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OF

PHRENOLOGY;

TO CONSIST OF

ARTICLES FROM THE EDINBURGH, PARIS, AND LONDON PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNALS, AND OF SUCH ORIGINAL PAPERS AS MAY BE SELECTED AND APPROVED.

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ART. VII.—*On the Study of Human Nature, as a branch of Popular Education.*

THE past history of man, we are all in the habit of admitting to be a record of inconsistencies and errors. The admission, indeed, seems rather to soothe than to disturb our self-complacency. We find something pleasing in our implied superiority, when we sit in judgment on our predecessors, censuring each successive generation, and forgetful how closely we are acting over the same scenes, and how soon we are destined to become subject in turn to the same tribunal. It is well, now and then, to change our procedure, to look upon ourselves in the light in which posterity will view us, and to enquire whether ours may not prove a history of paradox, and we be found as much mistaken in our estimate of our own acquirements, as we know our predecessors have been in theirs. The view may not be agreeable to our Self-Esteem, but it is not therefore the less useful. The zealous liberal, who, on either side of the Atlantic, lavishes his ink in support of equal rights and ultra-democracy, and in the same breath upholds the despotism of Napoleon; the agitator who alarms John Bull with his fearful tales of the burdens of the assessed taxes, while he applauds his Issachar-like patience under the weightier matters of the excise and customs; the legislators who

have immortalized themselves by spending thousands of the public money on the exact settlement of the last cent of an appropriation item;—what judgment may the statesmen and economists of another age be expected to give of their consistency?

But it is not with mistakes of this class that we have at present to deal. There are others, less suspected indeed, but not less important in their results on the public. We live in a time, when much, though by no means too much, attention is directed to the subject of education, and we are continually boasting of our own doings in this respect. We contrast the difficulty-making system, once the glory of our teachers, with the labor-saving machinery of our present schools, and the still more accommodating spirit of their conductors. We talk of popular, as opposed to scholastic education, and insist on the necessity of teaching a few, at least, of the useful realities of life, instead of making a school course what it once was, a mere matter of words and names. In the olden time, say the eulogists of present fashions, it was maintained that obstacles in the way of knowledge were but so many blessings in disguise to those whose fate led them along its dry and steep ascent; and religiously would the pedagogue preserve, if indeed in the sincerity of his faith he did not at times increase, its time-honored inequalities, lest the energies of the pupil's mind should be too little overtasked at each successive step. Hence the everlasting labors of the spelling-lesson, the undirected though not unpunished operations of the copy-book, the mysteries of the 'Rule of Three,' the difficulties of the 'Pons Asinorum,' the ambiguity and intricacy of the English grammar, and, worse than all, the superadded dog-latin of the 'propria quæ maribus' and lexicon. Nor was the region, thus roughly traversed, of itself the most inviting. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and grammar, each taught after a fashion, were the components of an English education, and more was never thought of except by the few whom their friends' or their own choice engaged in literary or professional pursuits: while even to these few an acquaintance with some of the abstruser

results of Euclid's axioms, with the pedantry of the so-called learned languages, and with the absurd and often disgusting legends of their mythology and history, a passing glance at some marvellously short abridgment of Aristotle's logic, and a smattering of what was styled Mental Philosophy, were held out as the highest achievements of the liberally educated. We have changed all this, they tell us. Reading, both as regards its orthoepy and its elocution, is fast becoming a tolerable, if not actually an attractive task. Teachers of penmanship engage already to convert, as if by magic, their pupils into masters in a day; and, quackery apart, there are those of them whose pretensions are but a trifle less extravagant, and who actually redeem their pledges. Our new elementary books of Arithmetic Geometry, and Grammar, have changed the entire aspect of affairs in their departments, and our scholars now seem to travel happily as on a rail-road of the newest and most approved construction. Still further, a new world of knowledge, so to speak, has been opened to us, and by its means, many of our old acquirements, before esteemed of little value, have become available for the most important uses. Natural Philosophy in its various departments is made the sequel to the less directly useful branches of the pure Mathematics, and has indeed in its outlines become a source of popular amusement to many who have never mastered the abstrusities of the introduction. The observation too of the world around us has given origin to a host of other sciences, each at once practical and interesting; and the external features of our globe, its internal structure, its various productions, vegetable and animal, are all examined and reasoned on with enthusiasm and success. The pursuit of the living languages, again, has been added to that of the dead, and has brought to our knowledge new literatures, abounding many of them in works not surpassed, perhaps not equalled, by any of the wonders of Rome or Greece. All this, and more too, we are told, has been effected, and we often seem disposed to sit down in quiet exultation, content to follow on in the tracks already opened, without once inquiring if

there may not be still other pursuits, equally if not even more important, to which our attention might advantageously be directed.

In this our combination of zeal for the advancement and diffusion of our favored sciences, with indifference to the addition of others to their catalogue, is there not an inconsistency, and one which we ought by all means to be willing to remove? It is our present object to show that there is, and that it concerns us nearly, that we lose no time in undertaking its removal. That much has been done of late to improve education, that most of what is now taught, (always of course excepting those of our institutions, whom a reverence for antiquity has prevented from giving way to modern innovation) is eminently useful, that the mode of teaching it is in the main good, and that to return towards the older landmarks would be to change for the worse;—all this we are as ready as any to admit. Our position is, that there exists a wide field, to which the great body of our teachers never for a moment look, but which, if properly attended to, could not fail of producing even more good fruit than that on which our efforts have as yet been expended. 'These things ought ye to have done, but not to leave the other undone.'

When we have succeeded in giving to our architects and linguists their due amount of mathematical and literary schooling, with the smallest possible expense of time and money, have we done all that should be done to fit them for their several pursuits? They have each a nature of their own, which it will be theirs, as the case may be, to improve or neglect; are they, under the existing system, in the least instructed in regard to it? Some things are conducive to, others destructive of, corporeal health: have they been urged to study the organization of the body, and the laws which determine its relations of health or disease, that they may obey those laws, and reap the advantages of obedience? They have natural impulses or feelings, ever urging them to action of one kind or another: have we taught them any thing in regard to those feelings, so that they may recognize them in their results on themselves or others, and may so combine and modify them as

to make them ever the ministers of good, rather than of evil? They have intellectual powers:—do they know their range and character, or the laws by which their improvement and discipline is by the Creator's fiat regulated? As members of society, have they learnt the nature of their duties to its other members, in their several capacities of sons or fathers, friends or strangers? As citizens, have they any knowledge of the modes of operating with advantage on their fellows, of the principles of reasoning, teaching, legislation, &c., in ignorance of which, they must of necessity be perpetually the dupes of their own whims, or of their neighbors' cunning? As beings to whom is addressed what purports to be a revelation from their Maker of his will in regard to them, have they, that they might understand its messages, been instructed to compare them with the character and circumstances of those to whom they have been sent; and have they, by such comparison, been shown, what without it cannot be fully shown, the perfect fitness of the message, the nature of the duties it imposes on them, and the mode in which its advantages may be best conveyed to others? We are not to be understood as saying, that there is *literally nothing* done in these respects. Our charge is simply this, that what has been done is very little, and that, generally speaking, even our educationists are making no exertions for its increase. If this charge be true — nay, if *any* of these branches of education be neglected in our present system, (and surely no one can deny that they are) then we maintain that to be indifferent to such an extension of the system as will embrace them, and to be all the while indefatigable in our efforts to learn and teach the size and color of a pebble, leaf, or spider, is an inconsistency as glaring as any of those, for which we laugh at or condemn our forefathers.

What class, then, of our institutions can, *as such*, claim exemption from the charge? How stands the case with our colleges? In many of them, no doubt, there are chairs of Anatomy and Physiology, and these chairs are filled by talented and active teachers; but their talents and activity are in general required only as conducive to professional instruction, and their departments are

not acknowledged to be among those absolutely necessary to the strictly collegiate course. These studies should be presented to every student as in the very highest rank of relative importance; but instead of this we find them, perhaps, not even holding the first place in the professional course, and certainly with hardly any place at all beyond it. The results we need not dwell upon. Complaints are common of the short lives of the educated class, of the almost uniform degeneracy of their children, and of the long list of diseases, hereditary or otherwise, which embitter the existence both of child and parent. These things should not be: we may even venture to say, they could not be, but for the operation of a system which gives a man more knowledge of every other object in nature than of himself.

If from these we turn to the Metaphysical studies, as they have been styled, which are connected with the inquiry into human nature what rank do we find them commonly, we do not say, quite uniformly, occupying? Intellectual and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric even,—these departments, it is notorious, can hardly so much as hold their own in the Curriculum, and are utterly inadequate to any extension of their influence. There are exceptions to the rule, cases where the talent of an individual incumbent has rendered one or other of them for a time attractive, but in ordinary cases, are they not regarded almost as the crumbling ruins of an exploded system, venerable from their age, but wholly useless? Is not the attention paid to them looked on as a sort of penance, to be duly undergone for the sake of a degree, and imposed for no better reason than that it always used to be imposed? A large class of our reformers already call for their abandonment, and some of our most respectable institutions seem to have actually yielded to the call. The new university in London (and its youth in no slight degree makes it a fair index of the fashionable creed on this subject) has no chair of Moral Philosophy at all, and we believe not even of Rhetoric. Whately, in terms not to be misunderstood, deplores the odium under which both Rhetoric and Logic have fallen, even in Oxford, whose adherence

to the good OLD ways has not yet suffered her to give them up to their unpopularity. In this country the case is little, if at all, better. Many of our colleges do scarcely anything, all of them do much too little, to direct the current to its proper course. A few months over a text-book, recited, *almost* everywhere, literatim, and without note or comment from the teacher, a few lectures *possibly*, a rarely recurring and but half systematized exercise in composition,—and this is all. Years are devoted entire to the Languages and Mathematics; weeks are doled out sparingly to the sciences, whose foundation is the philosophy of man, and whose results bear obviously and directly on all his dearest interests. Other sciences are useful: we make no complaint against our colleges that they are too much or too well taught: we claim only a pre-eminence for these. This pre-eminence has not been given them. Some may allow more to them than others, but none are liberal enough. There are degrees, but they are degrees of error.

But we shall be reminded, that, whatever may be the state of these older departments, there are others, the results of more modern study, to which more attention is directed; Jurisprudence, for instance, and Political Economy. We answer, that attention to these no more makes up for inattention to the former, than the study of the differential and integral calculus would for the omission of the elements of Algebra. It is on man *as he is*, in other words, it is on his intellectual and moral faculties as given by his Maker, that all the experiments of legislation or persuasion are to be made; and it is by the laws which regulate the reasoning process, the great principles which distinguish truth from error, that the propriety of each experiment must be tested. If the experimenter is in ignorance of the qualities on which he has to operate, and of the rules by which his operations should be guided, do we wonder at his failures? As the case stands, need we wonder that in these departments, thus detached from those which should serve as their foundation, there is found so much of doubt and contradiction as to lead many to look on them and their professors with mistrust? But, waiving for the moment this radical

flaw in their constitution, let us ask what is the real amount of attention which, in our colleges, is commonly allotted to them? In the majority, the answer might almost be given—*None.* Not that we do not often hear of recitations from some text-book, more or less connected with one or other of them, but that, while they ought to rank as *practical sciences*, as matters of real and deep concern to every man *as such*, they are in fact neglected, and thrown in rather as the trifling amusement of the last months of a college life, than as an essential to the political training of the citizen. The time given to them, so far from being a compensation for time not given to other things, is actually unequal to their own requirements.

History again, the record of the past phenomena of human nature, the philosophy of man as taught by the examples of successive ages — is there any exception to be made in regard to it? As in other branches, so in this we have, no doubt, some teaching; but we have also some considerable deficiences, both of mode and quantity. If a text-book, written, so to speak, prior to the very birth of philosophical history, and which records little more than names and dates too numerous for any recollection, be indeed a sufficient summary, from which to learn the answers of the only oracle that can inform us of the fate of nations, if a few hours carelessly or grudgingly devoted at the outset of a college course, be time enough to extract those answers, then indeed, we may be satisfied with matters as they are. If, on the other hand, such arrangements do not meet the emergencies of the case; if it is required of us in our teaching to reform alike the object and the means; to aim at illustrating principles, rather than at recounting dates, and to do this, by inducing to continued study and reflection, instead of forcing to occasional exertions of memory, we ought rather to be anxious to remove the charge of error from ourselves, than to speak boastfully of improvements elsewhere made by others. Abroad there are, no doubt, colleges, where the proper importance has been given to this pursuit, though even there, in the want of accordance between the regular theory of the mental

philosopher, and the practical applications of the historian, may be seen one of the many evidences that, to the mass of the world at least, the philosophy of man is still in expectation. Here we have not yet gone so far; if we had, we should most likely hear less than we do of the liberty and virtue of the Roman, the chivalry and honor of the middle ages, and other fictions, which the near relationship of the unknown to the magnificent, has so long imposed on us.

On the theological deductions from the study of man, a similar remark may be required. It is true, that most, though unfortunately not all, of our institutions have adopted measures much like those already spoken of, for inculcating the great arguments of natural theology, and that in some the course is even carried out to the discussion of the analogies which nature offers in support of revelation; but we never hear of the systematic discussion of these subjects, based on the whole length and breadth of the philosophy of man, and pursued in all its details with the caution and interest of men, who are examining the most important questions that can be presented for their decision. The theology of the undergraduate is an episode in his college life. In its source it is hardly traceable to the philosophy he has learnt, and in its results it is represented in too slight a connexion with his own immediate character and interests. Hence, in a great degree, arises his too common neglect of it. To be made efficient, as its Author surely meant it should be made, it must be otherwise presented. It must be raised to its proper dignity, supported as the necessary result of sound philosophy, and urged on the attention as the highest object of existence. Here, as elsewhere, our whole procedure needs reform; it is only that we ourselves are blind to its necessity.

If then our collegiate system is deficient in all these respects, is the exception to be made out for our schools, public or private? A word or two will suffice in answer. 'Mutato *nomine*, de te:' — the same particular reservations, the same general complaints have to be repeated. A few schools might be found, no doubt,

where deficiency on this point is scarcely to be observed; but in the great mass of them, all, from first to last, is wanting. A change is happily beginning to appear; there is a moving 'on the face of the waters,' a general feeling among our better class of teachers, that something is wanting to make their teaching what it should be. The 'Child's Book on the Soul,' as an attempt to introduce our youngest pupils to some knowledge of their mental nature, and 'The House I live in,' as a similar attempt to draw their attention to their bodily constitution, are favorable omens. The class books of Political Economy, History, Anatomy, and Physiology, designed for our older pupils, though widely differing from one another in style and ability, are yet all valuable, as introductory and conducive to a new and happier era in education. Still with all this, it must yet be granted, that almost without exception, our students, from those of the town school up to those who after seven or eight years of university reading, pass on to the continued studies of professional life, are, to all practical intents and purposes, left ignorant of that which it most nearly concerns them all to know,—their own nature.

These things, we repeat it, ought not to be. The omission thus almost complete and universal, is a fatal one, and threatens more of mischief to society, than all our other improvements, useful as they are, promise to it of good. We are making all our physical knowledge and education contribute to our ease and wealth, without once asking how that ease and wealth, so highly prized, will in its turn affect ourselves. Other nations have fallen under the effects of wealth: we never inquire how we are to escape their fate. Are factories, rail-roads, and steam-engines the only business of life? Is it no concern of ours how we are discharging our duties to our fellows or our country? Surely, we should do well to recollect, that our acts have their influence on others: nay more, that the acts of others influence ourselves; that our government and freedom, the very security of our property itself, is dependent on these influences; and that, whenever the mass of the people are too ignorant of their own interests, in

other words, of their own nature, to be able and willing to maintain for us these blessings, they must fall. How then are we to improve the people, for our own security even, if we know neither ourselves, nor them, nor human nature generally,—if we understand neither our instruments, nor our material, nor our model? We must lose no time in this matter, if we would remove the already too apparent evils which have sprung from past neglect. Our institutions, to judge from signs which can hardly be mistaken, are even now in danger. Opinions, the wildest and most extravagant in their conception, and the most dangerous in their results, yet find firm and numerous supporters. No experiment is too rash, no change too violent, to have its advocates. Whichever way we look, whether to our moral, or political, or religious controversies, we see still the same scene. Every inch of ground contested, not to say removed from under us, no common principle admitted, no common object aimed at, — we have surely little cause enough for exulting in the certainty of our physical knowledge, in view of the all-pervading insecurity of our moral systems. A better state of things must be produced. It is not at our option to withhold assistance from the effort, as from some idle fancy of a dreamer's benevolence. The most benevolent course is in this case the most selfish, the only one, indeed, which can benefit ourselves. In order to the individual's happiness, others must be happy; and the lowest as strongly as the highest motives urge on us the necessity of exertion for this object. We would have ourselves and our neighbors enjoying health, rather than trying to remove disease; we would see all acting in their several relations well and wisely, for the good of all, not constantly, by ignorance or rashness, prejudicing the common interest. To effect this, we must at once apply the only remedy for our present evils; we must acquire for ourselves, and induce others to acquire, a knowledge of themselves,—of human nature.

But some one will say that this view of our existing means of knowledge is a partial one; that an important item in the list has

been omitted; and, that after all, the reformation may not be so urgently required as we have represented. Do we not, (we shall be asked,) make up in after life for these alleged deficiencies in our earlier training? Experience is worth more than precept, and he who would be practically master of these subjects, will do better to exercise his common sense upon the open pages of the world, than to pore over the sealed volumes of the schools. To all this we answer by putting the same question to our objectors. Will the engineer whose reliance is thus confident on common sense to guide him in his intercourse with man, in his notions of education, politics, &c., give equal confidence to the same guide in his own profession? Will he tell his pupil that he had better study languages, and botany, and chemistry; but that for mathematics and all that, he may trust to his own untaught common sense, when he comes to the practice of his profession? Does the sailor trust to common sense in navigation, the general in the art of war, the antiquarian in detecting medals, or decyphering manuscripts, or the physician in the treatment of disease? They may require, they do require it in their practice, but they require also more: they know that a systematic thorough knowledge of all that can be taught of their several professions is the first thing to be gained; that this is the material on which common sense must operate, and that without this knowledge common sense is, indeed, what the satirist has called it, the least common of the senses. Each may rely on their blind guide for the paths of which he himself is ignorant, but no one of them will trust to his guidance in his own. All men, in fact, on those subjects where they are qualified to be judges, decide at once for regular, in preference to accidental teaching; and the inference is plain, that no consent, however universal, of men who on any one point are not judges, to set aside the principle in that instance, can have weight to reverse the sentence. We apply the inference to the study of Human Nature. Those who know nothing of it, may not be aware how much they have to learn, and may not therefore think how much better it is to teach it systematically, than to leave it to be learnt or not by each pupil, as the case may

be: but those who have devoted themselves to it, (and it is their opinion we must take,) determine otherwise. With them, the amount to be acquired is great, and training, careful and long-continued, is insisted on as necessary for its acquisition. Some may do much without it, others little with it. This is not the point. We do not profess by education to create, but only to improve and cultivate. There are very few too low for improvement; but beyond this point, there are none to whom teaching is not serviceable. The highest talents will be raised by education; and every degree of talent will be only the better raised by it, in proportion to the completeness and system with which it is communicated. Like every other branch of science, the philosophy of man, to be generally understood, must be regularly taught, or our present amount of teaching fails to attain its object. The reform is needed: the only question is, how it may be best effected.

By the philosophical mind, nothing is ever ascribed to chance. Every effect is referred to its antecedent; and the only way proposed for altering or confirming it, is to ascertain, and act upon the circumstances which have produced it. If in the physical world derangements happen, the first step to be taken towards their remedy, is to learn their cause,—the second, to remove it. The case is the same in the moral world. Before attempting a reform, we must see clearly where it is to begin; in other words, we must account for its necessity, assign to each abuse its cause, and then proceed to its correction. Any hastier procedure is empirical, and must fail of accomplishing its object.

Why then, we ask, have these studies been hitherto so little thought of in our schemes of education? It cannot be that their pursuit is an unnecessary, and therefore useless tax on the attention of our scholars. We have seen, already, that their results, if rightly gained, must, from the very nature of the case, be the foundation of all our practical sciences in regard to man; that they are, in fact, to all, in their capacity as men and citizens, what geology is to the miner, mathematics to the engineer, or

natural philosophy to the machinist; that without them, a man is no more qualified to the full discharge of his public and private duties, than a blacksmith would be to his business, if he had not learnt the qualities of iron, or the uses of the forge; and that to be thoroughly acquainted with them, regular, and not accidental teaching, is as much required, as in any other branch of education. Can it then be the case that this is a department which admits of no such thing as thorough knowledge, which cannot be reduced to system, or elevated to the rank of science? To judge from the expressions of a large class, even of our educated men, one might almost conclude it to be so. We hear of anti-theorists, *practical men* par-excellence, who reject all systematic views of human nature, all far-fetched references to general principles, and who look only to experience, (that is to say, their own experience,) for direction in every emergency. We see these men trusted by the many as safe counsellors, while the few, whose decisions are given on more general grounds, whose experience is more extensive, who are in fact the more practical, because the more philosophical and better informed class, are set aside by these empirics, and disqualified for credit by the magical name of theorists. To conduct a chemical analysis, we select the practised and educated chemist, not the dabbler, whose knowledge consists only of a few crude notions, picked up accidentally; for the superintendence of a canal or rail-road, we require a thorough engineer, not a common road-surveyor: why are we not consistent throughout? Theory is the result of long experience, properly expressed. On every other subject we insist on its necessity; why should this be the exception? Is man the single object in creation, whose nature is incapable of systematic description? We are fond of exulting in his superiority over other beings. Surely this is not the quality in which his superiority consists. We must look to some other cause for an explanation of our inconsistency.

Are we then to ascribe it to the incapacity of those who have made the effort to remove it, to a general want of ability in the mental and moral philosophers of our schools? Successful or un-

successful in their effort, there cannot be a doubt, that, as a class, they have been, to say the least, equal to any other of our literati. If 'the race had been to the swift, or the battle to the strong,' they must have won it. Why then have they failed? Some may say, that they have not failed, that they have interested and improved themselves by their pursuits, and that if others have slighted their speculations, the fault lies with the public, not with them. We answer, that, with such a subject, not to have interested others is to have failed. It cannot be, that the true philosophy of man has been so long, and so well presented to intelligent men, and so long neglected by them as useless. Are any of the physical sciences thus treated? Is there one in ten of those, who read the metaphysics of the schools, who ever give them a thought in after-life? The sentence of the literary world has been long given, and is past recall. The whole system is a failure, not indeed from want of power in its supporters, but from radical defects in its own construction. To ensure success, able men must labor in the right way. In this case, able men have failed, and the fault is to be attributed, not to themselves, nor to their subject, but to their mode of operation.

If we refer to history we shall find abundant confirmation of this view. Before the time of Bacon, there was the same confusion in the physical, as we now find in the moral sciences; * and the

* We have spoken here and in other passages, of the sciences, as divided into physical and moral; meaning by the former, those which inquire into external nature, and by the latter, those which embody our knowledge of our own. The expressions thus used, though common, and on the score of brevity, convenient, are not, however, perfectly correct. Mackintosh has perhaps best defined them; though in ordinary, and frequently even in philosophical language, his distinction between them is not preserved. The physical sciences, he tells us, are those which answer the question, '*what is?*' the moral sciences, those which tell '*what ought to be.*' In this sense, Anatomy, Physiology, and Phrenology, (properly so called,) all rank with the physical sciences, as much as Botany, or Chemistry. Anatomy tells us *what is* the conformation of the body; Physiology, *what is* the use of its several parts; Phrenology, *what is* the constitution of the mind. On these are based the strictly moral sciences connected with man. Hygiene, for instance, is the doctrine of *what ought to be*

explanation of that confusion, which that philosopher arrived at, and by means of which he was led to the reform he effected in regard to it, was precisely that which we now offer for the still remaining confusion of the other branch of knowledge. 'Whence,' he asks, 'can arise such vagueness and sterility in all the physical systems, which have hitherto existed in the world? It is not, certainly, from anything in nature itself; for the steadiness and regularity of the laws by which it is governed, clearly mark them out as objects of certain and precise knowledge. Neither can it arise from any want of ability in those who have pursued such inquiries, many of whom have been men of the highest talent and genius, of the ages in which they lived; and it can, therefore, arise from nothing else but the perverseness and insufficiency of the methods that have been pursued.' Substitute the word 'moral' for 'physical,' in this extract, and we have the authority of Bacon for our inference.

The same high authority, which thus determines the cause of our past failures, furnishes us also with the means of avoiding

the condition of his body; Ethics, of *what ought to be* his feeling and judgment of right and wrong; Natural Theology of *what ought to be* his religious feelings and perceptions; the philosophy of Taste is the statement of *what ought to be* his perception of the beautiful; Logic, of *what ought to be* his perception of truth and error. The number of the moral sciences thus belonging to Anthropology, is, it will be seen, considerable, and no small portion of them have not uncommonly been otherwise classed. Even this definition of the term 'moral,' however, is open to objections. Some other word would be preferable. In nothing, indeed, has science generally been so defective, as in its nomenclature and classification. Phrenology has effected in the physical department of the science of the human mind, the reform which the Linnæan system has introduced in Botany. It has given significant names to all the faculties yet ascertained, and it has arranged them in practical and obvious principle. Its operation has to be extended further. The several moral inquiries founded on it, must be classed and named according to the faculties to whose action they have reference. The limits of a note however are insufficient for more than a hint on this point.

In the text, as we have observed, the laxity of the more popular language has been allowed; the true distinction between the terms 'physical' and 'moral' being immaterial as regards the matter there discussed. It would be more correct, though less convenient, to substitute 'anthropological' for the latter, and the 'sciences relative to external nature,' for the former.

their recurrence. 'As things are at present conducted,' he observes, (still speaking of the natural philosophers of his own time, and using language in regard to them, which may easily be referred to the mental philosophers of our own,) — 'as things are at present conducted, a sudden transition is made from sensible objects and particular facts to general propositions, which are accounted principles, and round which, as round so many fixed poles, disputation and argument continually revolve. From the propositions thus hastily assumed, all things are derived, by a process compendious, and precipitate, ill suited to discovery, but wonderfully accommodated to debate. The way that promises success is the reverse of this. It requires that we should generalize slowly, going from particular things to those which are but one step more general; from these to others of still greater extent, and so on to such as are universal. By such means we may hope to arrive at principles, not vague and obscure, but luminous and well-defined, such as nature herself would not refuse to acknowledge.'

We say, then, that the present state of the sciences which treat immediately of man, is precisely that, which, according to Bacon, characterized the sciences of external nature in his time. Our comparatively fashionable systems of human nature are at once vague in their details, and barren in their results: their supporters, though few in number, are yet men of the highest talent, and their failure to work out a clear, precise, and practical system from the abundant materials which nature offers them, is a result of the insufficiency of the mode they have adopted in their operations. This insufficiency can be illustrated, only by entering somewhat into detail.

