranger; there seems to be so much of underground life going on, and in the business streets a great part of the transactions seem to be carried on at kitchen level. Under even the best shops, down a flight of area steps, are other establishments, perhaps equally good in their way, but mostly devoted to eatable commodities; thus under the *magasin* of the grand jeweller or silk-mercer on the Jungfernstieg you will find a fruiterer, a wine merchant, or confectioner, while the common tinman's shop in a side street will be undermined by a common greengrocer or baker. The florists, too, usually take possession of these cavernous dwellings, and the effect of such subterranean bowers as they then become, is very striking.

But not only are the flowers growing everywhere at windows, in the plantation on the ramparts, in the free space or *place* among the streets, but, gathered into bouquets, they greet one at every corner, in the hands of ruddy Vierland maidens, not quite, perhaps, "themselves the fairest flowers," but at any rate rivalling in gaiety of decoration the wares they sell; and who, clad in their tight-fitting bodices rich with coloured embroidery, short skirts, and wearing on their heads their very peculiar hat made of straw or fine wicker-work, looking most like a large, round, inverted yellow baking-dish, form quite a characteristic feature of a Hamburgh street scene. The Hamburghers, indeed, must have a decided taste for variety of costume, for though in the course of a day's peregrination one would not be likely to meet with all or nearly all the peculiar costumes appropriated to various classes of the community, a few minutes' pause before any print shop introduces the stranger at once to a multitudinous diversity of garbs set forth as respectively proper to this or the other calling, the division being so carried out that the "seller of eels" has a uniform distinct from the general "fishwoman," and the purveyor at the apple stall intermeddles not with the apparel assumed by the itinerant vendor of cakes. The bare-headed servant-girls form, however, perhaps the liveliest feature of the panorama; for though their neat short-sleeved print dresses are perfectly unobtrusive, the large oblong baskets in which they deposit their marketings, and which are carried under the arm resting upon the hip, are always covered over with a large square of shawl-pattern cotton, looking almost invariably as bright and fresh as if bought new only yesterday, and marking out the bearer from afar as its brilliant scarlet folds flutter beside her, hanging down nearly to the ground. In sombre contrast to the general gaiety, is the array of their "magnificences" the Burgomasters, who are distinguished by their black velvet cloaks, quaintly surmounted by high-

crowned puritanical hats; but these are less often to be met with than their body-guard, sixteen in number, since these claim the privilege of displaying their livery (comprising short Spanish cloak, ruff, wig, and sword) at every wedding or funeral that occurs, contributing a due amount of rejoicing or mourning to the respective ceremonies in return for a certain fixed fee.

As I perambulate the handsome new half of the city, I am proud to remember that it was an Englishman who found means to stop the most fearful conflagration of modern days, when it was threatening to leave nought unspared; the same wise head and skilful hand that planned all that has arisen to replace it, and so replace it as to make that misfortune of the moment appear now almost really the most fortunate event that could have occurred; who devised a scheme of protection for the future; and who also constructed the sewers which purify the city, and laid down the water service, which secures to every household one of the greatest conveniences of modern civilization; blessings which Berlin is only now beginning to attain, and which many continental cities are quite without. Truly Hamburgh has reason to honour the name of Lindley the engineer. Nor can I forget how much my country's benevolence did to alleviate the sufferings of that season of affliction, and that more than £40,000 were sent from England to succour those on whom the great Fire had, for a time at least, brought ruin.

But I have reached one of the most curious mementoes of that event, and which is also the public building of most importance in so commercial a city, the Börse, or Exchange, which, when the flames were raging around it on all sides, stood like the three Jews of olden time in the midst of the furnace, untouched by their fury, and was left quite uninjured. It could have been ill spared, for it is considered to be perhaps the best building of its class yet constructed, not excepting even that of Paris, and is certainly a very handsome edifice, with its spacious asphalte-paved central area lighted from above, surrounded by a colonnade, double at the ends and triple at the sides, forming cloistered walks; while above the circular arches, a lofty gallery, now occupied only by a few gentlemen quietly reading their newspapers, is carried all round the building.

In the few money transactions incidental to a visitor passing through, the cosmopolitan character of the place is strikingly seen in the ready acceptance of any medium of payment that may be offered, for though there is of course a national currency, (and a very confusing one it is to a stranger, involving a double system of reckoning, either by "rigs" or "banco") any other coinage is almost equally available, and the franc or the florin, the thaler or the half-crown, are alike received in payment. Cash of some kind seems here to be the basis of all things, for if it be not admitted that "money makes the man," at least it is established that it

makes the citizen. No one here can make the proud boast of St. Paul, "I was born free," for the various rights and privileges of citizenship are all obtainable by purchase only, a greater or less degree being conceded according to the sum paid, but disbursement to some amount being the indispensable preliminary required of any who would induce the civic authorities to "give him leave to toil" in almost any capacity in "the first seaport town of Germany."

LXIX.—MODERN HOUSEBUILDING.

WHILE engineering enterprise is making underground London a huge network of railroads, and the telegraph wires stretching above afford every known facility for social and commercial intercourse, no corresponding improvement has taken place in the dwellings of which the metropolis is composed, and whose long lines are extending farther and farther year by year. It would seem to be the aspiration of the house-builder to make every dwelling in the English capital alike, if not in size, at least in internal structure; to form one law, one principle of house building, one type of dwelling in which, without reference to the difference of their respective fortunes, all families are to find their home. This "uniformity of idea" is still mainly confined to the metropolis, although it is spreading fast to every country town that aspires to be an improving borough. The orthodox London house now constructed for the use of the middle classes, consists of two underground kitchens, and on the ground floor two gloomy parlours, one for structural reasons generally smaller than the other. After these come two flights of from twenty-four to twenty-eight stairs, conducting to two drawing-rooms over them, of the same grand pianoforte shape; another staircase, and two sleeping apartments; another staircase, and two more; and then, if the house be a large one, another climb, and perhaps another, conducts us to one or two upper couples of rooms, perhaps, however, subdivided by lath partitions into three or four cupboards for servants' sleeping-apartments.

This is the London architecture, now the model for future English town dwelling-houses, not being over business-premises.

But it is much to be questioned whether this system of building be the best that could be adopted, and whether it is the best fitted to insure health, economy, or domestic comfort for the inmates of the house; we do not believe it to be well adapted for either.

These houses contain on an average from seven to ten flights of stairs—the number of steps is proportioned somewhat irregularly, but there are generally from twelve to fifteen steps from the

kitchen to the dining-room, and from twenty to twenty-five from the dining to the drawing rooms; twenty-five to twenty-eight from drawing-room to the first floor of sleeping-apartments, and from sixteen to twenty-two from that to the second; then, if the house be a good-sized one, twelve to sixteen more, and then twelve more to the last floor. Thus we have from seventy-three or eighty-five steps to ninety or a hundred and fourteen in a single house, and a part of these steps have to be ascended or descended whenever any of the family have to pass from any two rooms to another.

We find that in many houses where there are children, an extra servant is kept for scarcely any other purpose than to carry trays, coals, and water up and down, to and from the nursery, which is generally on the upper floor. Could this one servant with her wages and board be dispensed with, an economy of from thirty to fifty pounds per annum would be effected; but any one who will consider the number of times the servants mount the stairs in a large house, besides the time spent in cleaning them, may see that in every household, considerably more labour devolves on the domestics than would be required if the several apartments lay upon one or two floors. It necessarily takes longer to carry a scuttle of coals up sixty stairs than across the hall to a room on the same level; and besides the waste of time so occupied, and the time spent in cleaning the stairs, the fatigue of mounting so many steps must tell upon the servants, and render them less fit to perform their other duties. The best and most effectual exercise, if you cannot go into the open air, says Benjamin Franklin, is going up and down stairs; and if you accomplish a mile of that work, you may consider it as equal to five miles walked on level ground. For which reason it does not seem advisable that women who have already sufficient exercise in sweeping floors and making beds, should have this most effectual of exercises superadded to their other exertions. As to the nature of this exercise, medical men are so well agreed that it is unfit for women, that the treadmill has been discontinued in our prisons for female convicts. Nevertheless, every private house contains in its staircases a small treadmill in effect, for the benefit of the household, and especially the servants. The fatigue of mounting it, does produce its effect, and many a mistress can remember a housemaid who has done her work well for some months, but then comes to tell her that the house is too high for her strength, and that she cannot stay unless she has a girl to assist her.

In the large houses in Victoria Street, where the apartments required for a family are all found upon one floor, we have been assured by ladies, used both to town and country houses, that they found fewer servants needed to serve the family well than in other houses they had occupied. These buildings contain sets of apartments, varying in size from six to twenty rooms each; these rooms are grouped round a central hall, or along a corridor, which requires far less

attention and cleaning than a six-flight staircase and landings, is more easily lighted, and the continual ascending and descending of the domestic treadmill being saved, the work of the house is done as efficiently by fewer hands; for, as we have said, it necessarily takes less time to answer a bell across the hall than up fifty or sixty stairs, and whenever the mere presence of a servant is required, as to watch a joint of meat roasting, or to be within hearing of a sleeping child, other work may be performed by the same person, in adjacent rooms, which in an ordinary *staircased* house must be deputed to another servant. If furniture require moving from one room to another, the level floor enables even female strength to accomplish the task. Our informants find that where four servants used to be required for the service of their respective families, two now amply suffice. This gives at least an economy of sixty or seventy pounds per annum.

As the question of economy is inseparably linked with that of comfort, it is well to consider whether this plan of building offers the same facilities for the attainment of that greatest desideratum. From all I can learn, it does, and in a far greater degree than the more ordinary arrangement. I need not premise that if sixty pounds a year can be saved without any sensible diminution of effective service in the family, that in itself, is a source of comfort, as the sum may be spent on other things; but the other advantages offered by the one-floor house are great. In the first place, there is less noise in the house; the running up and down stairs, so disagreeable early in the morning, is unheard. That fewer servants are required in the family, is itself a comfort; for, without repeating the harsh joke, that they are the "greatest plagues of life," every mistress of a family knows that their management is one of the most difficult problems of domestic life, and is becoming daily more so.