In the first place, then, a large portion of our philosophers have given a wrong direction to their inquiries. They regard all science as an *explanation* of the phenomena of nature, and therefore aim at *explaining* by their systems the phenomena of man. Now, in one sense of the word '*explain*,' this definition is correct, in another, it is not so. Natural philosophy may be

said to explain the fall of an apple, or astronomy the revolution of the planets, by referring to the law of gravitation; but when this reference has been made and admitted, what more do we know of the *real cause* or *nature* of the phenomenon than we did before? Nothing. The natural philosopher will tell us, and tell us rightly, that his science cannot *explain* the fact in this way; that it collects and analyzes particular facts to arrange them under general laws, but that of the essential nature of the objects presented to its scrutiny, as well as of the proximate cause of the changes to which they are subject, it knows, and can know, nothing. Thus the chemist arranges, by an analysis of their qualities, certain objects under the class of acids, and another set under that of alkalies; and he tells us the general law that their combination with one another produces a certain result, which he describes and names. But if you ask him to *explain* the qualities of either, or the fact of their neutralizing one another, he cannot do it. He can go no further than his facts. Analysis and classification are the whole explanation he can offer. The case is the same in every other department. The grass grows, water finds its level, heat is communicated from one body to another: we can collect and arrange the facts of nature, on all these points, and speak of general laws, and so on; but this is the limit of our science. We can in no single instance, strictly speaking, *explain* the laws, and we therefore wisely turn our attention elsewhere, and labor only to learn and apply them.

Do our mental philosophers observe this distinction? We find them, for example, at variance among themselves, in regard to the nature of the mind. One class insists on its immateriality, the other argues its dependence on material organization, and each denounces the other as the holder of a fearful heresy. Suppose, now, that our naturalists were to give their attention to the discussion whether vegetable life is a result of an immaterial principle, or of material organs, and were to neglect the study of the organs themselves, and of the various plants which exhibit them, where would be their science? The answer may be drawn

from history. The time has been, when they did thus act, and the science of botany dates from the period, when they reversed their procedure. So it is with the philosophy of man. We can know no more of the immateriality of the mind, than we can of the materiality of the body, and that is nothing. The naturalist can tell us neither *what matter is*, nor *how* its changes are produced; neither can the metaphysician define *mind*, or account for its phenomena. Both must collect their facts, and keep to them soberly. Any theory, on whatever subject, which pretends to more than an arrangement of facts, is a useless exercise of human ingenuity, not a valuable contribution to human science.

Again; our students of human nature are in many respects much too hasty and partial in their conclusions. They go too much on a principle of subdivision, separating from one another connected branches of knowledge, and assigning their prosecution to particular classes. Thus our educationists and politicians seldom look for any system of philosophy, intellectual, moral, or religious, by which to estimate their plans for human improvement or government. Even our moralists and theologians, so called, too frequently frame their systems without reference to those collected facts, which throw light on the mental constitution, and which ought, therefore, to form the basis of their speculations. The mental philosopher, in return, takes no thought, in his inquiries, of the wants of his fellow-laborers, who should be building on his foundation, and for whom he should be collecting the material. Nay, among those whose pursuits are confined to what may be termed the *physical* or *natural* departments of the science of man, in contradistinction to its speculative and practical departments, there is found the same disunion and indifference to one another's studies. The anatomist pursues his process of distinguishing between and naming the several portions of the body, without reference to the physiologist, whose province is to ascertain their uses. The physiologist, again, inquires diligently into the functions of the body generally, its bones, muscles, blood-vessels, &c: he even goes so far as to analyze its nervous system, its powers of

voluntary motion, and of sensation; but, beyond this, generally speaking, he does not venture. From nerves of voluntary motion, to nervous organs for the mental feelings, from nerves of sense, to nervous organs for the intellectual powers, is an easy and natural gradation; but he does not take the step. The physiology of the brain is left in obscurity, and the philosophy of the mind is consigned to the metaphysical observer. He, in return, exhibits the same professional courtesy. Bodily organs for the mental powers are not looked for by him. Man was created, we are told, 'out of the dust of the earth, and there was breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul.' Our philosophers divide what in his creation was joined together. One examines the body without the mind; the other speculates about the mind, without once thinking of the body. Nor is this the whole. The metaphysician studies man as if he were the sole inhabitant of the earth, instead of being one of a vast multitude of species, and 'having dominion' only, over all the rest. Man is fond of fancying himself unique, subject to no laws but such as relate wholly to himself; but this fancy is an error, and must be corrected before he can proceed far in the process of self-discovery. He is peculiar, no doubt; but no peculiarity can be known unless by comparison and contrast. To resolve even the simple problem which meets us almost at the threshold of our philosophy, as to the distinguishing characteristics of our species, we must have studied it, not alone, but in close connexion with the other works of the Creator. All this, however, is left to the naturalist, and the naturalist stops short on the same frontier, studying all but man, and leaving him to other. We may, indeed, trace the lines of demarcation farther. The metaphysician will not even occupy the whole field of observation offered him by his own species. He takes but an individual of it. '*Self*-observation,' '*internal* consciousness,' is referred to, as the sole foundation of his system of philosophy. It is for the biographer to contemplate and describe his neighbors, and for the historian to discuss the varieties of national disposition: all this tedious process may safely

be neglected by the philosopher. The old proverb, 'many men, many minds,' is dispensed with in his favor, and he is required only to closet himself for his own likeness, to be drawn by his own hand, and then published as the unvarying type and pattern of his species. The historian, or biographer, is, of course, at liberty to take his own or any other type he pleases, or none at all, if he likes that course better; so that while our theories, thus partially constructed, take no note of the varieties of human character, our actual records of those varieties are in practice so drawn up, as to contribute little or no material for creating any sounder system.*

Now, in all this, we say nothing against the true principle of the division of labor. No man is wise at all times, or on all subjects. It is not necessary that every one should aim at making discoveries of his own in every department at once. It is well enough that one should be an anatomist, or physiologist, another an observer of the mind, and a third be devoted to historical researches; that different classes should select morals, religion, and taste, as the subjects of their several speculations; and that other classes still should undertake to reduce all to practice by teaching or legislation. All this is, so far, as it should be. One is better fitted for success in one department, another in another. The fault lies in their non-intercourse, not in their original separation. The surveyor of a public work makes one set of his workmen dig and bring materials, another set design, another execute, and of each set he assigns his subdivisions to the particular sections of his work; but does he, for the sake of a division of labor, tell them each to work without regard to their fellows? The materials are provided with a view to the design; the design is regulated by the materials, and directs the mode of execution; the execution is de-

* Welsh, in his life of Dr. Brown, tells us that his course of lectures was composed at the rate of a lecture a day, each during the day before its delivery. They were never materially altered afterwards. Brown was at the time a young man, and, with such rapidity, it is wonderful that he should have brought together so much valuable matter as his system contains. How striking a contrast does the history of Phrenology furnish!

pendent upon both; the most distant sections of the work proceed with constant reference to one another. True, the labor is divided among many, but the many are kept in communication, more or less direct: their efforts tend to the same result, and the strength of the laborers is in their union. Now, there is none, or next to none of this among our philosophical laborers. One class gives itself no concern about the successes of another. The practical man cares nothing for the rise and fall of theories; the speculator gives himself no trouble to look at the practical working of his schemes; the collector of knowledge neither seeks to know its uses, nor to bring them about. There is a great work to be effected, — the improvement of man; but it is lost sight of in the multiplicity of its details, even by most of those who are engaged in it. They have divided the work so completely as to forget its real unity, and are each idly thinking to do all themselves, by working at some odd corner of it, instead of all combining with each other to carry on all parts together.

It is owing mainly to this cause, that so many clashing theories of man, so many opposite schemes for educating and governing him, have been at different times brought forward by men, themselves in all respects competent to solve the problems which these inquiries suggest. So long, indeed, as this cause continues to operate, the same result must follow. On the basis of internal consciousness, one man, with great honesty of feeling, and comparatively less of reflective power, founds the doctrine of a moral sense, acting instinctively, as an integral part of himself, and hence of all men; another, with less of the feeling, and more of reflection, on the same principle denies its existence, and maintains a doctrine of utility. The benevolent man is apt to refer all honesty to kindness and good feeling; the religious man, to the influence of a creed; the ambitious, to the operation of society. Here, again, we see a philosopher dwelling on the insufficiency of the evidence for the existence of external nature; there, another declaring his entire satisfaction with it. The one is of a reflective rather than of an observing turn; and, because unable to supply his

want of observation by reasoning, rejects the evidence of his senses altogether; the other is an observer, and, because his observing powers cannot do what belongs to the reflective, takes the directly opposite course, and laughs at speculations really true, though brought forward by his antagonist a little out of place. A third, whose mental constitution is, so to speak, more symmetrical, sees the fallacy of both, and gives a divided empire, reason and observation, the two sources of his own belief. There is no end to such diversities of doctrine. As matters stand, it is the great business of each of our public teachers to pull down the conclusions of their predecessors, that they may erect their own instead of them. This procedure will continue till each philosopher is taught to widen the field of his observation, so as to embrace not only the peculiarities of an individual, but those of all men in all ages and places to which history refers, —the entire range of the phenomena presented by his species, as contrasted with those of other animals, and viewed in connexion with those other varieties of a corporeal nature, which are also observed between them. This is no more than is attempted by the naturalist in his department. When a theory, or, in other words, a systematic natural history of man, is raised on this wide and deep foundation, it will be found to serve the purpose of our speculative moralists, and also of our practical men; and they, instead of slighting, as they now too often do, the physical department of their science, will carry it out to results, which shall be acknowledged by all as in the highest degree important to humanity.

But there is another defect in our present fashionable course, which should be noticed. We have been too apt to rest contented with mere general terms and statements, as if these were really knowledge, instead of being merely means for making knowledge easier of attainment, by arranging its results. Useful knowledge is special in its character, and treats not of abstracts, but of concretes. Abstraction and generalization are but aids to our thorough conception of the particulars arranged. For a botanist to talk merely of organized matter, is not the way for him to

benefit his pupils, or to communicate to them any useful information. He must descend to particular description, in order to attain his object. Trees must be distinguished from other vegetable productions, the oak species from other trees, the particular kind of oak from every other kind, the peculiarities of each kind as influenced by the circumstances of the individual specimen. These particulars are what we make use of in real life. The general laws, as they are called, of nature, serve us only as they give us an easy clue to a vast multitude of them. How stands the case with our students of the mind? We read a vast deal about such abstractions as pain and pleasure, vice and virtue, emotions, perceptions, sensations, &c.; but is this all we want to know? There are different kinds of pain and vice, of feelings, powers, and senses. It is with these particulars that we have to do in real life, and the object therefore of philosophy should be *so* to generalize her statements in regard to them, as to help us to recognize and distinguish them in the actual appearances which they present to us. This is not the case with the older systems of the schools, and hence, in part, their unprofitable character.

Such, then, are among the causes which may be cited to account for the existing prevalent neglect of the study of human nature. A question may be raised as to the extent of their influence. Have all inquirers hitherto pursued the wrong course, or are there not some to be excepted from the censure? It is common among the adherents of the older schools, to affect contempt for the newer pretensions of the phrenological system. Is this contempt justifiable, either on the score of their own pre-eminence, or of their opponents' manifest inferiority? 'First cast out the beam out of thine own eye'—is a direction from a high authority. The men who, for so long a course of years, have gone on, one after another, all more or less mistaking both the object and the mode of inquiry into their own nature, are not the persons, whose oracular nod is at once to sentence another system, and one better constructed than their own, to neglect.

We speak of Phrenology, as a system better constructed than

any of its predecessors. Is it not so? Regard it in all those points of view, to which we have just subjected its rivals. After mature discussion, through a long series of years, in the course of which it has been assailed by men of abundant talent, and with very abundant zeal, it is now supported by a very large proportion of the scientific world, by a majority indeed, a large and overwhelming majority of those men of science who have ever really studied its merits.* These adherents, in different countries, of different creeds, with different mental powers and dispositions, under different influences of habit and education, do yet, in every essential point, agree, both as regards the results and the course of procedure of the first founders of their doctrine. Long before Stewart's death, Brown's system of philosophy had supplanted his in the halls of his own university, just as his own had in a great degree supplanted Reid's. The philosophy of Brown, in its turn, has yielded its supremacy, and is no longer received in the class-room which was once its own. But where is the supplanter of Gall, or Spurzheim, or Combe? It is true that in some things, even these three men do not wholly coincide; but on every leading point, on everything essential to their doctrines, they and their followers agree as closely as, — perhaps more so than, any equal number of inquirers into botany or chemistry, or any other of the admitted sciences.

The procedure in which they all thus coincide, is just that which we have marked out, as deserving and receiving the sanction of the father of the inductive philosophy. They have studied and are studying man, in the widest sense of the term, all his powers and propensities, as variously modified in different individuals, and nations, in different states of health and cultivation, and at different eras of time. They study man as one of the many species inhabiting the world, and compare and contrast him throughout with his lower fellow-creatures. They study all these his mental phenomena, thus brought together from every quarter, in connexion with the bodily phenomena which the hand of na-

* The North American Reviewer to the contrary, notwithstanding.

ture has connected with them; making the philosophy of the mind proceed soberly and steadily with the physiology of the brain, just as the philosophy of the senses does with the physiology of other portions of the nervous system. They have dispensed, too, with all those antiquated speculations of the older school, which the experience of ages has shown to be alike endless and unprofitable; and instead of aiming at vague abstractions, and expressing them by general terms, have sought always for those special truths, on which only useful knowledge can be founded. Is all this error?

The results arrived at, — are they too monstrous to be credited? Our enemies themselves being judges, do we not hear the system continually depreciated as *an ingenious speculation*, the organs *ingeniously located*, the names and definitions *cunningly contrived?* There has been no ingenuity, nor cunning in the matter. Any one who will read may know, that of all this supposed tact and felicity of speculation, not a trace was to be found till many years after the patient Baconian labors of Gall and Spurzheim had been expended on its discovery. The objectors then used to complain of the unsystematic and irregular form of many of their statements. Now the complaint is in a new form. The plodding practical 'men of sculls' are suddenly converted into ingenious theorists, to suit the convenience of those who, *per fas aut nefas*, are resolved on having an excuse at least for the rejection of what they do not like, because they do not happen themselves to be its discoverers.

But we will not quarrel with the objection. We are willing to take it as it is offered, and to urge it as the strongest proof of the doctrine which it is brought forward to oppose. 'The harmony of a science,' says Lord Bacon, 'supporting each part the other' is, and ought to be, the true and brief confutation and suppressions of all the smaller sort of objections.' It was never objected to Reid or Brown, or even to Kant or Cousin, that their doctrines are so ingeniously made to gain support from every page of the historian or dramatist, or to explain the acts and feelings of men,

alone or in society, that they deserve to be laid aside unexamined by those who wish to understand and direct their fellows or themselves. The fact, undenied because undeniable, that Phrenology is a system suited to actual life, consonant in its several parts with the thoughts and language of practical men, that those who understand it, all insist on its constant utility to themselves in all their relations of life,—this fact in combination with its equally notorious history as being a result of many years of tedious and patient investigation, pursued as Newton, Davy, and Linnæus pursued theirs, is the convincing argument in its favor.

We return to the point from which we started. In our fashionable systems of education, at school, and at college, we neglect those studies which are founded on, and conduce to the knowledge of human nature. This omission is productive of serious evils, and cannot be too soon corrected. So far as it concerns the doctrines of the metaphysical writers generally, it may be accounted for, by the errors into which those writers have fallen. The sources of these errors have been avoided in the course of the phrenological investigations; and the argument, therefore, recurs, that the omission we have noticed, is to be supplied effectually only through its means. When the phrenological views shall have met with the attention their subject requires, from the public generally, they will be taught and carried into practice by all, as they now are, — we should say, better than they now can be, by the comparatively few who understand them. '*Knowledge is power.*' The source of man's greatest power will be found to be the knowledge of himself.

Art. VIII.—*On the Life, Character, Opinions, and Cerebral Development of Rajah Rammohun Roy.*

It was long the fashion to ascribe diversities of national character to the influence of climate; and even yet the theory is not wholly abandoned. Like many other theories, however, it is inconsistent with observed and established facts. Climate and other external influences may indeed, in the course of ages, alter the quality and even form of the organization, and consequently produce a change on the character; but the extent of such changes is limited, and climate operates rather in augmenting or diminishing the general activity of the mind, than in altering the relative strength of particular faculties. In the same climate, and under the influence of almost the same circumstances, great diversity of character exists; while in very different climates, and under the most opposite circumstances, characters nearly identical are found; and these facts unanswerably demonstrates that it is to something else than climate that we must look for an explanation of the phenomenon. 'White people (to use the words of Mr. Lawrence*) have distinguished themselves in all climates—everywhere preserving their superiority. Two centuries have not assimilated the Anglo-Americans to the Indian-aborigines, nor prevented them from establishing in America the freest government in the world. A Washington and a Franklin prove that the noble qualities of the race have suffered no degeneracy by crossing the Atlantic.' In Ceylon may be found a very striking illustration of the trifling extent to which the mind is affected by climate; for that island contains, under the same climate, two races, whose character is as opposite as it is possible to imagine. The Cinga-

* Lectures on Physiology, &c. vol. ii. chap. 8.

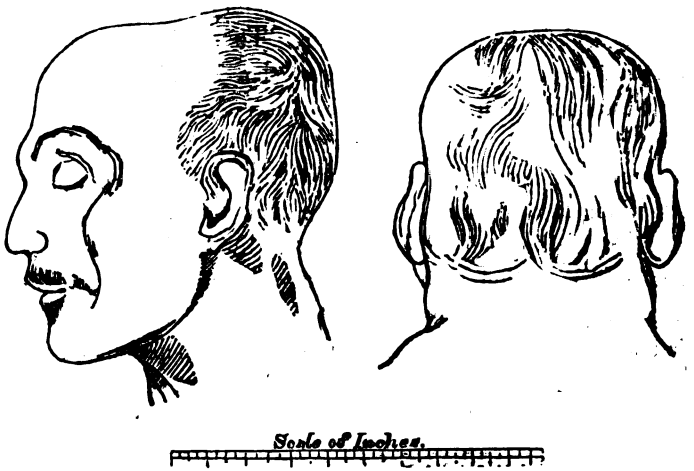
lese, who form the chief body of the population, are active, docile, ingenious, and quick in apprehension; and, as Dr. Davy mentions, 'are, in courtesy and polish of manners, little inferior to the most refined people of the present day.'* The Forest Vedahs, on the other hand, who inhabit the mountains towards the eastern part of the country, have, as the same author informs us, 'no fixed habitation, being rather solitary animals than social, and resembling more beasts of prey, in their habits, than men.' Another tribe, called the Village Vedahs, was visited by Dr. Davy, and their appearance 'was wild in the extreme, and completely savage.' They wear no clothes, and their dwellings are made of the bark of trees. 'Though living together,' he says, 'they seem to be ignorant of all social rites, and strangers to every circumstance that ennobles man, and distinguishes him from the brute.' They appear to be without names, and to be 'ignorant of every art, excepting such as hardly deserve the name, and without which they could not exist.'† Mr. Wilks, in his Historical Sketches of the South of India, vol. i. pp. 22-3, has the following pertinent observations: 'The philosophy which refers exclusively to the physical influence of climate, this most remarkable phenomenon of the moral world (diversity of character) is altogether insufficient to satisfy the rational inquirer. The holy spirit of liberty was cherished, in Greece, and its Syrian colonies, by the same sun which warms the gross and ferocious superstition of the Mahomedan zealot. The conquerors of half the world issued from the scorching deserts of Arabia, and obtained some of their earliest triumphs over one of the most gallant nations of Europe. A remnant of the disciples of Zoroaster, flying from Mahomedan persecution, carried with them to the western coast of India the religion, the hardy habits, and athletic forms of the north of Persia; and their posterity may at this day be contemplated in the Parsees of the English settlement at Bombay, with mental and bodily powers absolutely unimpaired, after the residence of a

* Davy's Account of the Interior of Ceylon, p. 291.

† Ib. pp. 116-18.

thousand years in that burning climate. Even the passive, but ill-understood character of the Hindoos, exhibiting few and unimportant shades of distinction, whether placed under the snows of Imaus, or the vertical sun of the torrid zone, has, in every part of these diversified climates, been occasionally roused to achievements of valor, and deeds of desperation, not surpassed in the heroic ages of the Western world. The reflections naturally arising from these facts are obviously sufficient to extinguish a flimsy and superficial hypothesis, which would measure the human mind by the scale of a Fahrenheit's thermometer.' In short, if the brain be large, healthy, and of good quality, the mind will display itself vigorously in every part of the world; and, on the other hand, if its size and quality be of an inferior description, the mental faculties will be dull and inefficient.

These remarks are a fit introduction to an account of the life of Rammohun Roy: they are confirmed in the strongest manner by the character of that distinguished Hindoo, — so different from that of his countrymen in general,— and in a more particular manner by his head, of which the Phrenological Society has been so fortunate as to obtain a cast.



The above sketches will convey to the reader an accurate general idea of the appearance of the head.

The dimensions of the cast and the cerebral development are as follows:

DIMENSIONS IN INCHES.

Greatest circumference of Head, (measuring horizontally over Individuality, Destructiveness, and Philoprogenitiveness,)	24¼	From Ear to Philoprogenitiveness	4⅞
From Occipital Spine to Individuality, over the top of the Head,	15	.....Individuality,	5¼
...Ear to Ear, vertically over the top of the head, (measuring from upper margin of the Meatus,)	14⅜	.....Benevolence,	6⅛
...Philoprogenitiveness to Individuality, in a straight line,	8⅛	.....Veneration,	6⅜
...Concentrativeness to Comparison,	7¾	.....Firmness,	6½
		...Destructiveness to Destructiveness,	6¼
		...Secretiveness to Secretiveness,	6¼
		...Cautiousness to Cautiousness,	5¼
		...Ideality to Ideality,	4½
		...Constructiveness to Constructiveness,	5⅛
		...Mastoid process to Mastoid process,	5¾

Note.—Although the hair was not entirely cut off from the posterior part of the Rajah's head before the cast was taken, it was so short as very little to obscure the form of the head. Except for about an inch backward from the right ear, it does not seem to have been more than a quarter of an inch in thickness. In stating the dimensions of the head, allowance has been made for the hair—the greatest actual circumference of the cast being 24¾ inches; the distance from the occipital spine to Individuality, over the top of the head, 15½; Philoprogenitiveness to Individuality, 8⅛; Concentrativeness to Comparison, 8; Ear to Philoprogenitiveness, 5; Ear to Firmness, 6⅛; Destructiveness to Destructiveness, 6¼; Secretiveness to Secretiveness, 6⅛; and Cautiousness to Cautiousness, 5⅛.

DEVELOPMENT.

1. Amativeness, very large,	20	19. Ideality, rather full,	12
2. Philoprogenit. rather large,	16	20. Wit, or Mirthfulness, ra. full,	13
3. Concentrativeness, full,	15	21. Imitation, rather large,	16
4. Adhesiveness, large,	18	22. Individuality, rather large,	17
5. Combativeness, large,	18	23. Form, full,	15
6. Destructiveness, large,	18	24. Size, rather large,	16
7. Secretiveness, large,	18	25. Weight, rather large,	16
8. Acquisitiveness, full,	14	26. Coloring, full,	14
9. Constructiveness, rather full,	12	27. Locality, rather large,	16
10. Self-esteem, very large,	20	28. Number, moderate,	10
11. Love of Approbation, very la.	20	29. Order, rather full,	12
12. Cautiousness, large,	19	30. Eventuality, full,	15
13. Benevolence, large,	18	31. Time, full,	15
14. Veneration, full,	14	32. Tune, moderate,	10
15. Firmness, very large,	20	33. Language, rather large,	17
16. Conscientiousness, very large,	20	34. Comparison, rather large,	17
17. Hope, full,	14	35. Causality, rather large,	17
18. Wonder, rather full,	12		

Rammohun Roy was the son of Ram Kanth Roy, and was born in the district of Bordouan, or Burdwan, in the province of Bengal. The date of his birth is variously stated, 1774, and 1780. 'My ancestors,' he mentions in a short sketch of his life, written in autumn, 1832,* 'were Brahmins of a high order, and from time immemorial were devoted to the religious duties of their race, down to my fifth progenitor, who, about one hundred and forty years ago, gave up spiritual exercises for worldly pursuits and aggrandizement. His descendants have ever since followed his example.' But my maternal ancestors, being of the sarcerdotal order by profession as well as by birth,† and of a family than which none holds a higher rank in that profession, have, up to the present day, uniformly adhered to a life of religious observances and devotion.' Under his father's roof he received the elements of native education, and also acquired a knowledge of the Persian language: he was afterwards sent to Patna, on the Ganges, to learn Arabic; these two languages being accomplishments indispensable to those who attach themselves to the courts of Mahomedan princes. Lastly, he was sent to Benares, also on the Ganges, to obtain a knowledge of Sanscrit, the sacred language of the Hindoos. He there devoted himself to the study of that tongue, and of the theological works written in it, which contain the body of Hindoo literature, law, and religion. His masters at Patna set him to study Arabic translations of some of the writings of Aristotle and Euclid; and he derived also a considerable knowledge of the Mahomedan religion from his friends among the Mussulmans. In this way he must have acquired some notions on religion more rational than those of his countrymen in general. He was trained by his father in the doctrine of the Brahmins; a doctrine which teaches the people to regard the adoption of a particular mode of diet as their chief religious duty; — which requires them to visit the least aberration from it, (even though the conduct of the offender be in other respects pure and

* Published in the Athenæum, No. 310, 15th October, 1833.