Among minor points of comfort, we may notice that all the rooms and the hall are of more equal temperature; all may at night, by having fanlights over their doors, receive a certain amount of light from the hall lamps; there are no stairs for children to fall down; and there is the power to place three or more bedrooms close together, which is sometimes desirable. Those who have had to seek apartments or entire houses for a family where there are young children, know the extreme difficulty of finding even two equally good airy bedrooms adjoining each other, and still more of finding a third room for the mother on the same floor, so as to obviate the necessity of carrying the children up and down stairs during winter time, or removing them out of their mother's hearing. A delicate mother (and mothers are not generally over-strong) finds it no easy task to superintend her nursery effectively when two or more flights of stairs divide her from it. It would be a comfort to her to have the nurseries close to her own door and under her own eye, while at the same time it is desirable to have an atten-

dant sleeping near her in the adjoining room; but in very few houses, and in none of those built on the usual system, is this arrangement possible. Our staircases, with their draughts and cold chills, and the real exertion required to mount them, are serious inconveniences to delicate mothers and young sensitive children. For any invalid the stairs are a nuisance, and many sighs are secretly breathed for the power of being wheeled on the sofa into the cheerful family sitting-room for an hour, when the peremptory physician has forbidden any physical effort, but recommends mental amusement and, if it could be had, "variety."

The advantages of the single-floor house are these in point of comfort—saving of fatigue in stair-mounting, even temperature, contiguous rooms; in point of economy—fewer servants, and smaller expenditure on heat and light. There is, besides, another—that where there are suites of apartments of every size in the most respectable streets, no family need be obliged, as they now often are, to occupy a larger residence than they actually fill, for the sake of the situation. A small family of sisters, or a childless couple with a moderate income, require but four or five rooms and a kitchen, but are unable, while the houses are all built on one plan, to find so small a residence in the same streets with their relations who spend eight hundred or a thousand a year. Six-roomed houses are not to be found there; the rooms of such tenements are adapted to the supposed requirements of an inferior class, and are small and low pitched, with vulgar appointments. A good-sized sitting-room and airy bedrooms can only be found in a house of three or four storeys, with underground kitchens, a long passage and portico. So the useless second kitchen, back sitting-room, back drawing-room, and superfluous attics must be accepted as the necessary accompaniments of the four or five good rooms that are required. The staircases are to be carpeted, and duly provided with lamps, mats, &c., and the supernumerary rooms are, to most housekeepers, an inducement to furnish them likewise. The house also possesses a portico and white stone steps, which require to be cleaned and stoned every morning. The other work of this small family might not be too great for one servant to accomplish, but if only one is kept, there is often very serious inconvenience. Even a general servant cannot be in two places at once, and if she leaves her roast in the kitchen, to answer a bell or finish some work upstairs, she commonly finds destruction and cinders awaiting her on her return; nor can she, while at work in the bedrooms, even hear the door-bell or that of the area.

Much has been written lately, wisely and foolishly, about the difficulty of marrying on an income under four or five hundred a year, and parents are blamed for persuading their daughters to reject true and heartfelt affection unless a home can be found for them equal at least in comfort to that which they are about to quit. But parents are not so much to blame as at first sight

might be supposed. Let us look at what is involved for a daughter who, in the present arrangements of society, does marry on a hundred and fifty, or two hundred pounds a year. A whole house is not to be thought of, for one small enough cannot be found in any respectable part of London within walking distance of the husband's place of business. Apartments therefore must be taken, and to this there would be no objection if her few rooms and kitchen could be contiguous, with an outer door to shut her little household away from the world. In such a house the privacy of home would be secured, while she could accomplish for herself all daily tasks, without the unpleasant supervision of the other inmates of the house. But in lodgings, her housekeeping, even her own bedroom and nursery, are liable to criticism and interference, and whatever her neighbours may be, and however inferior to herself in education and refinement, she must in some degree associate with them. When illness overtakes a refined and delicately nurtured woman, in a house like this, what wonder that her parents regret her ever taking the step that led her into it?

The expense of maintaining a wife and providing for uncounted little children is certainly not to be obviated by any system of house-building, but some saving, as we have seen, might be effected. In a one-floor house of five or six rooms, a sensible, well-educated young woman, not afraid of work, (and ladies are not unwilling to work when they have a sufficient motive to spur them on,) could, during her husband's daily absence, do nearly all her own house-work; a good respectable woman, the wife of the porter, or an old servant of the family, might come in for an hour daily to clean grates, &c., and once a week for a day to scrub the floors. House-keeping is now facilitated by many ingenious contrivances calculated to save labour. Knives may be cleaned by a machine. American ovens and other inventions render cooking pleasant and easy. Gas, clean and bright, supersedes candles, and a shoe-black of the brigade can be summoned every day to clean boots and shoes. In a house arranged on the *flat* system, the cleaning doorsteps every morning is got rid of, the large common staircase being cleaned by a person specially engaged by the whole of the tenants, and requiring, besides, far less cleaning than steps exposed to the rain and mud. It would be no hardship for the mistress of our little establishment to open the door to her tradesmen or her visitors, as she would be sheltered alike from weather and the observation of passers-by. When she desires to go out she can lock the door, and leave the key with the porter, confident that all is safe, for no backdoor or unguarded area offers an entrance to vagrants and pilferers.

This scene is of course somewhat changed when a baby demands her care and taxes her strength; but the services of one servant will be more than sufficient for the establishment, and much of the expensive washing and sewing for the little stranger may be done at

home by the mother and her one "help." Or this latter may be a young girl, less expensive than a woman servant, and may, if needed, return to her own home at night; for as the little nursery is close to the sitting-room, and only the hall divides both from the kitchen, the young mother can easily wait on herself and child, and keep a watch on its sleep while sitting happily in the drawing-room with her husband.

With the same, or even greater facility, might two sisters live together comfortably on a small income, employing their own hands and energies in their little housework, and saving the money which now maintains a servant, for the little luxuries they enjoyed in their father's lifetime.

One great evil of modern life is, that nearly all educated women are brought up to be unproductive labourers; their energies are only called forth when fate has placed them at the head of a household, where an administrator rather than a handworker is wanted. Their former handiwork, spinning and sewing, is superseded by machinery. Half the household work our mothers used to do is performed by out-door agency. But whilst their domestic sphere is thus narrowed, custom and customary ignorance too frequently prevent them from employing their energies and capital in business; they cannot produce, they can only save capital. Thus circumstanced, the only work these women can do is in their own little household, and any system of house-building which would make this more respectable and convenient would be valuable. A house of four rooms, such as we have described, would be a "castle" to them, and by becoming householders, instead of mere *lodgers* in a stranger's house, would gain the sense of home so dear to English hearts.

LXX.—CLEOPATRA'S DAUGHTER, STE. MARCIANA, MAMA MARABOUT, AND OTHER ALGERIAN WOMEN.

DEDICATED TO B.R.P.

ON Easter Monday we left our house, situated on the hill above the pirate city of Algiers. We started on horseback, bent on a week's journey to see the Roman remains of the capital of Mauritania, the celebrated tomb of the Christian Queen, and the old Roman town of Typaza. We mounted at nine o'clock, and turning our faces towards the west, rode along the crest of the Sahel, the sea to the right hand, and on the left, beyond the near vales, the plain in the middle distance, then the Atlas mountains, a long chain stretching out all along the horizon to the south. The sun was burning hot, and happy for us that we had protected ourselves,

Arab fashion, with light flowing garments over our dark cloth habits. In two hours of quiet riding we arrived at Staouli, where the Trappists have an immense establishment, and at this village we should have stopped a little while for companions coming from Algiers, but the woman of the house thrust us from the door with the rudeness of grief, and told us she could do nothing for us or our horses, for her husband was lying ill, near dying, of cholera. So on we rode, through a wild, uncultivated, wavy country, covered with bushes of myrtle, white scented heath, (*circa arborea,*) lavender, gum cistus, juniper, and firs. The sides of the road were flowered or *mosaiced* with every hue; the red gladiolus the most magnificent, the almond-scented white heath the most lovely, the orchis the strangest, but, to my thinking, the *lavandula spica* the sweetest of all.

This country, from the sea to the plain, was covered a few years ago by great forests of firs, which have been burnt down by the carelessness of the Arabs.

In the valley of the river Massafrau, we came upon a large modern farmhouse, built of rubble, and coarsely plastered, with ugly green shutters, and looking like a French town-house lost in the wilderness. The lean Arab dogs, some dozen, gave us a most inhospitable reception, and a very vivid impression that we were not wanted, by them at least; but Madame Adelaide's kind and cordial greeting soon set us at ease, and when she invited us to a good lunch of cold porcupine and pickled wild boar, with the addition of good cream and butter, rarities in Algeria, we felt quite at home.

I had often heard of Madame Adelaide as the model colonist's wife; a clever, brave, good Frenchwoman, who, having come from a small country town in France, had adapted herself admirably to the dangers and difficulties of an African colonist's wife, and we had long wished to make her acquaintance.

She has been nearly twenty years in Algeria, and whatever success her husband and sons have had, they all assert is due to her; and, out of love to her, they call their *campagne* Ste. Adelaide. She has braved fever, Arabs, and wild beasts; she has been cook, carpenter, baker, butcher, doctor, tailor, everything in fact which a good pioneer's wife must be, who goes to convert a desert into the home of a civilized family.

We had ridden over in four hours, along the safe and excellent Imperial road, from Algiers to the great Massafrau river; but when Madame Adelaide and her family first came here, it was often, during the rains, an eight days' journey. In fact, to go to Algiers, twenty miles off, often took longer than it does to go to London now.

This rich and beautiful valley of the Massafrau, which they had determined to convert into their home, was then haunted by fever and wild beasts, and the hills above densely inhabited by Arabs,

not in 1841 so friendly as in 1861. Panthers, hyenas, jackals, wild boars, lynxes, and other beasts, were in the woods, close to the house door; but the mistress of the house knew well the use of fire-arms, and, though often days alone, was never afraid.

Panthers are not common near Ste. Adelaide now, but our friends had seen the footmarks of one a few days before we came, and in years past were obliged to be constantly on the watch; a horrible and most formidable beast is the panther of North Africa, much more dreaded by the people here than the lion.

But dangers from wild beasts, the hardships of house building, constant drudgery, torrents of rain, ploughing up the light undrained soil into deep ditches, the scorching sun, utter isolation, and a thousand other evils, Madame Adelaide made light of. She had youth and energy, and struggled through with a certain enjoyment; but there was one horrible and invisible enemy of which she could not speak without tears in her eyes—that enemy was the enemy of all the colonists—the fiend, fever.

Poor woman! we could not ask her much about this, for she had lost three children, and all the family had suffered much. Not only had they all had the fever once, but some of them many times.

Monsieur (Madame Adelaide's husband) told us that once he was so ill with the fever, that the doctor said he must certainly die if he remained a night longer in the valley, and that, to give him the merest chance of life, his wife must take him to the nearest hospital. His wife was alone with him in the house, their two sons having gone to Algiers upon business; she locked up the house, and went off with her husband to the hospital, where she took up her abode, and by her constant attendance and good sense probably saved his life. But, in her anxiety, she forgot to put up a paper on the door saying where she was gone, so that when the two sons came back their uneasiness was very great, and not allayed by their nearest neighbours telling them that their father was dead and their mother gone to bury him.

It was not very easy for us to picture to ourselves all the misery Madame Adelaide had gone through, as we sat down, a party of eight, to her substantial and elegant breakfast; but, after all, many a lady in London who "receives" in her handsome drawing-room, has suffered as much from the hardships of civilization, as this colonist's wife from the horrors of *un*civilization; so we will not pity the last, except for the horrors of living in the unhealthy climate of Africa; and, indeed, Madame Adelaide assured us, with her French politeness, (though we did not believe her,) that to receive us was compensation enough; and it was evident that to receive "Milor C—— et sa suite," as the newspapers called our party, did give great satisfaction to the whole family.

For the men of the family, the enjoyments of this life are numerous; the hunting and fishing, excellent. Think of killing sixty-nine

wild boars on their own land during the season, and having any number of hyenas and jackals as a little extra diversion.

It seemed to us much more amusing to hunt the wild boar than to cook it, and, although Madame Adelaide was very proud of her magnificent dish of boar's head, she quite agreed with us, and said the gentlemen had all the best enjoyments of this rough life, and that for her, she confessed to preferring a home less isolated. She felt much the want of ladies' society.

As the gentlemen were left smoking, we went into the river-side garden, a long strip of land, surrounded on three sides by thick woods of fir and olive, and the Great Massafrau running at the bottom. Here we sat and talked to Madame Adelaide about her adopted country, and I think rather disgusted her by telling about our Australian colonies, and their magnificent prospects as compared with Algeria.

Monsieur and Madame Adelaide have the true French love for the swallow, and at the end of their large dining-room, between the beams, they let two favourite pairs of swallows build their nests year after year. They know they are the same, because they have tied little bands round their legs to mark them. It is the prettiest sight in the world to see these dear little creatures fly in and out of the window. Madame Adelaide told us, that if there is a cat that has not learnt to respect them, in the room, the swallows fly after her, or one of the family, and, by a certain cry, make them understand that it must be chased out of the room.

There is no doubt Béranger's beautiful poem, "Les Hirondelles," was well known to them; and, although these swallows do not go to France, and cannot be addressed:—

> "Sans doute vous quittez la France:
> De mon pays ne me parlez-vous pas?"

the association with the swallow as a home bird is always very strong. These swallows come the first week in April, and stay the summer, and they then, as it is supposed, go to the desert. Why do some swallows go all the way to France, and some to England, and some stay here on the North Coast of Africa, to build and rear their brood? are questions for a naturalist.

"Many and many a sad hour has been lightened to my heart by these little creatures," said Madame Adelaide, "and I should miss them if they did not come in the spring, as if I had lost really dear friends."

I shall hurry over our visit to Coléah and Blidah, both beautiful and interesting places, and stop at Marengo, a village in the plain. I must tell the "ENGLISH WOMAN" something about the hospital at Marengo. In 1849, when the cholera was very bad, Monsieur le Commandant de L——, who had created this village, had some Sisters of Charity of the Order of St. Vincent de Paul sent to his hospital to nurse the sick. The conduct of these women was so ad-

mirable, that he was determined to keep them in his hospital; and, when their Superior sent for them to go back to Algiers, he refused to let them go, saying they were much too valuable to the community. Again and again, and again, they were sent for, but he determined to keep them, placed guards of soldiers at the doors of the hospital, and absolutely detained them there by force!

We went with this resolute Commandant to visit his hospital. It is a range of low buildings, a square of trees and garden ground, not quite so big as Dorset Square. All the buildings were whitewashed, and looked clean and pretty. We were introduced to La Mère, a strong, healthy, young woman, with a pleasant, happy, intelligent face. She took us into the wards, kitchens, &c. They have two wards especially for the Arabs, and men and women come there willingly. Now this astonished us immensely, for we know well the strong dislike the Arabs have to being doctored at all, fatalists as they are; and that Arab women should go to the hospital, was really more than strange—astounding quite. "Yes," said the good Sister, "they come most willingly, more than we can take in; and it is often a difficulty to get them to leave the hospital. We have strange scenes sometimes; the poor women, who call me 'Mama Marabout,' say, we will not go, we will stay always with you." These poor women learn to sew, and to dress and wash themselves in a more Christian manner, and if they do not learn any more Christianity than they see acted by these devoted Sisters, that is a great lesson. It made some of the gentlemen exclaim, that the influence of these Sisters was doing more to break down the terrible hatred between the Mohammedan and his Christian conqueror than any other power.

Mama Marabout! is it not a beautiful and touching title? How much these poor women express by these two words! Shall we translate it? Neither "Mother-Saint" nor "Holy Mother" gives the exact meaning, for Mama is more familiar than Mother, and Marabout has been always to the Arab a masculine noun entirely, and is a word of great force and power.

The Sisters would not let us enter the Arab women's ward, because there was small-pox in it. Two of the Sisters had caught it, and been dangerously ill. If any one will persuade the Arabs to vaccinate their children, it will be these good women. As yet the French have made no impression, not even enough to make them guard against infection. The Arabs will let us call on them and bring children into their houses when the small-pox is in the house, nay, in the very room where they receive us.

The Pharmacy, where the Sisters give out their medicines, was beautifully arranged, quite a picture of order and cleanliness; I think some of our party longed to have the knowledge and the power to undertake this branch of the Sisters' business.

We were shown the garden, which is entirely cultivated by the patients as they are recovering. Mama Marabout said the Arabs

were very grateful, and always ready to work for the Sisters, and to give them eggs or butter, or anything they thought acceptable. She said if she met an Arab woman, who had been in the hospital, she would throw herself into her arms and kiss her, with cries of joy and "Mama Marabout." The men too are very affectionate, and, at the same time, always reverential. This, too, I know from other Sisters. One mother of a convent, whom I knew, has travelled far into the interior, with only one Sister, to visit her little communities all over Algeria, from the borders of Tunis to the borders of Morocco, and has always been aided and assisted, with great kindness and respect, by the Arabs and Kabyles.

At the Maison Carrée, which is used as the prison for the Arabs, and is supposed to contain the most hardened, brutal set of criminals in Algiers, there are now Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, who do everything for the prisoners, and have produced a great change for the better, my friends assured me. I have not visited this place, but have often seen gangs of these fellows walking out to work, with soldiers before and behind them armed to the teeth, and a worse-looking set I never saw in my life, only to be compared, I should think, with our own convicts and garotters.

But to return to our Sister. "Not only is she Le Commandant," said the head of the hospital, "but she has the management of a farm, and of the schools, which are all in the same mass of buildings. She has cattle and land, and sells her produce for the good of the establishment. She has a paying ward in the hospital, a paying boarding school, to give industrial training to the farmers' daughters, and day schools as well." She can take two hundred patients into her hospital, but had only thirty-eight when we were there, as the weather was healthy: and all this is managed by nine Sisters. They have servants and novices, but, in fact, it is the nine Sisters who do all the work of the institution. The Sister told us this admirable establishment was entirely founded and owed everything to Monsieur le Commandant, who is the king of Marengo; but he said it was entirely her work; we decided that each was indispensable, and to both the credit due.

In the fever season there is work enough for the Sisters, and danger too; for though the three Sisters we saw had healthy faces, this place is very unwholesome; and we did not speak to one person who had not had the fever, and some over and over again. Many mothers had lost all their children, almost all some, by this terrible scourge. Many of the houses have been emptied more than once by death, and there are villages near Marengo which have been depopulated three or four times by fever.

Yet civilization, cultivation and population, year by year, win more and more land from the enemy; and there is no doubt that all this fertile plain will, by and by, be, as it was in the old times, the seat of numerous and prosperous towns, and waving cornfields.

From Marengo, we paid a visit to Typaza, an old ruined town, built in the second century. The ruins cover many miles of land; there are many hundred stone coffins, and the ruins of an early Christian church on the edge of a cliff close to the sea. This place is very impressive; but as we are to write about African women, we must leave this old merchant town, and go on to that pyramid which we see built on the hill across the Bay of Typaza, called the Tomb of the Queen.

We, or rather our horses, scrambled up the steep rocky hill on which stands the "Kubbar-el-Rummiah," the tomb of the Christian or Roman, as the Arabs call it; or the "Tombeau de la Reine," the Tomb of the Queen, as the French call it; or the "Treasure of the Sugar Loaf," as the Turks call it. It is the great landmark of the Sahel; it has the sea to the north, the Lake Alula to the south, the plain being bounded by the Atlas.

In the distance it has the appearance of a pyramid, but it is a cone placed on a cylinder, formerly surrounded by columns like the circular temple of Vesper, at Rome. I should guess the columns to have been a fourth the height of the whole. Blakesley says, "It is a truncated cone on a cylindrical base, built of fine limestone." Shaw estimated the diameter of the base at ninety feet, and the height of the monument at 100.

I should guess the diameter to be above 100 feet, the circumference, therefore, more than 300 feet. Wagner says, "It is a circular building of about 500 feet in *diameter*," (this must be a mistake for circumference,) "surrounded by Tuscan columns, and surmounted by a pyramid of thirty-two steps of granite; the top has been destroyed, probably by treasure seekers. The Kubbar-el-Rummiah may be the sepulchral monument of the old Numidian kings, which, according to Pomponius Mela, was situated between Julia Cesarea (Cherchelle) and Icosium (Algiers). Some authors believe it to have been the tomb of Cava, the daughter of Count Julian, who had invited the Arabs to Spain, and whose sepulchre was erected in this neighbourhood (according to Marmol). This lonely, large monument made a considerable impression on the Arab mind, and all the natives have some traditions about the fair queen who built it, and about the treasures it is supposed to hide."

Dr. Wagner saw this monument more than twenty years ago, and asserts that it is surrounded by Tuscan columns. I, who saw it the other day, did not see one Tuscan column surrounding it, and the only columns we saw were scattered and shattered, lying with huge blocks of stone around the monument, particularly on the north side, and the capital I examined, of immense size for the supposed height of the shaft, was not pure Tuscan; it was decorated with the rose-like ornament, as well as the Tuscan curl.

There were four false doors to this tomb, opposite the north, south, east, and west, exactly.

Mr. Berbrugger, the Director of the Museum at Algiers, has pulled

down one door, and part of one side of the monument, hoping to find the entrance, but in vain; the mystery is still unsolved.

So exciting to our imaginations was this place, that one of our party, hearing all this tract of country was for sale, including this wonderful building, determined on the spot to buy it, and only hesitated later, because the ruins of a whole Roman town might possibly be bought for about the same sum. Indeed, the wonders and unknown fields of research in this country are perfectly astonishing and quite easy to get at. Here, with little expense or trouble, any ladies or gentlemen who like hunting for Roman coins and precious antiquities, or wild boars, can have either chase in perfection. Indeed, for any one who had the time, we can hardly imagine a more interesting occupation than excavating at Julia Cesarea or Typaza, or probing the Queen's Tomb.