† The general notion that all Brahmins are priests is erroneous.

blameless,) not only with the severest censure, but actually with exclusion from the society of his family and friends, and with loss of caste; — and among whose votaries the rigid observances of this grand article of faith is considered so meritorious as to compensate for every moral defect, and even for the most atrocious crimes. To adopt the words of Rammohun Roy himself, 'murder, theft, or perjury, though brought home to the party by a judicial sentence, so far from inducing loss of caste, is visited in their society with no peculiar mark of infamy or disgrace. A trifling present to a Brahmin, with the performance of a few idle ceremonies, are held as a sufficient atonement for all those crimes; and the delinquent is at once freed from all temporal inconvenience, as well as all dread of future retribution.' — [*Introduction to Translation of Ishopanishad.*]

At a very early period the acute and reflecting mind of Rammohun Roy observed the diversities of opinion which existed around him, and that, while some of the Hindoos exalted Brama, the Creator, others gave the ascendency to Vishnu, the Preserver; and others, again, to Siva, the Destroyer. Without disputing the authority of his father, he often sought from him information as to the reasons of his faith, but obtained no satisfaction. 'When about the age of sixteen,' he says, 'I composed a manuscript, calling in question the validity of the idolatrous system of the Hindoos. This, together with my known sentiments on that subject, having produced a coolness between me and my immediate kindred, I proceeded on my travels, and passed through different countries, chiefly within, but some beyond the bounds of Hindostan, with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British powers in India.' He spent two or three years in Thibet, where he often excited the anger of the worshippers of the Lama, by his rejection of their doctrine, that this pretended deity — a living man — was the creator and preserver of the world. 'In these circumstances,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'he experienced the soothing kindness of the female part of the family; and his gentle feeling heart lately dwelt with deep interest, at the distance of

more than forty years, on the recollections of that period, which, he said, had made him always feel respect and gratitude towards the female sex, and which doubtless contributed to that unvarying and refined courtesy which marked his intercourse with them in this country.' *

When he reached the age of twenty, he was recalled by his father, and restored to favor; 'after which,' he says, 'I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favor; feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead most speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants. I enjoyed the confidence of several of them even in their public capacity. — My continued controversies with the Brahmins on the subject of their idolatry and superstition, and my inteference with their custom of burning widows, and other pernicious practices, revived and increased their animosity against me; and, through their influence with my family, my father was again obliged to withdraw his countenance openly, though his limited pecuniary support was still continued to me.'

At the age of twenty-two, as we learn from Mr. John Digby, editor of the English edition of one of his works, the Abridgment of the Vedant, 'he commenced the study of the English language which,' says Mr. Digby, 'not pursuing with application, he, five years afterwards, when I became acquainted with him, could merely speak it well enough to be understood upon the most com-

* Biographical Sketch, published originally in the Bristol Gazette of 2d October, 1833, and reprinted in a work from which we have derived most of the materials of this article, — 'A Review of the Labors, Opinions, and Character of Rajah Rammohun Roy; in a Discourse, on occasion of his Death, delivered in Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol; a Series of Illustrative Extracts from his Writings; and a Biographical Memoir: to which is subjoined an Examination of some derogatory Statements in the Asiatic Journal. By Lant Carpenter, LL. D.—London; R. Hunter, St. Paul's Church Yard, 1833.'

mon topics of discourse, but could not write it with any degree of correctness. He was afterwards employed as Dewan, or principal native officer, in the collection of the revenues, in the district (Rungpoor) of which I was for five years collector in the East India Company's Civil Service. By perusing all my public correspondence with diligence and attention, as well as by corresponding and conversing with European gentlemen, he acquired so correct a knowledge of the English language, as to be enabled to write and speak it with considerable accuracy.'

His father, Ram Kanth Roy, died about 1803, leaving him no part of his property; but, in the year 1811, the death of his brother, Jugmohun Roy, to whom he succeeded, rendered him completely independent. 'After my father's death,' says he, 'I opposed the advocates of idolatry, with still greater boldness. Availing myself of the art of printing, now established in India, I published various works and pamphlets against their errors, in the native and foreign languages.' Among other works he published, in Persian, with an Arabic preface, a treatise, entitled, '*Against the Idolatry of all Religions.*' No one undertook to refute this book, but it raised up against him a host of enemies; and, in 1814, he retired to Calcutta, where he purchased a house and garden, and applied himself to the study of the English language, both by reading and by conversation: he also acquired some knowledge of Latin, and paid much attention to the mathematics. It was, however, chiefly to religion that the energy of his mind was directed; and his talents and activity displayed themselves in his continued endeavors to reform the religion of his countrymen from the corruptions by which it was disfigured. The body of Hindoo theology is comprised in the Veds, which are writings of very high antiquity. On account of their great bulk, and the obscurity of the style in which they are composed, Vyas, a person of great celebrity in Hindoo literature, was induced, about 2000 years ago, to draw up a compendious abstract of the whole, accompanied with explanations of the more difficult passages. This digest he called the Vedant, or the Resolution of

all the Veds. One portion of it respects the ritual, and another the principles of religion. It is written in the Sanscrit language. Rammohun Roy translated it into the Bengalee and Hindoostanee languages, for the benefit of his countrymen; and afterwards published an abridgment of it, for gratuitous and extensive distribution. Of this abridgment he published an English translation in 1816, the title of which represents the Vedant as 'the most celebrated and revered work of Brahminical theology, establishing the unity of the Supreme Being, and that he alone is the object of propitiation and worship.' Towards the close of his preface the thus writes —' My constant reflections on the inconvenient, or, rather, injurious rites, introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindoo idolatry, which, more than any other Pagan worship destroys the texture of society — together with compassion for my countrymen — have compelled me to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error; and, by making them acquainted with the [their] scriptures, enable them to contemplate, with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature's God. By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Brahmin, have exposed myself to the complainings and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantage depends on the present system. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavors will be viewed with justice — perhaps acknowledged with gratitude. At any rate, whatever men may say, I cannot be deprived of this consolation — my motives are acceptable to that Being who beholds in secret, and compensates openly.'

After the publication of the Vedant, Rammohun Roy printed, in Bengalee and in English, some of the principal chapters of the Veds. The first of the series was published in 1816, and is entitled 'A Translation of the Cena Upanishad, one of the Chapters of the Sama Veda, according to the gloss of the celebrated Shancaracharya; establishing the Unity and sole Omnipotence of the Supreme Being, and that He alone is the object of wor-

ship.' This was prefixed to a reprint of the Abridgment of the Vedant, published in London in 1817, by Mr. Digby. The English preface contains a letter from Rammohun Roy to this gentleman, which shows how well he had, even at that time, overcome the difficulties of the English language. 'The consequence of my long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth,' he says, in this letter, 'has been, that I have found the doctrines of Christ more conducive to moral principles, and better adapted for the use of rational beings, than any other which have come to my knowledge; and have also found Hindoos in general more superstitious and miserable, both in performance of their religious rites, and in their domestic concerns, than the rest of the known nations of the earth.' He then proceeds to state what he had done in order to render them 'more happy and comfortable both here and hereafter;' and adds, 'I, however, in the beginning of my pursuits, met with great opposition from their self-interested leaders, the Brahmins, and was deserted by my nearest relations; and I consequently felt extremely melancholy. In that critical situation, the only comfort that I had, was the consoling and rational conversation of my European friends, especially those of Scotland and England.' — In the same letter he expresses his full expectation of speedily setting off for England; but says that he had been prevented from proceeding so soon as he could wish, by the spread of his views, and the inclination manifest by many to seek the truth.

It is not surpsising that the interested advocates for heathen worship should have endeavored to uphold it by imputations on the character of the Reformer; and some one did publicly charge him with 'rashness, self-conceit, arrogance and impiety.' Every member of his own family opposed him; and he experienced even the bitter alienation of his mother, through the influence of the interested persons around her. He recently stated, however, that before her death she expressed her great sorrow for what had passed, and declared her firm conviction in the unity of God, and the futility of Hindoo superstition. Dr. Carpenter adds, that 'in his early days, his mother was a woman of fine understanding;

but, through the influence of superstitious bigotry, she had been among his most bitter opponents. He, however, manifested a warm and affectionate attachment towards her, and it was with a glistening eye that he told us she had "repented" of her conduct towards him. Though convinced that his doctrines were true, she could not throw off the shackles of idolatrous customs. "Rammohun," she said to him, before she set out on her last pilgrimage to Juggernaut, where she died, "you are right; but I am a weak woman, and am grown too old to give up these observances, which are a comfort to me." She maintained them with the most denying self-devotion. She would not allow a female servant to accompany her, or any other provision to be made for her comfort or even support on her journey; and when at Juggernaut, she engaged in sweeping the temple of the idol. There she spent the remainder of her life — nearly a year, if not more; and there she died.'

Besides essentially contributing to the establishment and maintenance of native schools, Rammohun Roy directed his efforts, and with great success, towards the extinction of the practice of burning widows. 'His enlarged and benignant spirit,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'the tenderness and purity of his own heart, the maternal love which he had experienced, and the influences of that soothing kindness which he had received from the women of Thibet, when he was separated from the endearments of home, aided to produce in his mind those sentiments of respect for woman in her domestic and social and moral relations, which entirely raised him above the narrow and degrading views entertained of the female sex by his countrymen in general; and which led him to contribute, in various ways, to the just appreciation of them, and to their protection from the sordid purposes and superstitious zeal of those who degraded them by debasing rites and practices, and condemned them to self-immolation. He regarded woman, whether considered as an intellectual or as a spiritual being, as fitted, by natural powers and capabilities, to be the companion, the friend, and the helper of man.' [Discourse, p. 40.]

It has been already shown, that, as early as 1817, he had directed his attention to the Christian religion; but he found him-

self greatly perplexed by the various doctrines which he found insisted upon as essential to Christianity, in the writings of Christian authors, and in conversation with those Christian teachers with whom he had communication. To enable himself to discover the real nature of the doctrines taught in Scripture, he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and then studied the original — the Old Testament with a Jewish rabbi, and the New with Christian divines. 'After long and minute investigation,' says Mr. Sanford Arnot,* 'he came to the conclusion that they contained the doctrine of pure theism; and one of his Christian instructers, the Reverend William Adam, a man of talent, learning, and piety, who went over the same ground with him, came to the same decision, and, from having been a Baptist Missionary, became a Unitarian preacher. Thenceforward the Rajah gave his whole support to the views of this sect.' Becoming more and more strongly impressed with the excellence and importance of the Christian system of morality, he published, in 1820, in English, Sanscrit, and Bengalee, a series of selections, principally from the first three Gospels, which he entitled 'The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness.' He passed by those portions of the Evangelists which have been made the basis of distinctive doctrines; and also (except where closely interwoven with the discourses of Christ) the narratives of miracles — believing these to be little fitted to affect the convictions of his countrymen, while the preceptive part he deemed most likely 'to produce the desirable effect of improving the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding.' 'This simple code of religion and morality,' he says, at the close of his preface, 'is so admirably calculated to elevate men's ideas to high and liberal notions of one God, who has equally subjected all living creatures, without distinction of caste, rank, or

* Biographical Sketch of Rajah Rammohun Roy, published in the Athenæum, 5th October, 1833. Mr. Arnot was in habits of daily communication with the Rajah for years, both in India and in this country, and acted as his private secretary since his arrival in Europe as Envoy from the King of Delhi.

wealth, to change, disappointment, pain, and death, and has equally admitted all to be partakers of the bountiful mercies which he has lavished over nature; and is also so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race in the discharge of their various duties to God, to themselves, and to society, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form.'

This work was published anonymously, but, as appears, without concealment, and it brought upon him some severe and unexpected animadversions in 'The Friend of India.' Under the designation of 'A Friend to Truth,' Rammohun Roy published an 'Appeal to the Christian Public in defence of the Precepts of Jesus;' in which he maintains that they contain not only the essence of all that is necessary to instruct mankind in their civil duties, but also the best and the only means of obtaining the forgiveness of our sins, the favor of God, and strength to overcome our passions, and to keep his commandments.'

On these anonymous publications, Dr. Marshman, of Serampore College, published a series of animadversions, which led to a 'Second Appeal' from Rammohun Roy, with his name prefixed, which is distinguished by the closeness of his reasonings, the extent and critical accuracy of his scriptural knowledge, the comprehensiveness of his investigations, the judiciousness of his arrangement, the lucid statement of his own opinions, and the acuteness, skill, and temper, with which he controverts the positions of the opponents. All the publications of this controversy were soon reprinted in London. The doctrine which he maintained in it respecting God, is thus stated in the Second Appeal:—'That this Omnipotent God, who is the only proper object of religious veneration, is one and undivided in person;' and that in 'reliance on numerous promises found in the sacred writings, we ought to entertain every hope of enjoying the blessings of pardon from the merciful Father, through repentance, which is declared the only means of procuring forgiveness for our failures.' The circumstance of the Rajah having adopted an interpretation of the Scriptures which, whether sound or the reverse, is certainly

one which, he must have been aware, was not very likely to raise him in the esteem of the great body of the British public, is a striking proof of the independence and honesty by which, as we shall afterwards see, he was characterized.

The Second Appeal called forth another work from Dr. Marshman; to which Rammohun Roy published a reply in 1823, under the title of the Final Appeal. His preceding works had been printed at the Baptist Missionary press; but the acting proprietor declined, 'although in the politest manner possible,' to print the Final Appeal; and Rammohun Roy purchased types, and commenced an independent printing-press for this and other similar publications. The imprint is 'Calcutta: printed at the Unitarian Press, Dhurmtollah.' He depended chiefly on native aid; and, in consequence, the original work has many errata. In the preface, he says that this controversy had prevented other publications which he had projected for his countrymen, as well as drawn him for three years from other literary pursuits; and that it caused much coolness towards him in the demeanor of some whose friendship he held very dear; nevertheless, that he did not wish he had pursued a different course, since, he says, 'whatever may be the opinion of the world, my own conscience fully approves of my past endeavors to defend what I esteem the cause of truth.' It is proper to add, that, on the side of the Trinitarians, the controversy was conducted with becoming equanimity.

'During this period,' says Mr. Arnot, 'the whole powers of his mind were directed to the vindication of the doctrine of the unity of God. In this, he maintained, the sacred books of Hindoos and Mussulmans, Jews and Christians, agreed; and that all apparent deviations from it were modern corruptions. He propagated it day and night, by word and writing, with the zeal of an apostle, and the self-devotion of a martyr. He was ever ready to maintain it against all gainsayers,—from the believer in thirty-three millions of gods to the denier of one; for both extremes are common in the East. The writer remembers finding him at his Garden of House, near Calcutta, one evening, about seven o'clock,

closing a dispute with one of the followers of Budh, who denied the existence of a deity. The Rajah had spent the whole day in the controversy, without stopping for food, rest, or refreshment, and rejoicing more in confuting one atheist than in triumphing over a hundred idolaters: the credulity of the one he despised: the scepticism of the other he thought pernicious; for he was deeply impressed with the importance of religion to the virtue and happiness of mankind.

The Rajah had long felt a strong desire to visit Europe, and, as he himself expresses it, 'obtain, by personal observation, a more thorough insight into its manners, customs, religion, and political institutions. I refrained, however,' he adds, 'from carrying my intention into effect, until the friends who coincided in my sentiments should be increased in number and strength. My expectations having been at length realized, in November,, 1830 I embarked for England, as the discussion of the East India Company's charter was expected to come on, by which the treatment of the natives of India, and its future government, would be determined for many years to come; and an appeal to the King in Council, against the abolition of the practice of burning Hindoo widows, was to be heard before the Privy Council; and his Majesty the Emperor of Delhi had likewise commissioned me to bring before the authorities in England, certain encroachments on his rights by the East India Company. I accrodingly arrived in England in April, 1831.' He was accompanied by his youngest son, Ram Roy, and two native servants. His arrival, says Dr. Carpenter, was 'at a period when the whole nation was in a state of intense excitement, in connexion with Parliamentary Reform; and, being well versed in our national history, and intimately acquainted with our political institutions and parties, he saw at once the bearings of the great measure, — which, he wrote, "would, in its consequences, promote the welfare of England and her dependencies; nay, of the whole world."'

The fame of Rammohun Roy had preceded him; but the official character in which he came, together with the state of public

affairs, necessarily brought him forward to public notice, even more than might otherwise have been expected. His great notoriety, and his 'unvarying urbanity and solicitude to avoid giving pain to any one, even to the inconsiderate and presuming, exposed him,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'to extreme interruption and inconvenience, and at times to much vexation. Habitual caution to shun every overt act by which his Brahminical rank might be forfeited, to his own and his children's injury, and to the impairing of his hopes and means of usefulness, seems occasionally to have given to his system of conduct the air of uncertainty, if not of ambiguity. Perhaps, also, there were occasions when questions proposed, with the skill of the practised disputant, to elicit an expression which might support some pre-formed opinion respecting the Rajah's sentiments, led him, through ignorance of the real bearings of the case, to accord with that which his remarkable clearness of discrimination would have rejected at once, if the whole tendency of the inquiry had been before him; and this effect may have been aided by those nice shades in the import of words, which are, as opinions modify, continually varying in their influence. And sometimes, that disposition to acquiescence which eastern politeness requires, and which his own kindness of heart contributed to strengthen, was known to place him in circumstances, and lead him to expressions, which made his sincerity questioned. But, where he was best and fully known, the simplicity, candor, explicitness, and openness of his mind, were striking and acknowledged; and from these, together with his profound acquirements, his extensive information, his quick discrimination of character, his delicacy and honorable sentiments, his benevolent hopes and purposes for human welfare, his benignant concern for the comfort and happiness of all around him, his affectionateness and humility of disposition, his gentleness and quick sensibility, there was a charm in his presence and conversation, which made one feel love for him as well as high respect.'

In Britain, the Rajah's time was devoted mainly to politics; and, as Mr. Arnot mentions, 'he rather shunned than courted religious controversy, which might, if indulged in, have interfered

with his political views. His first respect was shown to the Unitarians; he visited all their places of worship within his reach, and cultivated the acquaintance of their most distinguished leaders. But he by no means confined his attention to one sect. He occasionally joined the congregations of persons of every persuasion, from the Roman Catholic to the Free-thinking Christians, listening to all with the same reverence or appearance of external respect. He was a most regular attendant, however, on the ministration of the Rev. Dr. A. H. Kenney, of St. Olave's, Southwark, which he called his church. His mind was too expanded to be capable of being confined within the straight waistcoat of any sect. He viewed religion as a philosopher, and had surveyed all with a critical eye. He rejected the faith of his fathers, because it was at once foolish and degrading, and esteemed the diffusion of Christianity, in a pure form, beneficial to mankind.'

In his intercourse with the English, his Benevolence and Love of Approbation were conspicuously manifested; and indeed it appears that to the too great ascendency of the latter, the loss of his health is in some measure to be attributed. 'As a social being,' says Mr. Arnot, 'few possessed qualities more calculated to inspire respect and love. He was affable in his manners, cheerful and instructive in conversation, equally ready to receive or to communicate knowledge, and scrupulously attentive to the rules of society. Perhaps he rather carried politeness to a fault, and often sacrificed to etiquette both utility and personal comfort. His acquaintance being eagerly courted in Europe, he was oppressed, from the moment of his landing in England, with visiters of all ranks and classes; and often by two or three invitations to parties for every day in the week. He with difficulty stole a few hours a day, for business: even the Sabbath brought him no rest; for, to please all parties, he had often to attend church two or three times, even when laboring under indisposition. In short, he wanted the courage to say 'No;' and this, it is to be feared, contributed to shorten his days. His health had been long declining, from over exertion, although it was excellent in part of the

years 1831 and 1832. Since his return from France, in January, 1833, (whither he had gone in autumn, 1832), both body and mind seemed losing their tone and vigor. He was first confined to his bed on the 17th of September, 1833, while residing at Bristol, where he had arrived on a visit ten days before; and never rose again from that to Friday the 27th, on the morning of which, about half-past two o'clock, he died. 'For the last two or three days he appeared to have lost all consciousness and power of speech, and only expressed thanks for the services rendered him. He was attended in his last moments by (among others) Miss Castles, of Stapleton, Bristol, at whose residence he breathed his last; by Mr. Hare, of Bedford Square, London, and his niece, (a family which had discharged the duties of hospitality towards him ever since his arrival in England, with a kindness, delicacy, and entire disinterestedness, which are honorable to the national character,) and by his Indian servants, one of them a Brahmin, distantly related to him.'

Mr. John Bishop Estlin, who attended the Rajah during his illness, states, that some of the symptoms in its progress 'led to the conclusion that his head was considerably affected, though no pain was felt there, the stomach being the part of which he most complained.' An extremely dry and glazed tongue, frequent pulse, and incessant restlessness (though without much increase of heat or local pain,) are also mentioned. His indisposition experienced but a temporary check from the remedies applied: severe spasms, with paralysis of the left arm and leg, came on during the day before his death; and in the afternoon he fell into a state of stupor, from which he never revived. 'He repeatedly acknowledged, during his illness,' says Mr. Estlin, 'his sense of the kindness of all around him, and in strong language expressed the confidence he felt in his medical advisers.' He conversed very little during his illness, but was observed to be often engaged in prayer. He told his son, and those around him, that he should not recover.

'An examination of the body took place on Saturday, when the brain was found to be inflamed, containing some fluid, and

covered with a kind of purulent effusion : its membrane also adhered to the skull, the result probably of previously existing disease : the thoracic and abdominal viscera were healthy. The case appeared to be one of fever, producing great prostration of the vital powers, and accompanied by inflammation of the brain, which did not exhibit, in their usual degree, the symptoms of that affection.

'The Rajah was a remarkably stout, well-formed man, nearly six feet in height, with a fine handsome and expressive countenance. A cast for a bust was taken a few hours after his death.' —[Carpenter, pp. 118—120.]

Application was made, through the Rev. B. T. Stannus, of this city, to Dr. Carpenter, with the view of procuring a copy of the cast for the Phrenological Society ; and in his absence Mr. Estlin politely got one forwarded to Edinburgh. He mentions, in a letter to Mr. Stannus, that he was present when the cast was taken; that 'the body was then quite warm;' and that the phrenologists 'may feel satisfied that they have in this cast a most accurate representation of the Rajah's head.' Mr. Estlin adds: 'He had a great deal of hair ; the anterior part of the head was shaved, and the hair on the back part cut off, during his illness. The depression on the crown of the head [over Veneration and Hope] is quite natural. A friend told me the Rajah had once placed his hand there, to feel the peculiar formation.' In adjusting the body for the purpose of taking the cast, the shoulders happened to be drawn up, so that the thorax, as represented in the bust, wants its proper symmetry.

Notwithstanding what Mr. Estlin says about the accuracy of the cast, we suspect that the artist who made it did not closely join the two halves of the mould, as there is an awkward appearance of scraping, in a line passing across the head from immediately before the opening of the ear, to the corresponding point on the opposite cheek, over the organs of Hope and Veneration. This may have rendered the cast from one-fourth to one-half of an inch longer than the Rajah's head. Perhaps, however, our conjecture is erroneous.

The department of the brain which is most largely developed, is the posterior superior region, occupied by Firmness, Conscientiousness, Self-esteem, and Love of Approbation. The size of these four organs is indeed very extraordinary. Firmness, as the reader must have remarked in perusing the foregoing details, was prominently displayed throughout the Rajah's whole life. In the words of Dr. Carpenter, 'he ever manifested fortitude and unyielding, firmness when any great and benevolent object required exertion, and exposed him to calumny and persecution.' —[Discourse, p. 40.] His very large Conscientiousness led to that 'simplicity, candor, explicitness, and openness of mind,' which his intimate friends so much admired, and with which every one who has read his controversial works must have been delighted. Mr. Arnot states, that 'he was an ardent lover of liberty, and a fervent well-wisher to the political improvement of mankind.'

Without a large Self-Esteem, as well as Firmness, he would not have been fitted to embark in the arduous work of reforming the religion of a people, or to have borne up against the persecution and contumely to which he was exposed. D'Acosta, the editor of a journal at Calcutta, quoted by Dr. Carpenter (page 107,) states, that 'all his conversation, his actions, and his manners, evinced a powerful sentiment of individual dignity; while, in general, meanness and feebleness of mind are characteristic of the Hindoo.' The force of character resulting from his large head, as well as the effect of Self-Esteem on his carriage, is here described, and is contrasted with the 'meanness and feebleness of mind' characteristic of the small-headed generality of Hindoos. Had the brain of Rammohun Roy been of diminutive size, the circumstance would have done more to extinguish Phrenology than the whole amount of misrepresentation and abuse which it has been doomed to endure.

The influence of Love of Approbation appears in several traits of his character already noticed. His 'want of the courage to say "No," indicates in a striking manner the strength of this feeling in combination with Cautiousness; and it even appears

that the fear of offending occasionally led him to give an apparent assent to opinions which he was far from holding. There can be little doubt, however, that the rules of eastern politeness* had here a powerful influence on his conduct, and that, had his manners been formed in Britain, Love of Approbation would not have carried him to such an extreme in his anxiety to please. The too great predominance of this faculty was the Rajah's chief failing, and showed itself in his published works, as well as in private society. 'The great defect of his political writings, and indeed of his character,' says Mr. Arnot, 'was a want of firmness to say that which would be unpleasant to individuals, or bodies of men. How far this might have arisen from early habit and education, or from timidity of character, from the effect of living under a despotic government, or from too great a regard to popularity, a wish to please all parties, or from a mixture of these, cannot now be determined.' We are inclined to think, that, while all the circumstances here enumerated contributed to the production of this trait, the two last were by far the most influential. A writer in the Asiatic Journal affirms, doubtless with truth, that 'he was exceedingly ambitious of literary fame.' It is said also that 'he thought more of the empty title of Rajah than of the results of the East India Bill;' in allusion to which statement Dr. Carpenter expresses his belief that the Rajah cared for the acknowledgment of his title no farther 'than as being connected with the claims which he came to make.' With submission, we think that the truth is likely to be found between the two statements. An empty title, as those who are familiar with the varieties of human character must be aware, is not without charms, even to a philosopher, if his love of distinction be strong. At the same time, we cannot believe that Rammohun Roy, while his brain was healthy, thought more of his title than of the results of the East India Bill. The statement in the Asiatic Journal, that he took no trouble in reference to the Company's charter, receives

* In the East 'there are modes of conveying a civil negative by an affirmative.'—*Asiatic Journal*, Nov. 1833, p. 207.

from Dr. Carpenter a pointed contradiction. (Pp. 126, 127.) A writer quoted by the journalist, and who is said to have been in close and intimate communication with the Rajah in England, and 'whose impartiality cannot be suspected,' states that, towards the close of his life, the character of the Rajah underwent a remarkable change. 'He had been an enthusiastic advocate of the Grey administration from his arrival in Europe till his departure for France in the autumn of last year. Whether it was that he imbibed some fresh light from Louis Philippe and his subjects, or that the first reformed British Parliament disappointed him, or that he had taken some personal disgust at the present ministry, (the most probable of the three), he became most bitterly opposed to it. He was in the habit of inveighing against it in the strongest, I may truly say, coarsest terms; a circumstance the more remarkable, as he had hitherto been distinguished by the courtesy of his language and the studied politeness of his expressions. Even when engaged in the warmest controversies, and in repelling personal insults, he would not formerly permit himself to use a strong epithet, or utter any reflection which could be considered in the least illiberal or ungentlemanly. During the last period of his life, his manners were much changed, and the powers of his mind seemed to be decaying. Controversy of any kind, in which he formerly displayed such admirable temper and patience, now seemed to throw his mind off its balance. For reasoning, he substituted invective; and losing the power of persuasion, attributed bad motives to all who differed in opinion from him.' 'He latterly expressed a wish to withdraw himself from politics entirely, finding the discussions into which they led him no longer supportable with any comfort to himself. In short, his intellectual career had drawn evidently to a close, and though the termination of his natural life may be sincerely regretted by his friends, it is perhaps fortunate for his fame, that Providence has decreed he should not outlive his mental faculties.' *

* Asiatic Journal, November 1833, p. 212.