It is the intention of the French Engineer corps to probe the stones to the centre to find where there is a hollow place, and then they will excavate, either from the top, or the nearest point to the hollow.

Our friend, Dr. V., showed us the places where bronze rivets had fastened together the huge blocks of stone, put for strength and lasting, but which by their value have been the very cause of ruin and destruction. Generations of robbers have stolen them and thrown down the stones, so that the tomb has been skinned, and does not present at all the appearance it had 1700 years ago. Yet it is easy enough, by the help of the masses about, and hints of antiquaries, to reconstruct it in imagination, probably very correctly. The Arab tribes have a legend which makes the Kubbar-el-Rummiah very dear to them. They believe that a long time ago, a good, wise, and pious princess ruled the Metidja and the mountains, and consecrated her power, riches, and wisdom to the welfare of her people. These people becoming idle, and wishing to give themselves to perfect repose, left their lands uncultivated, and their herds unwatched, and went to the good Queen to ask her to pray that God might still give them riches. She tried hard to make them understand that the only riches which bring happiness are those earned by labour, and that they must extract riches from their land by labour; but to no purpose—they persisted in their prayers, and she at last assented. The pious Queen implored God, and He listened. Soon the sky was overcast, thunder was heard, and a hail of precious stones and globules of gold covered the ground. These people, known as the Mazices, thought themselves the happiest of mortals; they seized the treasures, and buried them. Nevertheless, soon a dearth arrived; the people went again to their Queen. She made them understand that God was incited against them, and that unless they would submit to His laws, the land would remain uncultivated, and the scarcity continue. They became humble; the Queen then commanded them to take all the jewels and gold and cast them into a deep well in the mountains.

They obeyed, set to work to cultivate the plain, and long years of marvellous crops rewarded their labour. When this noble Queen felt her end approaching, she made her subjects swear to bury her over the well where the accursed treasures were hid, and never disturb a stone of the sepulchre, appealing thus to both their fear and love for their future welfare.

Marmol says that, about 1555, one of the successors of Keir-ed-Din, S'alah Reïs, determined to seek these treasures, and left Algiers with a little army, and some Christian slaves, and encamped himself before the tomb. At the first blow of the pickaxe he was assailed by swarms of wasps, and every sting was deadly. S'alah Reïs, horror-struck, made haste to leave the place, and hid himself in the recesses of his palace, and commanded prayers to be offered up to appease the outraged ghost of the ancient benefactress of his kingdom.

At the foot of the Tombeau de la Reine, following the tradition, is a lake made of the blood of the Python, who was appointed to guard the Queen's Tomb. This serpent was commanded to live on grass, but was one day tempted to eat a herd of cattle. The poor people, frightened, prayed to Heaven to deliver them from this monster, and on the instant a stroke of lightning killed the reptile, and the earth there became a lake of blood, and remains a lake to this day.

The lake Alula, it is true, is of a thick dirty colour, but not red; and if it is blood, it is found particularly nourishing by the thousands of wild fowl we saw on it. Until lately, wild swans were common there. Now they are scarce, and soon all the water-birds must decamp, as the lake is to be drained this year. We saw the soldiers at work cutting the canal. This will so much increase the healthiness of the plain that it is not to be regretted, as most French improvements are.

We spent so much time on the tomb, and with our interesting Dr. V., that our journey across the plain to Marengo was very nearly becoming a serious midnight ramble. We lost the road, and if some of the party had not galloped about and pioneered with great sagacity and courage, the carriage and its precious inhabitants, including Milord and Milady C., would have been precipitated into the terrible water-courses which cut the plain up into a number of little ravines.

On the road to Cherchelle from Marengo, we stopped to see the great arched aqueducts—magnificent works of Roman architecture, leading our imagination by giant strides to the capital of Mauritania, Julia Cesarea.

The first of these aqueducts has three tiers of arches, and is, we imagined, about 150 feet high. The one nearest Cherchelle is like the single arched aqueducts about Roman towns, not more or less beautiful, only it had the sea as a background. I should suppose there are many other arches in the mountains, but the Director of

the Museum said the aqueduct had never been followed up by any antiquary.

Entering Julia Cesarea, we saw some beautiful fluted columns and Roman friezes, fresh and white as if never used, being dug out of the ground, not one, but many; and in the public place were ten or twelve, or more, large columns and capitals, quite perfect. All around us were walls and Roman stones; the very road was a Roman one, and had stones at the edge, part of the old Roman pavement. We went off to the Museum, but before we go there let us go back to the time when these columns stood on end, capped by these capitals, white and bright against the blue sky of Africa.

The empire of the Romans in Africa was one of the greatest and most flourishing of ancient times. It comprised Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, part of the Desert, and Egypt. Immense cities were built all over the country, the ruins of which we see everywhere in Algeria, in the remotest wilderness, in the very Sahara itself. Modern French towns are built of the stones of these cities, which serve as quarries. As the Romans used the old Carthaginian cities, so are their cities now used. The "tables are turned," or rather the stones are turned. Julia Cesarea was built, or that city of which we see the remains was built by Juba II., while Jesus Christ was living.

About 40 years B.C., two conquered monarchs committed suicide to escape being shown as trophies of triumph in the streets of Rome. One was a woman whom we all know intimately, who absolutely lives for us through the genius of Shakspere. I mean that serpent of old Nile, that Gipsy, that wonderful piece of work whom it would have discredited Mark Antony's travel not to have seen, and who, being seen, still discredited him very much; this wonderfully clever and beautiful woman killed herself, and left some children behind her. It is rather curious that Shakspere does not mention them. These children were taken by Octavia, the unfortunate deserted wife of Marc Antony, and sister of Octavius Cæsar, his conqueror; and as they were his children by Queen Cleopatra, I think it was very good of Octavia to bring them up. According to Cleopatra, she was sober, dull, short, and stupid; but I think she must have been a very forgiving, kind woman.

The other monarch who committed suicide was Juba I., after his defeat at Thapsus, 45 years B.C., imitating Cato and Scipio. His little son Juba was taken to Rome, and brought up with the family of Octavius; probably he and Selena Cleopatra, the adopted daughter of Octavia, played together, and learned their Roman letters together, if they did not go on further together in their studies. They must have had much sympathy, being placed exactly in the same position. The young Juba was a clever boy, and had a good disposition; he made rapid progress, and his masters loved him very much.

The good Octavia, thinking him an excellent match, and no

doubt in accordance with the wishes of the two young people, married Juba and Selena. Augustus gave them Egypt as a kingdom, and afterwards gave them in exchange Mauritania. Juba and Selena took possession of their new kingdom, and established *Tol*, the old Carthaginian name for the same spot as Cherchelle, for their capital. Out of gratitude to the Cæsars, Juba changed the name of Tol to Julia Cesarea. He went to Rome and to Athens for skilful workmen and famous architects, and soon raised a magnificent capital, rich with temples to the gods, baths floored with beautiful mosaics, amphitheatres, arches of triumph, and other huge, solid buildings, which earthquakes, Vandals of the north, religious fury, generations of robbers, and all other destroying agents have not been able to efface. There stand, within a limit of ten miles of circumference, masses and masses of ruins. The foundation of a house cannot be dug without coming upon something which belonged to the city of Cleopatra's daughter. In the museum there, and at Algiers, and in the Louvre at Paris, are many of the statues, urns, sarcophagi, votive tablets, &c., found there, but more than all these put together, must be the number dug up and sold by private people without the knowledge of the Government.

I did not see, among these remains, any of great beauty, or great artistic value; this, it seems to me, is what one would expect. After all, money can never buy for the colonies the best art; and, as it is now in America and Australia, so it was in Mauritania. Juba might be, and was, rich enough to pay well; but no money would induce the best artists to leave Athens or Rome to go to Africa.

In the Museum we saw part of an Egyptian figure, one of the usual sitting figures, of hard, black, sonorous granite, which we imagine Selena Cleopatra, out of love to her old country, and her recent kingdom, Egypt, brought with her when she came from thence to Mauritania. It is quite evident Juba and his wife loved Egypt, and held its remembrance dear. Rome they recollected with gratitude, but Egypt with love. Juba wrote about the sources of the Nile, and had money struck in his new country, with the crocodile, the palm, and the name of Cleopatra on the coins, just as if the money had been coined in the mint at Alexandria. They gave the name of Ptolemy to their eldest son, and thus sought to revive the dynasty of Soter. These connexions with Egypt interested us very much, and led us to explain the famous tomb, half Egyptian and half Roman, which we have described. It appears the coast of Africa has been described *before* this time quite accurately by Roman authors, and no mention made of this monument; very particular mention of it is made by Pomponius Mela. This is very strong evidence; and, it is natural to suppose that, following the example of the Ptolemies, who had built at Alexandria and its neighbourhood many tombs, destined to replace for them and their

descendants the pyramids of the Pharaohs, this Queen, daughter and grand-daughter of the line of Ptolemy, by her mother, should have persuaded her husband, Juba II., to construct for their family this mausoleum. Selena probably, or her son, finished this monument about the twenty-fifth year of our era, after the death of her husband.

There is almost always some foundation to popular legends, and this explanation accounts for the name and the Arab legends about the good Queen; Juba was remarkable for the good things he did for his people, and the encouragement he gave to the arts of peace; and, we may suppose, that his Queen shared his virtues and popularity.

So we decide Cleopatra's daughter to be the author of this mysterious tomb, and herself and her family to be lying within, richly decorated mummies, like those in the British Museum, with the addition probably of Roman armour, and Roman jewels and ornaments. When the tomb is opened, may we be the first to walk in!

Not only does Julia Cesarea connect us with Egyptian life and Roman ladies, and the Carthaginians, but here the early Christians suffered, and many bore martyrdom for Christ's sake. Two hundred years after Christ, the Christians were very numerous; and it was about this time that they began to be persecuted in the most cruel manner.

Is there something in the climate of North Africa which excites human beings to cruelty, as has been asserted? It is certain that not only were the early Christians persecuted, but that that religion, which has conquered Europe and North America, made but a transient impression on Africa, and in its very bosom carried discords and cruel quarrels. In the very beginning it was perverted, and the disputes bitter and interminable.

Carthage was stained with blood of men, women, and children, thrown to wild beasts, torn to pieces with pincers, and tortures and executions of the most ingenious, complicated, and bloodthirsty description.

But sitting here on the grass-grown seats, tier above tier, of the Amphitheatre of Julia Cesarea, we remember only those who, on the very slope below, now a circular field of green corn, suffered death; thousands of human beings, like ourselves, sitting here looking on. Arcadius here had his limbs cut off one after the other. "Happy members," said he, "now you are dear to me, since you belong to my God, to whom I offer you as a sacrifice." This man was condemned to this horrible death because he would not offer incense to the gods. The suspected Christians used to be marched along the road to the city, to be made to bow to the gods, and join the Pagan trains of flower-crowned, singing Bacchantes. How vividly here one sees it all before one!

One of the most illustrious victims who suffered here, was the

virgin Marciana, celebrated for her high birth and her beauty, at Russucuru, (Dellys,) her native town.

Despising the pleasures and seductions of the world, Marciana took refuge in Julia Cesarea, and lived concealed in the great city, hoping to be able to live there a more holy life, and dedicate herself entirely to the service of God. One day, it chanced she was crossing a public square, and she was struck by seeing the statue of the goddess Diana placed above a fountain. Full of indignation at the sight of this false divinity, she markedly turned away her head. The crowd of idolaters, seeing this action, considered it as sacrilegious, and heaping blows on Marciana, carried her before a magistrate. When this ardent young girl was placed before him, she began instantly to preach to him, telling him to cast away all superstition, and to despise all the fables about the gods of mythology. Enraged at this boldness, the magistrate commanded his lictors to strike her. She was condemned to be devoured by wild beasts in this amphitheatre, on the 11th of July, during the persecution of Diocletian, (from the year 284 to the year 305.) A bull and a leopard both attacked her, and she died a martyr, probably exulting to the last.

But we must stop here: the English ladies have spared ten days of their valuable time to see this African colony, and think a little about these various women of modern and ancient Algeria, and now they must hurry back as fast as steam can carry them to "the native coal-hole," their glorious England; to their district visiting, their parish schools, their societies, associations, and what not.

Ah! I know two who will often recall that beautiful picture, the blue sea seen through the ruined arches of Selena Cleopatra's aqueduct, as they walk together along the bald, blank, streets of London.

B. L. S. B.

LXXI.—NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Physician's Daughters; or, the Spring-time of Woman.
London: James Nisbet & Co.

This book, "affectionately dedicated to the young gentlewomen of England," is one of a class whose leading idea is, that domestic life and that only is the proper sphere for a gentlewoman; and that while she has a home, she ought not to seek for a wider field of action. This theory is definitely propounded as a religious principle, and there is more show of argument than we have generally met with in books inculcating the same views. It may be taken as a sign of progress, that while formerly it was considered sufficient incessantly to re-assert the doctrine, it is now held necessary at least to make some attempt at sustaining it by reasons.

The most important characters in this tale, for there is neither hero nor heroine, are a clergyman and his wife, in the latter of whom the chief interest centres. Mrs. Grey has lost her only child, a girl of ten, several years before the opening of the story. In the anticipation of this child's growing up to womanhood, she and her husband have been led to think much and seriously on the subject of female education; and the sense of its importance, which has thereby been impressed upon their minds, combined with their general desire for usefulness, induces them to interest themselves in every young woman whom they find it possible to assist. The systematic manner in which several girls of various dispositions, and surrounded by various circumstances, are brought to see what alone is needed to make their lives worthy and happy, and how alone they can fulfil the object of their existence upon earth, leaves no doubt as to the author's views on this momentous subject, nor as to the book being written with a special purpose. The tale is everywhere subordinate to the doctrines to be inculcated, and we see from the beginning that we must be contented with the interest attaching to the development of the characters under the influence of their newly acquired views, exclusive, to a great extent, of all other circumstances. Of what value the exhibition of such a development may be, we will inquire presently; but we must first consider more particularly the special point of view from which woman's position is regarded. We will quote Mr. Grey's words:

"I wish merely to explain to you what position God has given to woman. And the question is not, What does 'man' think of her? or, What does she think of herself? but,—Where has *God* placed her, and does she take that place? We must therefore see what was declared of her when she was first created; it runs thus—'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and so God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.' Here is a distinct recognition of man, as male and female, having the same privileges—as being alike formed in the image of God at the creation. But when a detailed account is added, their relative position towards one another is declared in the following words—'And the Lord God said: It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an *help-meet* for him.' The tempter, however, came, and succeeded in seducing Eve from her allegiance to God; and the first fruit of her degradation was to influence her husband to join in her rebellion; and thus she, who was created to be his help-meet, became his tempter, as the devil had been hers. Then went forth the sentence of physical weakness, and with it the words: 'Thou shalt be subject to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee;' and in this state the Fall leaves her. But when the promised 'Seed of the Woman' comes, and the Gospel visits her, it is said, 'As many of you as have been baptized unto Christ have put on Christ; there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in him.' And thus the new covenant raises her to the same spiritual privileges as her husband; and in returning to her allegiance to God, she again becomes his *help-meet*. Now, does this release her from the subjection which was incurred by the Fall? Surely not; any more than the Gospel cancels Adam's part of the penalty connected with the ground. Nay, it does more than release her, it makes this very subjection a channel of blessing; for the Gospel says: 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands in the Lord;' and thus, when in the spirit of love to her Saviour,

she yields a heartfelt obedience to her husband, she is not only obeying him, but Christ; and in this obedience she will be daily brought into nearer communion with both!"

In the foregoing paragraph it will be observed that woman is considered chiefly in her relation to man, as subservient to his purposes, to his welfare, and as though she possessed no spiritual or intellectual life apart from him. It might almost be inferred that the penalty upon Eve's transgression was not subjection merely, but a species of moral absorption, in which individual and substantive life is entirely destroyed, and that the curse is not only to be submitted to, but actively enforced by human agencies. Now, we would urge that this is a mistaken view in principle, and one likely to be productive of evil in its practical results.

The Bible throughout, everywhere teaches us to regard the spiritual life of woman as independent of her relations to man, and, at the same time, as in no way differing from his.

Our author remarks that the Gospel does not cancel Adam's part of the penalty. True. The penalty asserts itself. We are nowhere taught that Adam and his descendants are to submit to the thorns and briers as a visitation from God which it would be impious to attempt to remove. From Adam to our own day, men have been labouring diligently and successfully to remove the curse. Similarly in the case of the woman, the penalty asserts itself. The Levitical code contains no provisions for securing the action of the curse. It has recently been demonstrated by a high authority, in the pages of this Journal,* that among the chosen people, men and women were uniformly treated as equal before God; and Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil the spirit of the Mosaic law. Under the new dispensation, the same truth becomes even more prominent. In the whole of our Lord's discourses, nay, in the whole of the four Gospels, not a word is said inculcating submission especially upon women. Great stress is often laid upon certain expressions in the Apostolic epistles, which seem to favour the doctrine of absolute submission on the part of women. It should be borne in mind, however, that these Epistles were addressed to various newly-formed Churches, in which a state of things may have prevailed, rendering such admonitions, as those of St. Paul, temporarily necessary. That St. Paul's words ought often to be taken in a limited sense, is proved by the fact that his own practice would otherwise be inconsistent with his teaching. For instance, though he says in one place, "I suffer not a woman to teach," we find that Priscilla taught Apollos, and was not reproved. The prophesying of the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist is also recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, without a hint of disapproval. Wives are indeed exhorted to obey their husbands; but what is the mainspring of this obedience? Is it not free

* See Notes of a Discourse by the Rev. Professor Marks, ENGLISH WOMAN'S JOURNAL, for December, 1862.

love, a principle widely different from that of blind and servile submission? Where love is perfect, obedience must be perfect also; and the knowledge that this obedience is required by God's law, and the law of the State, should but induce every woman to regard marriage more seriously, and never to give her hand where her whole affections cannot be given also.

But neither for marriage nor for life generally is there to be found in the Gospel one set of rules for the man and another for the woman. There is the same Saviour, the common guide for life, the common hope in death; the same injunctions to all to live in charity and peace, to succour the afflicted, to be brave and constant in bearing persecution for Christ's sake. Here are no distinctions of sex in Christian virtue. The man is not told to be only brave, and generous, and protecting; nor the woman only to be self-denying, and gentle, and modest. Christ's character is perfect, precisely because it is more *womanly* than that of any man, even the best of earth's heroes, and because it embraces *all* virtue; and exactly in proportion as the man becomes more womanly, in his greater faith, and gentleness, and tenderness, and renunciation of self; and the woman more manly, in her increase of strength, and firmness, and courage, and truthfulness, (which is only a second courage,) will each become more godly: both will thus draw nearer the ideal of a Christian life, and fulfil the highest purposes of their earthly existence.

So far for the principle. Let us now consider the practical results. And, in the first place, it is self-evident that if a woman's primary duty is, like that of a child to its parent, "unreasoning obedience," her responsibility is in a great measure destroyed. This is not a mere logical deduction. None know so well as women themselves how powerfully and injuriously this false principle works. To an indolent mind—and most people are indolent—the effort of forming a judgment and acting upon it is a hateful burden. To do what somebody else wishes, right or wrong, is a great deal less trouble. Often too, women, feeling themselves irresponsible for the ultimate decision, do not hesitate to press upon their male relatives, base motives of convenience or expediency, resting secure in a happy conviction that "he will do what he thinks right," however hard they may have made it to him, by their ill-used influence, to choose the good and refuse the evil. This shifting of responsibility becomes a tacit excuse for any amount of lazy compliance, while it does not in the least restrain a selfish woman from claiming a reciprocal amount of concession to her own wishes when her petty personal interests are at stake. It is needless to point out that this is no fulfilment of the law which ordains that women shall be helpmeets to men.

We have said that woman is regarded by the author of this book more especially in her relation to man, and we may extend this observation so far as to say that, consistently enough, the view is

almost limited to her position as a wife. As the young ladies are not married, in practice it is found necessary to provide them with other temporary ways of fulfilling their destiny, and the relations of mother, and daughter, and sister, are all touched upon; but it is as a wife that woman is especially considered, and it is assumed that it is as a wife only, that she is to be a helpmeet. The author seems to be aware that some difficulty may be felt in applying this theory to the case of single women, and meets it thus:

"Yet while we look upon woman primarily as a wife, remember, if she be fitted to fill this office, it will include all others; although it may not be her lot to live for one, but many."

This is a singularly confused way of putting what may perhaps contain some elements of truth. Probably the author means that to make a perfect wife, you must have a perfect woman, and that a perfect woman has the basis of character which is requisite to fulfil all other functions worthily. But how to get the perfect woman? By repression or by development? If it is meant that the specific duties of a wife include all others, we are led into strange anomalies. Is it a wife's function to teach her husband? Teaching a younger sister is the specific task allotted to one of the Physician's Daughters.