In answer to these allegations, Dr. Carpenter says, 'We, who saw him in his last weeks, can allow nothing of the kind.' In a conversation at Stapleton Grove, near Bristol, on the 11th of September, 1833, at which the Rev. John Foster, and Dr. Jerrard, the Principal of Bristol College, as well as Dr. Carpenter himself, were, among others, present, 'one and all,' we are told, 'admired and were delighted by the clearness, the closeness, and the acuteness of his arguments, and the beautiful tone of his mind.' In a second conversation, in a party where Mr. Foster was present, 'the Rajah continued for three hours, standing the whole time, replying to all the inquiries and observations that were made by a number of gentlemen who surrounded him, on the moral and political state and prospects of India, and on an elucidation, at great length, of certain dogmas of the Indian philosophers. Admiring respect was, I may say, the sentiment of all present.' (Carpenter, p. 127.)

On this subject of controversy, we perceive no necessity for differing from either of the parties. The *post-mortem* appearances of the brain indicated disease of considerable duration, occasioned, no doubt, principally by causes which may be gathered from Dr. Carpenter's work, where they are mentioned with no reference to the point at issue; viz. 'the constant and wearing strain which there had been on his powers for the last two years; some causes of harassing vexation which had recently occurred, and which affected him too painfully; and the long course of bitter hostility and arduous exertion which he had passed through before he came to England.' (Carpenter, p. 128.) It is reasonable to suppose that his intellect might be obscured by such causes, and that his calmness might have left him during contention with persons whose interests and opinions were adverse to those which he maintained, and whose candor, it may have sometimes happened, was not equal to his own. And it is equally reasonable to believe, that, after a period of mental relaxation, and in the society of admiring friends at Bristol, his wonted equanimity and acuteness in conversation might be displayed. We have

no doubt whatever that the alteration of the Rajah's character was the effect of disease in his brain. 'It is the prolonged departure,' says Dr. Combe, 'without an adequate external cause, from the state of feeling and modes of thinking usual to the individual when in health, that is the true feature of disorder in the mind.' *

Let us now proceed to consider the other features of the character of Rammohun Roy. His head, as already intimated, is of extraordinary size; very few, even in Europe, being found of superior volume. This was the source of the force and dignity of character noticed above; it gave vastness to his designs, and inspired with respect the minds of those who knew him. It made him indeed, what he is termed by the Asiatic Journalist, an extraordinary man. 'The mere circumstance,' says that writer, 'of his being able, by his own unassisted energies, to burst asunder the cerements in which the Hindoo intellect had been shrouded for so many centuries, would be sufficient to secure him a name.' † But his brain, besides being of unusual volume, seems to have been active and of good quality. Long-continued observation has led us to consider it as a general rule, that one inherent quality characterizes the various organs composing an individual human body; in other words, that if the bones be dense and firm, and the muscles compact and vivacious, the other organs of the body partake of the excellent quality, and the brain, among the rest, is capable of vigorous action. When the expression of the countenance is animated and refined, an active and vivacious brain is seldom, if ever, wanting. The person of Rammohun Roy was one which would have induced us to infer activity and refinement of mental manifestation. D'Acosta, describing his appearance in 1818, says, 'He is tall and robust; his regular features, and habitually grave countenance, assume a most pleasing appearance when he is animated.' (Carpenter, p. 107.) The Asiatic Jour-

* Observations on Mental Derangement, p. 219.

† Asiatic Journal for November 1833, p. 209.

nal has the following remarks: 'The person of Rammohun Roy was a very fine one. He was nearly six feet high; his limbs were robust and well-proportioned; though latterly, either through age or increase of bulk, he appeared rather unwieldy and inactive. His face was beautiful; the features large and manly, the forehead lofty and expanded, the eyes dark and animated, the nose finely curved and of due proportion, the lips full, and the general expression of the countenance that of intelligence and benignity.' (P. 208.) Mr. Estlin says that he had 'a fine, handsome, and expressive countenance.' The muscles of the face, shoulders, and breast, as represented by the plaster-cast, indicate in some degree an active temperament.

The organs of the propensities generally are large. Without a tolerable endowment of Combativeness as well as of Self-Esteem and Firmness, he could not have acted with the boldness and decision for which he was so remarkable. Combativeness is quite indispensable to a successful disputant and reformer, — to every one who sets himself to oppose prevailing opinions or customs; and this faculty, added to great general force of character, logical acuteness, exemplary candor, and extensive knowledge, rendered Rammohun Roy, what he is termed by the editor of the East India Gazette in allusion to the controversy arising from the Precepts of Jesus, 'a most gigantic combatant in the theological field — a combatant who, we are constrained to say, he has not yet met with his match here.' His propensities, however, seem to have been generally under due subjection to the higher powers; and by means of his large Secretiveness and Firmness, he was able to suppress improper manifestations. With regard to various points of his character the published accounts are almost wholly silent, and we are therefore unable to judge of the degree in which several of the faculties were displayed. Amativeness is large, and though nothing direct is said about the strength of the feeling, there is little doubt that it was very considerable. His respect for the female sex, as formerly stated, was very marked, and his exertions on behalf of those of his own country, powerful

and unremitting. Dr. Carpenter states that the family of Mr. Hare, with whom the Rajah lived for two years, bear unhesitating and unequivocal testimony 'to the unvarying purity of his conduct, and the refined delicacy of his sentiments.' 'I had, myself,' continues Dr. C., 'repeated opportunities of observing with what earnest respect he appreciated true delicacy in the female character: and I learn that, while he always maintained his habitual politeness to the sex, and may therefore have misled the superficial observer, he manifested a very prompt and clear discrimination as to individuals; and that he commonly expressed strong dislike, and even disgust, where they seemed to him to depart from that true modesty which is essential to its excellence.' (P. 119.) The Reverend J. Scott Porter, late of London and now of Belfast, a gentleman in whose house the Rajah placed his son for the purpose of education, and whom he generally visited once a-week mentions in a Sermon recently published,* that 'offences against the laws of morality, which are too often passed over as trivial transgressions in European society, excited the deepest horror in him. His whole manner and appearance discovered how much he shrunk from the very thought of them, when associated with the names of any for whom he had formerly felt respect. The admonitions which he addressed to his son, upon such subjects, were among the most impressive that I ever heard.' In England, as we learn from the Asiatic Journal, the Rajah was an especial favorite among the ladies; 'his fine person and soft expressive features, the air of deferential respect with which he treated them,† and the delicate incense of his compliment, perfumed occasionally with the fragrance of oriental poetry, in which he was well versed, made a strong impression in his favor.' The same authority mentions, that he 'has left in India a wife, from whom he has been separated (on what account we know not) for some years.'—(Pp. 206, 208.)

* The Growth of the Gospel, &c.

† See, on this effect of Amativeness, Ed. Ph. Jour. vol. ii. p. 398.

Philoprogenitiveness is 'rather large.' The occiput, though not protuberant, is very broad. We have seen no data on which to judge of the actual manifestations of this feeling. — His large Adhesiveness accords with the affectionate disposition which Dr. Carpenter ascribes to him, and the warm attachment which he displayed towards his mother. — Secretiveness, which is large, seems to have been one of the sources (the others being Love of Approbation and Cautiousness) of that 'air of uncertainty, if not of ambiguity,' by which his conduct was occasionally characterized. He was not inclined to make a prominent display of his thoughts. 'He repeatedly told me and others,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'that he never introduced his opinions unnecessarily; but that when the subject was introduced, he never hesitated to avow them.' (P. 28.) The meagreness of the sketch of his life, which he furnished in consequence of the frequent requests of his friend, Mr. Gordon of Calcutta, to whom it is addressed, may be regarded as another illustration of strong Secretiveness.

Acquisitiveness is much inferior to Benevolence and Conscientiousness: it is only 'rather full.' 'In the progress of his efforts to enlighten his countrymen,' says Dr. Carpenter, 'he must have expended large sums of money, for he gratuitously distributed most of the works which he published for the purpose.' (P. 103.) Abbé Gregoire, who published an account of him in France, about the year 1818, remarks, that 'the pecuniary sacrifices he has made, show a disinterestedness which cannot be too warmly encouraged or admired.' In early life he did not scruple to maintain his heterodox opinions, at the expense of being disinherited. Benevolence, it is hardly necessary to remark, was a shining feature in his character through life. It was with him a favorite maxim, and one which he wished to be inscribed on his tomb, that 'THE TRUE WAY OF SERVING GOD IS TO DO GOOD TO MAN.'

We now come to the consideration of the Rajah's endowment of Veneration and Wonder, the two sentiments which are most influential in forming the religious character. Veneration is the feeling of respect, and does not in any degree determine the ob-

ject towards which that respect shall be directed. The faculty may be manifested in reverence for Jupiter, or the Lama of Thibet, or graven images, or the God of the Universe, — for crocodiles, or cats, or the Great Mogul, or Catholic priests, or Presbyterian ministers, or rusty coins, or a titled aristocracy, or the ornaments and furniture of a church. To those who have it disproportionately strong, the word 'old' is synonymous with 'venerable;' and, in their view, no institution or doctrine, however hurtful and absurd, is, if sanctioned by antiquity, to be at all meddled with. They obstinately adhere to the religious tenets instilled into them in childhood, and will not listen to arguments tending to support doctrines of a different kind. When, on the other hand, the organ of Veneration is moderate, and the intellect is acute and enlightened, the individual, unwarped by prejudice and feeling, regards only the intrinsic merits of the doctrines and institutions which prevail around him, and shapes his opinions accordingly. Such a man was Rammohun Roy. His head and history concur in showing, that intellect, justice, and independence, had with him complete control over the sentiment of Veneration. As soon as he began to think, he intuitively perceived the absurdity of the dogmas taught by the Brahmin priests. He seems never to have venerated except in accordance with Intellect and Conscientiousness. The whole tendency of his mind was opposite to superstition. Wonder, the feeling which, when excessive, leads mankind to gloat upon, and swallow with peculiar avidity, the marvellous, the occult, the supernatural, and the astonishing, — and so tends to produce credulity, — had here but little sway. The mysterious and unintelligible had no charms for him: he submitted every thing to the test of consistency and reason. His great aim was to deliver his countrymen from the degrading idolatry in which they were engulfed, and to establish among them the belief of a Great Supreme. He was no friend of ceremonies in the worship of God. With him, adoration implied only 'the elevation of the mind to the conviction of the existence of the Omnipotent Deity, as testified by His wise and wonderful works, and continual con-

templation of His power as so displayed; together with a constant sense of the gratitude which we naturally owe Him, for our existence, sensation, and comfort.' * He had no tendency to believe in miraculous interpositions of the Deity, where his judgment did not perceive sufficient occasion for them; and it even appears that he did not credit the miraculous origin of Christianity. His views respecting miracles are pretty obvious from a passage in the Second Appeal, (p. 225.) 'If all assertions,' he says, 'were to be indiscriminately admitted as facts, merely because they are testified by numbers, how can we dispute the truth of those miracles which are said to have been performed by persons esteemed holy amongst natives of this country (India?) The very same argument, pursued by the Editor (of the "Friend of India,") would equally avail the Hindoos. Have they not accounts and records handed down to them, relating to the wonderful miracles stated to have been performed by their saints, such as Ugustyu, Vushistu, and Gotum; and their gods incarnate, such as Ram, Krishnu, and Nursingh; in presence of their contemporary friends and enemies, the wise and the ignorant, the select and the multitude? Could not the Hindoos quote, in support of their narrated miracles, authorities from the histories of their most inveterate enemies the Jeins, who join the Hindoos entirely in acknowledging the truth and credibility of their miraculous accounts?' 'Moosulmans, on the other hand, can produce records written and testified by contemporaries of Mohummed, both friends and enemies, who are represented as eye-witnesses of the miracles ascribed to him; such as his dividing the moon into two parts, and walking in sunshine without casting a shadow. They assert, too, that several of those witnesses suffered the greatest calamities, and some even death, in defence of that religion; some before the attempts of Mohummed at conquest, others after his commencing such attempts, and others after his death.' After care-

* These are his own words, in his Second Defence of the Monotheistical System of the Veds. Calcutta, 1817. *Transl.* p. 185.

fully considering this passage, we find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that Rammohun Roy did not believe in the miracles of Christianity. He speaks of them, however, in respectful terms — remarking that he 'has never placed the miracles related in the New Testament on a footing with the extravagant tales of his countrymen.' Dr. Carpenter, indeed, represents him as acknowledging, in his Second Appeal in defence of the Precepts of Jesus, the divine commission and wonderful works of Jesus Christ; and in doing so, quotes (though apparently without laying stress upon them) a few scattered phrases from the Appeal, which seem to countenance the statement: but in perusing, several months before the Rajah's death, the whole of his controversial writings relative to the 'Precepts,' we were strongly impressed with the idea that he had throughout studiously avoided an explicit declaration of his views regarding the person and miracles of Jesus Christ, in a way which he would not have adopted, had his conviction been that Jesus was a special messenger from God. His admiration of the moral character of the founder of Christianity, however, is every where evident. Near the beginning of the Second Appeal, he says, that 'in the veracity, candor, and perfection of Jesus of Nazareth, he has happily been persuaded to place implicit confidence.' Our opinion we find corroborated by the gentleman quoted in the Asiatic Journal, who remarks, that the Rajah's published works 'state not what he believed, but what he considered the sacred books of different persuasions to inculcate: for example, he maintained that the most ancient Hindoo works taught pure theism; and that the Christian Scriptures, both Old and New Testament, taught the leading doctrines of the Unitarians.' It appears, nevertheless, that in the conversation at Bristol, formerly alluded to, he expressed his belief in the divine authority of Christ, in the reality of his miracles, 'and particularly in his resurrection, which he said was the foundation of the Christian faith, and the great fact on which he rested his own hopes of a resurrection.' Drs. Jerrard and Carpenter, and the Reverend Mr. Foster, testify that this profession was explicitly made in their

presence. (Carpenter, pp. 82–85.) Mr. Arnot, however, gives, in the Asiatic Journal for December, 1833, a very different account of the Rajah's belief, and one which again confirms our own impression. 'As I am one of the few in England,' he says, in allusion to Dr. Carpenter's statement, 'from whom the Rajah never disguised his opinions, I do not deem it proper to incur the responsibility of asserting that which others, not knowing the truth, would resolutely and conscientiously deny. All I shall say is, that his piety was, I believe, sincere, and his religious principles, I think, highly philosophical and benevolent, though not at all corresponding with those of any sect of Christians, except in the doctrine of the unity of God. With every respect to the persons in Bristol mentioned by Dr. Carpenter, I do not think any of them were long enough and sufficiently intimate with the Rajah to render their sentiments regarding his opinions of sufficient weight to be poised in the scale against those who have known him for many years.' 'The profession of faith which seems to have been obtained from the Rajah in his latter days, while at Bristol, residing with and surrounded by Unitarians, is a conclusive proof,' continues Mr. Arnot, 'of the state of his mind at that period; such profession being much at variance with the opinions he had always firmly maintained so many years, while his mind was in its full vigor.' (P. 290.) If these opposite statements are both to be received as correct — and there seems to be no reason for doubting either of them, — one of two conclusions is inevitable. Either the Rajah departed, in his last days, from opinions which he had for many years steadily professed; or, the unhealthy state of his brain so far withdrew restraint from that 'disposition to acquiescence, which eastern politeness requires,' and which, as Dr. Carpenter mentions, 'was known sometimes to place him in circumstances, and lead him to expressions, which made his sincerity questioned;' that it led him into the avowal of some of the tenets of his Bristol friends, which in reality he did not hold. Between these alternatives we must leave the reader to judge for himself.

Rammohun Roy entertained a favorable view of man's moral dignity and capability of improvement. In the Introduction to the Translation of the Ishopanishad, published at Calcutta in 1816, he writes: 'The physical powers of man are limited, and when viewed comparatively, sink into insignificance; while, in the same ratio, his moral faculties rise in our estimation, as embracing a wide sphere of action, and possessing a capability of almost boundless improvement. If the short duration of human life be contrasted with the great age of the universe, and the limited extent of bodily strength with the many objects to which there is a necessity of applying it, we must necessarily be disposed to entertain but a very humble opinion of our own nature; and nothing, perhaps, is so well calculated to restore our self-complacency, as the contemplation of our more extensive moral powers, together with the highly beneficial objects which the appropriate exercise of them may produce.'

There is a depression on the Rajah's head over the organ of Hope; and, in the development, we have stated that organ as 'rather full.' The information on this point of his character is very scanty: so far as it goes, it is in harmony with the development. In the English preface to the reprint of the Abridgement of the Vedant, he says that when, in the beginning of his labors to purify the Hindoo religion, he was deserted by his relations, he 'felt extremely melancholy.' D'Acosta speaks of him in 1818, as having a 'habitually grave countenance,' and appearing 'to have a slight disposition to melancholy.' (Carpenter, p. 107.)—Wit or Mirthfulness, we may remark, is not large. Another symptom of deficient Hope, is the fact mentioned by Mr. Estlin, that in his last illness, 'he told his son and those around him, that he should not recover.'

Of the intellectual organs, the largest are Individuality, Language, Comparison, and Causality. His love of knowledge, talent for business, and minute acquaintance with the Scriptures, are illustrations of the strength of Individuality; and we need not say that the great development of Language accords with his extensive

literary attainments. In regard to these, Mr. Arnot says, 'he was acquainted more or less with ten languages: Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, English, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French. The two first he knew critically, as a scholar; the third, fourth, fifth and sixth he spoke and wrote fluently; in the eighth, perhaps, his studies or reading did not extend much beyond the originals of the Christian Scriptures; and in the latter two, his knowledge was apparently more limited; though, to show his unwearied industry, it may be noticed that he had seriously resumed the study of French in the present year. He has published works in Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, and English: his most useful labor in regard to the first, is his translation of the Veds; and his vernacular tongue, the Bengali, owes to him a well written Grammar, in the English language.' He wrote and submitted to the government abroad, many papers for the improvement of its internal administration. 'On this subject, by far the most valuable work he has left behind him, is his 'Remarks on the Judicial and Revenue Systems of India,' in the form of queries and replies, contained among the Minutes of Evidence laid before Parliament on the India question. He prepared besides, while in England, various able papers or essays on the working of the Supreme Court of Calcutta, against the Salt monopoly in India, &c., which have not been published.' He is understood to have made diligent researches into the history of Mahomet, and to have partially written an account of the life of that remarkable man. Mr. Arnot affirms, that he looked upon Mahomet, as being the abolisher of the idolatry of the ancient Arabs, as one of the greatest men that ever lived, and an eminent benefactor to mankind. About the year 1819, he engaged, along with the Rev. Mr. Adam, and another Baptist Missionary, the Rev. Mr. Yates, both well reputed for their oriental and classic acquirements, to translate the New Testament into Bengalee, a task which was found one of extreme difficulty. 'We met,' he says, 'twice every week, and had for our guidance all the translations of the Bible, by different authors, which we could procure. Notwithstanding

our exertions, we were obliged to leave the accurate translation of several phrases to future consideration; and, for my own part, I felt discontented with the translation adopted of several passages, though I tried frequently, when alone at home, to select more eligible expressions, and applied to native friends for their aid for that purpose. I beg to assure you, that I (though a native of this country) do not recollect having engaged myself once, during my life, in so difficult a task as the translation of the New Testament into Bengalee.' * A lesson of great value, which may be derived from this passage, is, that we in Britain ought to recollect that the same, or even greater difficulties lay in the path of the authors of our own version of the Bible; and that we ought not to be too obstinate in adhering to interpretations, consistent enough, perhaps, with the knowledge and views of our ancestors, but at variance with scientific and philosophical principles discovered and established in later times.

The relevancy and acuteness of the reasonings of Rammohun Roy resulted from Causality and Comparison, combined with Language and Individuality. The organs which give geometrical talent — Form, Size, and Locality — are well developed. Number, however, is only moderate, from which we infer little arithmetical ability. On this point we have no information. Similar remarks may be applied to Order and Tune. It is not likely that he was remarkable for a love of punctilious arrangement and systematic regularity; and as nothing is said about his musical talent, it seems probable that the manifestations of Tune were not such as to attract the attention of his friends.

It is now time to conclude our account of this remarkable individual. His character is one which must be highly interesting to every student of the moral, intellectual, and religious nature of

* Correspondence relative to the Prospects of Christianity, and the means of promoting its reception in India. Cambridge, New England, 1824. London, reprinted 1825. The beginning of this correspondence was the transmission of a number of questions by the Rev. Dr. Ware, Professor of Divinity in Harvard College, to the Rev. W. Adam and Rammohun Roy, with the view of eliciting information on the subjects specified in the above title.

man: to the phrenologist it is peculiarly instructive, abounding, as it does, with numerous and varied illustrations of his science. We have entered considerably into detail respecting the religious views of Rammohun Roy, under the belief that such views, when adopted deliberately, conscientiously, and after due inquiry, indicate, to a considerable extent, the natural dispositions of the person by whom they are held. To the intrinsic merits of the opinions themselves, nothing which we have said has the slightest reference.

ART. XIX. — *Report on Infant Schools.* — [Read at a meeting of the Boston Phrenological Society, Sept. 19th, 1834.]

THE Committee appointed to visit and examine the Infant schools of the city having attended to the duties assigned them, beg leave to report:

For this purpose they would first notice briefly the several schools they have visited, and then subjoin such remarks as their observation suggests, and the importance of the subject requires. The schools will be placed in the order in which they have been visited.

No. 1. 'The Broad Street Infant School' — situated under the Mariner's church in Purchase Street, and supported by a society of ladies. This school is under the charge of Miss Martha Ball — a most patient, benevolent, and excellent young lady: with an assistant, who is preparing herself to take the care of an infant school in the valley of the West. The list of children contains about 90, with an average attendance of 70. One hundred could be easily accommodated, were the room larger. These children are taken from the miserable rooms and scenes of Broad-street, and its immediate vicinity. The school-room is too small,

and very imperfectly ventilated; and, the want of a play-ground is felt. There are no accommodations for keeping the children all day. The recess occurs in the middle of the forenoon and the afternoon. The children are kept upon the gallery an hour, or an hour and a half, at a time — but their exercises are continually varied, and all appearances of listlessness are instantly met by some change calculated to arouse attention. Pictured cards are used for conveying lessons in natural history and sacred scripture. The exercises of the school consist in counting, spelling, singing, marching, moving the limbs in various ways, &c. The moral education of the children is especially aimed at. They are taught to love each other, and to treat all with kindness and justice. Questions of right and wrong, springing out of the occurrences of the school, are often submitted to the decision of the pupils. Improvement has followed in the moral conduct of the children. From having been, like little tigers, at first, they have grown comparatively mild and peaceable. No blows are given in punishment — rebellious mouths or limbs are sometimes tied with a handkerchief — or the offenders are placed in disgrace upon 'the bad seat.'

Since the first visit your Committee made to this school, they have had the pleasure of making it another, and offinding it located in spacious and well-ventilated rooms in the old type-foundry, in the rear of Hamilton-place. The children now can be kept all day — and much improvement may confidently be expected to follow the change.

From their acquaintance with the misery and degradation of the houses from which the children of this school are taken, your Committee cannot but desire to see the fullest attention and support given to this so truly charitable an institution.

No. 2. Private Infant School, Gridley Street. Miss Cornelia Brush, with an assistant, established this a few years since, and has continued to conduct it partly on the Infant school system. It embraces children, whose parents pay from 4 to 5 dollars a quarter for the tuition. They are taken from the age of two and

a half to seven years. The building was erected upon Miss Brush's plan — and contains two very good rooms communicating by folding-doors, with a small apartment containing a bed, wash-stand, &c., for the children. The ceiling is high, and the ventilation quite good.

The exercises of the school are varied every 15 minutes. The pupils are not confined to the gallery a long time — and the youngest are allowed to move and nestle about pretty much at their pleasure, except during certain short exercises, when all are required to keep still. The children are taught reading, spelling, geography. Some at the age of 4 years read Miss Edgeworth's tales with ease. They are exercised in numeration and the simple rules of arithmetic. But the chief part of their education is of a moral character. They come to the school in many cases selfish, unjust, or the like: every display of ill-feeling or instance of delinquency is carefully watched and counteracted; and in time all the pupils, with hardly an exception, become mild, kind, just and true. Your Committee accidentally saw some effects of this moral discipline. One boy, as he passed through the school-yard, plucked a rose; and, after holding it a moment before Miss Brush, bore it off as his own. We asked for an explanation — and we were glad to be told, that the lad had been good in school, and that his own consciousness of good desert authorized him to gather the flower as he had. — Another boy, as he left the school-room, asked the teacher if he might take a rose. — Certainly, said she, if you have been good enough. His conscience recalled a late failure in duty — and he passed the bushes without offering to touch them. The usual infant school exercises with the hands and limbs are mostly dispensed with in this school. The march around the room is occasionally used. The children appeared very happy. They rarely cry in school.

To teach the pupils to *think* and *observe* is made the principal aim. Considerable success appears to have crowned the endeavor. The parents repeatedly tell Miss Brush, that their children are much more observing — and that they take more notice, and

ask more, and better questions, whenever they ride or walk out. One father, indeed, came to the teacher with the complaint that his little girl, aged only three, *knew* a great deal about paper, its fabric, use, &c., but had not learned her letters.

The teacher feels that her school would be more successful, were its plan better understood, and sympathized in, by the parents and the community. She is accustomed to hear it called 'a nursery' — and could wish that this title were felt to be the highest and best for her little institution — a nursery of infant intellect, and infant sentiment. Pictured cards and models are not much used in this school. As the children are allowed to bring their play-things to school, opportunities are thus afforded of showing them churns, carts, wheel-barrows, &c., and explaining their uses. — Miss Brush is satisfied that such discipline and instruction as that of her school can hardly begin too soon. The earlier it is offered, the greater its effect. When corporal punishment is required, she prefers to have it given at home by the parents. She is very desirous of never exciting the anger of the children, and in all cases wishes them to understand *why* they are punished.

No. 3. Franklin Infant School, Theatre Alley. School supported by a society of ladies. Miss Lucy Ball is teacher — with an assistant. The building erected for this school is well planned, containing two good sized rooms, communicating with each other; with a store-closet and crib-room. There is a pretty good yard in front. The ventilation of the rooms could easily be improved. The annual expense is about 400 dollars. Six and a quarter cents a week are taken from a few of the parents. About 50 or 60 children attend, mostly from mechanics' families — some from poor and depraved homes.