Far be it from us to underrate the importance of a wife's position. We heartily sympathize with the author of "The Physician's Daughters," in considering no education too high to be given, no efforts too great to be made, in order to qualify a woman to fill it as she should. Only, if we place before young girls as the object of their lives to become good wives, however high the tone which we may endeavour to give them, human nature is such—or call it human folly and weakness, if you will—that these girls will become mere men-pleasers, and we shall not be able to maintain that high standard which could alone justify us in allowing such an object to be presented to them. There is a risk also of giving them a false estimate of what they lose if they do not marry, and leaving them nothing else for which to live. We believe that a happy marriage is the happiest state on earth; that where there is perfect union of heart and mind, and love crowns life with its choicest blessings, there is a sacred joy which none of life's storms can touch, and which even death itself does not dissolve.

But we ought not to forget that there are many unhappy marriages; and those who have entered most deeply into the joy and blessedness of conjugal affection, can best understand how lowering and deadening must be the influence of a marriage of mere expediency. It is just because there is in marriage the possibility of the highest blessedness, that it is most important to make it a matter of free choice. And for this it is necessary, not only that women should be pecuniarily independent, but that they should have what is called "an object in life." Otherwise, there is great danger of their being driven into unsuitable marriage, merely to escape *ennui*.

The real question for "the young gentlewomen of England," (or rather, perhaps, for their parents, in whose hands their destiny to a great extent lies,) is, what sort of training will best prepare them for the exigencies of life, be they married or single. It is not often disputed, that if we could only tell beforehand which women would remain single, it would be desirable to provide these with a profession. It is commonly regarded as equally indisputable that in the case of those who marry, the time and money spent on the apprenticeship would be thrown away. This, however, is by no means clear. Idleness is a bad preparation for anything; and we do not hesitate to say that steady training for some distinct calling, and an amount of definite daily work, very rarely to be found within the limited range of a young lady's home, is most desirable, if not indispensable, as a preparation for the various responsibilities of a wife, and mother, and mistress of a household. Would it not be well at least to give young women the benefit of the doubt? If they remain single, it will be an unspeakable blessing to them to have a profession; if they marry, they will be all the better wives; and, in either case, society will be the gainer.

We believe that only by a similar education, and to a great extent similar ends and aims in this life, can woman become a real help to man in the world's work and cares. The development of all her powers can alone make her the complete being which, it seems to us, the Creator intended her to become; and until she has reached this state she is a clog upon the efforts of man, intellectually and morally. The influence of the present relation of the sexes is analogous to that of slavery—upon the whole, more injury is done to the white man than to the black by the latter's state of servitude; and the man suffers more in character than the woman while he holds her in subjection. As there are humane, and generous, and high-minded slave-owners, so also are there men whose characters are too lofty to be harmed by their relations towards woman, and who often make their own relations by choosing a wife whom they feel to be equal, and whom they delight to treat as such. These, however, are only the exceptions that prove the rule.

Regarding this subject in connexion with the work before us, we hinted above that the development of the characters under the influence of the author's principles was not under circumstances which gave much value to the results. We must now state more fully what those circumstances are. We have said that there are several girls brought under the influence of Mr. and Mrs. Grey, who cause them to see a new significance in life, a deeper meaning in domestic duties and ordinary pursuits. The physician's daughters, Emily and Anna Murray, are the foremost characters among this group, and the sudden manner in which the whole tenor of their life is changed, and the sustained character of that change, appears to us extraordinary and even unnatural.

When Mr. Grey comes to his new parish of Buckland, at the

opening of the story, his wife and Mrs. Murray renew an early friendship, Dr. and Mrs. Murray being residents in the parish. Mrs. Grey speedily becomes interested in Emily and Anna, whom she finds well-educated girls, decidedly above the average of their age and sex. She discovers that they are pining for a wider sphere, finding their home life insufficient and unsatisfactory. She immediately appoints herself the task of bringing them under a new class of influences, and of leading them to find happiness and contentment in domestic and social duties, the latter, of course, of a limited nature. The surrounding circumstances are highly favourable for such an undertaking. Dr. and Mrs. Murray are model parents, their only fault towards their children being their not having known how to deal with the higher aspirations of their daughters, till the Greys came to their assistance. At this important juncture they find it necessary to take a journey into Scotland, leaving their girls with Mrs. Grey, who thus has every opportunity of impressing them with her own mode of viewing life; and, being a woman of great energy, and of untiring devotion to the good of those around her, they are inspired by her example to change their way of life, and, instead of retiring to their own room and pursuing their own studies and amusements for many hours in the day, as was their wont, they write letters for Mr. Grey, teach Mrs. Grey's scholars to sew, and assist her in visiting the poor of her husband's parish.

The amount of occupation thus provided for them is astonishing to those who are acquainted with the ordinary routine of a country clergyman's life. Evidently Mr. Grey is an exceptional clergyman, and Buckland an exceptional parish. Mr. Grey is overwhelmed with correspondence and business of various kinds. Mrs. Grey is fagged and worn out with the fatigues of visiting the cottagers and superintending the schools. Under such circumstances the assistance of their young friends is of real value. More work, however, is found for them. On the return of their parents from Scotland, the little sister's governess goes away, and Anna takes her place, (in other words, becomes a governess without salary,) and Emily writes letters for her father and superintends the arrangements of his private room. Shortly afterwards the brothers—two unexceptionable boys—come home for the Christmas holidays. The sisters devote themselves to them, helping them in their studies, reading poetry with them, and drawing for them.

Before this, however, Mr. Grey's nephew, Harry Butler, a captain in the army, comes upon the scene, and eventually obtains the hand of Emily, the story winding up with their marriage, which takes place in about a year from our introduction to the bride. Having seen her thus accomplish a woman's destiny, we leave her with a model husband, hoping that her year of probation may prove of more use to her than we can find it easy to believe. We say farewell to Anna while she is yet in the first bloom of youth,

having already refused, on religious grounds, another wise advantageous offer of marriage. A widow and two daughters, who come to reside in the parish, assist Mrs. Grey in her plans of usefulness, though one of the daughters is prevented by illness from taking part in active life. Another family of three sisters is less satisfactorily disposed of. One commits a runaway marriage; another becomes a Roman Catholic; the third, however, helps Mrs. Grey. The only daughter of a neighbouring squire is similarly occupied. In this remarkable country parish, abundance of work is found for all, and by a happy coincidence, all, who are in the least well-disposed, like, and are fitted for, clerical work. It has been said that the poor are regarded as raw material for the clergy and benevolent ladies to make experiments upon. In the parish of Buckland, the raw material must have undergone an amount of working up, which surely can have left nothing native behind it.

Family life is equally misrepresented. We do not say that such a family as the Murrays could not exist, but it is, at any rate, very uncommon. Here are no jars, no discords, not even amiable differences of opinion. Such perfect unanimity, apart from its insipidity, as it leaves no occasions to bear or to forbear with one another, deprives its members of those opportunities for self-denial and control of temper, which are the great tests of such principles as they are supposed to possess. These people are not simply idealized, they are unnatural. We cannot interest ourselves in them, nor believe in their existence. We only care to see whether the author's views of life are so developed as to be of any value.

With this object, we have followed the characters with careful attention to the end; and we have to record as the result, one more, among the long list of failures, in what the Germans call *Tendenz*-novels. The failure in this case is not confined simply to the ill-construction of the story, and want of interest in the persons described; the purpose itself—that being, as we take it, to show some special connexion between Christian principles and the exclusion of women from any sphere but that of domestic life—has not been accomplished. The very young women who will read it, will be the last to be helped by it. Frivolous girls—careless of family ties, self-indulgent, and devoted to amusements—might find in it some useful lessons, but the tediousness of the story will deter them from reading many pages of it; while those who think seriously, and desire help earnestly, will turn away from a picture so unlike the real life they know, and from rules of conduct which their judgment tells them will not apply to the vicissitudes and trials of that life. This book may add to their perplexities, it certainly will not remove them.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE principal addresses and speeches of the late Prince Consort, together with a Memorandum relating to the office of Commander-

in-Chief, and an introduction, giving some outlines of the Prince's character, (1) have been published under the sanction of Her Majesty. The work of editing, entrusted (we understand) to Mr. Arthur Helps, has been executed with judgment and delicacy. The most interesting portion of the book is, unquestionably, the Memorandum in which the Prince states his reasons for declining the office of Commander-in-Chief. As this, however, has been re-published in full, by many of the newspapers, we shall not reproduce it, but give, instead, an extract from one of the addresses. Mr. Helps is not speaking the language of courtly adulation, when he remarks that "Of the Prince's speeches, as of much of his life, it may be said that the movement of them was graceful, noble, and dignified;" and again, that "though short, they are singularly exhaustive of the subject." The following extract is taken from an address delivered at the opening of a Conference on National Education:

"You will have to work, then, upon the minds and hearts of the parents; to place before them the irreparable mischief which they inflict upon those who are entrusted to their care, by keeping them from the light of knowledge; to bring home to their conviction that it is their duty to exert themselves for their children's education, bearing in mind, at the same time, that it is not only their most sacred duty, but also their highest privilege. Unless they work with you, your work, our work, will be vain; but you will not fail, I feel sure, in obtaining their co-operation if you remind them of their duty to their God and Creator. Our Heavenly Father, in His boundless goodness, has made his creatures that they should be happy, and, in His wisdom, has fitted His means to His ends, giving to all of them different qualities and faculties, in using and developing which, they fulfil their destiny, and, running their uniform course according to His prescription, they find that happiness which He has intended for them. Man alone is born into this world with faculties far nobler than the other creatures, reflecting the image of Him who has willed that there should be beings on earth to know and worship Him, but endowed with the power of self-determination, having reason given him for his guide. He can develop his faculties, place himself in harmony with his Divine prototype, and attain that happiness which is offered to him on earth, to be completed hereafter in entire union with Him through the mercy of Christ. But he can also leave these faculties unimproved, and miss his mission on earth. He will then sink to the level of the lower animals, forfeit happiness, and separate from his God, whom he did know how to find. Gentlemen, I say man has no right to do this,—he has no right to throw off the task which is laid upon him for his happiness; it is his duty to fulfil his mission to the utmost of his power; but it is our duty, the duty of those whom Providence has removed from this awful struggle, and placed

(1) "Speeches and Addresses of the Prince Consort." John Murray.

beyond this fearful danger, manfully, unceasingly, and untiringly, to aid by advice, assistance, and example, the great bulk of the people, who, without such aid, must almost inevitably succumb to the difficulty of their task. They will not cast from them the aiding hand, and the Almighty will bless the labours of those who work in His cause."