Constant change is maintained in the exercises. The pupils are kept to the gallery only 30 minutes at a time. The usual infant school exercises, with the limbs, marching, singing, &c., are used. They play, during recess, in the rooms, or in the yard. The latter is decidedly preferred by the teacher. While at play, they never touch the flowers and shrubs, or encroach upon the

borders. Pictured cards are constantly used. A great deal of dependence is placed upon teaching by rote, we were sorry to observe. Some models are used — more are needed — the teacher finds them very useful. She is accustomed to direct the attention of her pupils to the various objects around them that are connected with her lessons. Many of the children can read very well. Many stay at noon, and take their dinner at a table together. This affords an opportunity for inculcating good order, benevolence and justice. They soon learn to abstain from each other's messes — to eke out each other's portions, and to partake of their meal in a quiet and decent manner. Corporal punishment is sometimes given — in blows upon the hands — rarely upon the head; mischievous hands and feet are sometimes tied. The moral education of the children is considered of the highest importance; and great improvement appears to attend it. From having been selfish and unjust towards each other, and very wild, the pupils have become mild, just, benevolent, and orderly. Happy looks are seen on every face. No blows are given — hardly even in sport. They will not take each other's things, even when offered, without the teacher's consent. They seem decidedly to respect each other's property. They become very conscientious in judging of their own merit. The earlier they are sent, the more easily these points are secured. The ages of the children are from 15 months to 5 years. They wish sometimes to return from the primary schools to this. A few have been permitted to do so.

No. 4. Infant School, for colored children, in Belknap Street. This is poorly supported. Mrs. Moody is the teacher. The rooms are under the African church — and are very ill adapted for the purpose, without ventilation, and having no yard outside — about 64 pupils attend. They are described as having been 'like bears' when they first came. Their moral education receives the first attention. Their teacher now thinks that they are quite mild, benevolent, just, and true. They are taken as soon as they can go alone.

A few stay at noon, in summer — more do so in winter. They are kept to the gallery an hour and a half at a time. Their exercises are changed every 20 or 30 minutes. The children read well, and display a considerable degree of proficiency in calling figures, &c., written upon the black board. The recess, of half an hour, occurs in the middle of the forenoon and afternoon. During this, they play and amuse themselves in the room, under the eye of their teacher. Corporal punishment is sometimes inflicted. They are clapped or slapped. Their hands and feet are occasionally tied. The religious part of their instruction, as far as we noticed it, was after the fashion of 'the old school.'

No. 5. Ann Street Infant School. Situated in a very good and large room under the Bethel, North Square; is much in need, however, of a proper yard for play and exercise. Miss Connelly, a very benevolent and active young lady, takes charge of this school, with an assistant. The attendance averages 80 or 90 children, from seamen's families in part, and many from parents deeply degraded in intellect and sentiment.

The pupils are kept to the gallery an hour and a half at a time. Their exercises are varied every 10 or 15 minutes. These exercises consist of singing, spelling, counting, reading, moving their limbs, joints, &c. with occasional explanatory lessons upon natural history, &c. Pictured cards are used, with models, and specimens, as far as they can be obtained. The children are taught to read writing as well as printing — and they displayed great proficiency in this One of your committee wrote, in a running hand, upon the black board, 'Washington,' 'Bancroft,' and a few other words, such as they had probably never seen before, which they read with great facility. Their general reading was quite good. They are taught upon Mr. Mulkey's system, which your committee do not profess to understand. The children occasionally descend from the gallery, and perform exercises in march, or in line upon the floor.

Great attention is paid to their moral education. The little creatures are selfish, cruel, rude, at first — but soon become kind,

just, mild. We were fully satisfied of this from the scene at their dinner-table. Several remain all day. These bring their meal with them, and partake of it at small tables in the room, at noon. They took their seats in perfect order — they waited patiently till every mess was ready — after joining in repeating grace, they received permission to eat, and then closed their repast in silence and peace. They are known often to eke out each other's portion. They are, indeed, by this meal alone learning many a valuable lesson. No corporal punishment is used. Their hands or feet are sometimes tied, or covered with a handkerchief.

The 'silence exercise' is occasionally used in the school — requiring perfect silence from the children for a certain time.

The teacher is decidedly in favor of the use of models, drawings, and illustrations.

She uses all valuable books she can procure for her own improvement, but adheres in her instruction to no particular system, seeking all possible variety and adaptation.

The children appear healthy, happy, and exceedingly interested in all their exercises.

No. 6. Stillman Street Infant School, has been established about seven years — and is supported by the Boston Infant School Society. Mrs. Williston is the teacher, with her daughter as an assistant. The building occupied was erected for the purpose. It contains two rooms, of pretty good size, but poorly ventilated. The building is not in good order. The want of a wash-room, and proper yard is much felt.

From 45 to 65 attend the school. The two rooms allow a separation of the youngest from the oldest, which is preserved through the day, excepting during certain general exercises when all the children are placed together. They are kept upon the gallery about an hour and a half at a time. The recess occurs in the middle of the forenoon and of the afternoon. The exercises common in infant schools occupy the forenoon — the afternoon is passed in reading and spelling. The children are taught to

read both writing and printing from the black board. They displayed a considerable degree of proficiency, and certainly manifested great interest in this and their other exercises. The teacher endeavors to accompany her lessons with explanations. The exercises are varied continually. Pictured cards are used.

Great attention is paid in this school to the cleanliness of the children, as your committee were very glad to observe. The pupils are taken from the lowest families, generally. They enter at the age of eleven months, if sent, and are kept as long as they can be benefited.

The parents say their children have improved — becoming more kind, manageable, fond of the truth and conscientious. Several of the pupils stay at noon. Great improvement has taken place in the order and peace that attend their dinner. Corporal punishment is rarely used — and then usually on the youngest, by tapping their hands and arms. The older children always submit to mildness and persuasion.

No. 7. Infant School in Garden Street, situated in the rear of the Mission House, Buttolph Street. Your committee visited this school twice — but owing to accidental circumstances were unable to witness it in operation, or to observe more than a few general features. It has nearly a hundred children on its list, with an average attendance of 50 or 60. Great attention is paid to their moral education. They are not allowed to keep the same position on the gallery more than 15 minutes at a time. No corporal punishment is used. The school appeared like most of the others your committee had visited, and they allowed it to pass with the cursory examination they were able to give it.

Besides the above noticed Infant Schools, there are one or two small private schools in the city, partly conducted upon the infant school system. Your committee have visited them, but found little that required notice in this report. Mr. Fowle and Mr. Thayer have infant, or preparatory schools, attached to their establishments, and conducted in a manner calculated to prove of great service. Mr. Thayer, in the 'Rules and Regulations' at-

tached to his catalogue, thus speaks of this part of his system:— 'The preparatory department, at which children are received at a very tender age, may be considered as one of the best features of the establishment, as a pupil's success in advanced stages so essentially depends on right beginnings. It is a great mistake, and one that may lead to irreparable injury, to suppose that *any* school will do *well* enough for a child when he is very young. We cannot enter too early upon "the way in which we should go." Every succeeding step is affected by the antecedent one; and, to determine how we shall probably *end* our career, little more is necessary than to know how we began it.'

In closing their report, your committee would express the high degree of pleasure and interest they have received from the visits they have paid to these infant schools. The cheerfulness — the activity — the healthy, happy looks of the children — their interest in the various exercises — were such as no friend of the young could look upon without delight. We were glad to see an approach made, as we certainly did in these schools, towards a proper and rational mode of treating and educating the younger members of the family of man. We have observed in these establishments the dawn of a happy day — when human nature shall be trained with an enlightened regard to the powers, faculties, and constitution assigned it by its great Creator.

We are confident that the infant school system needs only to be improved as it may be, and based firmly as it ought to be upon the ultimate principles of human nature, to prove of the highest service in ameliorating man's present condition. Let children be gathered in infant schools as early as possible — let them meet with their fellow-beings in the morning of their days, that they may imbibe early the social principle of humanity — let their various faculties and sentiments be exercised and trained as soon as they are developed — let the infant pupil breathe the atmosphere of love, and yield to the mild but firm pressure of authority — let his early discipline be grounded on the future supremacy of his moral sentiments — let all that can adorn, guard, ennoble and

perfect human nature, be aimed at from the beginning of the child's career — and the great purpose of the Creator of all will be accomplished.

From the tour of duty assigned your committee, they have been led to indulge the highest hopes for the future progress of their race. They have seen, in the infant school system, imperfect as it now is, the germ of incalculable good. They earnestly commend the system to your regard — they would ask for it your protection and support — and they desire, above all, that such attention may be henceforth given to the early education of our children as shall lead to a far better, more philosophic, and more effective system than any that has yet been devised. Your committee had it in contemplation to lay before you such a plan of infant school instruction as might perhaps meet your approbation, or be carried into effect under your patronage. They have delayed their report, partly for the sake of doing so. But the subject is yet so novel to them, its bearings are so numerous, and its important results ought so carefully to be pondered upon, before they are hazarded — that it has seemed best to lay before you the details of their observations, and to express the hope that by discussion, or subsequent reports upon the great subject, you may do it the justice it amply deserves.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JONA. BARBER.
CHARLES F. BARNARD.
JOHN FLINT.
WM. B. FOWLE.
JAMES D. GREENE.

In placing this report upon the pages of the 'Annals,' the committee have not felt themselves at liberty to introduce any alterations into the form in which it was first laid before the Phrenological Society. Yet they are fully aware of its imperfections. They are willing to see it in print, only as an indication that *the first step* is now taken towards calling the attention of the community to the character and claims of the infant school system. This system, good as it is, and excellent as it may be made, is very

partially understood, and very poorly supported among us. Its true friends are grieved to see it lying under such neglect. Let us express again the hope that this report will serve to awaken a new and strong interest in the support and progress of infant schools. Let such schools receive the scrutiny — and they will challenge the patronage of our citizens. Let their important bearings upon the best interests of society be measured in all their wide extent, and we are confident of the happiest results. We trust that, in future numbers of the 'Annals,' these schools will again be brought before the public.

Oct. 6, 1834.

ART. XX. — *On the Phrenological Causes of the different Degrees of Liberty enjoyed by different Nations.* [Part II.] *Causes of the Independence, as distinguished from the Liberty of Nations.*

IN the former part of this essay, I endeavored to state and to illustrate the general principle, that nations are free, or, at least, susceptible of freedom, only as they possess the requisite endowment of the sentiments and the intellect; and that in every case free institutions are the effects, and not the causes of liberty.

Without farther recapitulation, I proceed to lay down the following proposition, — *That no nation, which has long been enslaved, can suddenly become free, and that such a phenomenon is without example in the history of the world.* In illustrating this proposition, it is necessary carefully to separate two things, which, though essentially different, have often been confounded: I mean, the *independence*, or freedom from a foreign yoke or influence, as contra-

distinguished from the *liberty* of a nation. From not attending to this distinction, nations have been supposed to become free when they have only become independent; and on this account it seems necessary that we should endeavor to investigate the phrenological causes which produce the one and the other.

The first requisite, then, which would appear indispensable to produce independence, is, *a certain general cerebral size;* without a considerable size in the brain, a nation can never mantain its independence, but, *ceteris paribus*, must inevitably fall before a nation more highly endowed in this respect. Hence, though the relative proportion of the organs in the British and Hindoo head had been similar, and only the size been different, it is clear, on phrenological principles, that the Hindoos, like the house of Saul, would have waxed weaker and weaker, while the British, like the house of David, would have waxed stronger and stronger. The superiority of the British in the organs of sentiment and intellect has no doubt accelerated the subjection of the Hindoos; but though their superiority had been in size alone, the result would in the end have been the same; and still we might have witnessed the extraordinary spectacle 40,000 Europeans maintaining an easy and peaceable sway over 100,000,000 of Asiatics. It is evident, however, that relative, not absolute size is here supposed. The same Hindoos, when opposed to a people not better endowed in this respect than themselves, might have asserted that independence which they were unable to maintain against the superior cerebral size of the British. Relative size then being supposed, we have next to inquire into the combination of the primitive faculties, which would give the desire to possess, and the capacity to maintain independence.

Self-esteem is, I apprehend, the chief element in the combination which inspires the love of independence; it is one of those faculties which cannot brook the lordly sway of a master; it produces the love of power, and therefore it cannot endure power in another when directed against itself; it naturally hates control, and prompts to resistance. *Self-esteem*, however, only gives the desire;

but to the actual acquisition and possession of independence, *Combativeness*, *Destructiveness*, *Firmness*, and a good endowment of the knowing faculties, seem to be necessary; these faculties being, so to speak, the instruments which *Self-esteem* employs to obtain its object. Without *Combativeness*, *Destructiveness*, and an adequate endowment of *Firmness*, a nation will be timid, fearful, and irresolute; they will be deficient in that courage and determination which these faculties inspire, and without which they will oppose a feeble resistance to an invading enemy. *Individuality* and the other knowing faculties are requisite for giving that power of observation and that capacity for arrangement, which are necessary in military operations, without some proficiency in which a nation would hold its independence by a very slender tenure.

But the combination we have now been considering is not, I apprehend, the only one which will produce independence; at least, it is susceptible of modification; so that a nation with *Self-esteem* comparatively moderate, but with *Love of Approbation* decidedly large, will also seek independence. This faculty is of the same engrossing character as *Self-esteem;* and as two proud men, so two vain men, mutually repel each other like similar poles of a magnet. This element of opposition, which is common to both faculties, seems to be the principle which in both produces the desire of independence, and the hatred of every rival. *Love of Approbation* is but another name for ambition, and the first object of an ambitious people is to be independent of all others, and to exalt the glory of their own country beyond that of every other. To a people so constituted, nothing can be so galling as national servitude. To be obliged to swell the ranks of the armies of their masters, and to be denied all share in the glory which results from victories and conquests, while that glory is usurped by another, is to rob them of that which *Love of Approbation* prizes above life itself, and must stimulate them to make every effort to throw off the yoke which thus galls and afflicts them. In a word, let us only imagine the feelings of the French,

if their beloved France were converted into a province of the British empire.

In treating of the independence, as opposed to the liberty of nations, I must at present assume, that while a full endowment of the sentiments and intellect is necessary to the attainment of the one, they are not necessary to the attainment of the other, and therefore I suppose them in the latter case to be possessed only in a moderate degree. Assuming this to be the fact, the next circumstance which would seem to increase or retard the acquisition of independence, is the degree in which a nation possesses the faculty of *Secretiveness*. It is essential to the attainment both of independence and of liberty, that the people should combine. It is too evident to require illustration, that without an united effort, no national object can be attained, and far less so great and important an object as national independence. But the power of combination in a people where the sentiments are deficient, is increased or diminished according to their development of *Secretiveness*. Large *Secretiveness*, combined with deficient *Conscientiousness*, naturally inspires distrust, and leads every man to suspect his neighbor. While every one is conscious to himself of sinister motives and purposes, and cannot know, or at least can know only with great difficulty, what are the real object of others, suspicion and want of confidence are generated, and the power of combination is proportionably diminished. Where, on the contrary, *Secretiveness* is moderate, and *Love of Approbation* large, there is no concealment, because the power to conceal is deficient. Such a people, therefore, will, *ceteris paribus*, act right, because their wrong acting will be immediately discovered, and thus their *Love of Approbation* will, to a certain degree, produce effects similar to those which result from *Conscientiousness*. This openness of character is favorable to a general union or association, not only because each knows the worst of the other, but because the worst aberrations from right conduct are immediately detected, and receive their punishment in a wounded *Love of Approbation*. It may be objected to this theory, that as secrecy is of the

utmost importance in a general confederacy where its success depends not on the union of a few, but of the great body of the people, so a large endowment of the faculty of *Secretiveness* would seem not only not to be disadvantageous, but to be positively and almost indispensably necessary. And, no doubt, this might be the case if the confederacy were once formed; but the point we are now considering is not how the people are to act when once they are united, but how the union itself is to be accomplished. It is premature to settle the operations of a campaign till the army is embodied, or while it is still doubtful whether it is possible to raise an army at all. Various, and perhaps insurmountable obstacles may arise to the successful prosecution of the war after the troops are collected, but still the first and and most indispensable requisite is the troops themselves;—and, therefore, though a people may not, after all, succeed in the objects for the attainment of which they have united, yet their actual union is the first step, and whatever retards their first and most indispensable movement, must more than anything else retard the great object which we suppose the people to have in view.

But though *Secretiveness* may thus, according to the degree in which it is possessed, either hinder or facilitate that union which we have seen to be necessary, the great springs to which I conceive independence must owe its rise, are either *Self-esteem*, or *Love of Approbation*, or both. But the characteristic nature of the independence, when actually obtained, will be different, according as it springs from the one of these faculties or the other; and it may be worth while to state what these characteristics are. The people, then, who have recovered their independence in consequence of large *Self-esteem*, will be prone to internal turbulence and rebellion, while the other will be comparatively tame and submissive. We have already seen that *Self-esteem* naturally hates control, and that it cannot endure power when directed against itself, from whatsoever quarter that power may come. It may be admitted, indeed, that a less degree of oppression, ex-

ercised by a foreign power, may excite a rebellion, than the same degree exercised by a sovereign of their own; because, in the former case, *Love of Approbation* is equally wounded with *Self-esteem;* while in the latter case, *Love of Approbation* is less injured, because their glory as a nation may remain unimpaired. Still, however, whether the yoke of oppression has been wreathed round their necks by a foreign or domestic ruler, they will not tamely submit to it; and they will be prone to have recourse to arms for revenge, or, at all events, will deeply hate the tyranny which they may, for a time, be compelled to endure. Not so, however, with a nation whose *Self-esteem* is moderate, and whose *Love of Approbation* is large. They will feel, in a much more imperfect degree, that exercise of power which was intolerable to the other. Let their vanity be gratified, and their rulers may trample under foot every right and every privilege which once they may have possessed. They may, indeed, rise against a sovereign who should tarnish the lustre of their national glory, or bring disgrace upon their arms; but if he maintains these pure and unsullied, he may tell them they are free, while at the same moment he treats them as slaves. They possess not that feeling of personal dignity which large *Self-esteem* inspires, and which instinctively repels every attempt to debase and degrade them in their own estimation; and, therefore, when this feeling is deficient, a people will, *ceteris paribus*, tamely endure a degree of oppression, which a nation differently constituted never would submit to. I may afterwards have occasion to illustrate these remarks by a comparison of the French and English character. Shakspeare seems to have recognized the difference between the two nations in this respect, and has beautifully pourtrayed the natural language of *Self-esteem*, when, in answer to the demand of the dauphin of France,—

> 'On what submissive message art thou sent?'

Sir William Lucy replies,—

> 'Submission, Dauphin! 'tis a mere *French* word;
> 'We English warriors wot not what it means.'

I have so often, in the former part of this essay, stated, at least

in general terms, the combination of the primitive faculties, which I conceive to be necessary to the attainment of liberty, and further, *why* it is that combination is necessary, that that I shall now do little more than enumerate the faculties by which the combination is made up. And, in the first place, all those faculties which we have seen to be necessary to the acquisition of independence, are all necessary to the acquisition of liberty, and I need not, therefore, repeat them. But as we excluded from that combination all the higher sentiments, and only supposed the presence of the lower sentiments and propensities, which produce a selfish as opposed to a generous and disinterested character, and as a generous and disinterested regard to the public weal is implied in the very supposition of liberty, we must add, as indispensable to the attainment of it, all the higher sentiments, and particularly those of *Conscientiousness* and *Benevolence*. When along with these there is also an ample endowment of *Comparison* and *Causality*, together with a full endowment of *Cautiousness* and *Secretiveness*, a nation may then be said to be possessed of the whole natural elements which fit them both for the acquisition and enjoyment of liberty. And, indeed, we may go farther, and assert, that, in the pursuit and possession of this noblest of human objects, there is scope afforded for the exercise of every faculty of the mind of man. If, in the accomplishment of those works of genius, which a Milton or a Shakspeare have transmitted to their admiring countrymen, we perceive traces of an ample possession of all the faculties of our common nature, it is not surely too much to assume, that to the accomplishment of the great and arduous work of liberty, the whole propensities, sentiments, and intellect, should be required to exert their combined and harmonious operation.

In comparing, then, independence with liberty, we may safely predicate, that a people, with a development susceptible of liberty, will more certainly succeed in obtaining it, than a nation, with a development capable of obtaining independence, will succeed in acquiring that independence. In the first case, there is a union and a combination of the whole three orders of faculties, (and 'a threefold cord is not quickly broken,') while in the

latter case we only supposed the existence of the lower propensities with the sentiments of *Self-esteem* and *Love of Approbation.* In truth, when all the three orders of faculties are combined in the attainment of one great object, there is a power and a force which is irresistible, which will rise superior to all circumstances and opposition; and, therefore, a nation capable of freedom will be free, unless the opposing physical force is absolutely overwhelming. Circumstances exert a feeble influence in the one case, while they exert a powerful influence in the other; and they assert this influence in the last case, because the uniting or combining principle is weak. Where *Benevolence* and *Conscientiousness* are deficient, the people have an internal feeling of mutual distrust and want of confidence. They may be all suffering oppression; but each, conscious of his own selfishness, and fearing lest the power which must necessarily be confided to those who would free them from this oppression, may in all probability be abused, and finally turned against themselves,

> 'It makes them rather bear those ills they have,
> Than fly to others that we know not of,—
> Thus conscience does make cowards of them all.'

The circumstances which may give occasion to the assertion of independence, are as various as the varying events of human life. Some new or extraordinary act of oppression may rouse the people to revenge; or the sufferings induced by some great and sudden natural calamity may so irritate their minds, that they may suddenly break their bonds, and inflict exemplary vengeance on their rulers and oppressors. The circumstance, however, which would most of all appear influential, would be the rise of some individual with a large cerebral endowment indicating great force of character, and who, availing himself of the national calamities, might, from his own native energy of mind, influence and command and call forth the energies of the people, and thus, as Bruce did at Bannockburn, establish their independence in a day. But though it may thus be more difficult to ascertain, in every case, the causes which lead to independence, because there is greater scope afforded to the effects of modifying circumstances,

we are not to suppose that nature is less constant and regular in her operations, than in the case of a nation struggling for its liberties, though in the one case we are less able, because less informed, to predicate the result than in the other. What is true of individuals is true of nations. We require to know very little of modifying circumstances, in predicating what would be the manifestations from the development of a Bellingham on the one hand, and from a development like that of the Rev. Mr. M—— on the other; while, with regard to a third class, where the propensities, sentiments, and intellect are more *in equilibrio*, we could not venture a step without the fullest information of the whole range of the modifying causes to which the individual had been exposed.

Though a people, therefore, may be capable of independence, they will not necessarily attain it as a nation capable of liberty will attain freedom. The former being thus powerfully influenced by circumstances, when these become favorable, they may suddenly become independent, while no nation will or can suddenly become free. If they have the power and the capacity of being free, why were they not free before, if mere circumstances oppose but a feeble resistance to their being so? We may fix a year or a day in which it may be said of a people, that they became independent; but we never can say of liberty that the people were slaves yesterday, and they are free to-day. In short, we come to the conclusion, that freedom is of slow, and silent, and gradual growth. It must pass through the successive stages of infancy and youth, ere it reaches the maturity of manhood; and long before the people have, so to speak, committed the first overt act of freedom in the establishment of free institutions, there has been a silent, and perhaps unnoticed progress which, though unseen, has been felt, and the last step is only the termination of a journey which commenced at a period which is now unknown, and has continued to advance during the lapse of ages and of centuries. I know of no reign in the history of England, in which it may be said, that the people of England became free, and before the commencement of which they were not free. And what is

thus true of England, we shall afterwards find to be true of every other nation of whom it may justly be said, that they are free.

And here I cannot help observing, that if these remarks are well founded, how impressive is the lesson which they teach! How surely is liberty and every other blessing to be found in the path of virtue! It is not merely to be found; virtue will ensure and even *command* success; and wo to those who encounter the fearful odds which a nation capable of freedom can bring against those who should attempt to rob them of it! Even though deficient, as compared with their enemies, in the mere animal propensities of *Combativeness* and *Destructiveness*—nay, though they should even be deficient in general cerebral size, there is yet a power in the sentiments and intellect which is truly irresistible, before which all opposition must wither and fade away, and which will finally enable them to triumph over every obstacle which is not absolutely and positively insurmountable. But a people merely fighting for their independence have no such certainty of success. The attacking and resisting forces are, so to speak, equal. It is the *Combativeness*, *Destructiveness*, *Acquisitiveness*, *Self-esteem* and *Love of Approbation*, of the invaders arrayed against the same combination of faculties in the invaded; and though, perhaps, the latter may fight under the additional influence of *Amativeness*, *Philoprogenitiveness*, and *Adhesiveness*, from which springs the social affections, and the *amor patriæ*, yet even this increased strength is often more than counterbalanced by the increased activity of the propensities and sentiments in the invaders, from the mere circumstance of their being the attacking, and not the defending army. There is an additional confidence and impetus thus given, and which more than any thing else was the cause of the victories of Pharsalia and Philippi. It is only in the case of a war between the propensities, that the event is more or less uncertain, and in which fortune seems to suspend aloft her doubtful scales; but her power and her influence cease when the propensities are arrayed against the sentiments and the intellect. There are no chances in this war. A nation fighting for independence may be conquered; but a people

struggling for their liberty, though they be exterminated, never can be subdued. The loss of independence, as it lacerates *Self-esteem* and *Love of Approbation*, will be *felt*, and exactly according to the degree in which they are possessed will it be *severely* felt: still it is a loss which may be borne; but the loss of liberty lacerates every feeling of the soul. To those who have once tasted of its sweets, and who know how to value them, the loss of liberty is the loss of everything which makes life valuable, and death is then welcomed, not as a foe, but as a friend.

In proceeding to the illustration of the principles which I have thus imperfectly endeavored to state and to explain, I feel oppressed by the number of the examples which might be adduced to establish them; for I might appeal to the whole range of history for their truth. My selections, therefore, must be few, and the statement of them brief. The first class of cases, then, to which I shall shortly advert, are those in regard to which it may be said of a people that they are independent, but not free; and the first attack, if I may so express myself, which I made against the liberties of nations, is a denial of the existence of freedom in any one of all the states or kingdoms of the ancient world. We have heard so much of the boasted liberties of Greece and Rome as contra-distinguished from the other nations of antiquity, that, if we can prove that they had no just pretensions to freedom, we may be permitted to assume the non-existence of liberty in any other.

If *Conscientiousness* and *Benevolence* are essential to the acquisition and enjoyment of liberty, it should seem no difficult matter to prove, that the Greeks and Romans were eminently deficient in the possession of these faculties, and, of consequence, incapable of freedom. No one, I think, can rise from the perusal of an unvarnished history of these nations, without that deep depression which the record of their crimes and their atrocities must produce upon his mind, while he has searched in vain for almost a single trace of justice or of benevolence. For myself I have often experienced a degree of pain and oppression in the perusal of ancient history, from which I was glad to escape, by

endeavoring to forget that such things were. There are indeed bright examples of patriotism and self-devotion, and there are those noble deeds of arms which are associated in our minds with the names of Marathon and Platea; but I am not aware that all and every one of these may not be referred to a highly-excited *Love of Approbation* and *Self-esteem*, or that these faculties may not have nerved the arms which wrought those deeds which we admire. Phrenology teaches us, that all these manifestations can be exhibited, without implying, at the same time, the predominance of *Benevolence* and *Conscientiousness;* and if these higher sentiments were in reality possessed by the Greeks and Romans only in a moderate degree, their brightest examples of patriotism and valor must be stripped of more than half their glory, and they must consent to take their rank only as a more dignified class of banditti, because exhibiting on a greater scale those virtues, if such they can be called, which have often equally distinguished these enemies of established government and social order.

Beginning with the Greeks, and selecting the Athenians as, perhaps, on the whole, affording the best specimen of the virtues and vices of that distinguished people, let us inquire into the foundation of these eulogiums on their liberty, which have passed from generation to generation, and the existence of which, it would seem, we are as little entitled to question as were the schoolmen to deny the truth or the authority of the Aristotelian philosophy. It is impossible, however, to establish, by a full induction of facts, that the Athenians were not free, because that would be to write the history of their country; nor do I apprehend this to be necessary. There are traits in the character of a people, equally as in the character of an individual, which can leave us at no loss to determine what that character truly is. Without inquiring, then, into the accusation brought against them by Mr. Mitford, — 'that the security of property in Athens was less than in the most arbitrary of the oriental governments,' or ask, with Isocrates and Xenophon, 'how it was possible that such wretches, (that is the term,) should administer public affairs with wisdom,' 'while he who could best flatter and deceive them obtained most of their confidence, and

that with such qualifications the turbulent, licentious, and dissolute,—in a word, the orator who most resembled his audience, commonly prevailed in the assembly?' Nor shall we advert to the dreadful cruelties inflicted on the Scioneans and Melians, where all the males above the age of puberty were inhumanly massacred, and the women and children dragged into perpetual servitude. I shall pass from the consideration of all these, and confine myself to a rapid sketch of the treatment which the most illustrious of the citizens of Athens received at the hands of their ungrateful countrymen, exhibiting, as it does, a degree of injustice and tyranny which has rarely, if ever, been equalled by the most arbitrary despot.

Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, was falsely accused of being corrupted by a Persian bride, was fined in the sum of fifty talents, which, being unable to pay, he was thrown into prison, where he soon after died of his wounds. Cimon, one of the most virtuous of the citizens of Athens, and one of the most successful of her generals, was banished. Alcibiades, after a series of the most splendid victories, was accused and disgraced; 'and the same man,' observes Dr. Gillies, 'whom a few months before, they found it impossible sufficiently to reward, was actually exposed to the rage of disappointment and the fury of revenge.' Themistocles, the greatest of the naval commanders of Athens, and who annihilated the Persian fleet at Salamis, was, under the influence of Spartan bribery and intrigues, accused, sentenced to perpetual banishment, and died in exile. Pericles, the greatest of her statesmen, and one of the most generous of her patriots, escaped with the greatest difficulty from the rage of popular phrenzy. Timotheus and Iphicrates were both tried capitally, and though they were saved from death by an expedient employed by the former, a fine was imposed, which no Athenian citizen in that age was in a condition to pay; 'a severity,' observes the historian, 'which drove into banishment those able and illustrious commanders.' Xenophon, not more distinguished for his military talents and successes, than for the 'undeviating virtue,' 'erect probity,' and 'diffusive benevolence,' which characterizes

the scholar, who most of all resembled his great master Socrates, was banished by the Athenians, and 'was compelled, in the decline of life, to seek refuge in the corrupt and licentious city of Corinth.' Demosthenes, whose unrivalled powers were, during his whole life, consecrated to the service of his country, shared the same fate. And Socrates was put to death for no other reason than that he was the greatest, the wisest, and the most virtuous of all the philosophers of antiquity. Though the death of Socrates must be considered as the consummation of their iniquity, while it stamps with indelible disgrace the people who were guilty of it, and far exceeds in atrocity their conduct to Aristides, I must be permitted to allude to the causes, and to the law, in consequence of which he who was surnamed, by way of eminence, 'the Just,' was banished from his country. I observe, then, that the very appellation which thus distinguished Aristides is to my mind the strongest evidence which could be adduced of the deficient *Conscientiousness* of the Athenians. Appellations of distinction are confessedly given, because the distinctive quality is of rare and uncommon occurrence. We speak of the strength of a Samson only because he was unequalled in the possession of his extraordinary powers; for if all the human race had been equally distinguished, his name had never been transmitted to posterity. And if the Athenians had been as remarkable for their justice as for their courage, we would never have heard of Aristides, or at least his name would not have been associated with the epithet of Just, for the same reason that we hear of none of the Athenian generals who were surnamed the 'Brave.' I am persuaded there are, at this moment, hundreds and thousands of the inhabitants of Britain, who merit equally with Aristides this honorable title, but who do not on that account receive it, because, happily with us, *Conscientiousness* is not of such rare occurrence as at Athens;—or, if this statement should be disputed, I am sure, at all events, that in this country no one would be *punished* for his justice; for it is the eternal disgrace of the Athenians that they banished Aristides for his *justice*, as they put to death Socrates for his *virtue*. 'At Athens,' says Dr. Gillies, 'even virtue was proscribed,

when it seemed to endanger the public freedom; and only four years after the battle of Marathon, in which he had displayed equal valor and wisdom, Aristides, the justest and most respectable of the Greeks, became the victim of popular jealousy, — an example of cruel rigor, which will forever brand the spirit of democratical policy.'

And what then are we to think of that freedom, the preservation of which required, or was thought to require, the proscription even of virtue itself? Or, how can the people be called free, who, almost without exception, successively doomed the wisest and the best of their citizens to disgrace, to banishment, and to death? Ingratitude implies the absence of *Benevolence* and *Conscientiousness;* and we have proved that the Athenians were eminently ungrateful. Is it any answer to this accusation, or is it any defence of these atrocities, that they were the acts of the people at large, and not of a single individual, to whom we gratuitously give the name of despot, as if despotism ceased to be such, because, by an arithmetical process, we have obtained six thousand despots instead of one? But if the sentences thus passed on Aristides and his illustrious countrymen were unjust, so was the law itself under which they were condemned. That law, entitled the Ostracism, from the shells on which the votes were marked, entitled the majority of the Athenian assembly to expel any citizen, however inoffensive or meritorious had been his past conduct, who, in their opinion, by his present power and greatness, seemed capable of disturbing the equality of republican government. No trial was permitted to the accused, — no opportunity was afforded him to prove his innocence, — that very innocence was his crime, — the respect paid to his virtues and his talents rendered him the enemy of his country, and the conservation of freedom required the banishment of virtue. It is no answer to maintain, that this was only the abuse of a law intended primarily to prevent any person from attaining unlawful authority. A law which condemns a man while absent and unheard, which does not bring his accusers face to face, where the greatest integrity was no defence, because it could neither be pleaded nor

proved, is a law which is rotten at its very core, and would not exist for an hour among a people who deserved to be called free. If it is still said, that some law was necessary to restrain the overgrown influence of some ambitious citizen, because the power intrusted to him was liable to be turned against the liberties of the commonwealth, we may ask, why it is that no such dangers are ever apprehended by us? Why is it that our Marlboroughs, our Nelsons, or our Wellingtons, never harbor for a moment the idea of attacking the liberties of England? but for this, that in the instant in which they attempted it, they, who were before the idols of their soldiers, would become the objects of their execration, and not a man would be found to join the standard of the traitor to his country. Nor could the idea of enslaving his country have ever entered into the mind of an Athenian general, had he not been assured that he could have turned the arms of one part of the citizens against the rest, and thus virtually induce the Athenians to enslave themselves. The British freeman never sinks the citizen in the soldier; but this is a distinction which Athenian patriotism did not always recognize. And does not this prove, either that they were not free, or that their freedom was held by so slight a tenure, that an unjust law was necessary to prevent one half of the citizens from tyrannizing over the other? The Athenians were jealous of their independence, (*Self-esteem* large,) both as a nation and as individuals; but if the distinction we have attempted to draw between independence and liberty be well founded, they were not on that account free, — their liberty was licentious. It was liberty to the lower propensities, and to these alone, but the worst of tyranny over all the higher sentiments.

I had intended to offer some comments on that part of their legislative proceedings, by which he who 'preferred any law contrary to the former laws, was punished with a fine according to his offence, which he was obliged to pay under the penalty of *infamy*, and which last punishment was immediately inflicted upon those who had been thrice convicted of this offence, and who were, on that account, ever after excluded from all public assemblies.' In reference to this law, Dr. Potter remarks, that 'no man, without

a great deal of caution, and a thorough understanding of the former laws, durst presume to propose a new one, the danger being very great, if it suited not with the customs and inclinations of the people.' But I hasten to conclude my remarks on the Athenians, by observing, that their history, like that of the Jews,* presents the same alternate loss and recovery of independence which we predicated to be the characteristic of independence as opposed to liberty. Thus the Athenians recovered their liberties, to use this word in its common acceptation, under their wise lawgiver, Solon, only immediately to lose them by the usurpation † of Pisistratus. The sovereign power was peacefully transmitted by him to his sons, Hipparchus and Hippias; but, provoked by the tyranny and oppression of the latter, the Athenians again recovered their privileges by means of the family of the Alcmæonidæ. At a subsequent period, their government was again changed, and the supreme power lodged in a council of 400. From their tyranny they were delivered by Alcibiades, and democracy restored. Subdued by the Lacedemonians, though the government still remained in the hands of the Athenians, it was moulded into a system of the most complete oligarchy, which soon acquired the well-known title of the Thirty Tyrants. Under them, we are told, 'every form of justice was by degrees trampled upon; and they proceeded to exercise a general proscription against the innocent and the guilty,' till, defeated by Thrasybulus, the Athenians were once more restored to their liberty, of which the first use that was made was the condemnation and death of Socrates. Then followed their subjection to Philip of Macedon. They enjoyed a short respite under the Achæan league, till at last they were swallowed up by that all-devouring people, the Romans.

Whence then, it may be asked, the admiration of posterity for

* I have been obliged to omit that part of the original essay, which treats of the Jews.

† I use this term in its popular meaning, — we shall afterwards have occasion to inquire, whether the assumption of the supreme power by the Pisistratidæ was not favorable to the liberty of the Athenians.

the Greeks, and what are those qualities which raised the inhabitants of a little peninsula to so commanding an eminence amongst the nations of antiquity? The answer, on phrenological principles, is, I apprehend, not difficult. We have no occasion to dispute the possession by the Greeks of a high intellectual endowment. — We have seen that they must have possessed a large share of the propensities and lower sentiments; and if to this combination we add large *Ideality*, and general cerebral size, these will be sufficient to explain all the phenomena without supposing the presence of *Conscientiousness* and *Benevolence*. Their general cerebral size would enable them to cope with and subdue the innumerable hosts of the Persians, and give them that force and energy of character which are the result of size in the combination we have supposed. — *Constructiveness*, *Secretiveness*, *Imitation*, *Form*, *Locality*, *Size*, *Color*, and the other knowing faculties, with *Ideality*, *Comparison*, and *Causality*, would account for their matchless achievements in sculpture, poetry, and painting. — But when the higher sentiments are deficient, the intellect then becomes the servant of the propensities; and I apprehend that the arts in Greece ministered much more to their gratification than to that of the higher sentiments. While the noble object of Paradise Lost is 'to vindicate the ways of God to man,' the *ignoble* subject of the Iliad is the rage of Achilles, — *Veneration* is the characteristic of the one, *Destructiveness* that of the other. The time is not yet fully arrived, but I trust it is fast approaching, when we shall cease to call that great which is not also good.

The Romans, while they were, perhaps, inferior to the Greeks in that combination of faculties which produce a taste for, and a capacity to excel in, the fine arts, were, I should imagine, decidedly their superiors in general cerebral size. It is to this circumstance, joined to a large endowment of *Firmness*, that I am disposed to refer that marked superiority over all the nations of antiquity, for which the Romans were so remarkable, and in consequence of which they attained to universal empire. Many of their enemies were distinguished in the highest degree for cour-

age and valor; and nothing, I apprehend, but great general size could have enabled the Romans to lay prostrate the world at their feet. This is an inquiry, however, somewhat foreign to our purpose. It will indeed account for that eminent degree of independence, which for more than a thousand years they enjoyed as a nation. But we have seen that independence is not liberty; and the question recurs—Were they also free? I trust that a very few observations on the Roman character and history will enable us to answer this query in the negative. In an early part of the former paper, I hinted at several laws and usages which were inconsistent with the free exercise of many of the primitive faculties, such as the restraints on marriage, the prohibition on the plebeians from aspiring to places of trust, the agrarian law, &c.; but no one can have read the history of Rome with any degree of attention, who has not perceived that the whole struggles between the patricians and plebeians, (and, except their foreign wars, of what else is their history composed?) which for centuries agitated the Roman commonwealth, were struggles not for liberty, but for power. We see abundant manifestations of *Self-esteem* and *Love of Approbation*, but we search in vain for almost a single trace of *Benevolence* and *Conscientiousness*. Whichever party had the ascendency, whether patricians or plebeians, hastened to signalize that ascendency by the violation of every principle of justice and of mercy. If ever a people merited the appellation of turbulent, it was the Romans. War was necessary to their very existence; for external peace was the signal for internal tumults, which preyed on the very vitals of the state, and threatened its utter extinction. The temple of Janus was shut only once during eight centuries; and when we find a people systematically neglecting and despising the arts of peace, adopting and acting on that detestable maxim, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, — a maxim, the true meaning of which was to tyrannize over the weak, and to crush all others whom they were pleased to call their enemies, — we may be at no loss to refer such conduct to an overweening selfishness, and to predicate almost the utter want of *Conscientiousness* and *Benevolence*. A free people are naturally a peaceful people. That *Conscientiousness* which leads them

to respect the rights of each other, leads them also to respect the rights of foreign nations, and the maxim *debellare superbos*, or the *delenda est Carthago*, would have no place or influence in their counsels. *Mutatis mutandis*, the story of the Athenians is the story of the Romans. They were proud, cruel, and vindictive; and if ever a temple ought to have been reared and consecrated to injustice, its local habitation should have been Rome. Almost without a single exception, the people were betrayed by those in whom they trusted. The lives of the citizens were at the absolute disposal of the consuls, the dictators, the prætors, and the tribunes. The senate arrogated to itself the exclusive power of taxation; and we in this country, at least, would consider this circumstance alone to strike at the very root of our liberties. Even the tribunes, chosen by the people from amongst themselves, and whose persons were declared inviolable, only that they might the more effectually defend their rights, shamefully deserted them. Their power was employed in procuring their own admission into the consulship, the prætorship, the priesthood, and the other offices of the executive power, which it was in their province to control, but never to share; and when their object was attained, the interests of the people were neglected and forgotten. And as at Athens, so in Rome, the only true patriots, such as Tiberius Gracchus, Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius, who labored in earnest for the good of the people, constantly perished in the attempt.

The predominance of the lower sentiments and propensities naturally or necessarily leads to tumults, rebellion, and anarchy, and these as naturally or as necessarily lead to the subjection of a people to a foreign or a domestic enemy, in general, in the first instance, at least, to the establishment of a military despotism. It is absurd to ascribe the overthrow of the republican government to Cæsar, or to trace the causes of that overthrow to the example afforded to him by the successful usurpation of Marius and of Sylla. These might be the proximate, but assuredly they were not the real or the remote causes. These had been operating for centuries; — they may be said to have co-existed with the very existence of the people themselves, and only required the opera-

tion of circumstances to produce their necessary effects. The selfish principle was as truly manifested in the austerity of the ancient Romans as in the profligacy of their degenerate descendants. The eternal laws of justice were equally violated by both, though in the one case they were violated for the public, in the other for individual, interest. The seeds of decay and dissolution were sown when the foundations of the 'Eternal City' were laid. They were watered with the blood of the brother of its founder. From this, streams continued to flow, as from a fountain, till the awful proscriptions of Marius, Sylla, Cæsar, Antony, and Augustus, swelled the still-increasing stream into literal torrents of the best blood of Rome. But these celebrated leaders were nothing without the armies which they led; and these armies were composed, not of barbarians, but of Romans. It was the Romans who enslaved the Romans, who were themselves first enslaved by the propensities leading the sentiments and intellect captive at their will. They were not first corrupted by Cæsar; he found them a corrupted people, and only gave a new direction to that depravity in favor of his own personal aggrandizement. They surrendered their independence to Cæsar, only to increase their power of tyrannizing over each other. When they finished their guilty career by enslaving the world, — when they had now no foreign enemies in whose subjection they might gratify their inordinate *Self-esteem*, the gratification of this faculty required them to turn their arms against themselves; and the national character remains the same from the time that first they left the gates of Rome on foreign conquest, to the period when, after the lapse of centuries, they returned to lift their sacrilegious arms against the parent that gave them birth. Nations, we are told, have their rise, their acmé, and their fall; and to this occult cause has been ascribed the decline and fall of the Roman empire. Rome as a commonwealth was overthrown in the eighth century *ab urbe condita*. England is at her highest degree of prosperity and liberty in the eighth century of her existence; but is there, on this account, any symptom of her decay? A perpetual acmé is the high privilege of those nations who own the sway of the sentiments

and the intellect; and Cæsar, if he had now appeared in Britain, might indeed have ranked among the most illustrious of our generals, but would have been as innoxious to our liberties as our Marlboroughs or Wellingtons, because then he would have commanded British freemen, and not Roman slaves.

It is refreshing to turn from scenes such as these to the blessings of real liberty, even though mixed with much of the alloy, without which it is the lot of mortals never to enjoy any terrestrial good; —but if the gold is not pure, still it is gold, and not the baser metals either of brass or iron; and we shall, I trust, be able, in the examples we are now to adduce, to exhibit the clear and undoubted manifestations of the higher sentiments in those nations, who, by way of eminence, may be termed free.

I begin, then, by observing, that as nations may be independent and not free, so they may be free and not independent; and though this last case is necessarily of much rarer occurrence than the former, it is not perhaps refining too much to say, that, when it does happen, it is to be traced to the same causes with their liberty itself.

I am almost disposed to retract the assertion, that liberty is never enjoyed without an admixture of alloy, in favor of the Swiss, whose history, at least at the era of their independence, as it will be found to confirm the principles we have laid down, exhibits a delightful contrast to that violation of the rights of others, and that turbulence and insubordination which we have seen to characterize those nations who were independent, but not free.

I adduce, then, the case of the Swiss, to establish these propositions, 1st, That no nation can suddenly become free; 2dly, That a nation may be free and not independent; and, 3dly, That a people struggling for their liberties are almost, if not altogether, invincible.

The year 1308, is memorable for the establishment of the independence of Switzerland as a republic; but their *liberty* is to be dated from a far earlier period. Russell, indeed, expressly states, that 'they had been free from time immemorial;' and though Puffendorf ascribes the great privileges which they always

enjoyed to a grant from Louis the Pious, who flourished in the commencement of the ninth century, yet, even according to this author, the era of their freedom will thus precede the era of their independence by no less than five centuries. The charter by Louis might confirm, but could not create their liberties; for else why, of all the other states of the empire, was Switzerland selected for so munificent a grant? There must have been something in the character of the people themselves which made such a grant, I do not say necessary, but at least advisable; and if we are to take Russell for our guide, and believe that they were always free, the charter, though it might give additional security, cannot be considered as the first origin of their liberty. But though free, the Swiss were not independent. They were under the authority of an Imperial governor, who had the supreme jurisdiction in all criminal cases; and at all times they had been remarkable for their submissive conduct to the Empire to which they were subject. From them the Emperors often received the most essential services; and, in particular, the Emperor Frederic the First was mainly indebted to the Swiss warriors for the successful struggle which he and his successors maintained against the Popes and the adherents of the Roman see. But not only were the Swiss dependent on the Empire; they also owed a kind of subordinate obedience to their nobility, or feudal chiefs; and though I have not been able to discover the exact measure and extent of the authority which their nobles claimed and exercised, there is sufficient evidence that they possessed a certain degree of authority, not inconsistent, however, with the rights and privileges of the people. But if the Swiss were thus free, why, it may be asked, were they not also independent, or at least why was the assertion of their independence delayed for so long a period as five centuries? If, as we have said, it is much less difficult for a nation to become independent than to become free, why, in the case of the Swiss, did not the greater blessing include the less, if the one was of much easier attainment than the other? The answer will not be found to be difficult. We have predicated of these nations who are free, that they possess, in a considerable

degree, the faculties of *Conscientiousness* and *Benevolence*, and the same spirit which led them to vindicate their own rights would lead them also to respect the rights of others. Submission to superiors is as much a moral duty as is the duty which we owe to ourselves; and those nations only who are distinguished for their performance of the one class of duties, will be found equally distinguished for their performance of the other. The foundation of both is the same, and both will continue to be discharged till the oppression of the rulers places them in opposition, and the practice of the one then becomes inconsistent with the other. Hence we find, that when any of the nobility attempted to tyrannize, they were either expelled, or reduced within bounds, by the people. At one period, in consequence of their encroachments on their liberties, a civil war broke out, and the nobility were driven out of the country. But the Swiss were a placable people; and by the interposition of Rodolph I. matters were accommodated, and the nobles were permitted to return home.

But the character of the Swiss shines forth with peculiar lustre, when, roused by the oppressions of the Austrian governors, they nobly vindicated at once their liberties and their independence. Till the reign of Albert I., the Emperors of Germany had respected the rights and privileges of the Swiss. Rodolph, in particular, the father of Albert, had always treated them with great indulgence, and had, on the occasion we have just adverted to, generously assisted them in defending their liberties against the noblemen who attempted to infringe them. But Albert aimed to govern the Swiss as an absolute sovereign, and had formed a scheme for erecting their country into a principality for one of his sons. Having failed in his attempts to induce them to submit voluntarily to his dominion, he resolved to tame them by rougher methods, and appointed governors, who domineered over them in the most arbitrary manner. 'The tyranny of these governors,' says Russell, 'exceeded all belief:' but I need not repeat the story of the governor of Uri, who ordered his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market-place, to which every passenger was commanded to pay obeisance, on pain of death; or the sequel of that story,

in which the illustrious William Tell nobly dared to disobey this imperious command. This example determined Melchtat of Underwalden, Straffacher of Schwitz, and Furtz of Uri, to put in execution the measures they had concerted for the delivery of their country. And here we perceive that power of combination which a people possess who act under the influence of the higher sentiments. The whole inhabitants of the several cantons, we are told, were secretly prepared for a general revolt, and the design, which was resolved upon on the 17th of September, 1307, was executed on the 1st of January, 1308. 'On that day,' says Coxe, '*the whole people rose as with one accord*, to defy the power of the house of Austria, and of the head of the empire.' They surprised and seized the Austrian governors, and, with a moderation unexampled in the history of the world, they conducted them to the frontiers, obliged them to promise, on oath, never more to serve against the Helvetic nation, peaceably dismissed them, and thus accomplished their important enterprize without the loss of a single life.

The future fortunes of the people of Switzerland may afterwards be the subject of our consideration. 'Never did any people,' observes Russell, 'fight with greater spirit for their liberty than the Swiss. They purchased it by above fifty battles against the Austrians, and they well deserved the prize for which they fought; for never were the beneficial effects of liberty more remarkable than in Switzerland.' In the mean time I shall confine myself to a few insulated traits of character, indicating, in an eminent degree, the possession of the higher sentiments, which we have all along predicated to be necessary to the acquisition and enjoyment of freedom. The first I shall notice is their conduct in regard to the assassins of Albert, the great enemy of their liberties, who, at the very moment when he was on his march to invade their country with a powerful force, was assassinated by his nephew, with the assistance of four confidential adherents. After the deed was committed they escaped into the cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, not unnaturally expecting to find an asylum among a people whom Albert was preparing unjustly to

invade; 'but the generous natives,' says Coxe, 'detesting so atrocious a deed, though committed on their inveterate enemy, refused to protect the murderers, who all subsequently suffered the punishment due to their crime.

I cannot pass over in silence the celebrated battle of Mogarten, in which, for the first time, the Swiss encountered and defeated the whole force of Austria. Leopold assembled 20,000 men to trample, as he said, the audacious rustics under his feet; but the Swiss beheld the gathering storm without dismay. To meet it and to dissipate it, 1400 men, the flower of their youth, grasped their arms, and assembled at the town of Schweitz. *Veneration*, and all the higher sentiments were manifested when they proclaimed a solemn fast, passed the day in religious exercises, and chanting hymns, and kneeling down in the open air, implored 'the God of heaven and earth to listen to their lowly prayers, and humble the pride of their enemies.' They took post on the heights of Mogarten, and waited the approach of the enemy. If ever there were circumstances in which they might have relaxed their rigid virtue, it was at the time when their liberties and their very existence were at stake; but even at this moment they disdained to recruit their ranks from those whose lives had been sullied by the violation of the laws. The petition of fifty outlaws, that they might be permitted to share the danger of the day with their countrymen, was, therefore, unhesitatingly rejected. The victory was complete. Besides those who fell in the battle, not less than fifteen hundred, most of whom were nobles or knights, were slain in the rout; and Leopold himself with difficulty escaped under the guidance of a peasant to Winterthur, where he arrived in the evening, gloomy, exhausted, and dismayed. A solemn festival was decreed to be held in commemoration of the day, 'in which the God of hosts had visited his people, and given them the victory over their enemies;' and the names and heroic deeds of those champions who had fallen in defence of their country were ordered to be annually recited to the people.

After this period the surrounding States were eager to join the Helvetic Confederacy, of whom several were still under the domin-

ion of Austria. Lucerne set the first example: oppressed by their rulers, they rose and defeated them, and formed an alliance with the Swiss cantons. In forming this alliance, however, we are told that 'both parties observed the most rigid dictates of justice, and confirmed all the rights and prerogatives of the house of Austria.' Zurich and Zug, with the assistance of the Forest Cantons, expelled the Austrian governor, and, at the commencement of the ensuing year, repulsed and defeated with great slaughter an Austrian force in the field of Rutli, and soon after were formally admitted into the Helvetic confederacy; but, actuated by the like spirit of justice with the people of Lucerne, they at the same time reserved in their full latitude all the rights and revenues of the Duke of Austria, though now virtually free and independent.