Among the many literary and other offerings to Lancashire, is a small volume of Poems, (2) the joint production of some of our best poets. "The Three Horses," by George Macdonald, and "A Royal Princess," in which Miss Rossetti shows her wonted grace and power, are the contributions which have pleased us most.

The lovers of really good Sacred Music will welcome Miss Winkworth's Chorale Book, (3) in which translations of the best German hymns are adapted to the best German tunes; the whole arranged by composers well qualified for the task.

Under the title of "Wordsworth's Poems for the Young," (4) Messrs. Strahan have issued a very beautiful child's book, not to be despised by children of a larger growth. Those who know, and can enter into the exquisite beauty of "The Pet Lamb," "We are Seven," "Lucy Gray," and other similar lays, do not need to be reminded that Wordsworth is, *par excellence*, the poet of refined and thoughtful children. Of the illustrations in this book we may say, that they are exceedingly pretty pictures, not beyond a child's powers of comprehension and enjoyment—that they are abundant, even to profusion, being in the proportion of more than one to every other page; and that they really illustrate the text. In this they differ from some recent efforts in the same field, where the idea is so far-fetched that an ordinary reader can scarcely discern any connexion at all between the picture and the poetry. We ought to add that the book is handsomely bound, and altogether well got up.

We are glad to see that Messrs. Rivington have issued a new edition, in an easily portable form, and large, clear type, of a very valuable little book, "Help and Comfort for the Sick Poor," (5). Invalids whose sufferings are not aggravated by poverty, may yet find some useful lessons in these simple pages.

In Miss Goodman's "Sisterhoods in the Church of England," (6)

(2) "Poems: an Offering to Lancashire." Emily Faithfull.

(3) "The Chorale Book for England." The Hymns translated from the German by C. Winkworth; the Tunes compiled and edited by W. S. Bennett and Otto Goldschmidt. Longman & Co.

(4) "Wordsworth's Poems for the Young." With Fifty Illustrations, by John Macwhirter and John Pettie; and a Vignette, by J. E. Millais. London: Strahan & Co.

(5) "Help and Comfort for the Sick Poor," by the Author of "Sickness: its Trials and Blessings." Rivingtons.

(6) "Sisterhoods in the Church of England: with Notices of some Charitable Sisterhoods in the Romish Church." By Margaret Goodman. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

the case, as against some existing Sisterhoods, is stated with startling force and clearness. It appears incontrovertible that the system is at least liable to abuses of a very serious nature; and Miss Goodman's statements evidently deserve attentive consideration. It must be added, however, that she mixes up grave charges with gossip and ugly innuendo, in such a manner as seriously to damage her character as a witness. Miss Goodman is herself of opinion that these institutions are "capable of incalculable good, when carefully fostered and watched;" and she calls upon the Bishops to legislate for them, and so to "decide whether the Sisterhood movement in England shall be for good or for evil." It may be questioned whether it is quite fair to shift the whole burden of this decision upon any one body. All who are able to assist, either by observation of facts, or by careful thought, are bound to give their aid. At the same time, there is no doubt that the Bishops have, officially, a special interest in the matter, and in some respects, a specially advantageous position for judging and directing. It is probable that many of the most important questions raised, such, for instance, as how this new machinery can be made to work in with the parochial system; whether there is work which can be better done by an order of Sisters than by District Visiting Societies, and other similar agencies; whether a peculiar dress is desirable, or undesirable, or a matter of indifference,—can best be decided, and are gradually being decided, by actual experiment in the various institutions now at work in different parts of the country. That there should be so many as twenty-five of these institutions, representing the various shades of religious opinion, from the Protestant Deaconess to the almost Romanist "Order of the Sacred Heart," existing in England, is itself an astonishing and significant fact.

Miss Barlee, in her new book, "Friendless and Helpless," (7) delivers a vigorous testimony to the incapacity of untrained and undisciplined women for any work whatever, except the very lowest drudgery. Those who have been most earnest and persevering in their efforts to help the unemployed, will most eagerly concur with her in this view. We believe they will also agree with her in regarding this incapacity as arising, "not from any normal physical deficiency, but from the neglect of parents, and the want of early training." The chapter on "Educated Women" contains some useful remarks on the necessity of fitting girls for "the active duties as well as the passive enjoyments of life;" and parents are strongly urged to give up "inculcating fineladyism on their portionless daughters." The book embraces a wide range of topics, including Pauperism and Government, as well as private, education. These vast and almost overwhelming subjects are discussed and disposed of in a manner, not altogether satisfactory to the thoughtful reader.

(7) "Friendless and Helpless." By Ellen Barlee. London: Emily Faithfull.

The story of "Mistress and Maid," (8) which appeared last year in *Good Words*, is now republished in a separate form. It is to be regretted that its high price will place it beyond the reach of the maids, by whom it might be read with advantage. We believe there is a very common impression among servants that mistresses think of them and care for them much less than is really the case. Anything which may help to remove this false impression, is likely to be useful.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Second Mother. By Mrs. Geldart. (Seeleys.)
Songs on Italy. By C. G. Phillipson. (Hardwicke.)
Poems: an Offering to Lancashire. (Emily Faithfull.)
Our Untitled Nobility. By J. Tillotson. (Hogg.)
Church of England Temperance Magazine.
Help and Comfort for the Sick Poor. (Rivingtons.)
The Hygienic Management of Infants and Children. By T. Herbert Barker, M.D. (Churchill.)
Excessive Infant Mortality: How can it be stayed? By M. A. Baines. (Churchill.)
Prayers, Texts, and Hymns, for those in Service. By the Author of "Count up your Mercies." (Emily Faithfull.)
The Post-Office Window: a Tale of the Night-School. By the Author of "Likes and Dislikes." (J. Masters.)
Friendless and Helpless. By Ellen Barlee. (Emily Faithfull.)
Lays and Poems on Italy. By F. A. Mackay. (Bell and Daldy.)
Wordsworth's Poems for the Young. (A. Strahan & Co.)
Convict Systems and Transportation. By Sir Walter Crofton, C.B. (London: Ridgway.)
Lancashire Homes, and what ails them. By the Author of "Ragged Homes, and How to Mend them." (J. Nisbet & Co.)
The Duty of Laying by a stated Proportion of our Income. By R. S. Candlish, D.D. (Nisbet & Co.)
Bear ye one another's Burdens. By Thomas Guthrie, D.D. (Nisbet & Co.)
On Doing what one does with one's might. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D. (Nisbet & Co.)
The Duty of giving away a stated Proportion of our Income. By W. Arthur, A.M. (Nisbet & Co.)
A Foggy Night at Offord. By Mrs. Henry Wood. Second Edition. (J. Nisbet & Co.)
The Christian Governess: a Memoir of Miss Sarah Bennett. By G. B. Bennett, B.A. (Nisbet & Co.)

(8) "Mistress and Maid." By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman." London: Strahan & Co.

LXXII.—OPEN COUNCIL.

(As these pages are intended for general discussion, the Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed.)

[Letter from the wife of a government official, some years resident in Victoria, to one of the secretaries of the Female Emigration Society.]

. . . I daresay you will have seen an article in the *Argus* (our leading paper) on the subject of Miss Rye's scheme. It was followed by several letters, &c. from divers people, expressing the same views; but I think that although there is apparently no demand for the emigration of governesses on a *large* scale, yet if you adhere to your present system of sending out *small* detachments of well chosen persons, *as required*, you may do great good. But let nothing induce you to send out numbers; every labour-office superintendent in Melbourne can tell you sad tales of governesses in distress, and no one would willingly add to their number. One great point in your plan is, that you appear to send out persons, who, in default of obtaining employment as governesses, can turn to household work, which is, I think, a most excellent idea. I have rarely in our Western district known families employing or requiring governesses. Society is very strangely constituted at present, but I think that when people find that the useful, practical kind of people, such as you endeavour to select, are to be had, the demand will increase. The helpless fine lady, highly accomplished, highly sensitive, is not the kind of governess fitted for this hard-working colony.

I wish you would embrace in your emigration scheme some plan for sending to us really good servants; but I suspect they are too rare, even in England, for you to wish to draught them off. I would have them sent for by special commission, to families who would undertake at once to receive them, without throwing them amongst the contaminating influences of the emigration depôt or the labour offices. If you could introduce a better class of servants it would tend to raise the tone of the whole, for the others would find they must either change their habits, or remain unemployed. We have just sent back to Melbourne, a cook, to whom we gave £40 a year, but whose habits of intoxication made her utterly unfit for a respectable situation. Really good servants are worth any money here; and now, as the rate of wages for household service still remains very high, while the price of clothes and other things is considerably less than formerly, they are really the best paid class in the community, and by remaining steadily in one place can soon lay by a good sum of money, for which there are plenty of good and paying investments. If a good competent servant comes out here, and remains steady, his or her fortune is made. On this point there is *no doubt*, and the demand for such is at present *unlimited*. Pray let me know if at any time you think I can help forward any of your undertakings, and if you can devise any scheme for sending out good servants, pray let me know at once, that we may make use of it ourselves—*general* servants are in great demand always.

Ladies,

Allow me to offer one or two observations suggested by Mrs. F. P. Fellows' able critique on M. Fechter's Hamlet. Hamlet was a philosophical, refined, and many-sided mind, placed in *impossible circumstances:* his whole philosophy and morality upset, and his spirit troubled by a ghost's coming to tell him to do an act—what an act! What would you or I have done in such a strait? Never having vacillated before, would you not vacillate then—before killing your mother's husband? Would you not have thought that ghost a trick of hell? or that you yourself were mad?

I think Shakspere's intention was to show what would be the effect of a

popular belief (if true) on an educated mind, and so he made that strange play; that confusion—so puzzling, so confounding! To me all that confusion is quite natural, *given* that terrible ghost as a reality. Mrs. Fellows seems to think the ghost and revenge all very natural; but it was not natural to Hamlet, I am sure of that. I think he felt about as Prince Albert might have done, if it had come to him on the terrace at Windsor, when he came a youth to England.

About poor Ophelia—I think Mrs. Fellows is too hard on her, for there is no doubt she must have thought her royal lover mad, if not dangerous. Any girl almost would have acted as she did. Yours, &c. B.

Ladies,

In reply to S. J. B.'s observations on my article "Choice of a Business," I beg to say that I never intended "to class together governesses and dress-makers as belonging to parallel trades," that is, trades of parallel importance or gentility. I am sorry to have been so misunderstood, and when I re-publish the article will take care to change the phrase so as to make misapprehension impossible. I classed the two employments together because they are the most overcrowded, and therefore the advice to avoid the one on that ground applies to the other. I am well aware that teachers generally belong to a high class, many being the daughters of professional men. Some, however, belong to a lower grade, the daughters of small tradesmen, and these not being gentlewomen by birth have not unfrequently, it is to be feared, become teachers for the sake of social advancement; just as men sometimes go into the church or the army for the purpose of becoming gentlemen by profession.

This is a foolish motive in the case of the teacher, at least if any more remunerative employment is open to her, because the satisfaction of being considered a lady can scarcely compensate for the many privations of a governess's life. Also, if the person is ill qualified, the action becomes positively wrong, for then she sacrifices her pupils as well as herself to an ill-judged ambition. If, however, she has a strong vocation and love of teaching, the case is at once changed; she is then of course acting rightly. I am only blaming those, who, without vocation and from an unworthy motive, enter an already overcrowded profession, to their own detriment, and to the injury of those who, having no other opening, are compelled to enter it for bread.

With regard to the second question, whether the consideration of £. *s.* *d.* ought to enter into our calculations in the choice of a business—I am decidedly of opinion that it ought and must. A few persons may have so strong a vocation for some particular employment that they will do right to dismiss such ideas, and will perhaps be happier following their own bent on a crust than earning a competence in some less congenial manner, but this is not the case with the majority; and when there is no strong preference for one business over another, the solid consideration of £. *s.* *d.* may surely be allowed to weigh. The temptations of poverty are not trifling, and should, if possible, be avoided.

One of our greatest duties is, in the words of the Catechism, "to learn and labour truly to get our own living." This is the foundation of many virtues, as the compilers of our Prayer-book perceived with their usual plain common sense. It is the special duty of young persons and children of the industrial classes thus to learn and labour, and it is the special duty of their teachers to help them so to learn. Such at least is my view.

I am, &c., Jessie Boucherett.

Ladies,

In the January number of the English Woman's Journal, the writer on the Examinations of the Society of Arts says:—"In considering these Examinations generally, two questions, among many others, make themselves

prominent. Is the system of mixed examination and classification proved to be safe and desirable?" and it is followed by the remark:—"The first question is satisfactorily answered by the Secretaries of the eleven Local Boards, under whose superintendence the female candidates of 1862 were examined." As Secretary of a Local Board where three female candidates were examined, and all of whom obtained certificates, I have no recollection of having written any opinion on the subject, nor could I have fairly done so, inasmuch as at Leeds the female candidates underwent the examination in a separate room, and therefore it could not have been termed a mixed examination. At the same time, I believe that where a separation of the sexes cannot be made there is no practical inconvenience or difficulty in having candidates of both sexes examined together. Each candidate is or ought to be isolated, no communication between any of them is permitted, and therefore if a little judgment be exercised in the arrangements, the male candidates need hardly know that there are female candidates in the room; at any rate, the latter are secure from any intrusion or interference.

Local Boards will find that the Examinations of the Society of Arts will be greatly facilitated, the number of candidates increased, and the labours of the Board lessened, by their adopting the scheme of Elementary Examinations by the Central Committee of Educational Unions in connexion with the Society of Arts. The standard is low, and therefore an encouragement to beginners; it is open to all ages and both sexes, and those above sixteen years of age who pass as Seniors require no previous examination to qualify them for the Final Examinations of the Society of Arts. At Leeds several of the successful candidates underwent this preliminary ordeal.

BARNETT BLAKE,
Secretary of the West Riding Educational Board.

[The writer of the article referred to, states that application for information was made to Mr. Pickering, who is Co-Secretary with Mr. Blake, and that a letter was received from him to the effect that no inconvenience had been experienced at Leeds, but not mentioning that the examination was held in a separate room. The examination was mixed as regards the examiners, the questions, and the classification, and these are the only points for which the advocates of mixed examinations care to contend. We have pleasure in inserting Mr. Blake's letter, as calling attention to the Elementary examination, which might, we believe, be of great use to girls whose education has been neglected. We are informed that nineteen girls passed this examination at Leeds, last year. Among them, three, who were of the required age, were passed on to the Society of Arts' examination, and took certificates there. Hitherto this scheme of preparatory examinations has been comparatively limited in its operation. We should be glad to hear of its extension to all the local centres.—ED.]

LXXIII.—PASSING EVENTS.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY LOCAL EXAMINATIONS.—The public distribution of certificates and prizes to the successful candidates for the degree of A.A. at the London examinations for 1862, took place on the 11th December, at Willis's Rooms, the Bishop of Oxford presiding. There was a numerous attendance of visitors and friends, who appeared to take great interest in the proceedings. The Bishop of Oxford delivered an eloquent introductory address. After expatiating on the value of the certificates and prizes to the competing youth—not only in supplying stimulus, but in exercising a salutary guiding influence—and on the stimulus which they likewise give to the efforts of teachers, the Bishop referred to the religious difficulties, now

happily overcome, and proceeded: "All that I have said as to stirring up the minds of pupils, all that I have said as to keeping unrelaxed the efforts of instructors, is completed by this third suggestion, that by means of examinations upon subjects which are dictated by those well qualified to dictate them, and impregnated as they now are with the light of religious truth, we are attaining the second object which I ventured to point out—that not only should we seek to quicken the desire and endeavour to strengthen the intellectual faculties and to make their powers of execution more rapid, but that we should also seek to guide the education into those channels which would ensure the utmost advantage to the student and to society. What are those advantages? I will take first what I believe to be the lowest—the material advantages. Every man who obtains a certificate has, as it were, always with him a proof that he is not an untrained or unintellectual man, but that he is an intellectually trained man. Already many of the professions receive these certificates as substitutes for what I may call the matriculation examinations which would otherwise be required of those who desired to enter those professions, in order to ascertain whether they were intellectually qualified. This applies to one department of the medical profession, and to one department of the legal profession, and certainly as these examinations become more established as a distinct institution, so will the material advantages derivable from them also extend. But that, after all, is the lowest consideration of the advantages of this institution. I say to you, my young friends—whose countenances are already framed and fashioned in a great degree by intellectual striving—after all, the great benefit is not to escape an examination here or there, but that past labour has produced in you present power, and you go forth to serve your God and your fellow-men with a capacity of usefulness which you could not have acquired if you had not honestly, laboriously, painfully passed through the training which these examinations require. That is the great thing of all. We do not want crammed men. We want young men who have honestly and fairly entered upon the intellectual struggle of life, and have proceeded step by step up the difficult ladder of intellectual acquirements. I heard the other day —and it is not too light a story to tell even here—what was the opinion of that great self-taught man, Stephenson, respecting competitive examinations of a number of persons for a particular office. He said, 'I distrust the system for this reason—that it seems to me that it will lead to an unlimited application of "cramming." It will not be a fair testing, as in a good general examination of intellectual acquirements, but it will test the immediate power of receiving as "cram" what the particular examination is to bring out, and so,' added he, 'let me give you one piece of advice—never judge of a goose by the stuffing.' Now, what we desire is opposed to 'cram.' It is to spread widely throughout the country and throughout every district a system of training and education which shall enable every honest student to rise gradually to the level which these examinations set before them."

Those of our readers who are interested in the extension to girls of the University Local Examinations, will be glad to learn that the proposal has generally been well received by the Local Committees. At many of the centres the Committees have become practically a dead letter, the whole arrangements being left to the Secretaries. In these cases it is difficult to obtain a resolution on the subject, and the Secretaries have contented themselves with expressing their own opinions, which are, for the most part, favourable. The following Resolution has been passed by the Sussex Board:—

"That this Committee will have no objection to admit female candidates to the University Local Examinations, should the Universities allow it."

From Birmingham we learn that "a Resolution was passed on the motion of Lord Lyttelton, seconded by W. L. Sargant, Esq., in favour of the general principle of the admission of girls to these examinations, subject to

the adoption of such regulations as the Committee should approve, and also to the approval of the University."

The Secretary of the London Committee (for Cambridge) reports that "a considerable majority express a favourable disposition towards the proposal, so far as its principle is concerned,—coupled in many cases with a strong desire that very great care should be taken in arranging the details and conduct of any examination at which girls as well as boys should compete." It is scarcely necessary to remark that in this desire, the promoters of the proposal most heartily concur. At several other places the consideration of the matter is deferred till the next meeting of the Local Committee.

An Industrial Home for girls has lately been opened at Ripon, having for its object to befriend poor children of good character, more especially those who are motherless, or in circumstances peculiarly requiring such aid, by training them in habits of industry, giving them instruction calculated to fit them for domestic service, &c. The inmates are to be taught reading, writing, the elements of arithmetic, needlework, cookery, washing, and all household work; the Ladies' Committee having the power to send any of them, if they think fit, to the National School. It has been remarked that Homes of this sort for motherless girls are among the best means of preventing crime and misery, and raising the standard of character among females of the poorer class. Of the girls found in our prisons and penitentiaries, the average proportion of those who have lost their mothers in early life, is seven in ten. This institution is more particularly intended for residents within fifty miles of Ripon, but it has been considered that, in consequence of the distress in the cotton manufacturing districts, none have a more urgent claim for admission into it, at the present time, than girls from distressed families in that part of the country. More than twenty girls therefore, from those districts, have been accepted as inmates of the Home, for the next six months at least. The terms of admission are, the nomination of a subscriber of one guinea, and the payment of three shillings a week. The age is from nine to fourteen. The premises of the Home will afford accommodation for the operation of the Ripon Needlework Society, as well as of the Industrial and Invalid kitchen for supplying cheap food to the poor in winter, and to the sick throughout the year, and also for the female classes. So far as the capacity of the Home will permit, and at the discretion of the Ladies Committee, ladies who may be inclined to take up their abode there for a time, and employ themselves in the instruction and training of the inmates, or in visiting among the poor, will be boarded and lodged at a reasonable rate.

Memorial at Florence to Mrs. Browning.—"Grateful Florence" has placed a handsome marble slab in the wall of the house in which Mrs. Barrett Browning lived for so many years. The slab bears an inscription in Italian, of which the following is a translation:—"Here wrote and died Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who, in her woman's heart, united the wisdom of a sage and the spirit of a poet, and who made of her verse a golden link between Italy and England."

The Rev. A. J. D. D'Orsey, in a recent lecture, recommends, as a means of improving the English language, "the establishment of a normal seminary for nursery governesses in every large town. The pupils to be trained should be carefully chosen. They should be free of any personal or mental disqualification; cheerful in disposition, 'apt to teach,' with good voices and distinct articulation. Their course should consist chiefly in learning methods, and in acquiring a pure and perfectly accurate pronunciation. Such instructresses would readily command employment at remunerative salaries."

The exhibition of works of art, chiefly by amateur artists, for the benefit of the Lancashire operatives, has been, so far, a great success. We understand that within four or five days of the opening of the Exhibition, pictures had been sold to the amount of £1,400, and this sum will be clear gain. It is expected that the expenses will be covered by the receipts from admission.