We shall not for the present extend this sketch of the character and history of the Swiss; enough, I trust, has been advanced to evince not only their freedom, but its causes. They were not free in virtue of their free institutions. The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in treating of the confederacy of the Franks in the third century, observes, that 'the league of the Franks may admit of some comparison with the Helvetic body, in which every canton, retaining its independent sovereignty, consults with its brethren in the common cause, without acknowledging the authority of any supreme head, or representative assembly. But the principle of the two confederations was extremely different. A peace of two hundred years has rewarded the *wise* and *honest* policy of the Swiss. An inconstant spirit, the thirst of rapine, and a disregard to the most solemn treaties, disgrace the character of the Franks.' It was their wisdom and their honesty, in other words, their ample endowment of the sentiments, which were the causes, and not the effects, of the republic established by the Swiss, — causes which had continued to operate for centuries ere their institutions had yet an existence. Nay, so slight, after all, is the connexion between mere forms of government and the actual possession and enjoyment of liberty, that the Swiss had been free for ages under a feudal

administration, though one of all others the least congenial to the spirit of true liberty. We do not state more than the simple truth when we assert, that the Swiss were free under a despotic, and that the Romans were an enslaved people under a republican form of government. The Franks too might call themselves free, and think that they enjoyed liberty, because they enjoyed independence; but where is their liberty now, or rather when had it ever an existence? We observed, that a free people are naturally a peaceful people: this has been eminently true of the Swiss; it has been as eminently the reverse of all those other nations whose character and history we have been employed in considering.

Nor will we now, I trust, be disposed, like some historians, to refer the aptitude of the Swiss for liberty to the natural situation of their country, surrounded with mountains, torrents, and woods; for then, not only must liberty desert the plains for the mountains, but we must believe, if similar causes produce similar effects, that Alpine nations have ever been, and are now free, — a fact contradicted by the whole tenor of history. A mountainous country is, doubtless, one of those circumstances which may favor the assertion of liberty, if the spirit of its people is as free as the air which they breathe; but no fortresses, natural or artificial, will protect a nation of slaves, nor will liberty desert the most unbroken plain, if its inhabitants are sincere in the homage which they yield to her. This we will have occasion to illustrate in our next example, drawn from the case of the United Provinces. But I must reserve this, and the other topics to which I formerly alluded, as the subject of a future paper.

ART. XXI. — *Lectures on Popular Education, &c. by* GEO. COMBE. — *Lectures on Physical Education, by* CHARLES CALDWELL, M. D.

WHATEVER other merits may be claimed for Phrenology, it is certainly entitled to the no small one of having elicited a greater number of good and practical works on Education, than has ever before been produced in the same length of time.* A science which professes to unfold the primitive faculties of the animal, moral and intellectual nature of man, and considers its philosophy to be founded on the observation of facts, and therefore of a more correct and practical tendency than any other, would of course find, in the education of those faculties, an opportunity for the application of its principles with peculiar efficacy. Whether it has met with the anticipated success, is a question whose final settlement requires a longer time than has yet elapsed, though there are enough, undoubtedly at the very announcement of the idea, to raise the cry of nonsense and quackery. It cannot be denied that the writings of Phrenologists, whether intrinsically good or bad, have had the effect of establishing an interest in the cause of Education which has given it an impulse that it will never cease to feel. For this we are not anxious to claim a share of merit that can well be spared, though we have always been accustomed to consider him who discovers a new truth, as entitled to but little more credit than he who puts others on the track of discovery. What we are anxious for, is, that intelligent men will dismiss their idle prejudices against a science which they have no other knowledge of than what they have obtained from its enemies

* We commend this fact to the notice of the gentleman, who, with remarkable modesty and knowledge of the subject, has settled the claims and fixed the destiny of Phrenology, in the pages of the North American Review.

who have obtained theirs in the same way—so far at least, as to give to these works, which have no necessary dependence on it, a careful and thorough examination.

We have now arrived at a period when *education* must be understood in a much higher sense of the term, than has hitherto been the case. It must consider man as a being whose end is fulfilled, only when his physical, moral, and intellectual faculties are in a course of constant development, whereby their power is increased, and the sphere of their activity enlarged; and it must embrace all the means and influences by which this development is effected. This only is the true philosophy of education, and what little of it there is in the world, is the growth of modern times. What indeed, is a fair specimen of the most liberal notions *now* entertained by the majority of people who have any notions at all on the subject, relative to the purposes of education, and its relation to man as an intelligent and immortal being? Is it not that the object of education is fully accomplished when it teaches the merest elements, or, more properly speaking, *instruments* of knowledge, during boyhood; keeps a man out of mischief, makes him honest to his employers; produces a passive respect for the institutions of society; and leads him to provide comfortably for those who are dependent on his exertions? We have no wish to undervalue such a result; but, if it is believed that this is all that education can be expected to accomplish, we do not hesitate to express our unequivocal dissent. The intellect and moral sentiments have been given us — to *all*, not a few, as it has been too generally mistaken — not merely to minister to the necessities of our physical nature, but to supply by their cultivation, as from a rich storehouse, the materials of an ever-increasing happiness. That they were meant for this end, and are capable of attaining it, in different degrees in every individual, is a truth on which Phrenology insists with an earnestness worthy of its importance. With this truth in view, then, we would ask, why education should be confined to that period of life, when the faculties are yet immature, and their impressions liable to be effaced by the stronger and more attractive ones of a busy world?

Why should it not be a constant process going on in the individual, from infancy to old age, elevating all his views, enlarging his knowledge of himself and everything around him, unfolding his relations to his fellow-men, creating in his bosom a spirit of moderation and charity, and making his children equal partakers in its blessings?

To the hacknied objection that men are too much occupied with the cares and business of the world, to cultivate their minds, we have neither room nor patience for any other reply, than that very many who urge it can find time, if they please, and that when, by their example and efforts, the popular errors on this subject shall be corrected, and a better feeling produced in society, such a change will be effected in its organization, as will allow to all a portion of leisure for moral and intellectual improvement. The formation of Lyceums and other institutions, where knowledge is communicated in a simple way, is a great step towards the attainment of this end; and it needs only the judicious and well-sustained efforts of the true friends of humanity, to make them finally, as much resorted to and as necessary to the public convenience, as play-houses and other places of amusement have hitherto been. Now that the *people* have decidedly emerged from their former insignificance, and constitute by far the most important portion of the body politic, no subject can be nearer the heart of the philanthropist than that of popular education. This, and this only is destined to furnish the regulating principle of the social machine, and the sooner the work is begun, and the farther it is carried, the sooner will the confusion, necessarily produced by great political changes, give place to a happy balance between the various gradations of wealth and talent in the community. If any are inclined to consider the object as of too prospective a character, and better left to the care of posterity, let them be admonished by those recent acts of devastation by an unlicensed mob, which with a frequency and ferocity unparalleled in our history, have struck terror into the very heart of society, and overwhelmed us with disgrace. And when we consider that here was no half-starved, half-clad multitude, stimulated to fury by

calamity or misrule, but men enjoying, or who might enjoy if they pleased, the fruits of their labors, under the protection of a good government, it is high time to pause and inquire what will become of us when those seasons of national misfortune and distress shall come upon us, as in the course of Providence, they must be expected to visit us, as, they have other nations. Against this fearful evil, we put our faith in no other remedy, but popular education; and if Phrenology offers anything new or useful on the subject, let us not foolishly deny ourselves of its aid.

The Lectures of Mr. Combe are designed to enforce the necessity of such a change in the common systems of education, as will better fit them for the wants of the age, and be more in accordance with the wants of our nature, and to show the benefits which such a change is capable of effecting. They are marked by good sense, and bear the image and superscription of Mr. George Combe — a man who, for many years past, has devoted himself, heart and soul, to the great cause of human improvement. He opens his subject with a few remarks on the general aspect of external nature, and the constitution of the animal, moral and intellectual powers of man, and arrives at the conclusion that they are made in reference to each other — that the animal powers readily obtain the objects of their gratification, while the moral and intellectual, before they can attain theirs, require the aid of cultivation, and are destined to a course of unceasing progression — that, as essential parts of our nature, they must be gratified, before the noblest end of our being can be fulfilled; and that finally, the kind of education best fitted for them, is a matter of incalculable importance. The study of the languages, he is not disposed to undervalue, but would have it remembered that they are merely the instruments by the use of which knowledge may be obtained, but do not, in themselves, constitute such knowledge. The Greek and Latin tongues once contained all the knowledge that was abroad in the world; and this, with other circumstances, rendered their profound study indispensable in anything like a liberal education; but no good reason can be urged for its continuance in the present altered condition of the times. It is said to be a

discipline to the mind; and no doubt it is to that particular faculty of it which takes cognizance of signs and their relations; but if it engrosses the attention to the neglect of the other faculties, the great end of education is defeated. A far better discipline for the mind, in the popular sense of that phrase, is the study of facts and the deduction of general principles; for this interests the higher faculties which stand more in need of cultivation. A considerable knowledge of languages is very useful, and even indispensable to certain persons and professions; but, like many other useful things, it should be obtained only by those who particularly need it, or to use a more definite expression, who can turn it to account, — not by those whose time could be better occupied about something else. Ask even professional men, who are generally considered to need it more than other classes, what good they have received from those acquirements which consumed so large a portion of the four years spent in college, and the two or three in preparing for it, and we will venture to say, that from the most of them, except the clergy, the reply will be, that they can perceive none; and many would gladly barter all their Greek, for a little French, Spanish or German.* The study of languages is not interesting,

* Mr. Combe having alluded to Professor Christison's evidence on this point, publishes a letter from him, which we shall extract; for it is seldom that a man of his eminence has sufficient independence to give his testimony against the study of Greek and Latin, in the face of the strong prejudices of the educated classes.

'To George Combe, Esq. 23 Charlotte Square.

'My dear Sir, — The evidence before the University Commissioners was never published, though printed; nor have I seen that part of my evidence to which you refer since the time it was given. But, to the best of my recollection, I stated in regard to Greek — very much as you have put it in your letter — that, in my youth, I had cultivated it for about five years, and had made some proficiency in it, being fond of the language; but that I had since found so little occasion to put it to practical use, although pursuing the various branches of my profession as objects of scientific study, that I did not believe I could at that moment translate a single passage of Greek which might be placed before me. Such is certainly still the state of matters with me and my Greek; and I had occasion, very lately, in our discussions in the Senatus Academicus regarding the propriety of preliminary general education for Doctors of Medicine, to renew my objections to Greek as one of them, in the

and Mr. Combe has strongly set forth its pernicious effect by rendering all instruction disagreeable, and making the acquisition of knowledge appear more like a task than a pleasure. The greatest obstacle to the establishment of a course of sound, rational instruction in our colleges and higher schools, is that twaddle about the 'pure fountains of classical literature,' and the repetition of various other equally sensible phrases, whenever we endeavor to convince people, that as ideas are of more consequence than words, they should receive a far greater proportion of the young student's attention. We hope, therefore, that the author's remarks will sink deep into the minds of his readers, and meet with a dispassionate consideration.

In the second lecture, Mr. Combe discusses the question of what constitutes a good education, and rightly insists on keeping in view the distinction between means and end.

'The English language, writing, and arithmetic, then, are important *means* of acquiring and communicating knowledge. They ought to be sedulously taught, and by the most approved methods. Algebra and pure mathematics also belong to the class of means. The former relates solely to numbers and their relations; the latter to portions of space and their proportions. The most profound skill in them, is compatible with extensive ignorance concerning every object, topic and relation, that does not essentially imply exact proportions of number and space. All languages, likewise, belong to the class of means. In preferring one to another, we ought to be guided by the principle of utility;—that in which most knowledge is contained is most useful. For this reason,

terms now mentioned. I am almost certain that, in my evidence before the Commission, I also added, that if any other language but Latin were to be required, I should infinitely prefer placing French, and even German too, in our *Statute*.

'My opinion regarding Greek shortly is, that it is a most desirable branch of literature for imparting general knowledge and cultivation to the mind; but for direct professional purposes, is of so little consequence, both in itself and likewise as compared with modern languages and the exact sciences, that, considering the great augmentation of the branches of proper medical study in these days, the pursuit of it, as a compulsory measure for medical students, is a mere waste of time and labor.

Believe me your's very truly, R. CHRISTISON.'

'*November* 23. '3 *Great Stuart Sreet.*'

French, German, and Italian, appear to me more valuable acquirements than Greek or Latin.

'The second object of education is the attainment of knowledge itself.

'If the season for obtaining real knowledge be dedicated to the study of languages, the individual enters on life in a state of qualification for practical business, similar to that of the lady for the practice of architecture, after having completed her studies in drawing. He is deficient in many acquirements that would be substantially useful for the preservation of health and conducting of affairs. He knows nothing about the structure of his own body, and very little about the causes which support it in health, or subject it to disease: he is very imperfectly informed concerning the constitution of his own mind, and the relations established between himself and other beings: he is not instructed in any science; knows nothing of the principles of trade; is profoundly ignorant of the laws of his country, which he is called on to obey and even to administer; and, in short, is sent into society with little other preparation than a stock of prejudices gathered from the nursery, and of vague imaginations about the greatness of Greece and Rome, the beauties of classical literature, and the vast superiority of learned pedantry over practical sense.'—(p. 47, 48.)

Those sciences, therefore, which make a man acquainted with the structure and functions of his body, with the elements of nature around him, with the laws and government of his own country, with the duties of a citizen, a husband and a father, and especially with his duties to his Maker, should constitute an essential part of a good education; but where in this country or in Great Britain, shall we find the school, of whatever description, in which the most of them are not utterly unknown. Our author has quoted a letter from a young gentleman, studying in Germany, describing the boarding-schools of that country, which we shall transfer to our pages, for we have seen nothing that better realizes our notions of what such schools should be.

'In German boarding-schools, natural history is a prominent object of pursuit, and the boys are instructed in the outlines of Zoology, Ornithology, Entomology, and Mineralogy. This, I believe, is a branch of education never taught in seminaries of the same description in Britain; but it is devoured by the learners on the Continent with the utmost avidity. There the teacher is not an object of fear, but the friend of his pupils. He takes

them, about once a fortnight, to visit some manufactory, in the neighborhood, where they are generally received with kindness, and are conveyed through the whole building by the owners, who seem to have pleasure in pointing out the uses of the various parts of the machinery, and in explaining to their juvenile visiters the different operations which are carried on. Suppose, for example, that an expedition is undertaken to a paper-mill: the boys begin their scrutiny by inspecting the rags in the condition in which they are at first brought in; then they are made to remark the process of cutting them, of forming the paste, of sizing the paper, &c., with the machinery by which all this is executed. On their return, they are required to write out an account of the manufactory, of the operations performed in it, and of the manufactured article.

'During the summer months, pedestrian excursions are undertaken, extending to a period of perhaps two, three, or four weeks. Everything worthy of attention is pointed out to the boys as they go along; and deviations are made on all sides, for the purpose of inspecting every manufactory, old castle, and other remarkable ojects in the neighborhood. Minerals, plants, and insects are collected as they proceed, and thus they begin early to appreciate and enjoy the beauties of external nature. If they happen to be travelling in the mountainous districts of the Hartz, they descend into the mines, and see the methods of excavating the ore, working the shafts, and ventilating and draining the mine. Ascending again to the surface, they become acquainted with the machinery by which the minerals are brought up, the processes of separating the ore from the sulphur, and the silver from the lead, and the mode in which the former metal is coined into money.

'Having become familiar with these operations, the boys next, perhaps, visit the iron-works, and here a new scene of gratification is opened up to their faculties. The furnaces, the principles of the different kinds of bellows, the method of casting the iron and forming the moulds, — everything, in short, is presented to their senses, and fully expounded to them. In like manner they are taken to the salt-works, and manufactories of porcelain, glass, acids, alkalies, and other chemical bodies, with which that part of Germany abounds. If any mineral springs be in the neighborhood, these are visited, and the nature and properties of the water explained. In short, no opportunity is neglected, by which additions to their knowledge may be made. In this way, I may say without exaggeration, they acquire in the course of a single forenoon, a greater amount of useful, practical, and entertaining knowledge, than they could obtain in six months at a grammar-school. For my own part, at least, I learned more in one year at Cassel, than during the five preceding which were spent in Edinburgh. This knowledge, too, is of a kind that remains indelibly written on the memory, and that is often recalled, in after life, with pleasure and satisfaction. How different were my feel-

ings, when thus employed, from those which tormented me in that place of misery, the High School of Edinburgh!*

'These journeys not only have a beneficial effect on the mind, but also conduce, in no small degree, to the growth and consolidation of the body. They are performed by short and easy stages, so as not to occasion fatigue.

'On their return home, the boys write an account of their travels, in which they describe the nature of the country through which they have passed, and its various productions, minerals, and manufactures. This is corrected and improved by the teacher. The minerals and plants which have been collected, serve at school to illustrate the lessons. The boys also go through a regular course of study, and receive lessons on Religion, Geography, French, and the Elements of Geometry. They are taught also the Elements of Astronomy; not merely the abstract particulars generally given in courses of geography in this country, relative to the moon's distance, the diameter and period of revolution of the earth, and the like,—but also the relative positions of the principal constellations. The figure of cubes, cones, octagons, pyramids, and other geometrical figures, are impressed upon the minds of the junior boys, by pieces of wood cut into the proper shapes. Latin is taught to those who particularly desire it. Poles are erected in the garden for gymnastics, and the boys receive every encouragement to take muscular exercise.'—(p. 55, 58.)

Our views of the kind of education proper to the industrious portion of the community, including all those who live by their labor and talents and do not belong to the 'learned professions,' will depend very much on the object we assign to their lives. If they have been created merely to toil, to eat, sleep, and transmit existence to others, a limited education is sufficient; but if they are born with the faculties of moral, intellectual and religious beings, capable, when taught, of studying the works of God, of discharging the duties, and experiencing the enjoyments that belong

* This letter was inserted in No. XXX. of the Phrenological Journal, and the Editor here subjoins the following note: 'Our correspondent's language is strong, but as we know it to be nothing more than the expression of honest and heartfelt indignation, we have allowed it to remain unmodified. We ourselves can never forget the *tædium vitæ* which attended us, during the lingering years in which we made a strenuous but unsuccessful attempt to overcome the difficulties of Latin Syntax at the High School of Edinburgh. Often did we envy the condition of boys who labored in the fields for a scanty subsistence, but whose minds were free from the intolerable and spirit-breaking *incubus* of Latin grammar.'

to the rational character, 'then no education is sufficient for them which leaves any portion of their highest powers waste and unproductive.' All that is generally expected of them now is, honesty to their employers, a tolerable share of skill in their craft, and the faithful performance of their engagements. How often even these expectations are disappointed, every body learns from daily and hourly experience, but who inquires for the cause, or cares to remedy it when ascertained? As the animal propensities are entirely selfish in their suggestions, where are we to look for the inducements to the practice of honesty, fidelity, or any other virtue, while the higher powers are suffered to lay waste and barren? Before, therefore, the homely virtues of every day life can abound in society, the intellect must be able, by proper instruction, to discern more clearly the relations of man to his fellow-men, and to the physical world, and the moral sentiments be quickened and elevated by the contemplation of great and good characters, till the light of that glorious truth dawns on the mind, that the happiness of the individual is obtained only by consulting the happiness of the whole. These views may seem visionary to those who see an insurmountable objection to their accomplishment, in the necessity, too common, we are aware, of unremitting toil to provide for the bodily wants, and who believe that in the most improved conditions of society, there will always be no inconsiderable portion of our race, doomed by deficiency of talents, by moral inferiority, or by the misfortunes of life, to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water to the rest. We join our author, in believing, that with the progress of mechanical invention, the necessity of labor will continue to diminish, and that the leisure thus afforded will be devoted to the acquirement of useful knowledge. In the spirit of a philanthropy which sees encouragement in everything that it contemplates, he declares that this is *the* end, which, in the arrangement of things, was destined to be effected by mechanical labor.

'In proportion as mechanical inventions shall be generally diffused over the world, they will increase the powers of production to such an extent, as to supply, by moderate labor, every want of

man, and then the great body of the people will find themselves in possession of reasonable leisure, in spite of every exertion to avoid it. Great misery will probably be suffered in persevering in the present course of action, before their eyes shall be opened to this result. The first effect of these stupendous mechanical inventions threatens to be to accumulate great wealth in the hands of a few, without proportionally abridging the toil, or adding greatly to the comforts of the many. This process of elevating a part of the community to affluence and power, and degrading the rest, threatens to proceed till the disparity of condition shall have become intolerable to both, the laborer being utterly oppressed, and the higher classes harassed by insecurity. Then, probably, the idea may occur, that the real benefit of physical discovery is to give leisure to the mass of the people, and that leisure for mental improvement is the first condition of true civilization, knowledge being the second. The science of human nature will enable men at length to profit by exemption from excessive toil; and it may be hoped that, in the course of time, the notion of man being really a rational creature, may meet with general countenance, and that sincere attempts may be made to render all ranks prosperous and happy, by institutions founded on the basis of the superior faculties.'*—(p. 72, 73.)

Mr. Combe very judiciously observes that the views contained in these lectures, are to be considered, not merely in reference to the past, the present, nor the little future immediately before us,—but to centuries of coming time.

'At the same time, there is great force in that objection, considered in reference to the present and several succeeding generations. In throwing out the views contained in these lectures, I embrace centuries of time. I see the slow progress of the human

* 'I regret to learn that in some districts of England, the operatives have resolved to abridge their labor, but to permit no diminution of their pay: they have demanded for eight hours' work the wages hitherto paid for the labor of twelve hours. This proposal is unreasonable and unjust, and cannot be successful. They ought in the first year to demand one hours' leisure, and abate one hours' wages. If they applied that hour well, and acted peacefully and in concert, the natural increase of population and capital would in time create an increased demand for their labor, and the wages would rise. When this happened, they might abate another hour's labor and wages, and the same causes would again restore the rate of wages. This process might be repeated till the hours of labor were reduced to eight or nine per day, which would leave ample leisure for mental cultivation and enjoyment. If this shall prove impracticable, it is difficult to foresee any improvement in the condition of the great body of the people.'—(p. 47.)

race in the past, and do not anticipate miracles for the future. If a sound principle is developed — one having its roots in nature —there is a certainty that it will wax strong and bear fruit in due season; but that season, from the character of the plant, is a distant one. All who aim at benefiting mankind, ought to keep this truth constantly in view. Almost every scheme is judged of by its effects on the living generation; whereas, no great fountain of happiness ever flowed clear at first, or yielded its full sweets to the generation who discovered it. The world scarcely yet enjoys the benefits of Christianity; it is only developing its power, and hundred of years may elapse before its blessed spirit shall fully pervade all the transactions of human life. I do not expect to see the principles advocated in these lectures generally reduced to practice in this age; but if they be founded in nature, they *will* in time vindicate their own might.' — (p. 81.)

Lecture third is on female education, and though our author's views are considerably in advance of the age in some particulars, we consider them none the less sound, and hope one day to see them generally adopted. The most important physical quality in a woman, viewed as a mother, is health; and to preserve this, requires a certain degree of knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of her own frame. These sciences, therefore, should be embraced in a course of female education, in order that this great blessing need not be lost purely from ignorance of the proper means of preserving it. How invaluable is this blessing to a woman can hardly be conceived, till we enter the household of the mother and wife who is constantly deprived of it, and witness the melancholy spectacle it presents. Confined, the greatest part of the time, to a solitary corner of her house, and holding intercourse with none, scarcely, but her nurse and physician, with neither spirit to direct nor power to oversee her domestic concerns, — everything is abandoned to the charge of mercenaries, and the result is a scene of perpetual waste and mismanagement. The children, with no parental voice to admonish and direct, and to seize upon each passing opportunity to impress on their opening minds a lesson of knowledge or of virtue, are left to run wild through the house, and learn their manners and their morals from those who, most likely, can boast of neither. The husband, who married for the purpose of obtaining a rational companion to share with him

the enjoyments of his leisure hours, and lighten the weight of his cares by her cheering influence, sees no attraction in the confined air of the sick-room, or the moans and repinings of the victim of ill-health, and is driven abroad to find those gratifications which he vainly seeks for within his own doors. We believe the picture is not too strongly colored, for we have seen it too often to be deceived. Now we do not hesitate to say, for we speak with some knowledge of the subject, that a great majority of those cases of protracted ill-health in married women, are plainly attributable to ignorance or neglect in some shape or other. What infatuation is it thus to forfeit, by numberless sins of omission and commission, that on which all their happiness and influence depend!

Another important branch of female education, Mr. Combe thinks, ought to be the treatment of children as physical beings; for since women are designed to be mothers, the rearing of children becomes a duty of peculiar interest and importance. For the performance of this duty, she is not, like the inferior animals, fitted by instinct, but by the exercise of her intellectual faculties; and the only question is, whether they shall be prepared by the reception of suitable knowledge on the subject, or left in total ignorance, till the moment when their aid is required, and then guided by the superannuated whims and dogmas of the nursery. We have been astonished, to see the utter helplessness often manifested by women when entering upon the highest duties to which they can be called; and when we have seen the needless trouble and anxiety of the mother, as well as the needless suffering of the child, we could hardly determine which had the strongest claim on our pity.

Another leading branch of female education is, that which will enable a mother to superintend the moral and intellectual culture of her offspring. Inasmuch as she has in them propensities to gratify, sentiments to rouse and elevate, and intellectual faculties to fill with knowledge, she must be acquainted with their mental constitution, or she will be as likely to go wrong as right, through the whole course of their education. To think of training faculties without knowing their nature or sphere of activity is a mani-

fest absurdity. Supposing now another to be instructed 'concerning the physical constitution and mental faculties of her children; she will next require to become acquainted with the objects in the external world to which these faculties are related.' How necessary it is for a mother to possess a well-informed mind, must be obvious to all who will think for a moment of the intimacy of her relations to her children. By means of it she is enabled to impart many an interesting fact, clear up a multitude of doubts and difficulties, inculcate many a useful lesson, and, in short, to lay the foundations of a good education at a time when they will be least likely to be shaken. 'Tell me the character of a man, and I will give you that of his mother,' we once heard it observed, and the observation struck us as hardly too strong for the truth. The study of chemistry, natural history, and natural philosophy, is therefore essential to a female's education; for these sciences furnish the knowledge to which we have alluded.

Refined and elegant accomplishments, Mr. Combe would by no means exclude, for they 'throw over the domestic circle a charm which cannot be too highly prized, and no doubt add to the influence of female virtue and loveliness.' But we believe, with him, that too often they take the place of the useful kinds of knowledge, and that generally an undue importance is attached to them. Many a parent who is conscious of the superior claims of mental and moral culture, will manifest a solicitude for the improvement of a daughter in music and dancing, and feel a chagrin at the appearance of any deficiency, which matters pertaining to more valuable acquirements would fail to awaken. The reason is, that these accomplishments are better calculated to *show off* their possessor in promiscuous company, and Love of Approbation is gratified by the admiration which they attract from the delighted senses. Desirable as they may be in their proper place, yet their study should never be *enforced*, when nature has denied the means of attaining to anything like a tolerable proficiency. It is wrong, deeply wrong, to throw away valuable time and money, and perhaps sour the disposition of a girl, by attempts to teach her

to play and sing, which can have no other result than to weary company, and make herself ridiculous.

Notwithstanding the humble title of Dr. Caldwell's book, we find in it the leading principles of Physical Education illustrated with more good sense strongly and eloquently expressed, than we commonly meet with in such comprehensive limits. We are glad to see him bearing his testimony against the practices of the present day, and proclaiming the necessity of conforming our course to the dictates of nature and common sense. Our western friends, are no more exempt than ourselves, we presume, from the pernicious influence of fashion, indolence, and quackery, which have been exerting their power with an effect unknown in former times, to deteriorate the noble creature, man. That his native energies are crippled and the foundation laid for premature decay and old age, by the vicious system of training, so common among us, is what no physiologist doubts, nor is it doubted by multitudes who, nevertheless, for the sake of momentary gratification, persist in choosing what is manifestly wrong. The introduction of Gymnasiums, a few years since, seemed to excite an attention to physical education, which we hoped would result in a settled conviction of the importance of this much-neglected subject; but gymnasiums have gone down, and with them, apparently every thought that man has a corporeal frame, whose wonderful powers proclaim the skill of a divine artificer, and whose nice adjustment and harmony of action, like those of every other machine, depend upon the care of their possessor to afford full scope for their free and natural exercise.

'The first and most important element of physical education, is to procure for those to be educated, a constitution of body originally sound,' says the author; but we regret that the nature of the occasion, and the limits of his performance, prevented him from discussing the subject as its importance required. *A sound offspring can only proceed from sound parents.* This is a law of organization; and though it would be no more reasonable to expect deviation from this than from any other natural law, yet it is astonishing how large a portion of mankind act, as if the law with

its sanctions and penalties, were entirely unknown or disregarded. Spurzheim observed that we paid more attention to the improvement of the breeds of our domestic animals, than to our own species. The fact is certainly true, strange as it may seem on a little reflection, that any person of common intelligence, should act better in this respect, for a brute, whose loss a few dollars would cover, than for his own children; more especially as the violation of the law brings down upon them the punishment denounced against the 'sins of the fathers,' with a vigor and severity unknown in the execution of human laws. The practised eye of the physician can discern the signs of consumption, at the hymenial altar as often as any where else; and it is but a step, in his imagination, to turn from the scene of joy and festivity before him, to hours and years of suffering, and the heart-rending pangs of frequent bereavement.

Cleanliness, Dr. Caldwell thinks, is much less attended to and esteemed in the United States, than it ought to be, and very properly insists on its necessity to the healthy action of the skin.

'I shall only add, under this head, that personal cleanliness, as one of the minor virtues, (for it deserves to be so called,) is much less attended to and esteemed, in the United States, than it ought to be. Nor does this charge implicate only the neglect of children. Adults are still more negligent of cleanliness in themselves. During weeks and months, water touches no part of many of them, save their hands and faces—and—*longo intervallo* — their feet and ancles. This is downright *uncleanliness*, not to give it a harsher name. Were the inhabitants of our country, to use some form of ablution much more frequently than they do, they would be purer, more comfortable, and healthier than they are.'— (p. 37.)

Our author's remarks on the government of the passions of children, are worthy of most serious consideration on the part of those who are any way engaged in the business of educating youth. Where they are *strong*, to use the popular expression, it depends, in the vast majority of cases, in the manner in which they are managed, whether the individual becomes a pest to society, or its ardent and active benefactor.

'The passions of children, if indulged, are growing evils. Hence they should be vigilantly held in check, from the earliest

period. If not thus restrained, they become noxious weeds in the garden of the mind, deprive valuable plants of their nourishment, and blight them with their shadow. To speak in language better suited to my subject; if, instead of being curbed, they are fed and fostered, they become the ruling elements of character, and insure to the individual a life of trouble — not to say of accident, disease, and suffering. A large proportion of the evils of life, as respects both health and fortune, is the product, more or less directly, of unruly passions. The higher and milder virtues, social as well as moral, cannot flourish under their dominion. In a special manner, children should never be allowed to obtain what has once been denied them, by breaking into a passion about it. Such an act ought to be always visited by a positive privation of the thing desired. And the ground of the denial should be made known to them. Never let a child have reason to believe, that a gust of passion is a suitable means to gratify a wish. Teach him, as far as possible, to know and feel the reverse. And, should he become offended at a pet or play-thing, neither beat it yourself, nor allow him to beat it, by way of pacification or revenge. Such procedure is aliment to vindictiveness, and leads to mischief — perhaps, in the end, to maiming and murder. As relates to matters of this kind, ignorant and passionate nurses are among the worst of family nuisances. They often blow into a flame the sparks of passion, which, without their aid, would have slumbered and gone out. These may be deemed small and trivial matters. In themselves they are so; but not in their consequences. Let it never be forgotten, that 'little things are great to little men;' and more especially, to little children. A fiery education in the nursery, may heat the brain to the verge of inflammation, and aid in the production of actual inflammation or madness — impair health, in sundry other ways, by excessive excitement, render unhappy the days of others, as well as of the mismanaged individual, and lay the foundation of a blasted reputation. It is believed that an education of this kind injured immeasurably the late Lord Byron; and Earl Ferrers expiated on a gibbet, the fruit of a similar one.

But it is not what is called the *temper*, that is alone injured by a nursery education unskilfully conducted. Habits of deception, falsehood, and even theft are not unfrequently encouraged and formed by it. This can scarcely fail to lead to serious mischief; it being the natural course of things, that seeds sown in infancy yield fruit in maturer years. The slightest disposition, therefore, in children, to deviate from truth and candor, either in words or actions, or to appropriate, as their own, what does not belong to them, should be promptly suppressed. It arises from irregular action in certain organs of the Brain, which, if not checked, runs to excess, and turns to a moral disease. The organs referred to belong to the animal class, and, being thus exercised, become so powerful and refractory, as to be no longer under the control of the moral and reflecting organs; and the elements of vice, are

finally rooted in the constitution with such firmness, as to frustrate all attempts to remove them. So important is early training to the character of our race; yet so lamentably is it neglected and abused! In such cases, health of body suffers in common with soundness of mind—the undue exercise of the animal organs of the brain being hostile to both. In fine; the regulation of the nursery, though too generally intrusted to ignorance and thoughtlessness, is a charge of great importance, imposing a responsibility far more weighty than it is usually considered. Too often are those, who are fit for little else, converted into nursery girls.' — (pp. 40 — 43.)

The Doctor is no advocate of Infant Schools: he thinks that the infant mind is as unable to endure the tasks imposed upon it, as the half-organized muscles and joints of the infant body would be, 'unmerciful burdens of bricks and mortar.' Infant schools may be very easily, and for aught we know, sometimes are, improperly conducted, and produce the injurious consequences which he deplores; but in the few which we happen to have been acquainted with, so far were they from being calculated to produce such effects, that we were led to admire them for the very opposite reason. The childrens' minds were concerned with ideas instead of words, and by means of the simplest instruction, received an exercise at once interesting and healthful, while their almost constant change of position afforded the same for the body; in short, they were, what our author says they should be, 'nothing but schools of pleasurable exercise, having little to do with books.' We cannot disguise the fact, however, that this is not always the popular notion of what these schools should be, for we have known it objected against them, that the children do not make those advances in knowledge which were expected of them; that is, they could not gratify their friends and lay the foundation of their own ruin, by astonishing proficiency in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. Neither can we join the Dr. in his anathemas against the 'Boy's Book,' the 'Girl's Book,' and 'Child's Own Book,' which he declares to be 'slip-shod, catch-penny trash.' Children will have books, and provided they are adapted to their capacities and sentiments, we think they ought to have them. We admit that we cannot too much resort to the 'book of nature,' for the

materials of their instruction; but why entirely debar ourselves of the benefits of the impressions derived from good books?

Towards the close of his book, Dr. Caldwell, while treating of female dress, sets forth the ruinous effects of that article of female apparel, whose ostensible object is to secure *fine figures!* The voice of physicians, however, is drowned by the voice of FASHION, and we have often been inclined to think it about as well to leave the sex in peace, to ruin their own health and entail a load of misery on their offspring. Ignorance on the subject they cannot plead; for a host of physicians and others, of the highest respectability, from Riolan, the French anatomist, who declared that not one woman in ten in Paris was free from some distortion of the back or shoulders, to the Scotch gentleman quoted by our author, who examined 200 young females in fashionable boarding-schools, and found scarcely one of them free from some sort of corset injury, have brought forward incontrovertible evidence of the mischievous consequences of lacing; and we have reason to believe that at this moment, the evil is as great as ever. It is true that tight lacing has given way, in some degree, to a more moderate degree of it; but the effect is ultimately the same, though a little longer in being produced. In the following passage is a strong corroboration; of this fact and with this, we must close our notice of Dr. Caldwell's able and interesting 'Thoughts.'

'Perhaps all females, who wear corsets, though they may not faint on removing them, nor even feel a tendency to that effect, complain of uneasiness and debility in the back, or some other part of the trunk. The reason is plain. The muscles of the part being weakened by pressure, require the continuance of it, as the sot does the stimulus of his dram, to give them tone and strength sufficient to sustain the weight of the body, in an erect position. Hence the individual bends the trunk ungracefully; and, unless vigor of the muscles be restored, she is threatened with a spinal curvature.'* — (p. 126.)

* 'Many women of intelligence and experience are inclined to believe, that some form of bracing around the female waist is, if not essential, highly useful, in giving support to the body, and maintaining its erect posture. This is a mistake. Such artificial support is required, only as a consequence of disease, or from the debilitated condition of the muscles, by previous tight lacing.

True, — the muscles of the female body are feebler than those of the male. But, corresponding to this, the weight of the body is less. In consequence of this *fitness*, the trunk of woman requires, by nature, no more artificial aid to keep it straight, than the trunk of man. Hence the elegance of the female form in Georgia, Circassia, and other parts of Asia, where tightness of dress is unfashionable and unknown. The necessity of corsets, therefore, to sustain the person, arises from the misfortune of having ever worn them. And, unless the practice be abandoned, that misfortune, like other constitutional defects, will pass from mother to daughter, in an increasing ratio, until it shall result in a fearful degeneracy of our race.'

ART XXII.— *A* SERMON, *preached at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Church in Leicester, August 12th,* 1834. *By* JAMES WALKER. [Communicated.]

No class enjoys higher privileges, or is subject to weightier responsibilities, than the clergy of our land. Independent of the civil power — capable of holding the closest intimacy, upon the highest grounds of humanity, with the various members of their flocks — allowed every opportunity to possess themselves of 'the truth,' and continually placed in every favorable position for studying the nature and wants of man, for whom 'the truth' was given — they occupy an enviable post of observation. They possess also the means, to an almost unlimited extent, of pursuing and securing the results of their experience and observation. For the pulpit each sabbath — in every time of sickness or distress — in their public and their private connection with the people of their charge, they may vindicate the laws of the Creator, preach submission to his will, uphold and enforce the sway of the moral sentiments. All who love our race, must rejoice to see the clergy holding this position — and cannot but desire most earnestly to observe them exercising all the power and influence it confers. Our fair republic rests upon the free, full exercise of the proper human sentiments. Let the Veneration, the Conscientiousness,

the Benevolence of the people be neglected, abused, or possessed of aught less than their rightful dominion, and the nation's glory must pass away. The march of time — the course of things — the onward progress — must crush the attempt, wherever made, of establishing upon earth a government in any way differing from that of the Creator and Sovereign of man. Let our clergy then, the only class that should occupy the post — be found in the foremost ranks of our country's defence. Let them use well their means, and be faithful to their trust.

We are not disposed to draw any comparisons between what should be and what is. We happen just now to be taking a very cheering and pleasant prospect. We have been reading a sermon that does honor to its author, as a student of human nature, and a teacher of Christianity. We have placed the title of the discourse at the head of this article — and we hope to be allowed a hearing upon its merits.

We are pleased with the phrenological character of the sermon. The writer is not a phrenologist, in the technical sense — in every other sense, he certainly is. In the philosophy of phrenology — in its inner and all-important principles, we hail him as our fellow disciple.

The text is from Ephesians ii. 19—22.

After noticing briefly the dedication of the church at Leicester, Mr. Walker passes, by an easy and beautiful transition, to 'the inner and spiritual temple to be built up in the soul.' He looks upon it as 'of the utmost importance, in a practical point of view, that we should know and consider, that the whole end and aim of Christianity, as a way and means of salvation, is to quicken in us a sense of our moral and spiritual nature, and of the reality of the moral and spiritual world, that by the influence of the new power thus brought into action, the inward life of the believer may be developed, and built up, and grow into a holy temple of the Lord.' What a plain and happy connection does he thus form between the positions of phrenology and the spirit of the Gospel. We love thus to look upon Jesus as indeed the 'teacher come from God,' as sent to instruct, develope, elevate and purify human nature.

The writer of the sermon is next led, by this principle, 'to take a different view from that which is commonly given of three subjects much controverted among Christians, — Faith, Regeneration, Atonement.' And here every true phrenologist must be ready to follow him. We are aware that Mr. Walker belongs to a particular class of believers. We feel also that we are exposing ourselves to the charge of partizanship. We shall, however, decline all controversy, save with those who hold the same principles with ourselves, on which to hinge the debate — and, in the cause of truth, we would yield to no unworthy fear. We shall be contented at present with simply pointing out the coincidence of the remainder of the sermon with phrenological doctrines.

The author holds Faith, Regeneration, and Atonement to be 'the three great epochs in a moral, and spiritual life, through which every christian is expected to pass, and with each one of which, as it is successively arrived at, commences a series of new and peculiar phenomena, necessary to the entire development of his nature, or to his realization of the idea of a perfect man.' If Phrenology, as we fondly hope, is ever to be anything better than the mere manipulation of skulls, we cannot but believe that on such principles as these of our author, its advances are to be made. We leave them to the sober thought of every student of man. Faith, from which every thing that is peculiarly religious or spiritual originates, is defined as 'a sense of the reality of the spiritual world.' We would analyze the definition, and, ascribing Faith to the activity of Hope, Wonder, Ideality, Benevolence, Conscientiousness, and Veneration in connection with the reflective faculties, would gladly admit the position. We question terms on our 'believing in the spiritual world as a reality.' The man whose senses are in a healthy condition, and whose perceptive faculties are active, has, so to speak, a realizing sense, a faith in the reality of the material world — and equally true is it that the man whose faculties and sentiments that connect him with the great, the beautiful, the excellent, the supernatural and immaterial, 'is under the influence of the existence and reality of the spiritual

world.' Let this also be pondered well. It is time that we were following out these noble parts of our science.

We cannot refrain from introducing the whole of the writer's beautiful comment upon the position he has assumed. 'This faith, as has been intimated, is the beginning of religion in the human soul; and it is the capacity of this faith which makes a man capable of religion. I do not say but that without this faith he may attain to considerable degrees in knowledge, refinement, and civilization, — nay, to some degrees of benevolence, philanthropy, and conscientiousness; but I do say, that without this faith he cannot attain to any degree of religion. By this faith, he becomes alive and awake to a whole class of truths, relations, and existences, to which before he was asleep or dead. It may be regarded in many respects as the development of a new sense. When I say this, however, you will observe I do not say, the *creation* of a new sense, but the *development* of a new sense. It is not something superinduced on human nature, nor does it originate in, or result from, any thing superinduced on human nature. It owes its existence to a more entire and perfect development of that nature;— I do not mean, of the intellect alone, or chiefly, but rather of its moral and spiritual capacities — no matter whether this development is effected by the mind's own internal growth, or by a regular training, or by powerful but incidental causes. The capacity for this faith is born in us; so that it is only necessary that it should be put forth. And then we see things, as we did not and could not see them before; but it is only because the spiritual eye is opened.

In all this, I repeat it, there is nothing supernatural or miraculous, and nothing which is to be regarded as of the character of a new creation, in the literal and strict sense of that term.

It is a new development merely, a new development of the nature of man as man, brought about in every instance, as we must presume, in exact conformity to the laws which God has impressed on that nature. It is a development, however, to which too much importance can hardly be attached, as it is the first of the three great epochs in a moral and spiritual life, and

that one, with which the spiritual life, properly so called, must be said to commence. Nothing need be added to such a defence as this. We pass with pleasure to the next head of the discourse.

'Regeneration follows; by which I understand, not merely reformation of life and manners, but a reformation originating in the adoption of a new set of principles.' The regenerate he defines as those 'who do really recognize and feel their relations to the spiritual world' — 'Regeneration, or the new life, is the life of faith, and bears the same relation to faith itself which the life of the senses bears to the senses themselves.' If we have read the philosophy of phrenology, aright — if we have not been misled in looking forward to its tendencies — we cannot but believe that its warmest advocates will hail the promulgation of such sentiments as these. Here we have the actions, the life of the individual referred to, as at once the result and the proof of the degree to which his better feelings and nobler faculties have been developed and exercised. He is 'thoroughly alive to his spiritual relations' — his existence has become consistent with the impulses of his higher, his proper human sentiments. 'He is then born of the spirit. It is regeneration.' But we must hazard another long quotation.

Taking this view of regeneration we may certainly say of it, as we did of faith, that, though a necessary change in the formation of the christian character, it is not to be regarded in the light of a supernatural or miraculous change. It does not consist in anything superinduced on human nature, but in a more entire development of this nature, subjected indeed to new influences, but with no infraction of its laws. We are born capable of this regeneration; every man is born capable of this regeneration; the foundations of it are laid in his moral and spiritual constitution. Indeed, until he is thus born again, his spiritual nature cannot properly be said to be born at all; so that, until he is born again, he is but half born. It is one stage, and a necessary one, in the soul's natural growth; one step in its onward course differing from every preceding or succeeding step in this, that it does

not consist in carrying out still further the old set of principles, but in beginning to act on a new set of principles. It is one of the three great epochs of a moral and spiritual life,—faith being the first, as we have seen, and regeneration the second; — faith opening the soul to a new set of influences, and regeneration being the natural and legitimate change wrought in the soul itself thereby. What a beautiful and just exposition is this of the results of an enlightened and progressive development of human nature!

We pass to the third and last head of the sermon. 'Atonement' is defined as 'union or reconciliation with God.' 'It means, *being at one* with another, or with others — being reconciled.' But we cannot do justice to our author without inserting the following quotation:

'The great, and I regret the necessity I am under of adding, the prevalent error on this subject, originates, in not reflecting, that this atonement is a state of the soul. It is not to be regarded as a speculative doctrine addressed to the reason and understanding; but as a moral fact, a matter of consciousness, a state of the soul. It is not to be confounded with expiatory equivalents of any kind; or with what has been done for us by another, or by others, or even by ourselves. It is the practical result of all that has been done, as manifested in the state of our own souls. Atonement, in other words, must not be confounded with the means or agencies by which it is brought about. God, it is true, was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, and therefore it is by Christ that 'we receive the atonement;' but the atonement itself is the state of being reconciled, a state of the dispositions and affections, a state of the soul. It is one stage, and the last one in the soul's natural development and growth, as it comes under the highest influences of which it is susceptible, and for which it was created. It is one, and the last of the three great epochs in the moral and spiritual life; faith, regeneration, atonement: — the last takes place, and we are at one with God. Faith, Regeneration, Atonement. Man begins with the light of the senses; the light of the understanding gradually dawns upon him, and he is able to reflect on his relations to the sensible world;

conscience is meanwhile developed, and he feels himself to be a moral being; faith opens his eyes on the realities of the spiritual world; new influences are poured in on the soul, and a new life, the spiritual life, properly so called, commences; and this life tends towards and is consummated in union with God. Thus it is that the entire man is gradually revealed and put forth. Thus it is, that we successively attain to one degree after another of light, and spirituality, and perfection. All is from God. As Lord Bacon beautifully expresses it, "The first creature of God, in the works of the seven days, was the light of sense; the last was the light of reason; and his Sabbath work ever since is the illumination of his Spirit. First, he breathed light upon the face of the matter or chaos; then he breathed light into the face of man; and still he breatheth and inspireth light into the face of his chosen."'

The sermon is closed with an appropriate and forcible exhortation. We need not transcribe it here. We must take, however, pretty liberally from the passages that precede it — because both as phrenologists and lovers of our race, we hold the same views, and cherish the same hopes with the writer. We would only add, that our confidence, unlike his, perhaps, rests greatly upon the promulgation of our favorite science. Human nature must be better understood, its principles must be revealed and recognized. Men, when they think of themselves, must know *what they think about* — and then an opening will be offered for the triumphant progress of religious truth, and its successful adaptation to the wants and conditions of our present existence. Phrenology, to our view, is capable of effecting this work and securing these results. We look with the deepest interest upon its progress in our land. Meanwhile its advance cannot but be aided by the admission of such sentiments as these we now hasten to quote.

'I must say, too, that I am not entirely without hope that men may come at length to consider the great facts of a religious life, apart from all speculations growing out of them; and that they may come to something like an agreement in regard to these facts; and that every one's pretensions to the Christian character will be tried by the evidence he gives of really living a Christian

life, without any regard to the notions he may entertain respecting the philosophy of its inward or outward manifestations. Could I contribute, however little, to bring about such a state of things, there is no earthly object for which I would make greater efforts or sacrifices.

'Faith, Regeneration, Atonement. You will perceive that I have not aimed to treat these topics abstractedly, and at length, but only as they exist in relation to one another as facts, and as they enter into and constitute the spiritual life. I cannot but think that by accustoming the community to this view of the subject— by leading them to look on the spiritual life as consisting of facts, and not of doctrines or opinions; as a matter of experience, and not of speculation; as an inward life-giving principle, which may manifest itself under a thousand different outward forms, we shall gradually cut up by the roots every ground and occasion of exclusiveness. Moreover, by simply indicating, as I have feebly attempted to do, the manner in which the great facts in the spiritual life follow one another in the development of human nature, as it comes under the appropriate influences, we may hope to induce every one to reverence his nature, and to see in the infant and the savage, in the most degraded of mankind, in his neighbor and in himself, not merely what he is, but what he is capable of becoming.

'And, finally, in the same proportion as men understand that every step and stage of the spiritual life, even its three great epochs, faith, regeneration, and atonement, follow one another as natural causes and natural effects; and that they are all brought about without the smallest infringement of the mind's laws, or the mind's freedom, it is clear that every thing in the shape of superstition will be banished from religion, just as, in the same way, and by the same means, it has been banished from ordinary life.'

All this, as Phrenologists, do we most firmly believe. We would congratulate our author that he holds such views of the truth. We wish him all success in following them out, and in enforcing them upon the faith and practice of his fellow-creatures. And most earnestly do we hope that the publication of the sermon before us will scatter the good seed far and wide.

NOTICES.

THE *Second Anniversary of the Boston Phrenological Society* was celebrated at Boylston Hall, December 31st, 1834. The following was the order of exercises. Voluntary on the Organ. Prayer. Reading of the Scriptures.

ORIGINAL ODE. [BY I. MCLELLAN, JUN. Esq.]

ON THE BIRTH DAY OF SPURZHEIM.

Air—America.

1

We bear no garlands now,
Twined for the victors brow,
Nor song of praise!
To Glory's bloody hand,
To War's assembled band,
Scourge of both sea and land,
No hymns we raise.

2

But o'er the noble head
Of the lamented dead,
Our notes shall burst,
The laurel wreath we bind
In honor of the mind
In that pure frame enshrined,
Now laid in dust!

3

Land of the golden vine,
Land of the lordly Rhine,
Weep, distant land!
Weep for your son who came
Hither in learning's name,
Bearing her sacred flame
In his pure hand.

4

His was the eye to scan
Clearly the mind of man,
Through its dim night,
His the hand to unroll
Boldly the mystic scroll
Of the deep human soul
—Making it bright.

5

His searching wisdom taught
How the high dome of thought
Pictured the mind,
On that fair chart confest
Traced he each restless guest
Which in the human breast
Lies deep enshrined.

6

But as Time's rolling wave
Sweeps o'er the stranger's grave
Year after year,
Science shall watch his urn,
Pilgrims shall thither turn,
Beauty around shall mourn,
Dropping the tear!

Address, by the Rev. GEO. BRADBURN. Hymn, &c. Benediction. Voluntary.

The Address of Mr. Bradburn was on the utility of Phrenology. The subject was ably elucidated by the Orator, and much to the edification of the audience. We shall have occasion to notice it, hereafter, more fully.

Officers of the Boston Phrenological Society for 1835.

Rev. JOHN PIERPONT, President.

WM. B. FOWLE, Vice President.
S. G. HOWE, M. D. Cor. Secretary.
M. S. PERRY, M. D. Rec. Secretary.
JOSEPH WHITE, Treasurer.

E. P. CLARK,
NAHUM CAPEN,
J. F. FLAGG, M. D.
JOHN FLINT, M. D.
} *Counsellors.*

N. B. SHURTLEFF, M. D.
H. T. TUCKERMAN,
} *Curators.*

London University and Phrenology.—At the annual examination in the medical school of the London University, in May last, several of the pupils in the Practice of Physic class, of which Dr. Elliotson is Professor, adopted the phrenological principles as the only basis on which an intelligible account of mental affections could be erected. We have seen two or three of the extempore dissertations on this subject, and have been extremely gratified with their general clearness and accuracy. It will one day be the proud boast of the London University, that, knowing Dr. Elliotson to be a phrenologist, and one who would not conceal his opinions, it nevertheless placed him in its most important chair. To Dr. Elliotson himself it must afford infinite satisfaction to witness the readiness with which the ablest of the unprejudiced youths who listen to his prelections seize upon the truth and apply it to practical purposes. We congratulate the University on having a man of Dr. Elliotson's undoubted eminence, and talent among its medical professors. Few have of late years done so much as he to advance the science of medicine; and his reputation as a physician is so well established, that his advocacy of Phrenology cannot fail to operate most extensively and beneficially on the younger members of the profession. We need hardly remind our readers, that Dr. Elliotson was one of the earliest phrenologists in Britain, and that he wrote in favor of Phrenology at a time when obloquy and ridicule were likely to be his sole rewards. [Ed. Jour.]

Edinburgh. We have received the numbers of the Edinburgh Phrenological Journal up to XLI. The ability with which this Journal continues to be conducted is highly creditable to the Phrenologists of Edinburgh. We shall notice it at length hereafter. The Edinburgh Society also continues with its usual activity and efficiency. Considering that it was formed for the investigation of human nature, and that it numbers among its members some of the ablest men of the age, we regard the doings of this society as of great importance to the world.

Boston. The Lectures of the Boston Phrenological Society, at the Masonic Temple, continue to excite interest, and to be well attended. There is a lecture every Friday evening, at 7 o'clock.

The Annals. The fourth number of the Annals will be put to press immediately. The conductors of this work would here remark, that in admitting articles written by different individuals — there may be, oftentimes, differences of opinion. The work having been established for the investigation and promotion of science, a free and *proper* expression of opinion is desirable — and therefore every article must be regarded as standing upon its own merits, and not upon the sanction of the Editors.

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